GUIZOT'S GIBBON.

HISTORY
OF
THE DECLINE AND FALL
OF THE
ROMAN EMPIRE.

BY EDWARD GIBBON, ESQ.

A NEW EDITION REVISED AND CORRECTED THROUGHOUT, PRECEDED BY A PREFACE, AND ACCOMPANIED BY NOTES, CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL, RELATING PRINCIPALLY TO THE PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY:

BY M. F. GUIZOT,
MINISTER OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION FOR THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE.

THE PREFACE, NOTES AND CORRECTIONS, TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH EXPRESSLY FOR THIS EDITION.

WITH
A NOTICE OF THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF GIBBON,
AND
WATSON'S REPLY TO GIBBON.

IN TWO VOLUMES.
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GUIZOT'S PREFACE.

[TRANSLATION.]

To reprint a valuable work—to rectify, in an extensive history, omissions and errors the more important, because, lost in an immense number of facts, they are eminently fitted to deceive, both the superficial who believe all they read, and the attentive, who have no opportunity for investigation; such have been the motives which have determined me to publish with added notes, this new edition of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire by Edward Gibbon.

This period of history has been the subject of study and toil to a multitude of writers, of learned men, and even of philosophers. The gradual decline of that most extraordinary power, which had over-run and oppressed the world; the fall of this greatest of empires, built upon the ruins of so many kingdoms, republics, and states, both barbarous and civilized, and forming in its turn by its dismemberment, a multitude of states, republics, and kingdoms; the annihilation of the religion of Greece and Rome; the origin and progress of two new religions, which have occupied between themselves the fairest countries of the earth; the old age of the ancient world, the spectacle of its expiring glory and degenerate morals; the infancy of the modern world, the description of its first advances and of the new impulse given to mind and character; such a subject must necessarily fix the attention and excite the interest of those men who cannot see with indifference, such memorable epochs, or in the beautiful expression of Corneille,  

"Un grand destin commence, un grand destin s'achève."

Thus, learning, eloquence, and the spirit of philosophy, have been emulously engaged in bringing to light, and picturing the ruins of this vast edifice whose fall had been preceded, and was to be followed by so much greatness. Messrs. de Tillemont, Lebeau, Ameilhou, Pagi, Eckhel, and a great number of other writers, French and foreign, have examined all its parts, they have searched among the rubbish for facts, details and dates, and by the aid of erudition more or less extensive, and of criticism more or less enlightened, have in some manner collected and arranged anew the scattered materials. Their works are of unquestionable utility, and I have no wish to diminish their merit, but in digging among the ruins they have sometimes buried themselves; either because they have voluntarily limited the subject and the circle of their researches, or because the very nature of their minds confined them within certain bounds. They have, while occupied in search of facts, neglected the general outline of ideas, they have explored and brought to light the ruins without re-erecting the monument. We do not find in their works those general views, which enable us to embrace at a glance a great extent of country—a long series of ages; and which make us distinguish clearly amidst the darkness of the past, the progress of the human species, ever changing its form but not its nature, its habits and not its passions, always arriving at the same results by different means; those great views, in fine, which constitute the philosophy of History, and without which it is only a mass of facts, as inconclusive, as they are disconnected.

Montesquieu, on the other hand, in his "Considerations sur les causes de la grandeur et de la décadence des Romains," glancing on every side with the eye of genius, has brought forward a multitude of thoughts, always profound and almost always new, but sometimes inaccurate, and authorized less by the nature and connection of facts, than by those rapid and ingenious deductions to which a superior mind too easily surrenders itself, because it finds a vivid pleasure in manifesting its power in this species of creation. Happily, by a beautiful provision, the errors of genius are fertile in truths, it may wander for a moment from the path it has opened, but the way is open and others follow with
more safety and circumspection. Gibbon, less able, less profound, of a less exalted genius than Montesquieu, made himself master of a subject whose richness and extent the other had pointed out; he followed with care the long array and progressive chain of facts, some of which only Montesquieu had selected and recalled, rather to attach them to his own ideas, than to make the reader acquainted with their progress and mutual influence. The English historian, eminently gifted with that penetration which tracing events to causes, and with that sagacity which separates from causes seemingly true, those which really are so; born in an age when distinguished men carefully scrutinized every part of the social machine, and endeavored to discover its action, utility, effects, and importance, placed by his pursuits and by the reach of his mind on an equality with the master spirits of his age, brought to his researches into the material of history or the facts themselves, the criticism of a judicious and learned man, and to his views of the moral of history, or the relations which connect events and associate their authors with them, that of an able philosopher. He knew that history if confined to an account of facts merely, excites no other interest than that which men feel in the actions of their fellow men, and that to be really useful and true, it ought to look upon the face of society, whose image it retraces under all the different points of view from which it can be considered, by the statesman, the warrior, the magistrate, the financier, and the philosopher; by all those indeed who are capacitated by their situation or their intelligence to understand its different springs of action.

This thought, no less just than great, seems to have had its influence in the composition of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. It is not merely an account of the events which agitated the Roman world from the accession of Augustus to the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, but the author has constantly connected with the history of events an account of the state of finances, of opinions, of morals, of the military system, and of those internal and concealed causes of prosperity or calamity which strengthen society, or secretly threaten its well-being and existence. Gibbon, faithful to the known but neglected law, which compels us always to make facts the basis of general reflections, and to follow step by step their slow but necessary course, has thus composed a work, remarkable for the extent of its views, though not for great elevation of thought, and full of positive and interesting results, notwithstanding the scepticism of its author.

The success of this work, in an age which had produced a Montesquieu, and which at the time of its publication possessed a Hume, a Robertson, and a Voltaire, certainly proves its merit, and the continuance of this success to the present time is a farther confirmation of its worth. In England, France, Germany, and among all the enlightened nations of Europe Gibbon is always cited as authority; and even those who have discovered some inaccuracies in his book, or who disapprove of his sentiments, do not attempt to remove his errors or to combat his opinions, except with a cautious respect due to superior merit. (I have had occasion in the course of my investigations to consult the writings of philosophers who have treated of the finances of the Roman empire, of learned men who have studied its chronology, of theologians versed in ecclesiastical history, of civilians who have studied with care Roman jurisprudence, of orientalists who have devoted themselves to Arabic literature, of modern historians who have examined the subject of the crusades and their influence—and every one of these writers has observed and pointed out in the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire instances of carelessness, of false or at least incomplete views, and sometimes even omissions which they could not but believe voluntary. They have corrected some faults, and have opposed with success some assertions, but more frequently they have employed the researches and thoughts of Gibbon, either to show wherein they differ from him, or to substantiate their own researches and deductions.) I may perhaps be permitted here to mention a certain suspense and uncertainty which I have myself experienced in studying this work. I prefer to incur the hazard of speaking of myself than to omit an observation which may set forth both merits and defects. After the first rapid perusal, which permitted me only to feel interested in a narrative always animated notwithstanding its length, always clear notwithstanding the variety of objects it presents in review before the eye, I entered into a minute examination of the details of which it is composed, and the opinion I then formed was, I confess, singularly severe. I found in certain chapters errors which appeared to me sufficiently important and numerous to warrant the belief that the work in some parts had been written with extreme negligence; in others there appeared a general tinge of partiality and prejudice which gave to the narration of facts that want of truth and justice which the English happily designate by the word misrepresentation. Mutilated quotations, and the involuntary or designed omission of certain passages, rendered me suspicious of the author's integrity. The grossness of this violation of the first law of history was
increased to my mind by the prolonged attention with which I scrutinized each phrase, each note and reflection—and in consequence I passed upon the whole work much too rigorous a judgment. After this careful study of the history, I permitted some time to elapse before again reviewing it. Another attentive and continuous perusal of the whole work, of the notes of the author, and of those which I have thought it right to add to them, has showed me how much I have exaggerated the importance of the strictures which Gibbon merited. I have been struck with the same errors, with the same partiality on certain subjects, but I found that I had been far from rightly appreciating the vastness of his research, the variety of his information, the extent of his knowledge, and, more than all, that truly philosophical justice of his mind which judges of the past as it would of the present, without being darkened by those clouds with which time surrounds the dead; and which often prevent us from seeing, that under the toga and in the senate, men were the same that they are still in our modern dress, and in our own councils—and that events transpired eighteen centuries ago in the same manner as they do now. I perceived also that Gibbon, notwithstanding his failings, was truly an able historian, that his history with all its defects would always be a good work, and that his errors might be corrected, and his prejudices opposed, without ceasing to admit that few men have united in a manner so complete and well defined, the qualities essential to an historian.

I have then attempted in my notes only to correct facts which appeared to me false or misrepresented, and to supply those, the omission of which might become a source of error. I am far from believing that this work of correction is complete. I have been very guarded in applying it to the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire in all its extent. It would enlarge too much a work already most voluminous, and add innumerable notes to the many notes of the author; my first and principal design, was to review with care those chapters devoted by Gibbon to the history of the establishment of Christianity, and to re-establish in all their exactness, and place in their true light the facts of which they are composed. It is in those chapters therefore that I have made the most additions, other chapters also, as that which treats of the religion of the ancient Persians, or that in which the author exhibits a view of the state of ancient Germany and of the migrations of the people, have appeared to me to need elucidation and rectifying. Their importance will furnish my excuse. In general my work has not extended much beyond the first five volumes of the new edition. Almost all which concerns Christianity is found in these volumes; in them also is seen the transition from the ancient to the modern world, from the manners and the thoughts of Roman Europe to those of our Europe, an epoch the most interesting and important to make clear in the whole work. Besides, later times have been treated of with great care by many different writers, so that the notes I have added to the last volume are few and concise, too much so perhaps; nevertheless I can affirm that I have rigidly observed the rule to say nothing which did not seem to me necessary, and to say it as briefly as possible. Much has been written for and against Gibbon. From the time his work appeared comments were made upon it as if it had been an ancient manuscript, and they were truly those of critics. Theologians, more than all others, have complained of the manner in which he has treated ecclesiastical history; they have attacked the XV and XVI chapters sometimes with reason, often with bitterness, but almost always with arms inferior to those of their adversary, who certainly possessed more knowledge, more genius, more insight into his subject than his opponents, as far at least as their works have been within the reach of my examination. Dr. Watson, since bishop of Landaff, published "A series of letters, or An apology for Christianity," the moderation and merit of which are acknowledged by Gibbon himself. Priestley wrote "A letter to an incredulous philosopher containing a view of the evidences of revealed religion, with observations upon the first two volumes of Mr. Gibbon." Dr. White in a course of sermons, of which Dr. S. Badeock was, it is said, the real author, and of which Dr. White furnished only the materials, traced a comparative view of the christian and mahommedan religions (1st edition, 1784, 8vo.), in which he often opposed Gibbon, and of which Gibbon himself speaks with esteem, (see memoirs of his life, p. 167, vol. 1st of miscellaneous works and his letters, nos. 82, 83, &c.) These three are the adversaries most worthy of consideration who have attacked our historian. A multitude of other writers joined them, Sir David Dalrymple, Dr. Chelsam, chaplain to the bishop of Worcester, Mr. Davis, member of Balliol college, Oxford, Mr. East Apthorpe, rector of St. Mary le Bone, London, J. Beattie, Mr. J. Melner, Mr.

1 D. R. Watson's Apology for Christianity in a series of letters to Edward Gibbon, 1776, in 8vo.
3 East. Apthorpe's letters on the prevalence of christianity before its civil establishment with observations on Mr. C.'s History, &c. 1778, 8vo.
PREFACE.

Taylor, Mr. Travis, prebendary of Chester, and vicar of Eastham, Dr. Whitaker, an anonymous writer, who took only the name of the Anonymous Gentleman, Mr. H. Kett, &c. &c. arrayed themselves against the new historian. He replied to some of them in a pamphlet entitled "A defence of some passages in the XV and XVI chapters of the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire." This defence, victorious in some points and weak in others, but excessively bitter, revealed the irritation which these attacks had excited in Gibbon. This irritation, perhaps, indicated, that he did not feel himself entirely irreproachable; nevertheless, he altered none of his opinions in the rest of the work, which proves, at least, his sincerity. Although I have made great effort, I have been able to procure but a small part of these works. Those of Dr. Cheboun, of Mr. Davis, of Mr. Travis, and of the anonymous writer, are the only works that I have been able to obtain. I have received from them some interesting thoughts; and when I have not been able to explain or to defend them by higher authorities, I have mentioned to whom I was indebted for them. Not only in England have comments been made upon Gibbon. F. A. G. Wenck, professor of law at Leipsic, a very estimable literary man, undertook a translation of it into German. The first volume appeared at Leipsic in 1779. He also added notes, full of erudition, no less extensive than accurate. I have derived from them great assistance. Unfortunately, M. Wenck did not continue his undertaking. The remaining volumes have been translated by M. Schreiter, professor at Leipsic, who has added but a few notes, and those very unimportant. M. Wenck announced in his preface, that he should publish particular dissertations on the XV and XVI chapters, the object of which would be to examine the account given by Gibbon of the propagation of Christianity. He has been dead, now, two years. Not having been informed of his death, I wrote to his son, and requested a copy of them. His son wrote in answer, that he had not been able to find them among his father's papers.

There is another German translation of Gibbon, with which I am not acquainted. I have been told that it contains no new notes. Many German theologians, as M. Walterstern, M. Ludewald, &c. have opposed Gibbon, especially in treating of the propagation of Christianity. I am acquainted with the titles of their works only. M. Hugo, professor of law at Gottingen, published, in 1789, a translation of the XLIV chapter, in which Gibbon treats of Roman jurisprudence, with critical notes, of some of which I have borrowed, but these notes establish, in general, few facts, and are not always sufficiently supported with proof.

In French, I have read but one dissertation against Gibbon, inserted in the seventh volume of the Spectateur Francais. It appeared to me very ordinary, and contains rather reasoning than facts.

Such, at least according to my knowledge, are the principal works of which the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire has been the subject. Those which I have examined, have been far from satisfactory to me; and after having derived from them the most that was interesting, I have myself written, upon the various parts which remained to be examined, a critical work of some extent. I believe I ought here to mention the principal sources whence I have derived information and facts. Besides the original authors of which Gibbon availed himself, and to which I have referred as much as was in my power—such as the history of Augustus, Dion Cassius, Ammianus Marcellinus, Eusebius, Lactantius, &c. &c. I have consulted some of the best writers who have treated of the same subjects much more carefully and extensively, inasmuch as they have devoted themselves especially to the study of them. Concerning the history of the primitive church, the writings of the learned Gardner, the Abridgement of Ecclesiastical History by Spittler, the Ecclesiastical History of Flete, the History of the Constitution of the Christian Church by M. Pau, and a Manuscript by the same author upon the History of the Dogmas of Christianity, History of Heresies by C. G. F. Walch, the Introduction to the New Testament of Michaelis, the Commentary upon the New Testament of M. Paulus, the History of Philosophy by M. Tennemann, and particular dissertations, have been my principal resources. For the account of the migrations of the people of the north, the History of the North by Schlezer, the Universal History of Gatterer, the Ancient History of the Teutonic Race by Aeching, Memoriae Populorum ex Historiis Byzantinis curae by M. Stritter, have furnished me information which I should vainly have sought for elsewhere. To

2 H. Kett's Sermons at Hampton's Lecture, 1791, 8vo. H. Kett's representation of the conduct and opinions of the primitive christians, with remarks on certain assertions of Mr. Gibbon and Mr. Priestly, in eight sermons.
3 A vindication of some passages in the XV and XVI chapters of the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. The 2d edition which I have used was printed in London 1779.
the works of these able critics, we owe the most certain and safe knowledge we have upon this part of the history of the world. Finally, I owe to the dissertations which M. Kleuker has added to his German translation of the Zendavesta and of the Memoirs of Anquetil, the means of rectifying many errors which Gibbon has committed in speaking of the religion of the ancient Persians.

I shall be pardoned, I trust, for giving these details. Truth requires that I should mention those works without which I should have been unable to execute my undertaking; and to name those learned men, who have been, as it were, my fellow-laborers, is, without doubt, the best means to gain for myself some belief. Permit me also to acknowledge how much I owe to the counsels of a man no less enlightened on all subjects generally than versed particularly in the researches in which I have been engaged. Without the assistance I have derived from the directions and the library of M. Stapfer, I should have been often embarrassed to discover those works which could furnish me safe information, and doubtless should have been ignorant of most of them. If my work shall be found to possess any merit, I shall only regret that I am unable to point out precisely how considerable a portion of it is due to him.

It remains only to say a word concerning the translation. The revision of it is the work of a person too nearly related to me to permit me to speak of her otherwise than to point out what she has done.¹

Many have, in succession, translated the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. Their manner has been different. Generally, the first volumes are translated with much care and nicety; and everywhere we see an effort to turn each period with elegance. The energy, the strength, and conciseness of thought, and vivacity of the original are thus sacrificed to the harmony of the sentence. The translation which has now been selected for revision, though smooth and agreeable, offered but a faint image of the full nervous style of the English writer. The last volumes, especially, bore the impress of extreme haste—of contracted sentences—of passages robbed of those details which constitute their force and character—and sometimes even reflections were here and there suppressed. There were instances also of wrong constructions, caused less by ignorance of the English language than by that inattentive negligence, which imagines a work is done before it is complete and finished. Such were the principal faults which it was necessary to correct. Much care and application have been given in order to remove these faults, to restore invariably the whole text of the author and the text alone, and to give to his style its original and peculiar complexion even in those passages where, in addition to the other peculiarities of his style, a labored conciseness, a suddenness of transition scarcely natural, and a dangerous design to convey to the mind more than is expressed by the words, rendered the task exceedingly difficult. Such a labor has been necessarily long and tedious; its utility it would seem impossible to deny; and now, if the translation of the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire has been rendered faithful, if it can be read without trouble and difficulty—if the notes which have been added serve to rectify the erroneous opinions of the author, and to interest his readers to examine before they adopt them—the design of the editor is accomplished. It is all that he desires, and certainly more than he dares to hope.

¹ The revision and correction of the translation of Gibbon's history, into the French language, was the work of the mother of Guizot.
PREFACE

TO THE

FIRST VOLUME OF THE ORIGINAL EDITION.

It is not my intention to detain the reader by expatiating on the variety, or the importance of the subject, which I have undertaken to treat; since the merit of the choice would serve to render the weakness of the execution still more apparent and still less excusable. But as I have presumed to lay before the public a first volume only 1 of the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, it will perhaps be expected that I should explain, in a few words, the nature and limits of my general plan.

The memorable series of revolutions, which, in the course of about thirteen centuries, gradually undermined, and at length destroyed, the solid fabric of Roman greatness, may, with some propriety, be divided into the three following periods:

I. The first of these periods may be traced from the age of Trajan and the Antonines, when the Roman monarchy, having attained its full strength and maturity, began to verge towards its decline; and will extend to the subversion of the western empire, by the barbarians of Germany and Scythia, the rude ancestors of the most polished nations of modern Europe. This extraordinary revolution, which subjected Rome to the power of a Gothic conqueror, was completed by the beginning of the sixth century.

II. The second period of the Decline and Fall of Rome may be supposed to commence with the reign of Justinian, who by his laws, as well as by his victories, restored a transient splendor to the eastern empire. It will comprehend the invasion of Italy by the Lombards; the conquest of the Asiatic and African provinces by the Arabs, who embraced the religion of Mahomet; the revolt of the Roman people against the feeble princes of Constantinople; and the elevation of Charlemagne, who, in the year eight hundred, established the second, or German, empire of the west.

III. The last and longest of these periods includes about six centuries and a half; from the revival of the western empire, till the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, and the extinction of a degenerate race of princes, who continued to assume the titles of Caesar and Augustus after their dominions were contracted to the limits of a single city, in which the language, as well as manners, of the ancient Romans had been long since forgotten. The writer who should undertake to relate the events of this period, would find himself obliged to enter into the general history of the crusades, as far as they contributed to the ruin of the Greek empire; and he would scarcely be able to restrain his curiosity from making some inquiry into the state of the city of Rome during the darkness and confusion of the middle ages.

1 The first volume of the quarto, (in which form the work was originally published) comprising chaps. I. to XVI.

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PREFACE.

As I have ventured, perhaps too hastily, to commit to the press a work, which, in every sense of the word, deserves the epithet imperfect, I consider myself as contracting an engagement to finish, most probably in a second volume,¹ the first of these memorable periods; and to deliver to the public the complete History of the Decline and Fall of Rome, from the age of the Antonines to the subversion of the western empire. With regard to the subsequent periods, though I may entertain some hopes, I dare not presume to give any assurances. The execution of the extensive plan which I have described, would connect the ancient and modern history of the world; but it would require many years of health, of leisure, and of perseverance.

Bentinck Street,
February 1, 1776.

P. S. The entire History, which is now published, of the Decline and Fall of the Roman empire in the west, abundantly discharges my engagements with the public. Perhaps their favourable opinion may encourage me to prosecute a work, which however laborious it may seem, is the most agreeable occupation of my leisure hours.

Bentinck Street,
March 1, 1781.

An author easily persuades himself that the public opinion is still favourable to his labours; and I have now embraced the serious resolution of proceeding to the last period of my original design, and of the Roman empire, the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, in the year one thousand four hundred and fifty three. The most patient reader, who computes that three ponderous² volumes have been already employed on the events of four centuries, may, perhaps, be alarmed at the long prospect of nine hundred years. But it is not my intention to expatiate with the same minuteness on the whole series of the Byzantine history. At our entrance into this period, the reign of Justinian, and the conquests of the Mahometans, will deserve and detain our attention, and the last age of Constantinople (the crusades and the Turks) is connected with the revolutions of modern Europe. From the seventh to the eleventh century, the obscure interval will be supplied by a concise narrative of such facts as may still appear either interesting or important.

Bentinck Street,
March 1, 1782.

¹ The author, as it frequently happens, took an inadequate measure of his growing work. The remainder of the first period has filled two volumes in quarto, comprising chaps. XVII. to XXXVIII.
² Chaps. I. to XXXVIII.
ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE

FIRST OCTAVO EDITION.

The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire is now delivered to the public in a more convenient form. Some alterations and improvements had presented themselves to my mind, but I was unwilling to injure or offend the purchasers of the preceding editions. The accuracy of the corrector of the press has been already tried and approved; and, perhaps I may stand excused, if, amidst the avocations of a busy winter, I have preferred the pleasures of composition and study, to the minute diligence of revising a former publication.

BENTINCK STREET,
April 20, 1783.

Diligence and accuracy are the only merits which an historical writer may ascribe to himself; if any merit indeed can be assumed from the performance of an indispensable duty. I may therefore be allowed to say, that I have carefully examined all the original materials that could illustrate the subject which I had undertaken to treat. Should I ever complete the extensive design which has been sketched out in the Preface, I might perhaps conclude it with a critical account of the authors consulted during the progress of the whole work; and however such an attempt might incur the censure of ostentation, I am persuaded that it would be susceptible of entertainment, as well as information.

At present I shall content myself with a single observation. The biographers, who, under the reigns of Diocletian and Constantine, composed, or rather compiled, the lives of the emperors, from Hadrian to the sons of Carus, are usually mentioned under the names of Ælius Spartanus, Julius Capitolinus, Ælius Lampridius, Vulciatus Gallicanus, Trebellius Pollio, and Flavius Vopiscus. But there is so much perplexity in the titles of the MSS.; and so many disputes have arisen among the critics (see Fabricius, Biblioth. Latin. i. iii. c. 6.) concerning their number, their names, and their respective property; that for the most part I have quoted them without distinction, under the general and well known title of the Augustan History.
I now discharge my promise, and complete my design, of writing the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, both in the west and the east. The whole period extends from the age of Trajan and the Antonines, to the taking of Constantinople by Mahomet the second; and includes a review of the crusades, and the state of Rome during the middle ages. Since the publication of the first\(^1\) volume, twelve years have elapsed; twelve years, according to my wish, "of health, of leisure, and of perseverance." I may now congratulate my deliverance from a long and laborious service, and my satisfaction will be pure and perfect, if the public favour should be extended to the conclusion of my work.

It was my first intention to have collected, under one view, the numerous authors, of every age and language, from whom I have derived the materials of this history; and I am still convinced that the apparent ostentation would be more than compensated by real use. If I have renounced this idea, if I have declined an undertaking which had obtained the approbation of a master-artist,\(^2\) my excuse may be found in the extreme difficulty of assigning a proper measure to such a catalogue. A naked list of names and editions would not be satisfactory either to myself or my readers: the characters of the principal authors of the Roman and Byzantine History have been occasionally connected with the events which they describe; a more copious and critical inquiry might indeed deserve, but it would demand, an elaborate volume, which might swell by degrees into a general library of historical writers. For the present I shall content myself with renewing my serious protestation, that I have always endeavoured to draw from the fountain head; that my curiosity, as well as a sense of duty, has always urged me to study the originals; and that, if they have sometimes eluded my search, I have carefully marked the secondary evidence, on whose faith a passage or a fact were reduced to depend.

I shall soon revisit the banks of the lake of Lausanne, a country which I have known and loved from my early youth. Under a mild government, amidst a beauteous landscape, in a life of leisure and independence, and among a people of easy and elegant manners, I have enjoyed, and may again hope to enjoy, the varied pleasures of retirement and society. But I shall ever glory in the name and character of an Englishman: I am proud of my birth in a free and enlightened country; and the approbation of that country is the best and most honourable reward of my labours. Were I ambitious of any other patron than the public, I would inscribe this work to a statesman, who, in a long, stormy, and at length an unfortunate, administration, had many political opponents, almost without a personal enemy; who has retained, in his fall from power, many faithful and disinterested friends; and who, under the pressure of severe infirmity, enjoys the lively vigour of his mind, and the felicity of his incomparable temper. Lord North will permit me to express the feelings of friendship in the language of truth: but even truth and friendship should be silent, if he still dispensed the favours of the crown.

In a remote solitude, vanity may still whisper in my ear, that my readers, perhaps, may inquire, whether, in the conclusion of the present work, I am now taking an everlasting farewell. They shall hear all that I know myself, all that I could reveal to the most intimate friend. The motives of

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\(^1\) Alluding to the quarto edition, in which this work was originally published.

\(^2\) See Dr. Robertson's Preface to his History of America.
action or silence are now equally balanced; nor can I pronounce in my most secret thoughts, on which side the scale will preponderate. I cannot dissemble that six ample quartos must have tried, and may have exhausted, the indulgence of the public; that in the repetition of similar attempts, a successful author has much more to lose than he can hope to gain; that I am now descending into the vale of years; and that the most respectable of my countrymen, the men whom I aspire to imitate, have resigned the pen of history about the same period of their lives. Yet I consider that the annals of ancient and modern times may afford many rich and interesting subjects; that I am still possessed of health and leisure; that by the practice of writing, some skill and facility must be acquired; and that, in the ardent pursuit of truth and knowledge, I am not conscious of decay. To an active mind, indolence is more painful than labour; and the first months of my liberty will be occupied and amused in the excursions of curiosity and taste. By such temptations, I have been sometimes seduced from the rigid duty even of a pleasing and voluntary task: but my time will now be my own; and in the use or abuse of independence, I shall no longer fear my own reproaches or those of my friends. I am fairly entitled to a year of jubilee: next summer and the following winter will rapidly pass away; and experience only can determine whether I shall still prefer the freedom and variety of study, to the design and composition of a regular work, which animates, while it confines, the daily application of the author. Caprice and accident may influence my choice; but the dexterity of self-love will contrive to applaud either active industry, or philosophic repose.

Downing Street,
May 1, 1789.

P. S. I shall embrace this opportunity of introducing two verbal remarks, which have not conveniently offered themselves to my notice. 1. As often as I use the definition of beyond the Alps, the Rhine, the Danube, &c. I generally suppose myself at Rome, and afterwards at Constantinople; without observing whether this relative geography may agree with the local, but variable, situation of the reader, or the historian. 2. In proper names of foreign, and especially of oriental origin, it should be always our aim to express in our English version a faithful copy of the original. But this rule, which is founded on a just regard to uniformity and truth, must often be relaxed; and the exceptions will be limited or enlarged by the custom of the language and the taste of the interpreter. Our alphabets may be often defective; a harsh sound, an uncouth spelling, might offend the ear or the eye of our countrymen: and some words, notoriously corrupt, are fixed, and as it were naturalized, in the vulgar tongue. The prophet Mohammed can no longer be stripedit of the famous, though improper appellation of Mahomet: the well-known cities of Aleppo, Damascus, and Cairo, would almost be lost in the strange descriptions of Haleb, Demassk, and Al Cahira; the titles and offices of the Ottoman empire are fashioned by the practice of three hundred years; and we are pleased to blend the three Chinese monosyllables, Confucius, in the respectable name of Confucius, or even to adopt the Portuguese corruption of Mandarin. But I would vary the use of Zoroster and Zerdusht, as I drew my information from Greece or Persia: since our connexion with India, the genuine Timour is restored to the throne of Tamerlane: our most correct writers have retrenched the Al, the superfluous article, from the Koran; and we escape an ambiguous termination, by adopting Mosten instead of Mussulman, in the plural number. In these, and in a thousand examples, the shades of distinction are often minute; and I can feel, where I cannot explain, the motives of my choice.

* * At the end of the History, the reader will find a General Index to the whole Work, which has been drawn up by a person frequently employed in works of this nature.
A NOTICE OF THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF GIBBON.

It is not merely because it gratifies an idle curiosity, that it is interesting to collect all the particulars relating to the character of men distinguished for their works or public actions. These particulars ought to influence the judgment we form either of their conduct or their writings. Celebrated men seldom escape from that restless suspicion, which search-es for their secret sentiments, and makes us attach to whatever we know of them some particular idea, founded upon the opinion we have formed of their motives. It is important that these motives should be appreciated with justice, and if it is impossible to eradicate from the mind of man the disposition to prejudge, which seems to be inherent in his nature, we ought at least to place it upon a solid and reasonable basis. It is no doubt true that in some cases the opinion we have of the author ought not to influence that which we form of his writings—but not so with regard to the historian. He, of all writers, perhaps, owes the most to the public estimation of himself. He makes himself surety for the facts he relates; the value of this surety ought to be known, and it is founded, not only upon the moral character of the historian and the confidence his veracity can inspire, but also upon the habitual turn of his mind, the opinions he is most inclined to adopt, the peculiarities of thought by which he suffers himself to be most easily led away upon whatever constitutes the atmosphere which surrounds and colours to his eye the events he describes. 

I will always seek the truth, wrote Gibbon previous to the commencement of his historical labours, although hitherto I have found little except the semblances of truth. It is among these semblances of truth, these truth-seeing, that the historian ought to find, and, as it were, to reproduce the truth itself, in part effaced by the hand of time. It is his province to judge of their value; it is our right to estimate the decision of the judge according to our opinion of his character. If freedom from passion, moderation of desires, and that middle condition of fortune fitted to extinguish ambition by preventing want, suggests the idea of a man the most inclined to that impartiality necessary for historical writing, then no man, in this respect, ever possessed more than Gibbon the qualities of a historian.

He was descended from an ancient, but not greatly distinguished family, and could not, as he says himself in his Memoirs, while relating with some complacency his family alliances and advantages, receive from his ancestry either glory or shame. The most remarkable of his family connections was his near relationship to the Chevalier Acton, celebrated in Europe as the minister of the king of Naples. His grandfather enriched himself by successful commercial enterprises; making, as says his grandson, his opinions subordinate to his interests; clothing in Flanders the troops of King William, when he would have served King James with more willingness, but not, perhaps, adds the historian, with so much profit. Less disposed than his parent to regulate his inclinations according to his situation, the father of our historian dissipated a fortune which he had acquired too easily to know its value. He thus bequeathed to his son the necessity of turning to an important use, that activity of mind, which, in a more advantageous situation, the quietude of his imagination and spirit would perhaps have left unemployed. This activity of mind manifested itself, from his infancy, in those intervals allowed him by the weakness and infirmities with which he was almost constantly afflicted till the age of fifteen. His constitution then became strengthened, and good health was suddenly restored to him. At this age the latitude so unnatural to childhood and youth, by depressing the satties of the imagination, facilitates that close application, which is always less irksome to weakness than to buoyancy; but the ill health of the young Gibbon served as a pretext for the indulgence of his father and the indulgence of an aunt, to whose care he was committed, and they gave themselves little trouble with his education. All his activity therefore turned itself towards a taste for reading; an occupation which favours indolence and the curiosity of mind by exempting from regular and assiduous study. But his excellent memory and the recollection of his early reading, laid the foundation of that great knowledge which at last he laboured to acquire. History was his first passion and became in the end his ruling taste. He already brought to it that spirit of criticism and of scepticism, which has since formed one of the distinctive characteristics of his manner of thought and writing. At the age of fifteen, he determined to undertake an historical work; it was The Age of Sesostris. His design was not, as from his age we would naturally suppose, to paint the wonders of the conqueror's reign, but to fix the probable date of his existence. In the system he had chosen, which fixed the reign of Sesostris about the time of Solomon, one objection only embarrassed him: and the manner in which he obviated it is ingenious, as he himself says, and for a young man of his age, is curious; inasmuch as it shows the spirit which was one day to preside over the historical composition upon which rests his fame. The following is the account of it as related in his Memoirs: "In the translation of the sacred books," says he, "the high priest Manetho gave me one and the same person of Sesostris or Sesostris, and the elder brother of Danaus, who landed in Greece, according to the marbles of Pelus, 1510 years before Christ; but according to my supposition, the high priest is guilty of a voluntary error. Flatterly is the mother of falsehood. Manetho's history of Egypt is dedicated to Ptolemy Philæphtus, who traced his origin, either fabulous or illegitimate, to the Macedonian kings of the race of Hercules. Danaus is one of the ancestors of Hercules; and the elder branch of the family becoming extinct, the Ptolemies, his descendants, found themselves the sole representatives of the royal family, and could claim by right of inheritance the throne which they occupied by right of conquest." A flatterer then could pay his court to the sovereign by representing Danaus, the progenitor of the Ptolemies, as brother to the kings of Egypt; and since the falsehood had once been of service, Gibbon takes it for granted. The Age of Sesostris was discontinued, and some years after thrown into the fire; and Gibbon no more endeavoured to reconcile Jewish, Egyptian, and Greek
A NOTICE OF THE LIFE

Gibbon, relating this event, that I ceased my theological researches and submitted myself implicitly to the dogmas and mysteries adopted both by protestants and catholics. So rapid a transition from one faith to another had evidently shaken his confidence in both. The enthusiastic and confident adoption of opinions at first, and then the rejection of them, doubtless caused in his mind a scepticism upon all kinds of religious belief; and a disposition to doubt arguments which appeared to him fallacious. However that may be, Gibbon seems to have regarded it as one of the most fortunate circumstances of his life, since rousing the attention of his parents, it forced them to exercise their authority more strictly and to subject him to a regular plan of education. M. Pavilliard, a judicious and well-informed man, had not limited his attention to the religious belief of his pupil. He had readily acquired the ascendancy over a character easily guided, and had used it to regulate that active curiosity which only needed to be directed to the true sources of information. But the master, unable to follow his pupil in the path he himself had directed, left him to pursue it alone. The mind of the young Gibbon, formed for order and method, now commenced that regular and constant course of study and reflection which has so often conducted him to the truth, and which would always have prevented him from swerving from it, had not an excessive nicety and a dangerous proneness to prejudice, without the requisite examination and reflection, sometimes led him into error.

A volume of argumentative extracts from his readings was published after his death, the first of which was dated about the time he commenced the plan of study directed by M. Pavilliard. In reading it one cannot but be struck with the sagacity, the justice, and the ingenuity of that calm and thinking mind which never wandered from the path it has chosen. "We ought to read only to assist us to think," says he in the notice which precedes these extracts, and which seem to indicate that he intended them for publication. It is indeed evident that the extracts serve only as the foundation of his own thoughts; but he strictly confines himself to them. He follows the ideas of the author only so far as they give rise to his own; but his own thoughts never divert him from those of the author. He proceeds, step by step, overlapping no interval, and in a firm and sure manner. We do not perceive that the course of his reflections carries him above the subject from whence they arose, producing in his mind that excitement of grand ideas which almost always characterizes the study of strong, fertile and extended minds; but nothing is lost that can furnish him material for thought; nothing escapes him which can elicit anything useful, and all bespeaks the historian who knows how to extract from facts all that their known details can furnish to his natural sagacity, without seeking to supply or re-compose those unknown parts which the imagination alone can portray.

The work of his conversion being achieved, Gibbon found his residence at Lausanne more agreeable than at first from his situation he could have hoped. The moderate remittances from his father did not permit him to indulge in the pleasures and excesses of those of his young countrymen who travel over Europe diffusing their thoughts and customs, only to bring back to their own land the follies and fashions of other countries. But this privation was the means of confirming his taste for study, and of turning his desires towards a more permanent glory than could be derived from the advantages of fortune, and induced him to seek the more simple and useful society of the place in which he lived. Owning to his easy familiarity he was received in society with marked attention, and his love of science introduced him almost to the acquaintance of many learned men, whose esteem gained for him a respect and consideration flattering for his age, and which had ever been one of his greatest pleasures.

Nevertheless, the calmness of his spirit did not shelter him from the agitations of youth. At Lausanne he saw and loved...
Mac'ille, Curchold, since Mad. Necker, then already distinguished for her worth and beauty. His love was such as a young gentleman would feel for a young and virtuous woman, and Gibbon, who afterwards probably experienced no more similar emotions, with a kind of pride congratulates himself in his memoirs, that once in his life he had been capable of feeling so pure and exalted a sentiment. The parents of Maclubelle, Curchold favoured his suit, and she herself, since she was not yet reduced to that state of poverty which she afterwards experienced upon the death of her father, seemed to receive his addresses with pleasure. But the young Gibbon, after a five years' residence at Lausanne, was recalled to England, and he soon saw that he could not hope to induce his father to overlook to this alliance. After painful struggle, he says, I resigned myself to my destiny. He seeks not to display or exaggerate his despair; as a lover, he adds, I sighed; but as a son I obeyed; and this sprightly antithesis proves that at the time he wrote his memoirs, there remained little of the anguish of "this wound, insensitively healed by time, absence and new habits of life."

The habits of a man of fashion in London, less romantic, perhaps, than those of a young student among the mountains of Switzerland, changed the love which he long felt for female society, to a simple amusement. No one could ever rival in his estimation Maclubelle. Curchold; and he experienced with her during his life that sweet intimacy consequent upon an honourable and tender love, which necessity and reason had been able to overcome, without giving any place to reproaches, or bitterness of feeling. He saw her again at Paris in 1765, the wife of Mr. Necker, and enjoying the consideration which was due as well to his character as to his rank. He humorously describes in his letters to Mr. Holroyd, the manner in which she received him. "She has been," says he, "very affectionate towards me, and her husband particularly polite. Could he insult me more cruelly! To invite me every evening to supper, to retire and leave me alone with his wife, is assuredly treating a former lover as of no consequence." Gibbon was not one very much to disquiet a husband by the recollections of himself which might still exist. Capable of pleasing by his intelligence, and of interesting by his gentle and upright character, he was little fitted by vivacity to excite the imagination of a young person. His figure, never agreeable, had now become remarkable for its graces; his features were animated, but without character or nobleness, and his form had always been disproportionate. "M. Pavilliard," says Lord Sheffield in one of his notes to the Memoirs of Gibbon, "has represented to me his surprise when he saw before him Mr. Gibbon, that small thin figure and that large head which, in disputation, employed in favour of popery the best arguments then in use." His feeble health in childhood, or the habits which arose out of it, had given him an awkward timidity, of which he continually speaks in his letters, and increased at the last his excessive corpulence, and even in his youth did not permit him to engage in vivacity to excite the not even for amusement. As to his moral qualities, we shall perhaps be curious to know what he thought of himself at the age of twenty-five. The following are the reflections he makes upon this subject in his diary, commenced in his twenty-sixth year: "According to the observations I have made upon myself," says he, "it appears to me that my character is virtuous, incapable of a base action, and formed for generous deeds, but that it is proud, haughty and disagreeable in society. Wit I have none; my imagination is powerful rather than pleasing, my memory is vast and excellent; the most remarkable qualities of my mind are its compass and penetration, but I fail in quickness and accuracy." We ought to estimate the judgment Gibbon has passed upon his own mind from reading his works. The idea which this judgment supports of his moral character is, that, if in speaking of himself he testifies that he is virtuous, though he might have been deceived as to the extent of virtuous duties, he proved even by this that he felt disposed to fulfil these duties in all the extent he gave them; he was certainly an honest man, and always would have been, because he felt a pleasure in being so. As to the haughtiness and violence of which he accuses himself, whether it be that his solicitude to subdue these inclinations had made him feel them more strongly than others, or because reason had conquered, or the habit of success had calmed him, certain it is, that those who knew him later never perceived them. As to his manner in society, without doubt the agreeableness of Gibbon was neither that condensation which is yielding and unpretending, nor that modesty which forgets itself; but his self-esteem never showed itself in any disagreeable form: anxious to succeed and to please, he wished to fix attention upon himself, and he obtained his desire without difficulty by a style of conversation, animated, intelligent and full of anecdote. If the tone of his voice was peremptory, it betrayed less a desire of ruling others than the confidence he felt in himself; and this confidence was justified both by his resources and his success. Nevertheless, it never misled him, and the fault of his conversation was a sort of precision of language which gave to it an air of study and arrangement. This fault might perhaps have been attributed to the embarrassment of speaking in a strange language, if his friend Lord Sheffield, who defends him from the suspicion of studied arrangement in his conversation, had not at least granted that "before writing a note or a letter he arranged completely in his mind whatever he wished to express." It appears also that he always wrote in this manner. Dr. Gregory, in his Letters upon Literature says, that Gibbon composed while walking his room, and that "he never wrote a sentence without having exactly constructed and arranged it in his mind." Besides, the French language was nearly as familiar to him as the English; his residence at Lausanne, where it was exclusively spoken, had made it for some time his habitual language, and he would not have been suspected of having ever spoken any other, had he not been betrayed by too strong an accent and by certain peculiarities, certain sharp tones, which, disagreeable to ears accustomed from infancy to softer inflections, diminished the pleasure of listening to him. Three years after his return to England he published in French his first work, An Essay upon the Study of Literature, a well written piece, and full of excellent criticism, it was little read by his own countrymen, but in France it was received with admiration; rather, however, by literary men, who saw in it a mind destined to be greater than by men of the world, who are rarely pleased with a work unless the author has much raciness and spirit. It was in the world however that Gibbon desired to succeed. Society always had for him great attractions, as it ever has for those who, free from particular attachments and incapable of deep emotion, are satisfied with that lively interchange of thought and feeling that compensates them for any deficiency of affectionate and unreserved confidence, Gibbon knew that the first requisite for being agreeable in the world is to be a man of the world, and such he desired to be considered. He even appears through this desire sometimes to have inclined to a weak vanity. We see in his notes of his reception by the Duke de Neuvins that, by the fault of Dr. Maty, whose letters of recommendation were badly expressed, the Duke, al-
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though he received him with politeness, treated him "more as a literary man than as a man of fashion." In 1733, two years after the publication of his Essay upon the Study of Literature, he again left England to travel, but in a situation very different from that in which he was when he left it ten years before. Preceded by his rising fame, he came to Paris. For a man of Gibbon's character, Paris, as it was then, was the abode of happiness. He spent three months there in the society best suited to his taste, and he regretted that time flew so rapidly. "If I had been rich and independent," says he, "I should have prolonged and perhaps fixed my residence at Paris." But Italy awaited him. It was there, from the midst of plans of various works, which, in turn adopted and rejected, had occupied his mind for a long time, that the idea of that work was to arise, which caused his reputation and occupied a great part of his life. "It was at Rome," says he, "the 15th of October, 1764, as I sat musing amidst the ruins of the capitol, while the barefooted monks were chanting vespers in the temple of Jupiter, that for the first time I was struck with the idea of writing the history of the decline and fall of this city; but," he adds, "my first plan comprised more particularly the decline of the city than that of the empire, and though from that time my reading and reflections generally turned towards this object, I permitted many years to pass on. I even devoted myself to other occupations before seriously undertaking this laborious work." Indeed, never losing sight of, yet never approaching, this subject, which he looked at, as he says, from a respectful distance, Gibbon formed and even began to execute some plans of historical works; but a few casual pieces of criticism were the only compositions that he finished and published during this interval. With his eye ever fixed upon the end towards which he was one day to direct his efforts, he approached it slowly, and doubtless the idea which was at first presented to him remained strongly impressed upon his mind.

It is difficult, in reading his account of the Roman empire under Augustus and Tiberius, not to feel that it was inspired by the view of Rome itself, of the Eternal City, into which he confesses that he never entered with an emotion which deprived him of sleep for one night. Perhaps also it will not be difficult to find, in this impression, from whence arose the conception of the work, one of the causes of that war which Gibbon seems here to have declared against Christianity, and which appears to be suited neither to his character, which was little disposed to party-spirit, nor to that moderation of thought and sentiment, which led him always to see in every subject, particular as well as general, its advantages aside from its disadvantages. But Gibbon, while writing the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, has seen in Christianity only the institution which established vespers, the barefooted monks and the processions, instead of the magnificent ceremonies of the worship of Jupiter and triumphs of the capitol. At last, after many other attempts successively abandoned, he settled entirely the plan of the history of the Decline of the Empire, and commenced that course of study and reading which would disclose to him a new horizon, and insensibly enlarge to his vision the plan he had at first formed. That embarrassment caused by the death of his father, which happened about this time, the deranged state of his affairs, his duties as member of parliament, which he had just entered, and the distractions of a life in London, prolonged, without interrupting, his studies, and retarded till the year 1776 the publication of the first volume of the work. Its success was wonderful. Two or three editions readily disposed of had established the reputation of the author before criticism had begun to raise her voice. She raised it at last, and all the religious party, very numerous and respectable in England, pronounced against the two last chapters of this volume (the fifteenth and sixteenth of the work) which give the history of the establishment of Christianity. Remonstrances were many and violent. Gibbon had not expected this; and he confesses that he was at first frightened. "If I had thought," says he, in his memoirs, "that the majority of English readers had been so tenderly attached to the name and shadow of Christianity; if I had foreseen that the pious, the timid and proudest would feel, or affect to feel with such exquisite sensibility, I perhaps should have softened the two last chapters, the cause of so much offence, which have raised many adversaries against me, and gained for me but few friends." This surprise seems to show a man so preoccupied with his own thoughts, that he could neither foresee nor perceive those of others. If this preoccupation undeniably proves his sincerity, it at least renders his judgment liable to the suspicion of prejudice and inaccuracy. Wherever prejudice reigns there is no longer perfect integrity. Without precisely wishing to deceive others, we begin by deceiving ourselves. To maintain what we consider truth, we resort to scepticisms, which we scarcely own to ourselves, or which appear trifling, and the passions diminish the importance of any scruple concerning the rectitude of what they have undertaken to accomplish. It is thus, doubtless, that Gibbon was led to see in the history of Christianity only what would subserve opinions he had previously formed, without a scrupulous examination of facts.

The alteration of some passages which he had cited, whether done by design or because he had neglected to read the whole of them, furnished weapons to his opponents by giving them reason to doubt his honesty. The whole ecclesiastical order seemed leagues against him. Those who entered the lists against him obtained favour and preeminence, and he ironically felicitated himself that he had obtained for Mr. Davis a pension from the king, and for Dr. Aphthorpe an archiepiscopal living. We can easily believe that the pleasure of thus rallying his opponents, who had almost always attacked him with more fury than discretion, compensated for the chaplain he at first felt in consequence of their assaults, and also perhaps prevented him from acknowledging the real wrongs he had to reproach himself with. Besides, Hume and Robertson had loaded the new historian with the most flattering testimonies of their esteem. They both seemed to fear that the manner in which these two chapters were written would injure the success of the work; but they spoke of his talents with so much admiration that Gibbon was authorised to say modestly, when congratulating himself upon the receipt of a letter from Hume, "nevertheless, I have never had the presumption to accept a place in the triumvirate of English historians." Hume especially expressed the greatest partiality for the work of Gibbon, whose opinions approached so nearly to his own in some respects, while Gibbon also esteemed the talents of Hume more than those of Robertson. We perhaps ought not to adopt without some restriction the judgment of Hume, who, writing concerning Gibbon, praises the dignity of his style. Dignity does not appear to me to be a characteristic of Gibbon's style; it is generally epigrammatic, and more forcible by its skilful phraseology than by its elevation. I would subscribe more willingly to the opinion of Robertson, who, having rendered justice to the extent of his knowledge, to his research and accuracy, praises the internal and clearness of his narration, the elegance and force of his style, and the singular happiness of some of his expressions, though in some places he found it too laboured, and in others too quaint. This fault was easily explained by his manner of composing, the difficulties he had to avoid, and the models he preferred to adopt. At first the work was very labious; he informs us that he wrote the first chapter three times, the second and third twice, and that he found it very difficult to preserve a medium between the style of a dull chronicle and that of rhetorical declamation. He tells us also, that when he wished to
write a history of Switzerland, which he had commenced.

"he perceived that his style, above prose and below poetry, degenerated into verbose and banalistic declamation," which he attributes to the language he had chosen; an opinion the more singular, since, according to his own account, it was from a French work, Provinicial Letters, which he read almost every year, that he acquired the art of "treating a subject with grave and sober irony." He adds in his Essay upon Literature, that the desire of imitating Montesquieu had often led him to become obscure by expressing even common thoughts with a sententious and oracular brevity. Gibbon had then habitually before his eyes Paschel and Montesquieu in order to counteract the natural bombast of a style as yet unfounded. He needed to make vigorous efforts to compress it to the point demanded by these models, and these efforts are very perceptible, especially in the commencement, where the style he had adopted had not as yet become natural by use; but habit relaxes effort, and at the same time renders it less painful. In his memoirs and in the notice which preceded the last volumes of his work, Gibbon congratulates himself for the facility he had acquired. Perhaps it will be found that in the last volumes this facility is sometimes obtained at the expense of perfection. Having become by habit less severe upon faults, which at first he had so carefully guarded against, he is not always free from that kind of declamation, which consists in supplying, by the convenient resource of vague and sonorous epithets, that energy given to thought by precision and conciseness of expression. This precision and conciseness are most remarkable in the first volumes; that in which he frequently resorts to antitheses, the design of which is too readily discovered, but the effect not the less felt; and there is cause perhaps at the last to regret the loss of an elaboration of construction, too little concealed but always happy. At the very commencement of his work, as I have already said, Gibbon became a member of parliament. The nature of his mind, which could not easily express its thoughts in the happiest manner, unfitted him for a public speaker. Sensitive of this defect as well as of his want of grace of manner, he felt a timidity which he was never able to conquer. He assisted in silence during eight sessions. Not being attached to any party by motives of ambition, and not having committed himself by the public expression of any opinion, he could with less difficulty in 1779, after the acceptance of his commission as lord commissioner of commerce, obtained for him by the friendship of Lord Loughborough, then Mr. Wedderburne. Gibbon has been very much censured for accepting this appointment, and the whole of his political career betrays a weakness of character, and a want of fixed opinions; but this perhaps is excusable, since his education had rendered him almost a stranger to any national feeling. After a residence of five years at Lausanne, he had, as he says himself, "ceased to be an Englishman." "At the age when our habits are formed," says he, "my opinions, my habits and my feelings, were cast in a foreign mould; only a feeble, a distant and faint recollection of England remained; my mother tongue was no longer familiar to me. It is true, at the time he left Switzerland, the writing of a letter in English cost him much trouble. Also, in his English letters written towards the close of his life, real gillicites occur, and lest they might not be understood, he himself explains them by the French expression to which they refer.

After his first return to England his father wished to get him elected member of parliament. The young Gibbon, with reason, preferred that the sums which would necessarily be employed in this election should be expended upon his travels, which he knew would be more useful to his talents and reputation. He therefore wrote a letter to his father upon the subject, which is still preserved, and in which he mentions his disinclination for public speaking, and declares "that he even is destitute of the national and party prejudices," necessary to obtain distinction, and perhaps to accomplish anything good in the career he wished to commence. Though after the death of his father he was induced to enter parliament, he confesses several times that he entered without patriotism, and, as he says, without ambition, for throughout he never extended his views beyond the convenient and honest place of lord of trade. We could wish perhaps he had possessed less facility in arriving this sort of moderation, which, in a man of talent, confines his desires to the easy enjoyment of a fortune acquired without labour. But Gibbon expresses this sentiment as freely as he had felt it. He knew only by experience the discomfort connected with the situation he had chosen. In truth, he seems to have felt them vividly, if we may judge from his expressions in his letters upon the disgrace of the state of dependence to which he had been subjected, and his regret at being seen in a situation unmercy of his character. It is true that when he wrote these expressions he had lost his place. It was taken from him in 1782 by a revolution in the administration. He proved that he was sincere in confounding himself for this reverse of fortune, which had restored him to liberty, by renouncing all ambition, and not permitting himself to be amused with the new hopes which a new revolution might excite, and by resolving to leave England, where his moderate fortune did not permit him to support that style of living to which the circumstances of his place under government had accustomed him.

He went to live at Lausanne, the theatre of his first troubles and his first pleasures, of pleasure and of labour. Since visited with even now delight and affection. M. Deyverdon, who had been his friend for thirty years, offered him a residence at his house, which was suited to his resources, and at the same time enabled him to compensate in some measure the mediocrity of his friend's fortune. He there experienced the advantage of a state of society conformed to his quiet tastes, and the desire necessary for the continuation of his work. In 1783 he executed that resolution, for which he has ever since congratulated himself. He completed at Lausanne his great work, the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. "I have promised," says he, in his memoirs, "to mark the moment of conception, I shall now commemorate the hour of my final delivery. It was on the day or rather night of the 27th of July, 1787, between the hours of eleven and twelve. I wrote the last lines of the last page, in a summer-house in my garden. After laying down my pen I took several turns in an arbour or covered walk of acacias, which commands a prospect of the country, the lake and the mountains. The air was temperate, the sky serene, the silver orb of the moon was reflected from the waters, and all nature was silent. I will not dissemble the first emotions of joy on the recovery of my freedom and perhaps the establishment of my fame. But my pride was soon humbled, and a sober melancholy was spread over my mind by the idea that I had taken an everlasting leave of an old and agreeable companion, and that whatsoever might be the future fate of my history, the life of the historian must be short and precarious." This idea could not long affect a man in whom the sensation of health and a calmness of imagination preserved a feeling of certainty that he should enjoy a long life, and who in his last moments even calculated with complacency the number of years which probably he had to live. Enjoying the result of his labours, he went to England this same year to attend to the printing of the last volumes of his history. His residence there contributed still more to endure him to Switzerland. Under George I. and George II. all taste for literature and talent had become nearly extinct at court. The Duke of Cumberland, whose brother Gibbon one day attended, thus accosted him, "What, Mr. Gibbon, still scrupulous, scrupulous!" At the end of the year he left his country with little regret, to return
to Lausanne, where he enjoyed life, and where he was beloved. He was desirously dear to those with whom he had lived, and who had enjoyed the advantages of his character and society, which was easy and condescending, because he was happy. Never carrying his desires beyond reason, he was never dissatisfied either with men or things. He often spoke of his situation with a satisfaction which accords with the moderation of his character. —

*Je suis Français, Tourangeau, gentilhomme, Jeanne à notre Terc, Limousin, paysan,* says the optimism; Gibbon said the same in his memoirs: "my place in life might have been that of a slave, a savage or a peasant, and I cannot think without pleasure of the goodness of nature, who appointed my birth in a free and civilised country, in an age of science and of philosophy, in a family honourable in station and sufficiently provided with the gifts of fortune." He besides congratulates himself for the mediocrity of this fortune, which had placed him in a situation the most propitious for acquiring by his own labour an honourable reputation; "for," says he, "poverty and contempt would have discouraged me, and the care of a large fortune, more than adequate to my wants, would have abated my activity." He also speaks of his health, which, always good since he had escaped the perils of childhood, had never permitted him to experience the "madness of superfluous health." He had derived for twenty years much happiness from the execution of his work, and now he enjoyed with simplicity the fruits of his labours; and as every thing enhances pleasure in a happy situation, after having, doubtless, patiently endured his situation as lord of trade, when once arrived in Lausanne he could not sufficiently express his delight that he had escaped from this state of servitude.

His memoirs and his letters, which are almost all addressed to Lord Sheffield, are interesting, since they are expressive of benevolence of character, and of feelings, if not tender, at least very affectionate towards those connected with him either by ties of blood or friendship. This affection is expressed with little vivacity, but in a natural and sincere manner. The long and intimate friendship which united him to Lord Sheffield and M. Deyverdun is a proof of the affection which he was capable of feeling and inspiring. We can easily conceive that a man would inspire a strong attachment whose heart, free from passion, brought to the society of his friends all the sensibility it possessed, who was delighted to see them enjoying substantial pleasure and whose honourable and serene soul, if it had not imparted warmth to his spirit, had never at least obscured its brightness. The tranquillity of his soul was, however, disturbed during the last years of his life, by the scenes of the French revolution, against which he sided with so much warmth that none of those whom it had driven from France, and who saw him at Lausanne, could equal him in this respect. He had been for some time at variance with M. Necker, but his knowledge of the character and intentions of this virtuous man, his misfortunes and the feelings of grief he felt in common with Gibbon for the troubles of France, soon renewed their former friendship. He also speaks of his health, which, always good since he had escaped the perils of childhood, had never permitted him to experience the "madness of superfluous health." He had derived for twenty years much happiness from the execution of his work, and now he enjoyed with simplicity the fruits of his labours; and as every thing enhances pleasure in a happy situation, after having, doubtless, patiently endured his situation as lord of trade, when once arrived in Lausanne he could not sufficiently express his delight that he had escaped from this state of servitude.

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THE HISTORY
OF
THE DECLINE AND FALL
OF THE
ROMAN EMPIRE.

CHAPTER I.
The Extent and Military Force of the Empire in the Age of the Antonines.

Introduction. In the second century of the Christian era, the empire of Rome comprehended the fairest part of the earth, and the most civilized portion of mankind. The frontiers of that extensive monarchy were guarded by ancient renown and disciplined valour. The gentle, but powerful, influence of laws and manners had gradually cemented the union of the provinces. Their peaceful inhabitants enjoyed and abused the advantages of wealth and luxury. The image of a free constitution was preserved with decent reverence: the Roman senate appeared to possess the sovereign authority, and devolved on the emperors all the executive powers of government.

A.D. 26—160. During a happy period of more than four-score years, the public administration was conducted by the virtues and abilities of Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the two Antonines. It is the design of this, and of the two succeeding chapters, to describe the prosperous condition of their empire; and afterwards, from the death of Marcus Antoninus, to deduce the most important circumstances of its Decline and Fall; a revolution which will ever be remembered, and is still felt by the nations of the earth.

Moderation of the principal conquests of the Romans were achieved under the republic; and the emperors, for the most part, were satisfied with preserving those dominions which had been acquired by the policy of the senate, the active emulation of the consuls, and the martial enthusiasm of the people. The seven first centuries were filled with a rapid succession of triumphs; but it was reserved for Augustus, to relinquish the ambitious design of subduing the whole earth, and to introduce the spirit of moderation into the public councils. Inclined to peace by his temper and situation, it was easy for him to discover, that Rome, in her present exalted situation, had much less to hope than to fear from the chance of arms; and that, in the prosecution of remote wars, the undertaking became every day more difficult, the event more doubtful, and the possession more precarious, and less beneficial. The experience of Augustus added weight to these salutary reflections, and effectually convinced him, that, by the prudent vigour of his counsels, it would be easy to secure every conquest, which the safety or the dignity of Rome might require from the most formidable barbarians. Instead of exposing his person and his legions to the arrows of the Parthians, he obtained, by an honourable treaty, the restitution of the standards and prisoners which had been taken in the defeat of Crassus.¹

His generals, in the early part of his reign, attempted the reduction of Ethiopia and Arabia Felix. They marched near a thousand miles to the south of the tropic; but the heat of the climate soon repelled the invaders, and protected the unwarlike natives of those sequestered regions.² The northern countries of Europe scarcely deserved the expense and labour of conquest. The forests and morasses of Germany were filled with a hardy race of barbarians, who despaired life when it was separated from their country; and though, on the first attack, they seemed to yield to the weight of the Roman power, they soon, by a signal act of despair, regained their independence, and reminded Augustus of the vicissitude of fortune.³ On the death of that emperor, his testament was publicly read in the senate. He bequeathed, as a valuable legacy to his successors, the advice of confining the empire within those limits, which nature seemed to have placed as its permanent bulwarks and boundaries; on the west the Atlantic ocean; the Rhine and Danube on the north; the Euphrates on the east; and towards the south the sandy deserts of Arabia and Africa.⁴

Happily for the repose of mankind, the imitated by his moderate system recommended by the successors, the wisdom of Augustus was adopted by the fears and vices of his immediate successors. Engaged in the marble of Ancyra, on which Augustus recorded his own exploits, asserts that he compelled the Parthians to restore the enigms of Crounos. The Latin poets have celebrated with much pomp this peaceful exploit of Augustus.-Iieroc. lib. iv. col. 15, has said. * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *Signa nostro restituit Jovi
Derepta Parthorum superbiin
Puteoli.—
And Ovid in his Tristes, l. 3, n. 271: None petit Armenia pacem, nume porrigit areum
Parthus equo, timidus captaque signis manu.—G.

b Strabo, (l. xvi. p. 270) Pleyte the Elder, (Hist. Natur, l. ii. v. 20—
35.) and Dion Cassius, (l. livi. p. 722, and l. liv. p. 724.) have left us very curious details concerning these wars. The Romans made themselves masters of Marishia, or Merah, a city of Arabia Felix, well known to the Orientals, (see Abuflada and the Nubian geography, p. 52.) They were arrived within three days' journey of the Spice country, the rich object of their invasion.

It is in this city of Merah that the Arameans say was the residence of King Solomon, who came to see Solomon. A bank, by which the waters collected in the environs were retained, having been carried away, a sudden inundation destroyed the city. Traces of it yet remain. It was on the borders of a country named ADRAMYTIM, where grew a peculiar aromatic drug. We therefore read in the history of the expedition of the Romans, that they were only three days' journey from the country of Spices. (See d'Arville, anc. Geog. col. 2. p. 222—0) ⁴

c By the slaughter of Varus and his three legions. See the first book of the Annals of Tacitus. Sueton. in August., c. 63. and Vellius Pa-
tecerusus. l. ii. c. 117, aec. Augustus did not receive the melancholy news with all the temper and firmness that might have been expected from his character. ⁵

d Thule, annal. l. ii. Dion Cassius. l. iv. p. 537, and the speech of Augustus himself, in Julian's Caesars. It receives great light from the learned notes of his French translator, M. Forester. ⁶

¹ Dion Cassius (l. liv. p. 736.) with the annotations of Raynart, who has collected all that Roman vanity has left upon the subject. The
pursuit of pleasure, or in the exercise of tyranny, the first Caesars seldom showed themselves to forty miles, or to the provinces; nor were they disposed to suffer that those triumphs, which their indolence neglected, should be usurped by the conduct and valour of their lieutenants. The military fame of a subject was considered as an insolent invasion of the imperial prerogative. The naked truth, as it was interest, as every Roman general, to guard the frontiers intrusted to his care, without aspiring to conquests which might have proved no less fatal to himself than to the vanquished barbarians.  

Conquest of Brit- 

The only accession which the Roman general received, during the first one hundred years of the Christian era, was the province of Britain. In this single instance the successors of Caesar and Augustus were persuaded to follow the example of the former, rather than the precept of the latter. The proximity of its situation to the coast of Gaul seemed to invite its arms; the pleasing, though doubtful, intelligence of a pearl fishery, attracted their avarice; and as Britain was viewed in the light of a distinct and insulated world, the conquest scarcely formed any exception to the general system of continental measures. After a war of about forty years, undertaken by the most stupid, maintained by the most disolute, and terminated by the most timid, of all the emperors, the far greater part of the island submitted to the Roman yoke. The various tribes of Britons possessed valor without conduct, and the love of war without the spirit of union. They took up arms with savage fierceness; they laid them down, or turned them against each other, with wild inconstancy; and while they fought singly, they were successively subdued. Neither the fortitude of Cames- 

cus, nor the despair of Boadicea, nor the fanaticism of Suetonius Paulinus, could prevent the progress of their conquest, or resist the steady progress of the imperial generals, who maintained the national glory, when the throne was disgraced by the weakest, or the most vicious, of mankind. At the very time when Domitian, confined to his palace, felt the terrors which he inspired; his legions, under the command of the Roman Agricola, defeated the collected force of the Caledonians at the foot of the Grampian hills; and his fleets, venturing to explore an unknown and dangerous navigation, displayed the Roman arms round every part of the island. The conquest of Britain was considered as already achieved, and the design of Agricola to complete and ensure his success by the easy reduction of Ireland, for which, in his opinion, one legion and a few auxiliaries were sufficient. The western isle might be improved into a valuable possession, and the Britons would wear their chains with the less reluctance, if the prospect and example of freedom were on every side removed from before their eyes. But the superior merit of Agricola soon occasioned his removal from the government of Britain; and for ever disappointed this rational, though extensive, scheme of conquest. Before his departure, the pro- 

duced into two unequal parts by the union of Gaul, or, as they are now called, the Frisii of Scotland. Across the narrow interval of about forty miles, he had drawn a line of military stations, which was afterwards fortified in the reign of Antoninus Pius, by a turf rampart erected on foundations of stone. This wall of Antoninus, at a small distance beyond the modern English border, and described with admiration by Tacitus, must be considered as one of the most magnificent works of ancient architecture, as well in the perfection of its execution as in the advantage derived from it. But its cost, and the expense of subsequent repairs, and the revenue required to support it, were almost equal to the expenses of the Caledonian conquest. The same spirit of national pride and national pride, which had appeared in those of its predecessors was interrupted by scenes of war and conquest; and the legions, after a long interval, beheld a military emperor at their head. The first exploits of Trajan were against the Dacians, the most warlike of men, who dwelt beyond the Danube, and who, during the reign of Tiberius, had broken out in rebellion. The masters of the fairest and most wealthy climates of the globe turned with contempt from gloomy hills, assailed by the winter tempest, from lakes concealed in a blue mist, and from cold and lonely heaths, over which the deer of the forest were chased by a troop of naked barbarians. Such was the state of the Roman frontiers, and such the maxims of imperial policy from the death of Augustus to the accession of Trajan. That virtuous and active prince had received the education of a soldier, and possessed the talents of a general; his forty years of life were devoted to the service of Rome; and his virtues and active spirit were rewarded by the majesty of the state. To the strength and fierceness of barbarians, they added a contempt for life, which was derived from a warm persuasion of the immortality and transmigration of the soul. Decebalus, the Dacian king, approved himself a rival not unworthy of Trajan, by his spirit and conduct. The masters of public fortune, till, by the confession of his enemies, he had exhausted every resource both of valor and policy. This memorable war, with a very short suspension of hostilities, lasted five years; and as the emer- 

The vests of a military road may still be traced from the banks of the Danube to the neighborhood of Edinburgh, a place famous in modern history, and the actual frontier of the Turkish and Russian empires. Trajan was ambitious of fame; and Conquests of Tra- 

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be the vice of the most exalted characters. The praises of Alexander, transmitted by a succession of poets and historians, had kindled a dangerous emulation in the mind of Trajan. Like him the Roman emperor undertook, with a carelessness of the most disastrous consequences, he lamented with a sigh, that his advanced age scarcely left him any hopes of equaling the renown of the son of Philip. 1 Yet the success of Trajan, however transient, was rapid and conspicuous. The degenerate Parthians, broken by intestine discord, fled before his approach. Notwithstanding all the Roman instructions, from the mountains of Armenia to the Persian gulf. He enjoyed the honour of being the first, as he was the last, of the Roman generals, who ever navigated that remote sea. His fleets ravaged the coasts of Arabia; and Trajan vainly flattered himself that he was approaching the shores of the Persian Ocean. Every day the astonished senate received the intelligence of new names and new nations, that acknowledged his sway. They were informed that the kings of Bosphorus, Colchos, Iberia, Albania, Osroene, and even the Parthian monarch himself, had accepted their diadems from the hands of the emperor; that the independent tribes of the Macedon and Carduacan hills had implored his protection; and that the rich countries of Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria, were reduced into the state of provinces. 4 But the death of Trajan soon clouded the splendid prospect; and it was justly to be dreaded, that so many distant nations would throw off the unceasing harassment to which they were now more restrained by the powerful hand which had imposed it. 

Resigned by his successor Hadrian, the Capitol was founded by one of the descendants of the Roman kings, the god Terminus (who presided over boundaries, and was represented according to the fashion of that age by a large stone) alone, among all the inferior deities, refused to yield his place to Jupiter himself. A favourable inference was drawn from his obstinacy, which was interpreted by the augurs, as a sure presage that the boundaries of the Roman power would never recede. 5 During many ages, the prediction, as it is usual, contributed to its own accomplishment. But though Terminus had resisted the majesty of Jupiter, he submitted to the authority of the emperor Hadrian. 6 The resignation of all the eastern conquests of Trajan was the first measure of his reign. He restored to the Parthians the election of an independent sovereign; withdrew the Roman ambassadors who were refused the honour which they came to soliciting, of being admitted into the rank of subjects. 7

The terror of the Roman arms added weight and dignity to the moderation of the emperors. They preserved peace by a constant preparation for war; and while justice regulated their conduct, they announced to the nations on their confines, that they were as little disposed to endure, as to offer, an injury. The military strength, which it had been sufficient for Hadrian and the elder Antonines to display, was exerted against the Parthians by the Emperor Trajan. The hostilities of the barbarians provoked the resentment of that philosophic monarch, and, in the prosecution of a just defence, Marcus and his generals obtained many signal victories, both on the Euphrates, and on the Danube. 8 The military establishment of the Roman empire, which was assured either its tranquillity or its success, will now become the proper and important object of our attention. In the purer ages of the commonwealth, Military establishment of the Roman empire was a fixed article in their expectation, a property to defend, and some share in enacting those laws, which would make their station, as well as duty, to maintain. But in proportion as the public freedom was lost in extent of conquest, war was gradually increasing.

1 Dion, I. ixx. p. 1135. Hist. August. p. 5–8. If all our historians were lost, medici, inscriptions, and other monuments, would be sufficient to record the travels of Hadrian. 

2 See the Augustan History and the Epitomes. 

3 Yet must, however, remember that in the time of Hadrian, a rebellion of the Jews raged with religious fury, though only in a single province. For example, 27. (181 A.D.)2nd war. 

4 See the Augustan History and the Epitomes. 

5 As we have seen, the Euphrates was the boundary of the Roman empire, and the Danube of the Roman army, against the Parthians and the Germani respectively. 

6 Appian of Alexandria, in the preface to his history of the Roman wars.
Discipline. That public virtue which among the ancients was denominated patriotism, is derived from a strong sense of our own interest in the preservation and prosperity of the free government of which we are members. Such a sentiment, which had rendered the legions of the republic almost invincible, could make but a faint impression on the luxury served for by a despotic prince; and it became necessary to supply that defect by other motives, of a different, but not less forcible nature; honour and religion. The peasant, or mechanic, imbued the useful prejudice that he was advanced to the more dignified profession of arms, in which his rank would rank, and his education depend on his own valour; and that, although the prowess of a private soldier must often escape the notice of fame, his own behaviour might sometimes confer glory or disgrace on the company, the legion, or even the army, to whose honour he was associated. On his first entrance into the service, an oath was administered to him, with every circumstance of solemnity. He promised never to desert his standard, to submit his own will to the commands of his leaders, and to sacrifice his life for the safety of the emperor and the empire.

The attachment of the Roman troops to their standards was inspired by the united influence of religion and of honour. The golden eagle, which glittered in the front of the legion, was the object of their fondest devotion; nor was it esteemed less impious, than it was ignominious, to abandon that sacred ensign in the hour of action. These motives, the strength of imagination, were enforced by fears and hopes of a more substantial kind. Regular pay, occasional donations, and a stated recompense, after the appointed time of service, alleviated the hardships of the military life; whilst, on the other hand, it was impossible for cowardice or disobedience to escape the severest punishment. The centurions were authorized to chastise with blows, the generals had a right to punish with death, and it was an inflexible maxim of Roman discipline, that a good soldier should dread his officers far more than the enemy. From such laudable and well-grounded dread of the valour of the imperial troops receive a degree of firmness and decision, which is not to be imputed by the impetuous and irregular passions of barbarians.

And yet so sensible were the Romans of the imperfection of valour without skill and practice, that, in their language, the name of an army was borrowed from the word which signified exercise. Military exercises were the important and unremitted object of their discipline. The recruits and young soldiers were constantly trained both in the morning and in the evening, nor was age or knowledge allowed to excuse the veterans from the daily repetition of manœuvres, and even of the emperors themselves were erected in the winter-quarters of the troops, that their useful labours might not receive any interruption from the most tempestuous weather; and it was carefully observed, that the arms destined to this imitation of war, should be of double the weight which was required in real action.

It is not the purpose of this work to enter into any minute description of the Roman exercises. We shall only remark, that they comprehended whatever could add strength to the body, activity to the limbs, or grace to the motions. The soldiers were diligently instructed to march, to run, to leap, to jump, to hurl, to throw, to handle every species of arms that was used either for offence or for defence, either in direct engagement or in a closer onset: to form a variety of evolutions; and to move to the sound of flutes, in the Pyrrhic or martial dance. In the midst of peace, the Roman troops were continually kept in practice, and it is prettily remarked by an ancient historian who had fought against them, that the effusion of blood was the only circumstance which distinguished a field of battle from a field of exercise. It was the policy of the imperial legion to be respectable in the eminence and improvements. The legions, rais. as they are described by Polybius, in the time of the Punic wars, differed very materially from those which achieved the victories of Caesar, or defended the monarchy of Hadrian and the Antonines. The constitution of the imperial legion may be described in a few words. The heavy-armed infantry, which composed its principal strength, was divided into ten cohorts,
and fifty-five companies, under the orders of a correspondent number of tribunes and centurions. The first cohort, which always claimed the post of honour and the custody of the eagle, was formed of eleven hundred body-soldiers, the most approved for valour and fidelity. The remaining nine cohorts consisted each of five hundred and fifty-five; and the whole body of legionary infantry amounted to six thousand one hundred men. Their arms were uniform, and admirably adapted to the nature of their service: an open helmet; a light tasset, a lointed breast; a bracer, or coat of mail; greaves on their legs, and an ample buckler on their left arm. The buckler was of an oblong and concave figure, four feet in length, and two and a half in breadth, framed of a light wood, covered with a bull’s hide, and strongly guarded with plates of brass. Besides a lighter spear, the legionary soldier grasped in his right hand the formidable pilum, a ponderous javelin, whose utmost length was about six feet, and which was terminated by a massy triangular point of steel of eighteen inches. This instrument was indeed much inferior to our modern fire-arms; since it required a double charge, at the distance of only ten or twelve paces. Yet when it was launched by a firm and skilful hand, there was not any cavalry that durst venture within its reach, nor any shield or corselet that could sustain the impetuosity of its weight. As soon as the Roman had dashed his javelin, he would have advanced with a thousand strides to close with the enemy. His sword was a short well-tempered Spanish blade, that carried a double edge, and was alike suited to the purpose of striking or of pushing; but the soldier was always instructed to prefer the latter use of his weapon, as his own body with the enemy. He was likewise adapted to a more dangerous wound on his adversary. The legion was usually drawn up eight deep; and the regular distance of three feet was left between the files as well as ranks. A body of troops habituated to preserve this open order, in a long front and a rapid charge, found themselves prepared to execute every disposition which the circumstances of war, or the skill of their leader, might suggest. The soldier possessed a free space for his arms and motions, and sufficient intervals were allowed, through which seasonable reinforcements might be introduced to the relief of the exhausted and the tactics of the Macedonians were formed on very different principles. The strength of the phalanx depended on sixteen ranks of long pikes, wedged together in the closest array. But it was soon discovered by reflection, as well as by the event, that the strength of the phalanx was unable to confine the activity of the cavalry. The cavalry, without which the force of the legion would have remained imperfect, was divided into ten troops or squadrons; the first, as the companion of the first cohort, consisted of an hundred and thirty-two men; whilst each of the other nine amounted only to sixty-six. The entire es- tablishment formed a regiment, if we may use the modern expression, of seven hundred and twenty-six horse, naturally connected with its respective legion, but occasionally separated to act in the line, and to compose a part of the wings of the army. The cavalry of the emperors was no longer composed, like that of the ancient republic, of the noblest youths of Rome and Italy, who, by performing their military service on horseback, prepared themselves for the duties of senator and consul; and solicited, by deeds of valour, the future suffrages of their countrymen. Since the alteration of manners and government, the most wealthy of the equestrian order were engaged in the administration of justice, and of the revenue; and whenever they embraced the profession, they were immediately associated with a troop of horse, or a cohort of foot. The safety and honour of the empire auxiliaries, were principally entrusted to the legions. But the policy of Rome condescended to adopt every useful instrument of war. Considerable levies were regularly made among the provincials, who had not yet despised the distinction of being enrolled among the dependent princes and communities, dispersed round the frontiers, were permitted, for a while, to hold their freedom and security by the tenure of military service. Even select troops of hostile barbarians were frequently compelled or persuaded to consume their dangerous valour in remembrance of the benefit of the state. All these were included under the general name of auxiliaries; and however they might vary according to the distance of times and circumstances, their numbers were much more seldom inferior to those of the legions themselves. Among the auxilia-
ries, the bravest and most faithful bands were placed under the command of prefects and centurions, and severely trained in the arts of Roman discipline; but the far greater part retained those arms, to which the nature of their country, or their early habits of life, more particularly adapted them. By this institution, each of the legions had its train of war, and the number of auxiliaries was allotted, contained within itself every species of lighter troops, and of missile weapons; and was capable of encountering every nation, with the advantages of its respective arms and discipline.\(^1\) Nor was

\[^1\] Tacitus, \emph{The Subject of the Nation}, \emph{Chap. 1, and} but less, severely trained, a train of artillery. It consisted in ten military engines of the largest, and fifty-five of a smaller size; but all of which, either in an oblique or horizontal manner, discharged stones and darts with irresistible violence.\(^2\)

\[^2\] Artillery. The legion destitute of what, in modern language, would be called a train of artillery. It consisted in ten military engines of the largest, and fifty-five of a smaller size; but all of which, either in an oblique or horizontal manner, discharged stones and darts with irresistible violence.

\[^3\] Encampment. The camp of a Roman legion presented such an appearance of a fortified city. As soon as the space was marked out, the pioneers carefully levelled the ground, and removed every impediment that might interrupt its perfect regularity. Its form was an exact quadrangle; and we may calculate, that a square of about seven hundred yards was sufficient. The arrangement of the temples was considered as an emblem; though a similar number of our own troops would expose to the enemy a front of more than treble that extent. In the midst of the camp, the praetorium, or general's quarters, rose above the others; the cavalry, the infantry, and the auxiliaries, occupied their respective stations; streets were laid out, and avenues, straight, and a vacant space of about two hundred feet was left on all sides, between the tents and the rampart. The rampart itself was usually twelve feet high, armed with a line of strong and intricate palisades; and defended by a ditch of twelve feet in depth, as well as in breadth. This important labour was performed by the pedals of the legionaries themselves; to whom the use of the spade and the pick-axe was no less familiar than that of the sword or pilum. Active value may often be the present of nature; but such patience and diligence can be the fruit only of habit and discipline.\(^3\)

\[^3\] Whenever the trumpet gave the signal of departure, the camp was almost instantly broke up, and the troops fell into their ranks without delay or confusion. Besides their arms, which were loaded with their kitchen furniture, the instruments of fortification, and the provision of many days.\(^4\) Under this weight, which would oppress the delicacy of a modern soldier, they were trained by a regular step to advance, in about six hours, near twenty miles. On the appearance of an enemy, they threw aside their baggage, and by easy and rapid evolutions converted the column of march into an order of battle.\(^5\) The slingers and archers skirmished in the front; the auxiliaries formed the first line, and were seconded or sustained by the strength of the legions; the cavalry covered the flanks, and the military engines were placed in the rear.

\[^4\] Vegetius, ii. 2. Arrian, in his order of march and battle against the Alani, describes the effect produced by the Romans.\(^5\) He has given an account of a parade of the legions, with the following emphatic words: "\emph{In universa que in quaque bellum generis necessario esse circundatur, secum legit debit ubique portatur, ut in quaque loco littera castra, armamentum littera civitatem.}\"

\[^5\] See the evolutions admirably well explained by M. Guichard, \emph{Nouveaux Mémôires}, tom. i. p. 411–451. Such were the arts of war, by which the Roman emperors defended their extensive conquests, and preserved a military spirit, at a time when every other virtue was oppressed by luxury and despotism. If, in the consideration of their armies, we pass from their discipline and formation to that of their munitions, we find them with any tolerable accuracy. We may compute, however, that the legion, which was itself a body of six thousand eight hundred and thirty-one Romans, might, with its attendant auxiliaries, amount to about twelve thousand five hundred men. The peace establishment of Hadrian and his successors was about twice of no less than thirty of these formidable brigades; and most probably formed a standing force of three hundred and seventy-five thousand men. Instead of being confined within the walls of fortified cities, which the Romans considered as the refuge of weakness or pusillanimity, the legions were encamped on the banks of the great rivers, and along the frontiers of the barbarians. As their stations, for the most part, remained fixed and permanent, we may venture to describe the distribution of the troops. Three legions were sufficient for Britain. The principal strength of the empire was arrayed in a line of Roman and allied legions, in the following proportions: two in the Lower, and three in the Upper, Germany; one in Rhetia, one in Noricum, four in Pannonia, three in Mesia, and two in Dacia. The defence of the Euphrates was intrusted to eight legions, six of whom were planted in Syria, and two in Cappadocia. With regard to Egypt, Africa, and Spain, as they were far removed from any important scene of war, a single legion maintained the domestic tranquility of each of these great provinces. Even Italy was not left destitute of a military force. Above twenty thousand of these soldiers distinguished by the titles of City Cohorts and Praetorian Guards, watched over the safety of the monarch and the capital. As the authors of almost every revolution that distracted the empire, the Praetorians will, very soon, and very loudly, demand our attention; but in their arms and institutions we cannot find any circumstance which discriminated them from the legions, unless it were a more splendid appearance, and a less rigid discipline.\(^1\)

\[^1\] The navy maintained by the emperors might seem intended to their great¬ness; but it was sufficiently for every useful purpose of government. The ambition of the Romans was confined to the land; nor was that warlike people ever actuated by the enterprising spirit which had prompted the navigators of Tyre, Carthage, and even of Marseilles, to enlarge the bounds of the world, and to explore the most remote coasts of the ocean. To the Romans the ocean remained an object of terror rather than of curiosity; the whole extent of the Mediterranean, after the destruction of Carthage, and the extirpation of the pirates, was included within their great empire. The policy of the emperors was directed only to preserve the peaceful dominion of that sea, and to protect the commerce of their subjects. With these moderate views, Augustus stationed two permanent fleets in the most convenient ports of Italy, the one at Ravenna, on the Adriatic, the other at Cosa, in the bay of Naples. Experience seems at length to have convinced the ancients, that as soon as their galleys exceeded two, or at the most three, ranks of oars, they were suited rather for vain pomp than for real service. Augustus himself, in the victory of Actium, had seen the ineffectivity of his own light frigates (they were called Liburnians) over the

\[^2\] Tacitus (Annal. iv. 5) has given us a state of the legions under Tiberius and under Claudius (i. iv. 728). I have endeavoured to fix on the proper medium between these two periods. See Memorie de Magnesia, tom. i. c. 14, l. i. c. 9.

\[^3\] The Romans tried to disguise, by the presence of religion, their ignorance and terror. See Tacit, Germania, c. 34.
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

of Gaul, equally adapted to the progress of the legions, to the course of the rivers, and to the principal
national distinctions, which had comprehended above
an hundred independent states. The sea-coast of
the Mediterranean, Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné,
received their provincial appellation from the colony
of Narbonne. The government of Aquitaine was ex-
tended from the Rhine, and the province between the
Loire and the Seine was styled the Cel-
tic Gaul, and soon borrowed a new denomination from
the celebrated colony of Lugdunum, or Lyons. The
Belgic lay beyond the Seine, and in more ancient
times had been bounded only by the Rhine; but a littl
of the former age, the Germans abjured their
superiority of valour, the latter gained a considera-
table portion of the Belgic territory. The Roman con-
querors very eagerly embraced so flattering a circum-
stance, and the Gallic frontier of the Rhine, from Brbas
to Leyden, received the pompous names of the Upper
and the Lower Germany.

We have already had occasion to men-
tion the conquest of Britain, and to fix
the boundary of the Roman province in this island.
Britain was irregularly divided between thirty tribes
of barbarians, of whom the most considerable were
the Belgic in the West, the Brigantes in the North, the
Silures in South Wales, and the Iceni in Norfolk
and Suffolk. As far as we can either trace or credit
the resemblance of manners and language, Spain, Gaul,
and Britain were peopled by the same hardy race
of savages. Before they yielded to the Roman armies,
they often disputed the field, and often renewed the
combat. After their submission, they constituted the
western division of the European provinces, which
extended from the columns of Hercules to the wall of
Antoninus, and from the mouth of the Tagus to the
sources of the Rhine and the Danube.

Before the Roman conquest, the coun-
try which is now France, was the
The country not considered as a part of Italy. It had been occu-
pied by a powerful colony of Gauls, who, settling
themselves along the banks of the Po, from Piedmont
to Rome, carried their arms and diffused their name
from the Alps to the Apennine. The Ligurians dwelt
in the west, the Helvetians in the republic of
Geneva. Venice was yet unborn; but the territories of
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inhabited by the Venetians. The middle part of
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the Etruscans and Umbrians; to the former of whom Italy
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Rome, and the country of the Sabines, the Latins, and
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brated ground, and the first councils devised truces;
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superiority of valour, the latter gained a considera-
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querors very eagerly embraced so flattering a circum-
stance, and the Gallic frontier of the Rhine, from Brbas
to Leyden, received the pompous names of the Upper
and the Lower Germany.

We have already had occasion to men-
tion the conquest of Britain, and to fix
the boundary of the Roman province in this island.
Britain was irregularly divided between thirty tribes
of barbarians, of whom the most considerable were
the Belgic in the West, the Brigantes in the North, the
Silures in South Wales, and the Iceni in Norfolk
and Suffolk. As far as we can either trace or credit
the resemblance of manners and language, Spain, Gaul,
and Britain were peopled by the same hardy race
of savages. Before they yielded to the Roman armies,
they often disputed the field, and often renewed the
combat. After their submission, they constituted the
western division of the European provinces, which
extended from the columns of Hercules to the wall of
Antoninus, and from the mouth of the Tagus to the
sources of the Rhine and the Danube.

Before the Roman conquest, the coun-
try which is now France, was the
The country not considered as a part of Italy. It had been occu-
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themselves along the banks of the Po, from Piedmont
to Rome, carried their arms and diffused their name
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Lucianians; and the sea-coasts had been covered by the flourishing colonies of the Greeks. We may remark, that when Augustus divided Italy into eleven regions, the little territory of Dalmatia, which was annexed to that seat of Roman sovereignty, was included under the provinces of Illyria, Noricum, Pannonia, Dalmatia, Dacia, Maesia, Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece.

The province of Illyria, which soon extinguished the name of the Vindelicians, was extended from the summit of the Alps to the banks of the Danube; from its source, as far as its confluence with the Inn. The greatest part of the flat country is subject to the elector of Bavaria; the city of Augusta was founded by the constitution of the German empire; the Grisonian Alps are their principal mountains, and the country of Tyrol is ranked among the numerous provinces of the house of Austria.

Noricum and Pannonia: included between the Inn, the Danube, and the Save; Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, the Lower Hungary, and Sclavonia, was also known to the ancients under the names of Noricum and Pannonia. In their original state of independence, their fierce inhabitants were intimately connected. Under the Roman government they were frequently united, and they now form the part of a single family. They now own the residence of a German prince, who styles himself Emperor of the Romans, and forms the centre, as well as the strength, of the Austrian power. It may not be improper to observe, that if we except Bohemia, Moravia, the northern shores of Austria, and a part of Hungary, between the Save and the Danube, all the other dominions of the House of Austria were comprised within the limits of the Roman empire.

Dalmatia, to which the name of Illyricum more properly belonged, was a long, but narrow strip, between the Adriatic and the Ionian Sea. The best part of the sea-coast, which still retains its ancient appellation, is a province of the Venetian state, and the seat of the little republic of Ragusa. The inland parts have assumed the Scelvonian names of Croatia and Bosnia; the former obeys an Austrian governor, the latter a Turkish pasha; but the whole country is still infested by tribes of barbarians, whose savage independence irregularly marks the doubtful limit of the Christian and mahometan power.

The Danube was divided Masia and Dacia. After the Danube had received the waters of the Save, the Teyca, and the Save, it received, at least among the Greeks, the name of Istros. It formerly divided Masia and Dacia, the latter of which, as we have already seen, was a conquest of Trajan, and the only province beyond the river. If we inquire into the present state of those countries, we shall find that on the left hand of the Danube, Transylvania and Transylvania have been annexed, after many revolutions, to the crown of Hungary; whilst the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia acknowledge the suzerainty of the Ottomans. On the right hand of the Danube, Maesia, which, during the middle ages, was broken into the barbarian kingdoms of Servia and Bulgaria, is again united in Turkish slavery. The appellation of Roumelia, which is, Thrace, Maesia, and Servia, preserves the memory of their ancient state under the Roman empire. In the time of the Antones, the martial regions of Thrace, from the mountains of Hermus and Rhodope, to the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, had assumed the form of a province. Notwithstanding the change of masters, and the revolution, the new city of Rome, founded by Constantine on the banks of the Bosphorus, has ever since remained the capital of a great monarchy. The kingdom of Macedonia, which, under the reign of Alexander, gave laws to Asia, derived more solid advantages from the policy of the two Philipps; and with its dependences of Epirus and Thessaly, extended from the Aegean to the Ionian sea. When we reflect on the fame of Thebes and Argos, of Sparta and Athens, we can scarcely persuade ourselves, that so many immortal republics of ancient Greece were lost in a single province which, from the superior influence of the Achaean league, was usually denominated the province of Achaia.

Such was the state of Europe under the Roman emperors. The provinces of Asia, without excepting the transient conquests of Trajan, were all comprised within the limits of the Turkish power. But, instead of following the arbitrary divisions of despotism and ignorance, it will be safer for us, as well as more agreeable, to observe the indelible characters of nature. The name of Asia Minor is attributed to the country which, from the superior influence of the Achaean league, was usually denominated the province of Achaia.

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Syria. The former of these was a narrow and rocky coast; the latter was a territory scarcely superior to Wales, either in fertility or extent. Yet Phoenicia and Palestine will forever live in the memory of mankind; since America, as well as Europe, has received letters from the one, and religion from the other. A sale of the fruits of the soil, of wood and water skins, along the doubtful confines of Syria, from the Euphrates to the Red Sea. The wandering life of the Arabs was inseparably connected with their independence; and wherever, on some spots less barren than the rest, they ventured to form any settled habitation, they soon became subjects to a master.

The geographers of antiquity have frequently hesitated to what portion of the globe they should ascribe Egypt. By its situation that celebrated kingdom is included within the immense peninsula of Africa; but it is accessible only on the side of Asia, whose revolutions, in almost every change of history, Egypt has humbly obeyed. A Roman prefect was set on the splendid throne of the Ptolemies; and the iron sceptre of the Manulakes is now in the hands of a Turkish Pasha. The Nile flows down the country, above five hundred miles from the. The emigrations, as the extent of fertility by the measure of its inundations. Cyrene, situated towards the west, and along the sea-coast, was first a Greek colony, after wards a province of Egypt, and is now lost in the desert of Barca.

From Cyrene to the ocean, the coast of Africa extends above fifteen hundred miles; yet so closely is it pressed between the Mediterranean and the Sahara, or sandy desert, that its breadth seldom exceeds fourscore or an hundred miles. The coastal districts was especially the more peculiar and proper province of Africa. Till the arrival of the Phoenicians, that fertile country was inhabited by the Libyans, the most savage of mankind. Under the immediate jurisdiction of Carthage, it became the centre of commerce and empire; but the republic of Carthage is now degenerating into the feeble and disunited states of the Barbary and Tunisia. The military government of Algiers oppresses the wide extent of Numidia, as it was once united under Massinissa and Jugurtha: but in the time of Augustus, the limits of Numidia were contracted; and at least two thirds of the country acquiesced in the name of Mauritania. The genuine Mauritanian, or country of the Moors, which, from the ancient city of Tingi, or Tangier, was distinguished by the appellation of Tingitan, is represented by the modern kingdom of Fez. Salé, on the ocean, so infamous at present for its piratical depredations, was, as the extent of fertility by the measure of its inundations. A city of their foundation may still be discovered near Mequinez, the residence of the barbarian whom we condescend to style the Emperor of Morocco; but it does not appear that his more southern dominions, Morocco itself, and Spanish Morocco, were ever conquered within the Roman province. The western parts of Africa are intersected by the branches of mount Atlas, a name so idly celebrated by the fancy of poets; but which is now diffused over the immense ocean that rolls between the ancient and the new continent.

Having now finished the sketch of the Mediterranean empire, on the Nile, we may observe, that the Nile basin is divided from Spain by a narrow strip of about twelve miles, through which the Atlantic flows into the Mediterranean. The columns of Herodotus, so famous among the ancients, were two mountains which seemed to have been torn asunder by some convulsion of the elements; and at the foot of the European mountain, the fortress of Gibraltar is now seated. The whole extent of the Mediterranean Sea, its coasts, and its islands, were comprised within the Roman dominion. Of the larger islands, the two Baleares, which derive their name of Majorca and Minorca from the respective size of the mountains upon them, the former to Spain, the latter to Britain. It is easier to deplore the fate, than to describe the actual condition of Corsica. Two Italian sovereigns assume a regal title from Sardinia and Sicily. Crete, or Candia, with Cyprus, and most of the smaller islands of Greece and Asia, have been subdued by the Turk and, according to P. Aretinus, being frightened at the sight of a lion, he ordered a cry and suddenly recovered the use of speech. He took possession of the hill Cyra, and built upon it the city Cyrene. This colony soon attained a high degree of splendour. Its history and inscriptions, which are still extant; after it had passed, from Ptolemy the elder to Ptolemy Euergetes and from Ptolemy Euergetes to Ptolemy Lagus, called Sostr, made itself master of Cyrenaica, which belonged to his successors until Ptolemy Aeon gave it by will to the Romans, who, uniting it to Crete, formed of them a new province. A Son of Cyrene was called Apollonius, it is now called Alarcon or Son, which from the name of the city which bore the name of Son was situated during the time of the lower empire. Some rays of Cyrene reappeared the name in the second period; the country being devoted to its origin by the falsity of antiquity is related by recent and modern authors. There is another Heron, book iv. 150, which is the same as the former. Such is the name of Thamus, who is ascribed to Cyrenaica, who was the son of Cyprianus, in the notes of Suidas, and Ptolomæus Berosus, 43; Justin xii. 3, D'Aubine, Grosset, ass. vol. iii, p. 39; 150, which is the same as that of the Greek historian, Diodorus Siculus, 43; 3, D'Aubine, Grosset, ass. vol. iii, p. 39. The letter, moderate height, and genteel discripcion of mount Atlas, (see Shaw's Travels, p. 25) are very unlike a solitary mountain which rises from the sea, and extends its lead into the ocean. The peak of Tonnasc, on the contrary, forms a large and a half above the surface of the sea, and appears to be a true mountain, which might engage the notice of the Greek poets. See Beppo, Historia Natu-
ish arms; whilst the little rock of Malta defies their power, and has emerged, under the government of its military Order, into fame and opulence.

General idea of the Roman empire: whose broken fragments have formed so many powerful kingdoms, might almost induce us to forgive the vanity or ignorance of the ancients. Dazzled with the extensive sway, the irresistible strength, and the real or affected moderation of the emperors, they permitted themselves to despise, and sometimes to forget, the outlying countries which had been left in the enjoyment of a barbarous independence; and they gradually usurped the licence of confounding the Roman monarchy with the globe of the earth. \(^1\) But the temper, as well as knowledge, of a modern people, will perhaps not be sufficient to expunge a certain innate language. He may impress a juster image of the greatness of Rome, by observing that the empire was above two thousand miles in breadth, from the wall of Antoninus and the northern limits of Dacia, to mount Atlas and the tropic of Cancer; that it extended, in length, more than three thousand miles, from the Western ocean to the Euphrates; that it was situated in the finest part of the temperate zone, between the twenty-fourth and fifty-sixth degrees of northern latitude; and that it was supposed to contain above sixteen hundred thousand square miles, for the most part of fertile and well cultivated land.

CHAPTER II

Of the union and internal prosperity of the Roman Empire in the age of the Antonines.

Principles of government. It is not alone by the rapidity, or extent of conquest, that we should estimate the greatness of Rome. The sovereign of the Russian deserts commands a larger portion of the globe. In the seventh summer after his passage of the Hellespont, Alexander erected the Macedonian trophies on the banks of the Hyphasis. \(^2\) Within less than a century, the irresistible Zingis, and the Mogul princes of his race, spread their cruel devastations and transient empire, from the sea of China, to the confines of Egypt and Mescopotamia; and yet the firm edifice was raised and preserved by the wisdom of ages. The obedient provinces of Trajan and the Antonines were united by laws, and adorned by arts. They might occasionally suffer from the partial abuse of delegated authority; but the general principle of government was wise, simple, and beneficent. They enjoyed the religion of their ancestors, whilst in civil honours and advantages they were exalted, by just degrees, to an equality with their conquerors.

Universal spirit of toleration. The policy of the emperors and the senate, as far as it concerned religion, was happily seconded by the reflections of the enlightened philosophers, and by the habits of the superstitious, part of their subjects. The various modes of worship, which prevailed in the Roman world, were all considered by the people, as equally true; by the philosopher as equally speculative; and by the magistrate as equally useful. And thus toleration produced not only mutual indulgence, but even religious concord.

The superstition of the people was not imbedded by any mixture of theological rancour; nor was it confined by the chains of any speculative system. The devout philosopher, though fondly attached to his national rites, admitted with implicit faith the different religions of the earth. \(^3\) Fear, gratitude, and curiosity, a dream or an omen, a singular disorder, or a distant journey, perpetually disposed him to multiply the articles of his belief, and to enlarge the list of his protectors. The thin texture of the genius of the Nile. The visible powers of nature, the planets, and the elements, were the same throughout the universe. The invisible governors of the moral world were inevitably cast in a similar mould of fiction and allegory. Every virtue, and even vice, acquired an immortal and divinized existence; every natural object was the patron, whose attributes, in the most distant ages and countries, were uniformly derived from the character of their peculiar votaries. A republic of gods of such opposite temperaments and interest required, in every system, the moderating hand of a supreme magistrate, who, in the progress of knowledge and flattery, was gradually invested with the sublime perfections of an Eternal Parent, and an Omnipotent Monarch. \(^4\) Such was the mild spirit of antiquity, that the nations were less attentive to the difference, than to the resemblance, of their religious worship. The Greek, the Roman, the Indian, and the Chinese, in the same temple offered the same altars, easily persuaded themselves, that under various names, and with various ceremonies, they adored the same deities. The elegant mythology of Homer gave a beautiful and almost a regular form to the polytheism of the ancient world. \(^5\) The undying names of Greece dedicated their morals from the nature of man, rather than from that of God. They meditated, however, on the Divine nature, as a very curious and important speculation; and in the profound inquiry, they displayed the strength and weakness of the human understanding. \(^6\) Of the four most celebrated schools, the Stoics and the Platonists endeavoured to reconcile the jarring interests of reason and piety. They have left us the most sublime proofs of the existence and perfections of the first cause; but as it was impossible for them to conceive the creation of matter, the workman in the
Stoic philosophy was not sufficiently distinguished from the work; whilst, on the contrary, the spiritual God of Plato and his disciples, resembled an idea, rather than a substance. The opinions of the Academics and Epicureans, from no exact part, restored to Athens, and the other seats of learning in the Roman empire, were alike instructed in every school to reject and to despise the religion of the multitude. How, indeed, was it possible, that a philosopher should accept, as divine truths, the idle tales of the poets, and the incoherent traditions of antiquity? Avarice and taste very frequently despoiled the vanquished nations of the ec.

In the provinces, the gods, and the rich ornaments of their temples; but, in the exercise of the religion which they derived from their ancestors, they uniformly experienced, and even protection, from every Roman conqueror. The province of Gaul seems, and indeed only seems, an exception to this universal toleration. Under the specious pretext of abolishing human sacrifices, the emperors Tiberius and Claudius suppressed the dangerous powers of the druids; but the priests themselves, their gods and their altars, subsisted in peaceful obscurity till the final destruction of Paganism.

Rome, the capital of a great monarchy, was incessantly filled with subjects and strangers from every part of the world, who all introduced and enjoyed the favourite superstitions of their country. The ancients, in the service of the gods, were instructed in maintaining the purity of their ancient ceremonies; and the Roman senate, using the common privilege, sometimes interposed, to check this inundation of foreign rites. The Egyptian superstition, of all the most contemptible and abject, was frequently prohibited; the temples of Isis and Serapis at length assumed the place among the Roman gods, that were thus indulged a departure from the old maxims of government. In the purest ages of the commonwealth, Cybele and Cœcilius had been invited by solemn embassies; and it was customary to tempt the protectors of besieged cities, by the promise of more distinguished honours than they possessed in their native country. Rome gradually became the common temple of her subjects; and the freedom of the city was bestowed on all the gods of mankind.

II. The narrow policy of preserving freedom. Of Rome, without any foreign mixture, the pure blood of the ancient citizens, had checked the fortune, and hastrusted the power of Athens and Sparta. The aspiring genius of Rome sacrificed vanity to ambition, and deemed it more prudent, as well as honourable, to adopt virtue and merit for their own overthrow; were found, among slaves or strangers, enemies or protectors of themselves, the useful persuasion, that, either in this or in a future life, the crime of perjury is most assuredly punished by the avenging gods. 1

1) See the fate of Syræus, Tarentum, Ambraiga, Corinth, &c., the conduct of Veroca, in Cicer. (Actio iii. Orat. 4.) and the usual practice of governors, in the viith Satire of Juven.


4) See the Consulat, at Herilum, p. 74. Edit. Lips.

5) Dionysius Halicarnass. lib. ii. c. 73.

6) In the year of 701, the temple of Isis and Serapis was demolished by the order of the Senate, (Dion Cassius, l. b. p. I.) and even to the lands of the council. (Valerius Maxium, l. b. 59.) After the death of Caesar, it was restored at the public expense, (Dion. l. i. vii. 503.) In 492, when Augustus was in Egypt, he revered the majesty of Serapis, (Dion. l. v. 642.) but in the Pompeian of Rome, and a mile round it, he prohibited the worship of the Egyptian gods, (Dion. l. ii. p. 676.) I. v. 53.) They remained so, however, and flourished in the Ovid. de Art, Anam. 11. 1.) and that of his successor, till the justice of the law was proved to some acts of severity. (Strabo. Anam. 11. 5.)

7) Joseph. Antiq. i. xvii. c. 3.)

8) 1) See Livy. i. xii. and xiii.

9) Eucratides, Soterides, and Eucratides, always landed at a decent revenue for the religion of their own country, and of mankind. They were the object of extreme hatred and execrations. Dio, Lecr. c. 10.

10) Polybius, 1. vi. c. 53. 54; Juvenal, Sat. xiii. shows that in his time this apprehension had lost much of its force.
barbarians. During the most flourishing era of the Athenian commonwealth, the number of citizens gradually decreased from about thirty to twenty-one thousand, and the same condition, we may conjecture, was that of the Roman Republic, where the growth of its area and autonomy, from the Samnites to the Romans, enabled it to resist the designs of Catiline, and enabled her to contend with Athens for the palaces of eloquence.

The provinces of the empire (as they have been described in the preceding chapter) were destitute of any public force, or constitutional freedom. In truth, the first care of the Senate was to dissolve those dangerous confederacies, which taught mankind, that, as the Roman arms prevailed by division, they might be resisted by union. Those princes, whose estimation of gratitude or generosity permitted for a while to hold a preference for the Roman yoke, were dismissed from their place as soon as they had performed their appointed task of fashioning to the yoke the vanquished nations. The free states and cities which had embraced the cause of Rome were rewarded with a nominal alliance, and insensibly sunk into real servitude. The public authority was every where exercised by the ministers of the Senate and of the emperors, and that authority was absolute, and without control. But the same salutary maxims of government, which had secured the peace and obedience of Italy, were extended to the most distant conquests. A nation of Romans was gradually formed, which they received the reward of their services in land or in money, usually settled, with their families, in the country where they had honourably spent their youth. Throughout the empire, but more particularly in the western parts, the most fertile districts and the most convenient situations, were reserved for the soldiers, of whom the number, which were of a civil, and others of a military, nature. In their manners and internal policy, the colonies formed a perfect representation of their great parent; and they were soon endeared to the natives by the ties of friendship and alliance, they effectually diffused a reverence for the Roman name, and a desire, which was seldom disappointed, of sharing, in due time, its honours and advantages. The municipal cities insensibly equalled the rank and splendour of the colonies; and in the reign of Hadrian, it was disputed which was the preferable condition, of those societies which had issued from, or which had been re-

Italian. Till the privileges of Romans had been progressively extended to all the inhabitants of the empire, an important distinction was preserved between Italy and the provinces. The former was esteemed the centre of public unity, and the firm basis of Roman constitution. Italy claimed the birth, or at least, the residence, of the emperors and the Senate. The estates of the Italians were exempt from taxes, their persons from the arbitrary jurisdiction of governors. Their municipal corporations, formed after the perfect model of the capital, were intrusted, under the immediate eye of the sovereign, with the execution of the laws. From the foot of the Alps to the extremity of Calabria, all the natives of Italy were born citizens of Rome. Their partial distinctions were obliterated, and they insensibly coalesced into one great nation, united by language, manners, and civil and religious institutions, equal to the weight of a powerful empire. The republic gloried in her generous policy, and was frequently rewarded by the merit and services of her adopted sons. Had she always confined the distinction of Romans to the ancient families within the walls of the city, that immortal name would have been deprived of some of its noblest ornaments. Virgil was a native of Mantua; Horace was inclined to doubt whether he should call himself an Apulian or a Lucanian: it was in Padua that an historian was found worthy to record the majestic series of Roman victories. The patriotic family of the Catons emerged from Tusculum; and the little town of Arpinum claimed the double honour of producing Marius and Cicero, the former of whom deserved, after Romulus and Camillus, to be styled the Third Founder of Rome.

1. Titus. Annal. xi. 24. The Orbis Romanus of the learned Spanheim is a complete history of the progressive admission of Latin, Italy, and the provinces, to the freedom of Rome.
2. Herodotus, v. 97. It should seem, however, that he followed a larger number of authors.
4. See an accurate collection of the numbers of each Legion in M. de Beranger, Republican Romans, l. iv. c. 4.
6. Meursius had advised him to declare, by one edict, all his subjects citizens of Rome. It may partly suggest that the historian does not report a counsel of a counsel, so much adapted to the practice of his own age, and so little to that of Augustus.
7. Cæsar, de Bello Civ. lib. iii. 9. It may be supposed that they had to have one-third of their own landed property in Italy. See Plin. vi. c. 19. The qualification was reduced by Marcus Aurelius.
8. Since the reign of Trajan, Italy had sunk nearer to the level of the provinces.
Sequel to another. The same as it was called, conferred on the cities to which it had been granted, a more partial favour. The
magistrates only, at the expiration of their office, as
assumed the quality of Roman citizens; but as those offices were annual, in a few years they circulated round the
principal families. Those of the provincials who were permitted to exercise any civil employment; all, in a
word, who performed any public service, or displayed any personal
talents, were rewarded with a present, whose
value was continually diminished by the increasing
liberality of the emperors. Yet even, in the age of
Tiberius, the use of free men was still sanctioned by
laws. This favours were bestowed on the greater number of their subjects, it was still accompanied with very
solid advantages. The bulk of the people acquired, with that title, the
benefit of the Roman laws, particularly in the interesting
articles of marriage, testaments, and
inheritances; and the road of fortune was open to those
whose pretensions were seconded by favour or merit.
The grandsons of the Gauls, who had besieged Ju-
lius Caesar in Alesia, commanded legions, governed
provinces, and were admitted into the Senate of Rome.
Their ambition, instead of disturbing the
profitability of the State, was intimately connected with its safety and glory.

Division of the Latin and the Greek provinces.

So sensible were the Romans of the Greek
provinces, that it was their most serious care to extend, with the progress of their arms, the use of the
Latin tongue. The ancient dialects of Italy, the
Sabine, the Etruscan, and the Venetian, sunk into oblivion; but in the provinces, the east was less
distant than the west to the voice of its victorious
predecessors. This obvious difference marked the two
portions of the empire with a distinction of colours, which, though it was in some degree concealed during
the meridian splendour of prosperity, became gradually
more visible, as the shades of night descended upon
the Roman world.
The western countries were civilized by the same hands which subdued them. As soon as the barbarians were reconciled to obe-
dience, their minds were opened to any new impres-
ion, to knowledge and liberty. The language of
Virgil and Cicero, though with some inevitable mixture
of corruption, was so universally adopted in Africa, Spain, Gaul, Britain, and Pannonia, that the
ftant traces of the Punic or Celtic idoms were pre-
served only in the mountains, or among the peas-
nants. The foreign language became familiar to the
natives of those countries with the sentiments of Ro-
mans; and Italy gave fashions, as well as laws, to
her Latin provincials. They solicited with more ar-
dour, and obtained with more facility, the freedom
and honours of the state; supported the national
dignity in letters and in arms; and, at length, in the
person of Trajan, produced an emperor whom the
Scipios would not have disowned for their country-
man. The situation of the Greeks was very different
from that of the barbarians. The former had been
long since civilized and corrupted. They had too
much taste to relinquish their language, and too much
vanity to adopt any foreign institutions. Still
preserving the prejudices, after they lost the virtues,
of their ancestors, they affected to despise the unpol-
mannered manners of the Roman conquerors, whilst they
were compelled to respect their superior wisdom and
power. Nor was the influence of the Greek lan-
guage and sentiments confined to the narrow limits of
their empire; for, even before the progress of colonies and conquest, had been diffused from the
Hadratic to the Euphrates and the Nile. Asia was covered with Greek cities, and the long
reign of the Macedonian kings had introduced a silent
revolution into Syria and Egypt. In their pompous
courts those princes united the elegance of Athens with
the luxury of the East, and the example of the
court was imitated, at a humble distance, by the higher
ranks of their subjects. Such was the general di-
vision of the Roman empire into the Latin and Greek
languages. To these we may add a third distinction
for the body of the natives in Syria, and especially in
Egypt. The use of the ancient idoms among them from the commixture of mankind, checked the im-
provements of those barbarians.1 The slothful effi-
cency of the former exposed them to the contempt,
the sulen ferociousness of the latter excited the aversion,
of the conquerors.2 Those nations had submitted to the
Roman power, but they seldom desired or deserved
the freedom of the city; and it was remarked, that
more than two hundred and thirty years elapsed after
the ruin of the Ptolemies, before an Egyptian
was admitted into the senate of Rome.3

It is a just though trite observation, General use of
that victorious Rome was herself subject to both languages
duced by the arts of Greece. Those immortal writers
who still command the admiration of modern Europe,
some at the favourite object of study and imitation
in Italy and the western provinces. But the ele-
gant amusements of the Romans were not suffered to
interfere with the national maxims of the empire; whilst
they acknowledged the charms of the Greek, they
asserted the dignity of the Latin, tongue, and the ex-
cclusive use of the latter was inflexibly maintained in
the administration of civil as well as military gov-
ernment.4 The two languages exercised at the same
time their separate functions in the empire; the
former, as the natural idiom of science; the latter,
as the legal dialect of public transactions. Those
who united letters with business were equally conver-
sant with both; and it was almost impossible, in any
province, to find a Roman subject, of a liberal educa-
tion, who was not on a stranger to the Greek and the
Latin language.

It was by such institutions that the na-
 nations of the empire insensibly melted
away into the Roman name and people. But there
still remained, in the centre of every province and of
every family, a number of men, who, from the
condition of their situation, and the
weight of the benefits, without sharing the benefits, of
society. In the free states of antiquity, the domestic
slaves were exposed to the wanton rigour of despo-
ism. The perfect settlement of the Roman empire

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writer who mentions Latin. Suid. Lingua.

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tom. xix. p. 126.) a Latin authors, and the modern
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6 Dion Cassius, i. lxxvii. p. 1275. The first instance happened under
the reign of Septimius Severus. See Valerius Maximus, ii. c.

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9 See Justinus, xi. and xx. Amin. Marcell. x. 21. 10.

10 Dion Cassius, i. lxxvii. p. 1275. The first instance happened under
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guages was still preserved.

Their treatment was preceded by ages of violence and rapine. The slaves consisted, for the most part, of barbarian captives, taken in thousands by the chance of war, purchased at a vile price, and placed under a system of laws, independent of all other authority, to break and to revenge their fetters. Against such internal enemies, whose desperate insurrections had more than once reduced the republic to the brink of destruction, the most severe regulations, and the most cruel treatment, seemed almost justified by the great law of self-preservation. But when the principal nations of Europe, Asia, and Africa, were united under the laws of one sovereign, the source of foreign supplies of slaves being impeded, the less criminal Romans were reduced to the milder but more tedious method of propagation. In their numerous families, and particularly in their country estates, they encouraged the marriage of their slaves. The sentiments of nature, the habits of education, and the possession of a dependent species of property, contributed to alleviate the hardships of servitude. The existence of a slave became an object of greater value, and though his happiness still depended on the temper and circumstances of the master, the humanity of the latter, instead of being restrained by fear, was encouraged by the sentiments of benevolence. The manners were accelerated by the virtue or policy of the emperors; and by the edicts of Hadrian and the Antonines, the protection of the laws was extended to the most abject part of mankind. The jurisdiction of the courts over the slave was no longer confined to their domestic的作用, but extended to all the rights and privileges of the master over the slave, and the protection of the laws became less objectionable to peace and humanity. Enfranchisement, however, was not denied to the Roman slave; and if he had any opportunity of rendering himself either useful or agreeable, he might very naturally expect that the diligence and fidelity of a few years would be rewarded with the inestimable gift of freedom. The slavery of the Middle Ages was so frequently prompted by the meaner suggestions of vanity and avarice, that the laws found it more necessary to restrain than to encourage a profuse and undistinguishing liberality, which might degenerate into a very dangerous abuse. It was a maxim among the ancients, that a slave had no country of his own; and he acquired with his liberty an admission into the political society of which his patron was a member. The consequences of this maxims would have prostituted the privileges of personal freedom to a multitude of promiscuous multitudes. Some exceptions were therefore provided; and the honourable distinction was confined to such slaves only as, for just causes, and with the approbation of the magistrate, should receive a solemn and legal manumission. Even these chosen exceptions were subject to the restraints of servitude, and were rigorously excluded from civil or military honours. Whatever might be the merit or fortune of their sons, they likewise were esteemed unworthy of a seat in the Senate; nor were the trances of a servile origin allowed to be completely obliterated till the third or fourth generation. Without the nature can develop themselves, and habits of education become mild and peaceful, we may not attribute to causes of inclination, or even without energy, effects, which, in order to be explained, must be traced to more powerful principles; and, since small causes may have the effect of an equal, and, perhaps, even exceeding proportion of any great cause, it is not improbable that the prevailing influence of some general spirit in the world, or of the whole class of human actions, may have been a cause of the propagation of this servile condition; for had not knowledge been so early and so generally imparted to the ancients, would their notions of the exercise of power nourish among the great, and the practice of oppression cause springs up among the wretched. It is not the spirit of the Gospel that preaches the freedom of the Christian religion which, more powerful than all the preceding, was destined to destroy the last vestiges of servitude. It is evident that the rule of the Church, which Christianity dictated were mild and benevolent; its precepts guard the dignity of individuals, and exalt the glory of their masters, that they were permitted the dignity of servitude. The children of slaves were the property of the master, who could dispose of them as he wished. Is it in such a situation, and in such a state of dependence that the sentiments of THE DECLINE AND FALL. Chap. II. 26
stroying the distinction of ranks, a distant prospect of freedom and honours was presented, even to those whom pride and prejudice almost disdained to number among the human species.

Numbers.

It was once proposed to discriminate the slaves of a particular rank, but it was justly apprehended that there might be some danger in acquainting them with their own numbers. Without interpreting, in their utmost strictness, the liberal appellations of legions and myriads, we may venture to pronounce, that the proportion of slaves, who were valued as property, was more considerable than is commonly supposed, and that the sum computed only as an expense. The youths of a promising genius were instructed in the arts and sciences, and their price was ascertained by the degree of their skill and talents. Almost every profession, either liberal or mechanical, might be found in the household of an opulent senator. The ministers of pomp and sensuality were multiplied beyond the conception of modern luxury. It was more for the interest of the merchant or manufacturer to purchase than to hire his workmen; and in the country, slaves were employed as the cheapest and most laborious instruments of agriculture. We have reason to believe against the general observation, and to display the multitude of slaves, we might allege a variety of particular instances. It was discovered, on a very melancholy occasion, that four hundred slaves were maintained in a single palace of Rome. The same number of four hundred belonged to the same chief of architecture, governed by the Roman magistrates, how many have escaped the notice of history! how few have resisted the ravages of time and barbarism! and yet even the majestic ruins that are still scattered over Italy and the provinces, would be sufficient to prove, that those countries were once the seat of a polite and powerful empire. Their greatness alone, or the bare mention of their eminence, is a sufficient recommendation; but they are rendered more interesting, by two important circumstances, which connect the agreeable history of these provinces, with the more useful history of human manners. Many of those works were erected at private expense, and almost all were intended for public benefit.

It is natural to suppose that the greatest number, as well as the most considerable, of the Roman edifices, were raised by the emperors, who possessed so unbounded a command both of men and money. Augustus was the first of that line who had accomplished so great an undertaking, and that he had left it of marble. The strict economy of Vespasian was the source of his magnificence. The works of Trajan bear the stamp of his genius. The public monuments with which Hadrian adorned every province of the empire, were executed not only by his orders, but under his immediate inspection. He was himself an artist, and he loved the arts, as they conducted to the glory of the monarchy. They were encouraged by the Antonines, as they contributed to the happiness of the people. But if the emperors were the first, they were not the only, architects of their domestic glory. Those two centuries were extensively imitated by their principal subjects, who were not afraid of declaring to the world that they had spirit to conceive, and wealth to accomplish, the noblest

1 Seneca de Clementia, 1, c. 21. The original is much stronger.
2 Quintus Perioleum Immuneret scribi nostro nomenclare non copiam aequat.
3 See Pliny (Hist. Nat. i, xxiii.) and Athenaeus (Deipnosophist. i. v. p. 472). The latter boldly asserts, that he knew very many (Praecox) Romans who possessed, not for use, but ostentation, ten and twenty thousand slaves.
4 In Paris there are not more than 43,700 domestics of every sort, and in the greater part of the towns in the same kingdom, eight hundred and sixty thousand, out of a Population, p. 176.
5 In Rome the price for all kinds of men for public and private service are always very much higher than abroad.
6 They are very variously estimated by Pigno- rus de Servis, Tariff. Amul. xiv. 43. They all exceeded for not preventing their master’s murder.
7 Otton. Hist, Natur. i, xxxiii. 47.
8 According to Robertson there were twice as many slaves as free men. It was computted twenty millions in France, twenty-two in Germany, four in Hungary, ten in Italy with its islands, eight in Great Britain and Ireland, eight in Spain and Portugal, ten or twelve in the European Russia, six in Poland, six in Greece and Turkey, four in Sweden, three in Denmark and Norway, one and a half in the Low Countries, which would amount to one hundred and five or one hundred and seven millions. See Voltaire, de Histoire Generale.
9 Joseph, de l’Histoire de Rome, thezzation of Aristippus, or rather of the historian, is a fine picture of the Roman empire.
10 Suetonius, in August. c. 28. Augustus built in Rome the temple and forum of Mars the Avenger; the temple of Jupiter Tonans in the Capitol; that of Apollo Palaestinum, with public libraries; the portico and statues of Caius and Lucius, the peristyle of the Theater of Miletus; and the theatre of Marcellus. The example of the sovereign was imitated by his ministers and generals; and his friend Agrippa left behind him the immortal monument the Pantheon.
 undertakings. Scarcely had the proud structure of the Colosseum been dedicated at Rome, before the edifices of similar kind, and the same design of materials, were erected for the use, and at the expense, of the cities of Capua and Verona. The inscription of the stupendous bridge of Alcantara, attests that it was thrown over the Tagus by the contribution of a few Lusitanian communities. When Fliny was instructed with the government of Bithynia and Pontus, provinces by no means the richest or most considerable of the empire, he found the cities within his jurisdiction striving with each other in every useful and ornamental work, that might deserve the curiosity of strangers, or the gratitude of their citizens. It was therefore natural that he should consult in order to direct their taste, and sometimes to moderate their expenditure. The opulent senators of Rome and the provinces esteemed it an honour, and almost an obligation, to adorn the splendour of their age and country; and the influence of fashion very frequently supplied the want of taste or generosity. Among a crowd of these private benefactors, we may select Herodes Atticus, an Athenian citizen, who lived in the age of the Antonines. Whatever might be the motive of his conduct, his magnificence would have been worthy of the greatest kings.

Example.

The family of Herod, at least after Bithynia Atticus, had it been favoured by fortune, was lineally descended from Cimon and Miltiades, Theseus and Cecrops, Theseus and Jupiter. But the posterity of so many gods and heroes was fallen into the most abject state. His grandfather had suffered by the bands of justice, and Julius Atticus, his father, having ended his life in poverty and contempt, had he not discovered an immense treasure, buried under an old house, the last remains of his patrimony. According to the rigour of law, the emperor might have asserted his claim, and the prudent Atticus prevented, by a frank concession, the effluxion of the sovereigns' prerogatives. But the equitable Nerva, who then filled the throne, refused to accept any part of it, and commanded him to use, without scruple, the present of fortune. The cautious Atticus still insisted that the treasure was too considerable for a subject, and that he knew not how to use it. Abuse it, then, replied the monarch, with a good-natured peculiarity; for it is your own.

Many will be of opinion that Atticus literally obeyed the emperor's last instructions, since he expended the greatest part of his fortune, which was much increased by an advantageous marriage, in the service of the public; yet it can bear the analysis of it. Herod the most splendid hunter of the free cities of Asia; and the young magistratate, observing that the town of Troas was indifferently supplied with water, obtained from the munificence of Hadrian, three hundred nautriads of drachms (about a hundred thousand pounds) for the construction of a new aqueduct. But in the execution of the work, the charge amounted to more than double the estimate, and the officers of the revenue began to murmur, till the generous Atticus silenced their complaints, by requesting that he might be permitted to take upon himself the whole additional expense.

His reputation. Asia had been invited by liberal rewards to direct the education of young Herod. Their pupil soon became a celebrated orator, according to the useless rhetoric of that age, which, confining itself to the schools, disdain'd to visit either the forum or the senate. He was honoured with the consulship at Rome; but the greatest part of his life was spent in a little province, surrounded by his adjacent villas; perpetually surrounded by sylvanists, who acknowledged, without reluctance, the superiority of a rich and generous rival. The monuments of his genius have perished; some considerable ruins still preserve the fame of his taste and munificence; modern travellers have measured the remains of the stadium which he constructed at Athens. It was six hundred feet in length, built entirely of white marble, capable of admitting the whole body of the people, and finished in four years, whilst Herod was president of the Athenian games. To the memory of his wife Regilia, he dedicated their deficiency so skilfully, that the walls on the west, except ecliped by a very considerable carvings, was employed in any part of the building. The Odeum, designed by Pericles for musical performances, and the theatrical of new tragedies, had been a trophy of the victory of the arts over barbaric greatness; as the timbers employed in the construction consisted chiefly of the masts of the Persian vessels. Notwithstanding the repairs bestowed on that ancient edifice by a king of Cappadocia, it was again fallen to decay. Herod restored its ancient beauty and magnificence. Nor was the liberality of that illustrious citizen confined to the walls of Athens. The most splendid edifice, which stood on the temple of Neptune in the isthmus, a theatre at Corinth, a stadium at Delphi, a bath at Thermopylia, and an aqueduct at Canusium in Italy, were insufficient to exhaust his treasures. The people of Epirus, Thessaly, Uebea, Bocotia, and Peloponnesus, experienced his favours in the inscriptions of the cities of Greece and Asia gratefully style Herodes Atticus their patron and benefactor.

In the commonwealths of Athens and Rome, the modest simplicity of private houses announced the equal condition of their inhabitants. The greatest of all the public buildings was represented in the majestic edifices designed to the public use; nor was this republic spirit totally extinguished by the introduction of wealth and monarchy. It was in works of national honour and benefit, that the most virtuous of the emperors displayed the magnificence of their age. The golden palace of Nero excited a just indignation, but the vast extent of ground which had been usurped by his selfish luxury, was more nobly filled under the succeeding reigns by the Colosseum, the baths of Titus, the Claudian portico, and the temples dedicated to the golden diadem. To these the genius of Herod the third of the line has added; and the monuments of architecture, the property of the Roman people, were adorned with the most beautiful productions of Greekian painting and sculpture; and in the temple of Peace, a very curious library was open to the curiosity of the learned. At a small distance from thence was situated the forum of Trajan. It was sur-

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5 Ahas Gellius, in Not. Attic. i. 2. 1. 2. xviii. 10. xi. 12. Philo-

4 The Odeum was used for the representation of new comedies as well as for that of tragedies. They were magnificently roofed. They were, however, but meagre structures; the floor, but without music or decorations, &c. No piece could be represented upon the theater which had not previously been approved by the Odeum by judges &c. The king of Cappadocia who restored the Odeum burnt by Syth, was Arrianus. [See Surtiun. &c, Disquisition upon the Odeum of the Aureians. Leipzic, 1567, p. 10-93.]—G.

6 See Philostrat. i. ii. 3. 50, 540. Panzoni, v. and viii. 10. Life of Herodes, in the thirtieth volume of the Memoir of the Acade-

7 Most of the Ro-

comon edifices were public; &c. temples; theatres, &c. aqueducts, &c.

8 See Philostrat. ii. 3. 3. 40, 540. Panzoni, v. and viii. 10. Life of Herodes, in the thirtieth volume of the Memoir of the Accade-

9 It is particularly remarked of Athens by Dacierus, de Statutis, p. e. Geographis Minoris, ed. Hudson. &c. Besides what is mentioned above, the city of Rome Antia, i. iii. 11. 13. and a MS. description of ancient Rome, by Bernardus Ortelianus, &c. Edinburg, of which I obtained a copy from the library of the Caxtonian Society, at Nuremberg, a drawing of the Colosseum, and of Proportionata were intended by Fliny, and in the temple of Peace; and the Louvre was found in the folds of Titus. [The Emperor Trajan, who built the temple of Peace, placed in the north wall, a group of paintings, which represented the civil wars which had escaped the civil troubles. It was there the armies and sav-

10 [See the notes of Reimar upon Dion Cassius, book livi. p. 105.]—G.
rounded with a lofty portico, in the form of a quad-
rangle, into which four triumphal arches opened a
noble and spacious entrance: in the centre arose a co-
lumn of marble, whose height, of one hundred and
ten feet, denoted the elevation of the hill that had been
cut out for the purpose. The other quarters of the capitals
subsisted in its ancient beauty, exhibited an exact representation
of the Dacian victories of its founder. The veteran sol-
dier contemplated the story of his own campaigns, and
by an easy illusion of national vanity, the peaceful
citizen associated himself to the honours of the triumph.
All their strength, both moral and material, was lost with
the vanquished of the empire, were embellished by the same
liberal spirit of public magnificence, and were filled with
amphitheatres, theatres, temples, porticoes, triumph-
phal arches, baths, and aqueducts, all variously con-
ductive to the health, the devotion, and the pleasures of
the meanest citizen. The last mentioned of those
decrees deserve our peculiar attention. The boldness
of the enterprise, the solidity of the execution, and the
uses to which they were subservient, mark the aque-
ducts among the noblest monuments of Roman genius
and power. The aqueducts of the capital claim a just
pre-emience; but the curious traveller, who, without
the assistance of books, walks the streets of Metz, or of Segovia, would very naturally conclude,
that those provincial towns had formerly been the resi-
dence of some potent monarch. The solitudes of
Asia and Africa were once covered with flourishing
cities, whose population, and even whose existence,
was derived from the artificial supplies of a peren-
nial stream of fresh water.6

We have computed the inhabitants, and contemplated the public works, of
the Roman empire. The observation of
the number and greatness of its cities
will serve to confirm this formation, and to multiply the
latter. It may not be unpleasing to collect a few scattered instances relative to that subject, without
forgetting, however, that from the vanity of nations and the poverty of language, the vague appellation of
city has been indifferently bestowed on Rome and upon
Laodicea. It is said to have contained eleven hundred and
ninety-seven cities; and for whatsoever era of anti-
quity the expression might be intended, there is not any
reason to believe the country less populous in the
age of the Antonines, than in that of Romulus. The
petty states of Latium were contained within the me-
tropolis of Rome, by whose populous and magnificent
they had been attracted. Those parts of Italy which
have so long languished under the lazy tyranny of
priests and viceroys, had been afflicted only by the
more tolerable calamities of war; and the first symp-
toms of decay which they experienced, were simply
exhibited by the rapid improvements of the Cisal-
pine Gaul. The splendour of Verona may be traced in its
remains; yet Verona was less celebrated than

Gaul and Spain.7

II. The spirit of improvement had passed the
Alps, and was felt even in the woods of Britain,
which were gradually improved by the gradual
opening of a free space for convenient and elegant habitation. York
was the scant of government; London was already en-
riched by commerce; and Bath was celebrated for the
salutary effects of its medicinal waters. Gaul could boast of
her twelve hundred cities; and though, in the

6 Montanaro's 'Antiquiti Expliquée, tom. iv. p. 211. i.e. 9. Fabre-
zi has composed a very learned treatise on the aqueducts of Rome.

7 This is the capital of the ancient Campania, a town of the ancient

II. The view seems doubled. Our number of cities, we lay
fer that in his time it had no bounds. Besides, we are not obliged
to apply this number to the time of Romulus. It is even probable
that Sabinum meant to require the number of Sabini, and thus to give
the close of the realm under the empire, seems to be acknowledged
by such as have supposed that the ancient name of Italicus
was Rome.

Joseph. de Bell. Jud. ii. 18. The number, however, is mentioned,
and should be received with a degree of latitude.

This does not appear doubtful. We cannot trust to the

northern parts, many of them, without excepting Paris
itself, were little more than the rude and imperfect
towns of a rising people; the southern provinces
imitated the wealth and elegance of Italy. Many
were the cities of Gaul, Marseilles, Arles, Nismes,
Narbonne, Toulouse, Montpellier, Avignon, Lyons,
Langres, and Trier, whose ancient condition might sustain an equal, and perhaps advantageous,
comparison with their present state. With regard to
Spain, that country flourished as a province, and has
declined as a kingdom. Exhausted by the abuse of
wealth, and frequently invaded by Carthage, her
pride might possibly be confounded, if we required
such a list of three hundred and sixty cities, as Pliny
has exhibited under the reign of Vespas-
ian.8

III. Three hundred African
cities had once acknowledged the authority of Car-
thage,9 nor is it probable that their numbers diminished
under the administration of the emperors. Carthage
itself rose with new splendour from its ashes; and that
capital, as well as Carpa and Corinth, soon recovered
all the advantages which can be separated from inde-
pendent sovereignty. IV. The provin-
ces of the East present the contrast of ancient magnificence and modern barbarism. The ruins of
antiquity scattered over uncultivated fields, and
ascended, by ignorance, to the power of magic,
severely afford a shelter to the oppressed peasant or
wandering Arab. Under the reign of the Cæsars,
the proper Asia alone contained five hundred populous
cities,10 enriched with all the gifts of nature, and
adorned with all the refinements of art. Eleven
cities of Asia had once disputed the honour of dedicat-
ing a temple to Tiberius, and their respective merits
were examined by the senate.11 Four of them were
immediately rejected as unequal to the barhon; and
the remaining were blessed with that adoration which
is still displayed in its ruins.12 Laodicea collected a very
considerable revenue from its flocks of sheep, celeb-
rated for the fineness of their wool; and had received
a little before the contest, a legacy of four hundred
thousand pounds by the testament of a generous
citizen.13 It was the poverty of Laodicea, which
must have been the wealth of those cities, whose
claim appeared preferable, and particularly of Perga-
enum, of Smyrna, and of Ephesus, who so long dis-
puted with each other the titular primacy of Asia.14
The capitals of Syria and Egypt held a still superior
rank in the empire; Antioch and Alexandria looked down with disdain on a crowd of dependent cities,15

from Josephus—the historian given, through the king Agrippa, the
supremacy of the Jews; and the Greeks, as the Romans, inclined the
account is full of declamation from which nothing conclusive for history
can be drawn. Enumerating the people subject to the Romans, he says
of the Greeks, that they submitted to twelve Roman soldiers, which
is false, for there were in Gaul eight legions. (Tit. Ann. book iv. c. 5.)—While there were more than twelve hundred cities.—(Di.

8 Pin. Hist. Natur. iii. 3.

9 This can be said only of the Roman province, for the rest of
Western Europe was far from the equal of Rome in the flourishing state. A passage from Vitruvius shows how much architecture was still in its infancy in Aquitain in the reign of Vespasian. (Vitruv. lib. vii. c. 1.) Speaking of
the miracle architecture of foreign nations, he mentions the Gauls of
Aquitaine, who stiil build in a manner more liberal than that of the
ancient Romans. Pin. Hist. Natur. iii. 3, iv. c. 23. The list seems authentic and se-
parate; the division of the provinces, and the different condition of the
cities, are minutely specified.


12 Tacit. Annal. iv. 55. I have taken some pains in consulting and
comparing modern authors with regard to the number of the populous
cities of Asia. Seven or eight are totally destroyed—Hyippo, Tralles,
Didyma, Abalene, Eum, Ephesus, Ephes, and Miletus. With this list
of the remaining three, Pergamus is a straggling village of two or
three thousand inhabitants; Marsene, under the name of Ge-
vea, the capital of the French department of Ais, might be added.

13 See a very exact and pleasing description of the ruins of Laodicea,
in Chandler's Travels through Asia Minor, p. 253, &c.

14 Strabo, l. iv. 55. I have studied the passage with great attention.

15 See a Dissertation of M. de Boze, Mem. de l'Academie, tom. xviii.
which is incomplete, and is placed between two other notices which
are dedicated to the civil cities.

The inhabitants of Egypt, exclusive of Alexandria, amounted
in seven millions and a half; (Joseph. de Bell. Jud. ii. 26.) Under the
and yielded with reluctance to the majesty of Rome itself.

Roman roads.

All these cities were connected with each other, and with the capital, by the public highways, which, issuing from the forum of Rome, traversed Italy, pervaded the provinces, and were terminated only by the frontiers of the empire. If we carefully trace the distance from the wall of Antoninus to Rome, and from thence to Jerusalem, it will be found that the great chain of communication, from the north-west to the south-east point of the empire, was drawn out to the length of four thousand and eighty Roman miles. The public roads were accurately divided by mile-stones, and ran in a direct line from one city to another, with very little respect for the obstacles which nature and climate presented to the progress of a orderly procession. The Mountains were perforated, and bold arches thrown over the broadest and most rapid streams. The middle part of the road was raised into a terrace which commanded the adjacent country, consisting of several strata of sand, gravel, and cement, and paved with large stones, or in some places, near the capital, with granite. Such was the solid construction of the Roman highways, whose firmness has not entirely yielded to the effort of centuries. They united the subjects of the most distant provinces by an easy and familiar intercourse; but their primary object had been to facilitate the march of the legions, and to render them as completely subdued, till it had been rendered, in all its parts, pious to the arms and authority of the conqueror. The advantage of receiving the earliest intelligence, and of conveying their orders with the greatest celerity, induced the emperors to establish, throughout their extensive dominions, the regular institution of posts. Houses were every where erected at the distance of only five or six miles; each of them was constantly provided with forty horses, and by the help of these relays, it was easy to travel an hundred miles in a day along the Roman roads. The use of the posts was allowed to those who claimed them by an imperial mandate; but though originally intended for the public service, it was sometimes indulged to the business or convenience of private citizens.

Nevigation.

was the communication of the Roman sea less free, and was the land.

The provinces surrounded and enclosed the Mediterranean; and Italy, in the shape of an immense promontory, advanced into the midst of that great lake. The coasts of Italy are, in general, desti- tute of safe harbours; but human industry had corrected the defects of nature; and the ancient promontory of Ostia, in particular, satuate at the mouth of the Tyber, and formed by the emperor Claudius, was a useful monument of Roman greatness. From this port, which was only sixteen miles from the capital, a favourable breeze frequently carried vessels in seven days to the columns of Hercules, and in nine or ten to Alexandria in Egypt. Whatever evils either reason or destiny had inflicted on the empire, the power of Rome was attended with some beneficial consequences to mankind; and the same freedom of intercourse which extended the vices, diffused likewise the improvements, of social life. In the more remote ages of antiquity, the world was unequally divided. The East was in the immemorial possession of arts and luxury; whilst the West was inhabited by rude and warlike barbarians, who either disdained agriculture, or to whom it was totally unknown. Under the protection of an extended government, the productions of happier climates were gradually introduced into the western countries of Eu- rope; and the natives were encouraged, by an open and profitable commerce, to multiply the former, as well as to improve the latter. It would be almost impossible to enumerate all the articles, either of the animal or the vegetable reis, which were successively imported into Europe, from Asia and Egypt; but it will not be unworthy of the dignity, and much less of the utility of an historical work, slightly to touch on a few of the principal heads. 1 Almost Introduction of all the flowers, the herbs, and the fruits, the confessions of foreign extraction, which, in many cases, is betrayed even in their names: the apple was a native of Italy, and when the Romans had tasted the richer flavour of the apricot, the peach, the pomegranate, the citron, and the orange, they contented themselves with applying to all the productions of Asia, the appellative of foreign acquisition, and, to suit it to each other by the additional epithet of their country. 2 In the time of Homer, the vine grew wild in the island of Sicily, and most probably in the adjacent continent; but it was not improved by the skill, nor did it afford a liquor grateful to the taste, of the savage inhabitants. A thousand years afterwards, Italy could boast, that of the four score most generous and celebrated wines, more than two thirds were produced from her soil. The blessing was soon communicated to thearbon- nes provinces, and the olive was introduced to the north of the Cevennes, that in the time of Strabo, it was thought impossible to ripen the grapes in those parts of Gaul. This difficulty, however, was gradually vanquished; and there is some reason to believe, that the vineyards of Burgundy are as old as the age of the Roman empire. The works of the western world, followed the progress of the olive, peace, of which it was considered as the symbol. Two centuries after the foundation of Rome, both Italy and Africa were strangers to that useful plant; it was na- turalized in those countries; and at length carried into the heart of Spain and Gaul. The timid errors of the ancients, that it required a certain degree of heat, and could only flourish in the neighbourhood of the sea,
were insensibly exploded by industry and experience.

4. The cultivation of flax was transported from Egypt to Gaul, and enriched the whole country, however it might impoverish the particular lands on which it was sown.

5. Artificial grass. The use of artificial grasses became familiar to the Romans early, and especially the Lucerne, which derived its name and origin from Media. The assured supply of wholesome and plentiful food for the cattle during winter, multiplied the number of the flocks and herds, which in their turn contributed to the fertility of the soil. To all these improvements may be added, an assiduous attention to mines and fisheries, which, by employing a multitude of laborious hands, serve to increase the pleasures of the rich, and the subsistence of the poor.

General plenty. The elegant treatise of Columella describes the advanced state of the Spanish husbandry, under the reign of Tiberius; and it may be observed, that those famines, which so frequently afflicted the independent republic, were seldom or never experienced by the extensive empire of Rome. The accidental scarcity in any single province, was immediately relieved by the plenty of its more fortunate neighbours.

Arts of luxury. Agriculture is the foundation of numerous foreign trade; and manufactures of their own country, silver, on the side of the Romans, was the principal, if not the only, instrument of commerce. It was a complaint worthy of the gravity of the senate, that in the pursuit of female ornaments, the wealth of the state was irrecoverably given away to foreign and hostile nations. The annual loss is computed by a writer of an inquisitive but censorious temper, at upwards of eight hundred thousand pounds sterling. Such was the style of discontent, brooding over the dark prospect of approaching poverty. And yet, if we compare the proportion between gold and silver, as it stood in the time of Pliny, and as it was fixed in the reign of Constantine, we shall discover within that period a very considerable increase.

But it is no easy task to confine luxury within the limits of an empire. The most remote country, at a time of ancient tribulation, was unsnagged to supply the pomp and delicacy of Rome. The soil of Sceythia afforded some valuable furs. Amber was brought over-land from the shores of the Baltic to the Danube; and the barbarians were astonished at the price which they received in exchange for so useless a commodity. There was considerable demand for Balsylvanian carpets, and other manufactures of the Etruscans, but the most important and unpoplar branch of foreign trade was carried on with Arabia and India. Every year, about the time of the summer solstice, a fleet of a hundred and twenty vessels sailed from Myos Hormos, a port of Egypt on the Red Sea. By the periodical assistance of the monsoons, they traversed the ocean in about forty days. The coast of Malabar, or the island of Caylone, was particularly the market of their naval produce, and it was in those markets that the merchants from the more remote countries of Asia expected their arrival. The return of the fleet of Egypt was fixed to the months of December or January; and as soon as their rich cargo had been transported on the backs of camels, from the Red Sea to the Nile, the merchandise brought from the river as far as Alexandria, was poured, without delay, into the capital of the empire. The objects of oriental traffic were splendid and trifling; silk, a pound of which was esteemed not inferior in value to a pound of gold; precious stones, among which the pearl was the first rank after the diamond; and a variety of aromatics, that were consumed in religious worship and the pomp of funerals. The labour and risk of the voyage was rewarded with almost incredible profit; but the profit was made upon Roman subjects, and a few individuals were enriched at the expense of the public. As the natives of Arabia and India were confined, with the productions and manufactures of their own country, silver, on the side of the Romans, was the principal, if not the only, instrument of commerce. It was a complaint worthy of the gravity of the senate, that in the pursuit of female ornaments, the wealth of the state was irrecoverably given away to foreign and hostile nations. The annual loss is computed by a writer of inquisitive but censorious temper, at upwards of eight hundred thousand pounds sterling. Such was the style of discontent, brooding over the dark prospect of approaching poverty. And yet, if we compare the proportion between gold and silver, as it stood in the time of Pliny, and as it was fixed in the reign of Constantine, we shall discover within that period a very considerable increase.

There is not the least reason to suppose that gold was become more scarce; it is therefore evident that silver was grown more common; that whatever might be the amount of the Indian and Arabian exports, they were far from exhausting the wealth of the Roman world; and that the produce of the mines abundantly supplied the demands of commerce.

Notwithstanding the propensity of mankind to exalt the past, and to deprecate the present, the tranquillity and prosperity of the ancient Romans never was felt by, and honestly confessed, by the provincials as well as Romans. They acknowledged that the true principles of social life, laws, art, general felicity, culture and science, which had been first invented by the wisdom of Athens, were now firmly established by the power of Rome, under whose auspicious influence the heretofore barbarous were united by an equal government and common language. They affirm, that with the improvement of arts, the human species was visibly multiplied. They celebrate the increasing splendour

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1. Called Tappobros by the Romans, and Serendib by the Arabs. It was discovered under the reign of Claudius, and gradually became the principal mart of the East.
4. See the agreeable Essays on Agriculture by Mr. Harte, in which he collected all the materials for his admirable Lucerne.
5. Hist. Germanica, c. 43. Plin. Hist. Nat. xxviii. 11. The latter, observed, with some humour, that even fashion had not yet found out the use of amber. Nero sent a Roman knight to purchase great quantities on the spot where it was produced; the coat of modern Frumina.
Chap. It; [This every and Lungin. possibly provisions, court leaders the to command. except able nourished Galen. Gaul, historic sages, ered tions, of Gaul, and Antonines, for the Romans, the arrived a slow and secret poison into the vitals of the empire. The minds of men were gradually reduced to the lowest level, the fire of genius was extinguished, and even the military spirit evaporated. The natives of Europe were brave and robust. Spain, Gaul, Britain, and Ilyricum, supplied the legions with excellent soldiers, and constituted the real strength of the monarchy. Their personal valor remained, but they no longer possessed that public courage which is nourished by the love of independence, the sense of national honour, the presence of danger, and the habit of command. They received laws and governors from the will of their sovereign, and trusted for their defence to a mercenary army. The posterity of their boldest leaders, the(gt)name]s of which were still associated with the name of citizens' subjects. The most aspiring spirits resorted to the court or standard of the emperors; and the deserted provinces, deprived of political strength or union, insensibly sunk into the languid indigence of private life. 

Decline of genius. The love of letters, almost inseparable from peace and refinement, was fashionable among the subjects of Hadrian and the Antonines, who were themselves men of learning and curiosity. It was diffused over the whole extent of their empire; the most northern tribes of Britons had acquired a taste for rhetoric; Homer as well as Virgil were transcribed and studied on the banks of the Rhine and Danube; and the most liberal rewards sought out the faintest glimmers of literary merit. The sciences of physics and astronomy were successfully cultivated by the Greeks; the observations of Ptolemy and the writings of Galen are studied by those who have improved their discoveries. In the learned world, the darkness of ignorance was lighted, but if we accept the inimitable Lucian, this age of indolence passed away without having produced a single writer of original genius, or who excelled in the arts of composition. The authority of Plato and Aristotle, of Zeno and Epictetus, still reigned in the schools; and their systems were diffused with blind and servile reverence from generation to disciples to another, precluded every generous attempt to exercise the powers, or enlarge the limits, of the human mind. The beauties of the poets and orators, instead of kindling a fire like their own, inspired only cold and servile imitations: or if any ventured to deviate from those models, they deviated at the same time from good sense and propriety. On the revival of letters, the youthful vigour of the imagination, after a long repose, national emulation, a new religion, new language, and a new world, called forth the genius of Europe. But the provincials of Rome, trained by a uniform, artificial, foreign education were engaged in a very unequal competition with those bold ancients, who, by expressing their genuine feelings in their native tongue, had already occupied every place of honour. The name of poet was almost forgotten; that of orator was usurped by the sophists. A cloud of critics, of compilers, of commentators, darkened the face of learning, and the decline of genius was soon followed by the corruption of taste.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Constitution of the Roman Empire, in the age of the Antonines.

The obvious definition of a monarchy idea of a monarch seems to be that of a state, in which a single person, by whatever name he may be distinguished, is invested with the execution of the laws, the management of the revenues, and the direction of the army. But, unless public liberty is protected by intrepid and vigilant guardians, the authority of so formidable a magistrate will soon degenerate into despotism. The influence of the clergy, in an age of superstition, might have been employed to assert the rights of the monarch; but so intimate is the connexion between the throne and the altar, that the banner of the church has very seldom been seen on the side of the people. A martial nobility and stubborn commons, possessed of arms, tenacious of property, and collected into constitutional assemblies, form the only balance capable of preserving a free constitution against the enterprises of an aspiring prince. Every barrier of the Roman constitution situation of the public had been levelled by the vast ambition of the Dictator; every fence had been extirpated by the cruel hand of the Trajan. After the victory of Actium the fate of the Roman world depended on the will of Octavius, crowned Cæsar, by his uncle's adoption, and afterwards Augustus, by the flattery of the Senate. The conqueror was at the head of forty-four veteran legions,4 conscious of their own

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3 Among many other passages, see Pliny, Hist. Nat. iii. 3.) Aristides, De Or. Rom. and Terrall. Did. Anab. c. 30.

4 One of the schools, who first began to reward professors; to each professor of eloquence, Greek or Roman, he gave centesens consul. He transmitted also artists and poets, (see Carnerius, in Fergus 15.) Adrian and the Antonines were less prodigal, and still very liberal. (Sextus, 0.) Herod's Atticus gave the sophist Polemo above eight thousand pounds for three declamations. See Plutarch. L. i. p. 235. The Antonines founded a school at Athens, in which professors of grammar, rhetoric, politics, and the four great sects of philosophy, were maintained at the public expense, for the instruction of youths. The salary of a philo-

4 Longin, de Sublim. c. 43, p. 263. edit. Tola. Here, too, we may say of Longinus, "his own example no less than all his laws." But in these two words, we find also under Adrian, Antoninus, Florus, Plutarch; under the Antonines, Arrianus, Dio Cassius, Appianus, Marcus Aurelius himself. The biographers indulge much too much the labors of Sulpicius Julianus, of Julius Celsius, of Suetonius Paulinus, of Caelius and others. (6.)

5 O Juvencus, reminiscit de agrat vac.

6 Materiam de historia Diurna indulgentiae, — Salut. viii. 19.

7 This sentence is a mere gloss—besides the physicians, the astrono-

8 Longin, de Sublim. c. 43, p. 263. edit. Tall. Here, too, we may say of Longinus, "his own example no less than all his laws." But in these two words, we find also under Adrian, Antoninus, Florus, Plutarch; under the Antonines, Arrianus, Dio Cassius, Appianus, Marcus Aurelius himself. The biographers indulge much too much the labors of Sulpicius Julianus, of Julius Celsius, of Suetonius Paulinus, of Caelius and others. (6.)

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26 O Juvencus, reminiscit de agrat vac.

27 Materiam de historia Diurna indulgentiae, — Salut. viii. 19.
strength, and of the weakness of the constitution, habituated, during twenty years civil war, to every act of blood and violence, and passionately devoted to the house of Caesar, from whence alone they had received, and expected, the most lavish rewards and public honors, were long oppressed by the ministers of the republic, sighed for the government of a single person, who would be the master, not the accomplice, of those petty tyrants. The people of Rome, viewing with a secret pleasure, the humiliation of the aristocracy, demanded only blood and public shows; and were supplied with both by the liberal hand of Augustus. The rich and polite Italians, who had almost universally embraced the philosophy of Epicurus, enjoyed the present blessings of case and tranquility, and suffered not the pleasing dream to be interrupted by the memory of their old tumultuous freedom. With its power, the senate had lost its dignity; many of the most noble families were extinct. The republicans of spirit and ability had perished in the field of battle, or in the proscription. The door of the assembly had been designly left open, for a mixed multitude of more than a thousand persons, who, not being contented with their number, placed upon their rank, instead of deriving honour from it.

He reforms the senate. The reformation of the senate was one of the first steps in which Augustus hid aside the tyrant, and professed himself the father of his country. He was elected censor; and, in concert with his faithful friend, the great Cato, expelled a number of the senators, expelled a few members, whose vices or whose obstinacy required a public example, persuaded near two hundred to prevent the shame of an expulsion by a voluntary retreat, raised the qualification of a senator to about ten thousand pounds, created a sufficient number of new senators, and accepted from the censor his honourable title of Prince of the Senate, which had always been bestowed, by the censors, on the citizen the most eminent for his honours and services. But whilst he thus restored the dignity, he destroyed the independence, of the senate. The principles of a free constitution are irrecoverably lost, when the legislative power is nominated by the executive.

Resigns his censorship. Before an assembly thus modelled and warped power, prepared, Augustus pronounced a studied oration, which displayed his patriotism, and disguised his ambition. He lamented, yet excused, his past conduct. He told the senators that he had been restrained by any form of connexions, the vengeance of his father's murderer; the humanity of his own nature had sometimes given way to the stern laws of necessity, and to a forced connexion with two unworthy colleagues: as long as Antony lived, the republic forbade him to abandon her to a degenerate Roman. He expressed the desire of the people, to satisfy his duty and his inclination. He solemnly restored the senate and people to all their ancient rights; and wished only to mingle with the crowd of his fellow-citizens, and to share the blessings which he had obtained for his country.

It would require the pen of Tacitus to resume it unaided. If Tacitus had assisted at this assembly, to describe the various emotions of the senate; those that were suppressed, and those that were affected. It was dangerous to trust the sincerity of Augustus; to seem to distrust it was still more dangerous. The respective advantages of monarchy and a republic have often divided speculative inquirers; the present great event in the state, the corruption of the provinces, and the licence of the soldiers, supplied new arguments to the advocates of monarchy; and these general views of government were again warped by the hopes and fears of each individual. Amidst this confusion of sentiments, the answer of the senate was unanimous and decisive. They refused to accept the resignation of Augustus; they conjured him not to desert the republic, which he had saved. After a decent resistance, the crafty tyrant submitted to the orders of the senate; and consented to receive the government of the provinces, and the general command of the Roman armies, under the well-known names of Proconsul and Imperator. But he would receive them only for ten years. Even before the expiration of that period, he hoped that the wounds of civil discord would be completely healed, and that the republic, restored to its pristine health and vigour, would no longer require the dangerous interposition of so excessive a constitution. The saturation of this comedy, repeated several times during the life of Augustus, was preserved to the last ages of the empire, by the peculiar pomp with which the perpetual monarchs of Rome always solemnized the tenth years of their reign.

Without any violation of the principle of the republic of the constitution, the general of the war. The Roman armies might receive and exercise an authority almost despotic over the soldiers, the enemies, and the subjects of the republic. With regard to the soldiers, the jealousy of freedom had, even from the earliest ages of Rome, given way to the hopes of conquest, and a just sense of military discipline. The dictator, or consul, had a right to command the service of the Roman youth; and to punish an obstinate or cowardly disobedience by the most severe and ignominious penalties, by striking the offender out of the list of citizens, by confiscating his property, and by selling his person into slavery. The most sacred rights of freedom, confirmed by the Porcian and Sempronian laws, were suspended by the military engagement. In his camp the general exercised an absolute power of life and death; his jurisdiction was not con- structural, nor ruled of trial, or rules of law. The execution of the sentence was immediate and without appeal. The choice of the enemies of Rome was regularly decided by the legislative authority. The most important resolutions of peace and war were seriously debated in the senate, and solemnly ratified by the executive; but when the arms of the legions were carried to a great distance from Italy, the generals assumed the liberty of directing them against whatever people, and in whatever manner, they judged most advantageous for the public service. It was from the success, not from the justice, of their enterprises, that they expected the honours of a triumph. In the use of victory, especially after they were no longer controlled by the commissioners of the senate, they exercised the most unbounded despotism. When Pompey commanded in the east, he rewarded his soldiers and allies, dethroned princes, divided kingdoms, founded colonies, and distributed the treasures of Mithridates. On his return to Rome, he obtained by a single act of the senate and people, the universal rati-
The decline and fall.

34

The former preserves his military command and guards in Rome itself. In return for this imaginary concession, which rendered him master of the armies of Italy and the principal towns of the Roman kingdom, he was authorized to preserve his military command, supported by a numerous body of guards, even in times of peace, and in the person of his son Tiberius, destined to be the successor to the empire. Augustus was thus confined to those citizens who were engaged in the service by the military oath; but such was the propensity of the Romans to scritude, that the oath was voluntarily taken by the magistrates, the senators, and the equestrian order, till the homage of flattery was imposed and reduced into an annual and solemn protestation of fidelity.

Although Augustus considered a military force as the firmest foundation, he attributed the military, civil, and religious power, wisely rejected it, as a very odious instrument, of government. It was more agreeable to his temper, as well as to his policy, to reign under the venerated names of ancient magistracy, and artfully to collect, in his own person, all the scattered rays of civil jurisdiction. With this view, he permitted the senate to confer upon him, for his life, the powers of the consuls and the tribunals of justice, which were, in the ancient constitution, exercised by the emperor, the Senate, and the people. The administrative power, which the general control of the finances was intrusted to their care; and though they seldom had leisure to administer justice in person, they were considered as the supreme guardians of law, equity, and the public peace. Such was their ordinary jurisdiction; but whenever the senate approved the first magistrate to consult the safety of the commonwealth, he was raised by that degree above the laws, and exercised, in the defence of liberty, a temporary despotism. The character of the tribunes was, in every respect, different from that of the consuls. The appearance of the former was elevated and magnificent; the impudent and insolent, which the consul or the tribune might derive from their respective jurisdiction, was diminished by several important restrictions. Their authority expired with the year in which they were elected; the former office was divided between two, the latter among ten persons; and, as both in their private and public interest, they were averse to each other, their mutual conflicts contributed, for the most part, to strengthen rather than to destroy the balance of the constitution.

But when the consular and praetorian guards were increased, the federal authority of the people was mitigated, the senatorial government was made subservient to the personal power of the emperor. Augustus exercised above six annual consuls, without interruption. He thus most artfully refined that magistracy, as well as the dictatorship, abased himself from Rome, and waited till the total effects of his annual administration were received with the senate to supersede the consuls. Augustus, as well as his successors, affected, however, to conceal the alterations which they had before made; when pro-consuls were attended by six lieutenants, who had the right of the sword and wore also a military dress (palatine), the appointment of these lieutenants was by the emperor, and his most successful lieutenants were satisfied with some marks of distinction, which, under the name of triumphal honours, were invented in their favour.

This distinction is without foundation. The lieutenants of the emperor were not considered as pro-consuls, when they were attended by six lieutenants, who had the right of the sword and were also a military dress (palatine), and who received the awards. The lieutenants sent by the senate, who were styled pro-consule, whether they had or had not been consuls, had twelve lieutenants, they were attended by six lieutenants, and they had the right of the sword. The provinces of Africa and Asia were never given, except to military commanders, in the manner of the gift of the provinces to the emperor of Rome, as Dion, lib. iii. 12—16, and in Strabo (lib. xvii. p. 480,—the Greek text for the Latin translation is imperfect.)—O.

The Roman army was stationed in the provinces by the emperor, Augustus, whose name was inscribed on their shields. The former presided in the military command, and was commander in chief.
tributionary powers were united, when they were vested for life in a single person, when the general of the army was, at the same time, the minister, and that of the Roman people, it was impossible to resist the exercise, nor was it easy to define the limits of his imperial prerogative.

Imperial prerogatives. The policy of Augustus soon added the splendid as well as important dignities of supreme pontifex, and prince of the Roman people, to the management of the religion, and by the latter a legal inspection over the manners and fortunes of the Roman people. If so many indistinct and independent powers did not exactly unite with each other, the complaisance of the senate was prepared to supply every deficiency by the exercise of its advice and control. The emperors, as the first ministers of the republic, were exempted from the obligation and penalty of many inconvenient laws: they were authorized to convocate the senate, to make several motions in the same day, to recommend candidates for the honours of the state, to employ the bounds of the city, to employ the revenue at their discretion, to declare peace and war, to ratify treaties; and by a most comprehensive clause, they were empowered to execute whatsoever they should judge advantageous to the empire, and agreeable to the majesty of things private or public, human or divine.

The magistrates. The five government were committed to the imperial magistrate, the ordinary magistrates of the commonwealth languished in obscurity, without vigour, and almost without business. The names and forms of the ancient administration were preserved by Augustus with the most anxious care. The usual number of consuls, pretors, and tribunes, were annually invested with their respective ensigns of office, and continued to discharge some of their least important functions. Those honours still attracted the vain ambition of the Romans; and the emperors themselves, though they sometimes committed the confidence of the government, frequently aspired to the title of that annual dignity, which they condescended to share with the most illustrious of their fellow-citizens. In the election of these magistrates, the people, during the reign of Augustus, were permitted to expose all the inconveniences of a wild democracy. That artful prince, in place of discovering the symptom of impatience, humbly solicited their suffrages, and the emperors were delivered from their friends, and scrupulously practised all the duties of an ordinary candidate.1 But we may venture to ascribe to his counsels the first measure of the succeeding reign, by which the elections were transferred to the senate.2 The assemblies of the people were for ever abolished, and the emperors were delivered from a dangerous multitude, who, without restoring liberty, might have disturbed, and perhaps endangered, the established government.

By declaring themselves the protectors of the people, Marcius and Caesar divided the empire among their country. But as soon as the senate had been humbled and disarmed, such an assembly, consisting of five or six hundred persons, was found a much more tractable and useful instrument of dominion. It was on the dignity of the senate, that Augustus and his successors founded their new empire; and they affected, on every occasion, to adopt the language and principles of Patricians. In the administration of their own powers, they frequently consulted the great national council, and seemed to refer to its decision the most important concerns of peace and war. Rome, Italy, and the internal provinces of the empire were immediately submitted to the authority of the senate. With regard to civil objects, it was the supreme court of appeal; with regard to criminal matters, a tribunal, constituted for the trial of all offences that were committed by men in any public station, or that affected the peace and majesty of the Roman people.

The exercise of the judicial power became the most frequent and serious occupation of the senate; and the important causes that were pleaded before them, afforded a last refuge to the spirit of ancient eloquence. As a council of state, and as a court of justice, the senate possessed very considerable prerogatives; but in its legislative capacity, in which it was supposed virtually to represent the people, the rights of sovereignty were acknowledged to reside in that assembly. Every power was derived from their authority, every law was ratified by their sanction. Their regular meetings were held on three stated days in every month, the Calends, the Nones, and the Ides. Such debates were conducted with decent freedom; and the emperors themselves, who gloried in the name of senators, sat, voted, and divided with their equals.

To resume, in a few words, the system of the imperial government; as it the imperial system was instituted by Augustus, and retained by those princes who understood their own interest and that of the people, it may be defined an absolute monarchy disguised by the forms of a commonwealth. The masters of the Roman world surrounded their throne with darkness, concealed their irresistible strength, and humbly professed themselves the accountable ministers of the senate, whose supreme decrees they dictated and obeyed.3

The face of the court corresponded with the form of the administration.4

1 Quaeque Magistretuum Comitium interessit. Tribus sum candidatis maximi circituarum spectaculisqueque magistratibus, improbandis siipsa Suffragia, ut se m. 3.3. 23.)

2 The tyrants themselves were ambitious of the conship. The virtuous quality of the magistrates was as much esteemed as the change of it. Trajan revived the ancient oath, and swore before the imperial tribunal, that he would observe the laws. (Plin. Panegyr. c. 61.)
The emperors, if we except those tyrants whose capricious folly violated every law of nature and decency, dismissing pomp and ceremony which might otherwise have been ascribed to them, but could add nothing to their real power. In all the offices of life, they affected to confound themselves with their subjects, and maintained with them an equal intercourse of visits and entertainments. Their habits, their palace, their table, were suited to the character of a tyrant. But the rank of the Carolingians, their family, however numerous or splendid, was composed entirely of their domestic slaves and freedmen.  

Augustus or Trajan would have blushed at employing the meanest of the Romans in those menial offices, which, in the household and bed-chamber of a limited monarch, are eagerly solicited by the profligate nobility of Britain.

The deification of the emperors is the only instance in which they departed from their accustomed prudence and modesty. The Asiatic Greeks were the first inventors, the successors of Alexander the first objects of this sacerdotal mode of adoration. It was easily transferred from the kings to the governors of Asia; and the Roman magistrates very frequently were adored as provincial deities, with the pomp of altars and temples, of festivals and sacrifices. Augustus intended that posterity should not refuse what the proconsuls had accepted; and the divine honours which both the one and the other received from the provinces, attested rather the despotic than the servile of Rome. But the conquerors soon imitated the vanquished nations in the arts of flattery; and the imperious spirit of the first Caesar too easily consented to assume, during his life-time, a place among the tutelar deities of Rome. The milder temper of his successor declined so dangerous an ambition, which was never afterwards revived, except by the madness of Caligula and Domitian. Augustus performed some of the public ceremonies at the great temples to his honour, on condition that they should associate the worship of Rome with that of the sovereign; he tolerated private superstition, of which he might be the object but he contented himself with being revered by the senate and people in his human character, and wisely left to his successor the care of his public deification. A regular custom was introduced, that on the decease of every emperor who had neither lived nor died like a tyrant, the senate by a solemn decree should place him in the number of the god-like, and their munera were blended with those of his funeral. This legal, and, as it should seem, injudicious, profanation, so abhorrent to our stricter principles, was received with a very faint murmur, by the easy nature of polytheism; but it was received as an institution, not of religion, but of policy. We should disgrace the virtues of the Antonines, neglecting to distinguish the post of Hercules or Jupiter. Even the characters of Caesar or Augustus were far superior to those of the popular deities. But it was the misfortune of the former to live in an enlightened age, and their actions were too faithfully recorded to admit of such a mixture of fable and mysticism.

In the consideration of the imperial Titles of Augustus, we have frequently mentioned the origin of the apotheosis, under his well-known title of Augustus, which was not, however, conferred upon him till the edifice was almost completed. The obscure name of Octavianus, he derived from a mean family, in the little town of Aricia. It was stained with the blood of the prescripition; and he was desirous, preserved for the monarch, whilst the memory of Caesar was revered among the people. The illustrious surname of Caesar he had assumed, as the adopted son of the dictator; but he had too much good sense, either to hope to be confounded, or to wish to be compared, with that extraordinary man. His apotheosis was accompanied with a new appellation: and after a very serious discussion, that of Augustus was chosen, among several others, as being the most expressive of the character of peace and sanctity, which he uniformly affected. Augustus was therefore a personal, Caesar a family, and Augustus a benevolent name, with the prince on whom it was bestowed; and however the latter was diffused by adoption and female alliance, Nero was the last prince who could allege any hereditary claim to the honors of the Julian line. But, at the time of his death, the practice of a century was already established, of ascribing to the emperors the entire imperial dignity, and they have been preserved by a long succession of emperors, Romans, Greeks, Franks, and Germans, from the fall of the republic, to the present time. A distinction was, however, soon introduced. The sacred title of Augustus was always reserved for the monarch, whilst the memory of Caesar was more freely communicated to his relations; and from the reign of Hadrian, at least, was appropriated to the second person in the state, who was considered as the presumpitive heir of the empire.

The Character and Policy of Augustus. The Character and Policy of Augustus, who by his birth or adoption belonged to the family of the Caesars, took the name of Caesar. After the death of Nero, this title was transferred to the new emperor, who was his adoptive son, —the name to which it was applied, according to Tacitus (Hist. lib. 1. c. 15.) and Suetonius (Galba, c. 17), that Galba conferred upon Piso Lucernarius the title of Caesar, and that this was the origin of the use of this word, which two historians say simply that Galba adopted Piso for his successor, and makes no mention of the sacrifice. However, this is apparent from what Augustus Vivian (De Probas 347) says, that Adrian first received the title upon his adoption; but since the adoption was merely a form, this new name remained with him after the death of the new emperor. It had not probably created a new title for a man who was to succeed him, it is more than probable that Augustus Verus was the first who was called Caesar, when adopted by Adrian. Sports in Allendo Vera, c. 1 and 2.

*A weak prince will always be governed by his domestics. The power of slaves aggravated the shame of the Roman; and the senate paid court to a Pallas or a Narrarius. There is a chance that a modern favourite may be a gentleman.

*See a treatise of Vandal de Conservaciones Principium. It would be easier for me to copy, than it has been to verify, the quotations of that learned Dutchman.

1 [This is incorrect. The successors of Alexander were not the first deified. The cultus of Alexander the Great and his eponymous conquerors had defied and worshipped many of their kings—The Olympian of the Greeks was peopled with divinities with human attributes. Romulus himself had received the honors of apotheosis (Tit. Liv. lib. i. c. 16,) a long time before Alexander and his successors. It is also incorrect to confound the homage rendered by temples and altars to the provinces to Roman governors with the real apotheosis of the emperors. This was a religious worship, for there were neither private nor sacrificial. Augustus was severely suspected for having permitted himself to be worshipped as a god in the provinces. (Tit. Annum. lib. i. c. 10.) He would not have incurred the censure and been reviled by the provincials as being reviled by the Roman governors.]

2 [In the Amba Mouratig in the first volume of the Academy of Inscriptions, a temple to severum primus arcus, says Horace to the emperor himself, and Horace was well acquainted with the costume of Augustus.

*Augustus received the honors of apotheosis were not conferred on good princes alone. They were bestowed also on many tyrants. (See an excellent treatise of the concordia conspectus tempora in his Commentationes historice et critic.) B. 1714, p. 54. —] 3 [Cicero in Phil. loc. c. Julian in Carthage. Impe Deim templi Janiti. Roma per annos, in the indictment of Lucass, but it is a patriotic, rather than a devout, indignation.

*Octavius was not descended from an obscure family, but from a distinguished family of the equestrian order; his father, C. Octavius, who possessed great wealth, had been praetor, governor of Macedonia, honored with the title of imperator, and was upon the point of becoming consul, when he died. His mother, Atia, was the daughter of M. Atius Balbus, who had also been praetor. Mark Anthony reproached Octavius with the place of his birth, Atia, which was, nevertheless, a large municipal town, but Cicero forcibly refuted him. (Philipp. iii. c. 6.) —] 4 [Bion Cassius, i. liii. p. 718, with the various annotations of Romney.

*Those princes who by their birth or adoption belonged to the family of the Caesars, took the name of Caesar. After the death of Nero, this title was transferred to the new emperor, who was his adoptive son, —the name to which it was applied, according to Tacitus (Hist. lib. 1. c. 15.) and Suetonius (Galba, c. 17), that Galba conferred upon Piso Lucernarius the title of Caesar, and that this was the origin of the use of this word, which two historians say simply that Galba adopted Piso for his successor, and makes no mention of the sacrifice. However, this is apparent from what Augustus Vivian (De Probas 347) says, that Adrian first received the title upon his adoption; but since the adoption was merely a form, this new name remained with him after the death of the new emperor. It had not probably created a new title for a man who was to succeed him, it is more than probable that Augustus Verus was the first who was called Caesar, when adopted by Adrian. Sports in Allendo Vera, c. 1 and 2.—]
vices, were artificial; and according to the various dictates of his interest, he was at first the enemy, and at last the father, of the Roman world. When he framed the artful system of the Imperial authority, his motto was, and the public interest was considered as his guide to deceive the people by an image of civil liberty, and the armies by an image of civil government.

Image of liberty 1. The death of Caesar was ever before for the people his eyes. He had lavished wealth and honours on his adherents; but the most favoured friends of his uncle were in the same position as the slaves and the freedmen. The fidelity of the legions might defend his authority against open rebellion; but their vigilance could not secure his person from the dagger of a determined republican; and the Romans, who revered the memory of Brutus, would applaud the imitation of his virtue. Caligula, who provoked his fate, as much by the ostentation of his power, as by his power itself. The consul or the tribune might have reigned in peace. The title of king had armed the Romans against his life. Augustus was sensible that mankind is governed by names; nor was he deceived in his expectation, that the senate and people would submit to slavery, provided their ancient freedom. A feeble senate and enervated people cheerfully acquiesced in the pleasing illusion, as long as it was supported by the virtue, or even by the prudence, of the successors of Augustus. It was a motive of self-preservation, not a principle of liberty, that restrained the Romans from the practice of allegiance to Augustus and his successors. They attacked the person of the tyrant, without aiming their blow at the authority of the emperor.

II. The insolvency of the armies incident to the aspiration of Augustus with fears of a still more alarming nature. The despair of the citizens could only attempt, what the power of the soldiers was at any time able to execute. How precarious was his own authority over men whom he had taught to violate every social duty! He had heard their seditious clamours; he dreaded their calmer moments of reflection. One revolution had been purchased by immense rewards; but a second revolution might double those rewards. The troops professed the fondest attachment to the house of Caesar; but the attachments of the multitude are capricious and inconstant. Augustus summoned to his aid whatever remained in those fierce minds of Roman prejudices; he enforced the rules of discipline by the law; and, interposing the majesty of the senate between the emperor and the army, boldly claimed their allegiance, as the first magistrate of the republic.

During a period of two hundred years of their obedience, twenty years, from the establishment of this artful system of subversion, the dangers inherent to a military government were, in a great measure, suspended. The soldiery were seldom roused to that fatal sense of their own strength, and of the weakness of the civil authority, which was, before and afterwards, productive of so many dreadful calamities. Caligula and Domitian were assassinated in their palace by their own domestics; the convulsions which agitated Rome on the death of the former, were confined to the walls of the city. But Nero involved the whole empire in his ruin. In the space of eighteen months, four princes perished by the sword; and the Roman world was shaken by the fury of forty thousand standing armies. For a period of only seven years, though the corruption of military licence, the two centuries from Augustus to Commodus passed away unstained with civil blood, and undisturbed by revolutions. The emperor was elected by the authority of the senate, and the consent of the soldiers. The legions respected their emperor, and it requires no wonder that the Roman annals to discover three inconsiderable rebellions, which were all suppressed in a few months, and without even the hazard of a battle.

In elective monarchies, the vacancy of a throne is a moment big with danger, and mischief; but to despotic princes, desirous to spare the legions that interval of suspense, and the temptation of an irregular choice, invested their designed successor with so large a share of present power, as should enable him, after their decease, to assume the remainder, without suffering the empire to perceive the change of masters. Thus Augustus, after all his fairer prospects had been snatched from him by untimely deaths, rested his last hopes on Tiberius, obtained for his adopted son the censorship and tributary powers, and dictated a law, by which the future prince was invested with an authority equal to the whole, and above the provinces and the armies. Thus Vespasian subdued the generous mind of his eldest son. Titus was adored by the eastern legions, which, under his command, had recently achieved the conquest of Judea.

His power was dreaded, and, as his virtues were

\[1\] As Octavius advanced to the banquet of the Caesars, his colonel changed like that of the camels: pale at first, then red, afterwards blue at last assumed the mild liveliness of Venus and the Graces (Caes. p. 396.) This image, employed by Julian in his ingenuous fiction, is in reality borrowed from the poets, who give this change of character as real, and ascribes it to the power of philosophy, which he was supposed to have imparted to himself, and to Octavius.

\[2\] Two centuries after the establishment of monarchy, the emperor Marcus Antonius recommends the character of Brutus as a perfect model of Roman virtue. (Sallust, ii. ii. 121.) It is much to be regretted that we have lost part of Tacitus, which treated of that transaction. We are forced to contract ourselves with the popular romances of Josephus, and the important hints of Dion and Suetonius.

\[3\] As Octavianus advanced to the banquet of the Caesars, his colonel changed like that of the camels: pale at first, then red, afterwards blue at last assumed the mild liveliness of Venus and the Graces (Caes. p. 396.) This image, employed by Julian in his ingenuous fiction, is in reality borrowed from the poets, who give this change of character as real, and ascribes it to the power of philosophy, which he was supposed to have imparted to himself, and to Octavius.

\[4\] The first was Catullus, the last was Quinctius, to Dumnica against the Roman army. He was deserted by the Roman army in five days. The second, L. Antonius, was defeated at Dumnica. The third, Vindex Caesaris, in the reign of M. Antoninus, was defeated, but five months, and was cut off by the enemy.

\[5\] We may observe, that Cassius and Lucius dissatisfied the people, and of restoring the republic, and, on this occasion, insulated him for his name and family.
eluded by the intemperance of youth, his designs were suspected. Instead of listening to such unworthy suspicions, the prudent monarch associated Titus to the full powers of the imperial dignity; and the grateful son ever approved himself the humble and faithful minister of so indulgent a father. The race of the Caesars had ceased; the first to embrace every measure of Flavian policy, that might confirm his recent and precarious elevation. The military oath, and the fidelity of the troops, had been consecrated, by the habits of an hundred years, to the name and family of the Caesars; and though that family had been continued only by the fictitious right of adoption, the name and person in the person of Nero, the grandson of Germanicus, and the lincoal successor of Augustus. It was not without reluctance and remorse, that the prætorian guards had been persuaded to abandon the cause of the tyrant. The rapid downfall of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, taught the armies to consider the emperors as the creatures of their will, and the instruments of their licence. The birth of Vespasian was mean; his grand father had been a private soldier, his father a petty officer of the revenue; his own merit had raised him to the empire. But his merit was rather useful than shining, and his virtues were disdained by a strict and even sordid parsimony. Such a prince consulted his true interest by the association of a son, whose more splendid and amiable character might turn the public attention, from the obscure origin to the future glory, of the Flavian house. Under the mild administration of Titus, the Roman world enjoyed a transient felicity, and his beloved memory served to protect, above fifteen years, the vices of his brother Domitian.

A.D. 96. Adoption and beginning of Trajan's reign. While he discovered that his feeble age was unable to stem the torrent of public disorders, which had multiplied under the long tyranny of his predecessor. His mild disposition was respected by the good; but the degenerate Romans required a more vigorous character, whose justice should strike terror into the guilty. Though he had several relations, he fixed his choice on a stranger. He adopted Trajan, then about forty years of age, and who commanded a powerful army in the Lower Germany; and immediately, by a decree of the senate, declared him his collegue and successor.** It is sincerely to be lamented, that whilst we are fatigued with the disagreeable actions of Nero's crimes and follies, we are reduced to collect the actions of Trajan from the glimmerings of an abridgment, or the doubtful light of a parry. There remain, however, one pomegranate far removed beyond the suspension of flattery. Above two hundred and fifty years after the death of Trajan, the senate in pouring out the customary acclamations on the accession of a new emperor, wished that he might surpass the felicity of Augustus, and the virtues of Trajan.

A. D. 117. Of Hadrian. Hadrian. We may readily believe, that the father of his country hesitated whether he ought to intrust the various and doubtful character of his kinsman, Hadrian, with sovereign power. In his last moments, the arts of the empress Plotina, either fixed an impression of Otho's and Titus's fictitious adoption; or the truth of which could not be safely disputed, and Hadrian was peaceably acknowledged as his lawful successor. Under his reign, as has been already mentioned, the empire flourished in peace and prosperity. He encouraged the arts, reformed the laws, asserted military discipline, and visited all his provinces in person. His vast and active genius was equally suited to the most enlarged views, and the most minute details of civil administration. The passions of his soul were curiosity and vanity. As they prevailed, and as they were attracted by different objects, Hadrian was, by turns, an excellent prince, a ridiculous sophist, and a jealous tyrant. The general tenor of his conduct deserved praise. His equity and moderation prevailed in the first reverences of his worship, and in the death of four consulate senators, his personal enemies, and men who had been judged worthy of empire; and the tenderness of a painful illness rendered him, at last, peevish and cruel. The senate doubted whether they should pronounce him a god or a tyrant; and the honour bestowed on his memory were granted to the prayers of the pious Antonius.

The caprice of Hadrian influenced his Adoption of the choice of a successor. After revolving older and younger in his mind several men of distinguished Verus. He adopted Elatus Verus, a gay and voluptuous noblemans, recommended by uncommon beauty to the lover of Antonius. But while Hadrian was delighting himself with his own applause, and the acclamations of the soldiers, whose consent had been secured by an immense donation, the new Caesar, wishing to gain a footing in the court, was by his ambition and fruitless schemes, hurrying on an untimely death. He left only one son. Hadrian commended the boy to the gratitude of the Antonines. He was adopted by Pius; and, on the accession of Marcus, was invested with an equal share of sovereign power. Among the many views of this younger Verus, he possessed the one of associating a fellow emperor, by which he could elevate himself to the rank of a colleague, to whom he willingly abandoned the ruder cares of empire. The philosophical emperor dissembled his follies, lamented his early death, and cast a decent veil over his memory.

As soon as Hadrian's passion was Adoption of the offered to the either gratified or disappointed, he re- to two Antonines, solved to deserve the thanks of posterity, by placing the same exalted merit on the Roman. His discerning eye easily discovered a senator about fifty years of age, blameless in all the offices of life; and a youth of about seventeen, whose riper years opened the fairest aspect of a very virtuous; the elder of those was declared the son and successor of Hadrian, on condition, however, that he himself should immediately adopt the younger. The two Antonines (for it is of them that we are now speaking) governed the Roman world forty-two years, with the same inviable spirit of wisdom and virtue. Although Pius had two sons, he preferred the welfare of Rome to the interest of his family, gave his daughter Faustina in marriage to young Marcus, obtained from the Senate the tribonian and consular powers, and with a noble disdain, or rather

That Hadrian was called to the certain hope of the empire, during the life of his son.

Dion, (p. 1271.) Aurel. Victor.

The deliration of Antonius, his medals, statues, temples, cities, oracles, and constitution, are well known, and still dis honour the memory of Hadrian. Yet we may remark, that of the first fifteen emperors, Claudius is the only one whose name is omitted. For the honours of Antonius, see Spintherus, Commentaire sur ces Caesars, p. 69.

Hist. August, p. 13. Aurelius Victor in Epitom. 3 Without the help of medals and inscriptions, we should be ignorant of this fact, without the approbation by memory of Hecules. Jude.

Gibbon attributes a merit to Antonius Pius which he had not, or which is not shown on this occasion. He had not himself been adopted, except on condition that he should adopt in turn, M. Antoninus Pius, Augustus's son in childhood, whom he loved. When, however, they met that old couple, himself, M. Caligula, seems to have survived only a few years after the accession of his father. Gibbon is also deceived when he says, (see supra.) *" The number of medals and inscriptions we should be surprised that Antonius had two sons." Capitoline eyes e'capra, (c. xxi. p. 5.) For very few of the others. We are indebted to the medals only for their names. (Page C. I. of War, ad. C. 161. vol. 1. p. 33. ed. Para.-G.)
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ignorance, of jealousy, associated him to all the labours of government. Marcus, on the other hand, revered the character of his benefactor, loved him as a parent, obeyed him as his sovereign, and, after he was dead, conducted his own administration by the example and maxims of his predecessor. Their united reigns are possibly the only period of history in which the happiness of a great people was the sole object of government.

Character and Reigns of Antoninus Pius.

Titus Antoninus Pius has been justly ranked with a second Nerva. The same love of religion, justice, and peace, was the distinguishing characteristic of both princes. But the situation of the latter opened a much larger field for the exercise of those virtues. Numa could only prevent a few neighbouring villages from plundering each other; but Antoninus diffused order and tranquillity over the greatest part of the earth. His reign is marked by the rare advantage of furnishing very few materials for history; which is, indeed, little more than the register of the crimes, follies, and misfortunes of mankind. In private life, he was an amiable as well as a good man. The manner of his death, his last words to his wife, his death by vanity or accident. He enjoyed with moderation the conveniences of his fortune, and the innocent pleasures of society; and the benevolence of his soul displayed itself in a cheerful serenity of temper.

Of Marcus

The virtuous and benevolent character of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus was of a severer and more labious kind. It was the well-earned harvest of many a learned conference, of many a patient lecture, and many a midnight humiliation. At the age of twelve years he embraced the rigid system of the Stoics, which taught him to submit his body to his mind, his passions to reason; to consider vice as the only bad, good, vice as the only evil, all things external as things indifferent. His meditations, composed in the tumult of a camp, are still extant; and he even descended to give lessons of philosophy, in a more public manner, than was perhaps consistent with the modesty of a sage, or the dignity of an emperor. But his life was the noblest commentary on the precepts of Zeno. He was severe to himself, indulgent to the imperfections of others, just and beneficent to all mankind. He regretted that Avitus Cassius, who excited a rebellion in Syria, had disappointed him, by a wanton disregard of the pleasure of converting an enemy into a friend; and he justified the sincerity of that sentiment, by moderating the zeal of the senate against the adherents of the traitor. When he detested, as the disgrace and calamity of human nature; but he never was of a just disposition to alarm him to take arms, he readily exposed his person to eight winter campaigns, on the frozen banks of the Danube, the severity of which was at last fatal to the weakness of his constitution. His memory was revered by a grateful posterity, and above a century after his death, his person preserved the image of Marcus Antoninus among those of their household gods.

During the twenty-three years of Pius's reign, Marcus was only two nights absent from the palace, and even those at different Hist. August. p. 125.

He was fond of the theatre, and not insensible to the charms of the fair sex. Marcus Anton. i. 16. Hist. Aug. p. 30. Julian in Cassius. Thuc. ii. 5. He was charged with having been wont of that simplicity which distinguished Pius and even Verus (Hist. August. 6-23). This suspicion, as usual it might serve to account for the superior application bestowed upon philosophy, in preference to the social virtues. Even Marcus Antoninus has been called a hyeron, but the wildest reptile never recovered itself after being shorn of its tail. Marcus Antoninus might possibly be a coward, or Tully a fool. Wit and valor are qualifications more easily ascertained than humility or the love of justice.

Thucitus has characterised, in a few words, the principles of the policy of Antoninus, as follows: "The empire can not be justified by its own peculiar circumstances, but by a just, universal, and eternal law. A prince must never seek his happiness by the destruction, that absolute power, which they had exercised for the benefit of their people. The ideal restrictions of the Senate and the laws might serve to display the virtues, but could never correct the vices, of the emperor. The military force was a blind and irresistible instrument of oppression; and the employments of Roman manners would always supply flattering eager to applaud and ministers prepared to serve, the fear or the avarice, the lust or the cruelty, of their masters.

These gloomy apprehensions had been already justified by the experience of the Tiberius, Caligula, and Neron. The annals of the emperors Nero, and the Antonines, exhibit a strong and various picture of human nature, which we should vainly seek among the mixed and doubtful characters of modern history. In the conduct of these monarchs we may trace the utmost lines of vice and virtue; the most exalted personal duties, and the most deplorable, but often necessitated, degradation of the most elevated species. The golden age of Trajan and the Antonines, had been preceded by an age of iron. It is almost superfluous to enumerate the unworthy successors of Augustus. Their unparalleled vices, and the splendid theatre which they were actuated, had saved them from oblivion. The gentle Tiberius, the cruel and enviable Cagulia, the feeble Claudius, the profligate and cruel Nero, the beastly Vitiellus, and the timid and inhuman Domitian, are condemned to everlasting infamy. During fourscore years (excepting only the short and doubtful respite of Vespasian's reign) Rome remained beneath an unmitting tyranny, which exterminated the ancient families of the republic, and was fatal to almost every virtue, and every talent, that arose in that unhappy period.

Under the reign of these monsters, Persecution the slavery of the Romans was accompanied by two peculiar circumstances, that the one occasioned by their former liberty, the other by their extensive conquests, which rendered their condition more completely wretched than that of the

Vitiellus consumed in mere eating, at least six times as much of our meat, and in about seven times the number of our dishes, as well as having a variety of dishes with dainties, or even dainties. Tacitus fairly calls him a hog, but it is by substituting to a hog a name that is very respectable in Greece, soubi calls hortificus abitus, ut ignes animales, calbus eribun muggerat precedentum, pretentia, instanza, futura, partis aliud aliquam dimissari. Augustus already demanded Antoninus desidera et metuere, Cuv. Thuc. iii. 30. 5. 55. Sueton in vita. 12. Dion Cosis. i. liv. p. 1602.

The execution of Heber feeble Psephos, and of the virtuous Eques, disgraced the reign of Vespasian.
victims of tyranny in any other age or country. From these causes were derived, 1. The exquisite sensibility of the sufferers; and, 2. The impossibility of escaping from the hand of the oppressor.

In a nation of serfs, the experience of every day might almost at once have revealed the ambition of his sword, suspended above him by a single thread, seems not to have disturbed the slumbers, or interrupted the tranquility, of the Persian. The monarch’s crown, he well knew, could level him with the dust; but the stroke of lightning or apocalypse might be equally fatal; and it was the part of a wise man, to forget the inevitable calamities of human life in the enjoyment of the fleeting hour. He was dignified with the appellation of the king’s slave; had, perhaps, been purchased from obscure parents, in a country which he had never known; he was but roused up from his infancy in the severe discipline of the serfs; and, to his honours, were the gift of a master, who might, without injustice, resume what he had bestowed. Russia’s knowledge, if he possessed any, could only serve to confirm his habits by prejudices. His language affected not worthy any form of government; his absolute monarchy. The history of the East informed him, that such had ever been the condition of mankind. 1 The Koran, and the interpreters of that divine book, inculcated to him, that the sultan was the descendant of the prophet, and the viceroy of heaven; that security or their own country had taught them to revere a free, a virtuous, and a victorious commonwealth; to abhor the successful crimes of Cæsar and Augustus; and inwardly to despise those tyrants whom they adored with the most abject flattery. As magistrates and senators, they were admitted into the great council, which had once dictated laws to the earth, whose name still gave a sanction to the acts of the monarch, and whose authority was so often prostituted to the vilest purposes of tyranny. Tiberius, and those emperors who adopted his maxims, attempted to disgrace their murders by the formalities of justice, and perhaps enjoyed a secret pleasure in rendering the senate their accomplice as well as their victim. By this assembly, the last of the Romans were condemned for imaginary crimes and real virtues. Their infamous accusers assumed the language of independent patriots, who, professedly to defend their country, bore the tribunal of his country; and the public service was rewarded by riches and honours. 2 The scruple judges professed
to assert the majesty of the commonwealth, violated in the person of its first magistrate; whose eloquence they most applauded when they trembled the most at his inexorable and impending cruelty. 2 The tyrant beheld their baseness with just contempt, and encountered their secret sentiments of desuetude with sincere and avowed hatred for the whole body of the senate.

II. The division of Europe into a number of independent states, connected empire left them however, with each other, by the general place of refuge. resemblance of religion, language, and manners, is productive of the most beneficial consequences to the liberty of table deserts, hostile tribes of barbarians, by their absolute monarchy. The slave of imperial despotism, whether he was commanded to drag his gilded chain in Rome and the senate, or to wear out a life of exile on the barren rock of Sardinia, or the frozen banks of the Danube, expected his fate in silent despair. 4 It was the more tolerable. On every side he was encompassed with a vast extent of sea and land, which he could never hope to traverse without being discovered, seized, and restored to his irritated master. Beyond the frontiers, his anxious view could discover nothing, except the ocean, inhospitable deserts, hostile tribes of barbarians, and distant and unknown language, or dependent kings, who would gladly purchase the emperor’s protection by the sacrifice of an obnoxious fugitive. 5 “Wherever you are,” said Cicero to the exiled Marcullus, “remember that you are equally within the power of the conqueror.”

CHAPTER IV.

The Cruelty, Follies, and murder of Commodus.—Execution of Pertinax.—His attempts to reform the State.—His assassination by the Praetorian Guards.

The mildness of Marcus, which the indigence of rigid discipline of the Stoics was unable to eradicate, formed, at the same time, the most amiable, and the only defective, part of his character. His excellent understanding was often deceived by the unsuspecting goodness of his heart. Artful men, who study the passions of princes, and conceal their own, approached his person in the disguise of philosophical opinions of Cicero, c. 8. For one accusation, Regulus, the just object of Plato’s sympathy, received from the senate the consular ornaments, and a present of sixty thousand pounds.

2 The very first sentence was formerly a treasonable offence against the Roman people. As tribunes of the people, Augustus and Tiberius applied to them their own persons, and extended it to an infinite latitude. It was Tiberius and not Augustus, who first gave this meaning to the words, crime of majesty, crime of law and majesty.” (See Hist. Aug., Buchi Trogus, 27. sec. 6-17.)

3 After the virtuous and unfortunate widow of Germans had been put to death, the proper person to solicit her suppli- tion, she had not been publicly strangled; nor was the body drawn with a bath to the Gensio, where those of noble despot had been exposed. See Tacit. Annal. vi. 25. Suetonius, in Tiberio, c. 52.

4 Sardinia was a small rocky island in the Agelai Sea, the inhbitants of which had for ages been proverbial for the purity of their language. It was a very small place of Olylus’s exile is well known, by his just but unmeaning lamentations. It was in this place that he only received an order to leave Rome in so many days, and to transport himself to Tomi. Guards and jailers were unnecessary.

5 Under the same name, a Roman knight attempted to fly to the Parthians. He was shot in the streets of Sicily; but in little danger did that appear to be for thus, by the most jealous of tyrants dissuaded to ruin him. Tacit. Annal. vi. 14.

6 Cicero ad Families, iv. 7.
sanctity, and acquired riches and honours by affecting to despise them. 6 His excessive indulgence to his brother, his wife, and his son, exceeded the bounds of private virtue, and became a public injury, by the example and consequences of their vices. 7 To his wife Faustina, the wife of Marcus, had been as much celebrated for her gallantries as for her beauty. The grave simplicity of the philosopher was ill calculated to engage her wanton levity, or to fix that unbounded passion for variety, which often discovered personal merit in the greatest beauties; but the spirit of the moment was, in general, a very sensual deity; and the amours of an empress as they exact on her side the plainest advances, are seldom susceptible of much sentimental delicacy. Marcus was the only man in the empire who seemed ignorant or insensible of the irregularities of Faustina; which, according to the prejudices of every age, reflected some disgrace on the injured husband. He promoted several of her lovers to posts of honour and profit, 8 and during a connexion for thirty years, invariably gave her proofs of the most tender confidence, and of a respect which ended not with her life. In his Meditations, he thanks the gods, who had preserved unimpaired the atmosphere of his soul, and of such a wonderful simplicity of manners. 9 The obsequious senate, at his earnest request, declared her a goddess. She was represented in her temples, with the attributes of Juno, Venus, and Ceres; and it was decreed, that, on the day of their nuptials, the youth of the empire should kiss their vows before the altar of their chaste patrones. 10

To his son Commodus.

The monstrous vices of the son have cast a shade on the purity of the father's virtues. It has been objected to Marcus, that he sacrificed the happiness of millions to a fond partiality for his devoted son; and that he chose a successor in his own family, rather than in the republic. Nothing, however, was neglected by the anxious father, and by the men of virtue and learning, whom he summoned to his assistance, to expand the narrow mind of young Commodus, to correct his growing vices, and to render him worthy of the throne for which he was designed. But the power of instruction is seldom of much efficacy, except in those happy dispositions where it is almost superfluous. The distasteful lesson of a grave philosopher, was, in a moment, obliterated by the whisper of a propagating favourite; and Marcus himself 11 blasted the bright hopes of his son, who, at the age of fourteen or fifteen, to a full participation of the imperial power. He lived but four years afterwards; but he lived long enough to repent a rash measure, which raised the impious youth above the restraint of reason and authority.

Accession of the Emperor Commodus.

Most of the crimes which disturb the internal peace of society, are produced by the restraints which the necessary, but unequal, laws of property have imposed on the appetites of mankind, by confining to a few the possession of those objects that are coveted by many. Of all appetites, by far the most pernicious, the most impious and insatiable nature, since the pride of one man requires the submission of the multitude. In the tumult of civil discord, the laws of so-

6 See the complaints of Arrian Causius, Hist. August. p. 45. These are, it is true, the complaints of faction; but even faction exaggerates, rather than invents.
7 It is remarkable that Tacitus has adopted brother and colleague, L. Verus, Marcus Aurelius had no other brother.—C.
8 It is a curious fact of constitutional system conditions siti et saltantis ut platonicius et augurios. elegans, Hist. August. p. 20. Lampadius explains the sort of merit which Faustina chose, and the conditions which she exacted of him.
9 Hist. August. p. 54.
10 See Aelian, De Natura Animalium, lib. 13. ad finem. 'Here he has challenged the credibility of Marcus; but Madam Dacier assures us, and (we may credit a lady), that the whole had always been disputed, if not of history to demonstrate. —D. C. C. C. I. lib. 1103. Hist. August.
11 For the situation of Vindobona, or Vienna, where both the Victories place his death, is better adapted to the operations of the war against the Marcomanni and Quadi. —Dion Cassius, I. lib. 1350. 12 According to Tertullian (Apologie, c. 23) he died at Siramum. But the situation of Vindobona, or Vienna, where both the Victories place his death, is better adapted to the operations of the war against the Marcomanni and Quadi. —Dion Cassius, I. lib. 1350. 13 The Quadi occupied the country now called Moravia; the Marcomanni dwelt at first upon the banks of the Rhine and the Mayne. They were the first to withdraw from the empire the reign of the victorious Boche (Bohemia). These came and occupied what is now the Bohemian and Moravian. The Marcomanni established their king in Bohemia by the Savannians or the Schlawiens, who actually occupied it. (See D'Avrille, Gene. R., vol. i. p. 131.)—G. 14 H. H. 15. 15 H. H. 16. This universal is well described (from the models as well as the historian) by Mr. Wetton, Hist. of Rome, p. 192, 193.

ciety lose their force, and their place is seldom supplied by those of humanity. 12 The ardour of contention, the pride of victory, the despair of success, the memory of past injuries, and the fear of future dangers, all contribute to inflame the mind, and to silence the voice of reason. From motives like these, it is not to be supposed that the history has been stained with civil blood; but these motives will not account for the unprovoked cruelties of Commodus, who had nothing to wish, and every thing to enjoy. The beloved son of Marcus succeeded to his father, amidst the acclamations of the senate and people. When he ascended the throne, the happy youth saw round him neither competitor to remove, nor enemies to punish. In this calm elevation, it was surely natural, that he should prefer the love of mankind to their detraction, the mild glories of his five predecessors, to the ignominious fate of Nero and Domitian.

Yet Commodus was not, as he has been represented, a tiger born with an insatiate thirst of human blood, and capable, from his infancy, of the most inhuman actions. 13 Nature had formed him of a weak, rather than a wicked, disposition. His infancy and early years revealed the slave of his amatory, and sensuality, and of such a wonderful simplicity of manners. 14 The obsequious senate, at his earnest request, declared her a goddess. She was represented in her temples, with the attributes of Juno, Venus, and Ceres; and it was decreed, that, on the day of their nuptials, the youth of the empire should kiss their vows before the altar of their chaste patrones. 15

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12 Commodus was the first Porphyrogennetos (born since his father's accession to the throne.) By a new strain of families, the Egyptian title date by the viceroy of his life; as if they were synonymous do those of his reign. Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. ii. p. 722.
13 Hist. August. p. 20. Lampadius in Commod. c. 1.—G. 14 Dion Cassius, I. lib. 1350. 15 According to Tertullian (Apologie, c. 23) he died at Siramum. But the situation of Vindobona, or Vienna, where both the Victories place his death, is better adapted to the operations of the war against the Marcomanni and Quadi. —Dion Cassius, I. lib. 1350. 16 The Quadi occupied the country now called Moravia; the Marcomanni dwelt at first upon the banks of the Rhine and the Mayne. They were the first to withdraw from the empire the reign of the victorious Boche (Bohemia). These came and occupied what is now the Bohemian and Moravian. The Marcomanni established their king in Bohemia by the Savannians or the Schlawiens, who actually occupied it. (See D'Avrille, Gene. R., vol. i. p. 131.)—G. 17 H. H. 15. 18 H. H. 16. This universal is well described (from the models as well as the historian) by Mr. Wetton, Hist. of Rome, p. 192, 193.
dom and integrity Commodus still entertained a toler- 
ant esteem. The young prince and his profligate fa-
ourites revelled in all the licences of sovereign power;
but his hands were yet unstained with blood; and he 
had even displayed a generosity of sentiment, which 
might perhaps have ripened into solid virtue. A fatal 
incident decided his fluctuating character.
In 185, one evening, as the emperor was re-
me with an assassin, turning to the palace through a dark 
portico in the amphitheatre, an assassin, who waited his 
prise, rushed upon him with a drawn sword, loudly exclaiming, "The senate sends you this!" The menace 
and the assassin were by the guards immediately re-
vealed the authors of the conspiracy. It had been 
formed, not in the state, but within the walls of the 
palace. Lucilla, the emperor's sister, and widow of 
Lucius Verus, impotent of the second rank, and jealous 
of the reigning empress, had armed the murderers 
against her brother's life. She had not ventured to 
communicate the black design to her second husband 
Claudius Pompeianus, a senator of distinguished merit 
and unshaken loyalty; but among the crowd of her 
lovers, (for she imitated the manners of Faustina) she 
found men of desperate fortunes and wild ambition, 
who agreed to serve her, and were only deterred, as well 
as her tender, passions. The conspirators experienced 
is tur of justice, and the abandoned princess 
was punished, first with exile, and afterwards with death. 
But the words of the assassin sunk deep into the mind of Commodus, and 
left an indelible impression of fear and 
hatred against the whole body of the senate. Those 
whom he had dreaded as important ministers, he 
now suspected as secret enemies. The Delators, a 
race of men discouraged, and almost extinguished 
der their miserable reigns, again became formidable, 
as soon as they discovered that the emperor was desirous 
of finding disaffection and treason in the senate. That 
assembly, whom Marcus had ever considered as the 
great council of the nation, was composed of the most 
distinguished of the Romans; and distinction of every 
kind soon became criminal. The possessors of wealth 
stimulated the diligence of the informers; rigid virtue 
implied a tacit censure of the irregularities of Commo-
dus; important services implied a dangerous superior-
ity of merit; and the friendship of the father always 
ensured the averison of the son. Suspicion was equi-
valent to preparation to condemnation. The execution 
of a considerable senator was attended with the death 
of all who might lament or revenge his fate; and when 
Commodus had once tasted human blood, he became 
incapable of pity or remorse. 

Of these innocent victims of tyranny, 
brothers, none died more lamented than the 
two brothers of the Quintilian family, Maximus and 
Condianus; whose fraternal love has saved their names 
of oblivion, and enshrined their memory to posterity. 
Their studies and their occupations, their pursuits 
and their studies, were still the same. In the enjoyment 
of great estate, they never admitted the idea of a se-
apate interest; some fragments are now extant of a 
treatise which they composed in common; and in every 
anction of life it was observed, that their two bodies were 
animated by one soul. The Antonines, who valued 
their virtue, and disdained in each of them in the same 
year, to the consulsip; and Marcus afterwards 
intrusted to their joint care the civil administration 
of Greece, and a great military command, in which they 
obtained a signal victory over the Germans. The kind 
ruelty of Commodus united them in death. 

The tyrant's rage, after having shed the 
minister noblest blood of the senate, at length re-
Perennis, coiled on the principal instrument of his cruelty. 
Whilst Commodus was immersed in blood and luxury, 
he devolved the detail of the public business on Pereni-
bus; a servile and ambitious minister, who had attained 
his post by the murder of his predecessor, but who 
possessed a considerable share of vigour and ability. 
By acts of extortion, and the forfeited estates of the 
nobles sacrificed to his avarice, he had accumulated an 
immense treasure. The pretorian guards were under 
his influence, and immediately afterwards he 
discovered a military genius, was at the head of the 
Illyrian legions. Perennis aspired to the empire; or 
what, in the eyes of Commodus, amounted to the same 
crime, he was capable of aspiring to it, had he not 
been prevented, surprised, and put to death. The fall 
of his station, collected these bands of robbers into a 
the general history of the empire; but it 
was hastened by an extraordinary circumstance which 
proved how much the nerves of discipline were already 
relaxed. The legions of Britain, discontented with 
the administration of Perennis, formed a deputation of 
fifteen hundred men, and, routed from their springs to 
Rome, and lay their complaints before the emperor. 
These military petitioners, by their own determined 
behaviour, by inflaming the divisions of the guards, by 
exaggerating the strength of the British army, and by 
alarming the fears of Commodus, excited and obtained 
the minister's death, as the only redress of their griev-
ances. This presumption of a distant army, and their 
discovery of the weakness of government, was a sure 
prosage of the most dreadful convulsions. 

The negligence of the public adminis-
the preparation for a new disorder, which arose from the smallest 
beginnings. A spirit of desertion began to prevail among 
the troops; and the deserters, instead of seeking their 
safety in flight or concealment, infested the highways. 
Maternus, a private soldier, of a daring boldness above 
his station, collected these bands of robbers into a litt-
ly army, set open the prisons, invited the slaves to 
assert their freedom, and plundered with impunity the 
rich and defenceless cities of Gaul and Spain. 
The governors of the provinces, who had long been the 
spectators, and perhaps the partners, of his depreda-
tious, were enraged, and rushed from their springs to 
Rome, and were borne up by the threatening com-
bands of the guards. Maternus found that he was encompassed, and foresaw 
that he must be overpowered. A great effort of despair was his last resource. He ordered his followers to 
disperse, to pass the Alps in small parties and various 

A.D. 185.

* Manlius, the confidential secretary of Avidius Cassius was disco-
overed after he had been conceiled several years. The conspirers 
released the public anxiety by refusing to see him, and burning his 
papers without opening them. Dion Cassius, l. ix. p. 1209.

* See Machiavel degli Amphitheatris, p. 302.


* Their mutiny re- 
creed writers. (See P. Needham, Prolegomena ad Geoponica, 
Cambridge, 1764, in Sixo, p. 17, seq;—Gr.)

* In a note upon the Augustan History, Casson has collected a 
number of particulars concerning these celebrated brothers. See p. 56.

* Plutarch, in the life of Herod the sophist, says, that the Qun-
tilians were not descended from the ancient citizens of Rome, but were 
of Trojan origin. (See Plutarch, in Comm. of Cato;—Gr.)

Dio gives him the same glorious character as is assigned to him by the 
historians. His moderation is almost a pledge of his veracity.

* Gibbon gathers Dion for the narration with which he speaks of Pe-
renius, and, nevertheless in his own account, follows Herodian and Lam-
piridius. It is not only with moderation, it is with admiration that 
Gibbon speaks of Perennis. Dion and Herodian, it is true, follow the Cam-
non, and give him all his virtues. They have probably, however, not 
died virtuous and innocent—perhaps he may be suspected of par-
tiality, but what is singular is, that Gibbon after having adopted the 
view of Herodian and Lampridius respecting this minister of Com-
modus, should embrace the very doubtful account Dion gives of the 
man and his death. What probability is there, then, that men who 
merely could have traversed Gaul and Italy, and have arrived at Rome 
where they and the emperor were, could have prevented the Pruteiiion 
prefect of the guard, should not have been apprised of their approach 
and design, and have opposed them? Gibbon foresees this difficulty, adds, 
that they informed the guards of the guards, but Dion says 
properly that they did not come to Rome, but that the emperor went to 
meet them—indeed, they were even reported to have come from 
the provinces, who were superior in numbers, to oppose them. 
Herodian, as occasion serves, speaks of Perennis having been 
prized by his lord, and his son, caused them to be attacked, 
and murdered at night. (Gr.)
disguises, and to assemble at Rome, during the licentious tumult of the festival of Cybele. To murder Commodus, and to ascend the vacant throne, was the ambition of no vulgar robber. His measures were secretly concerted, that his concealed troops already filled the streets of Rome. The envy of an accomplice discovered, and ruined this singular enterprise, in the moment when it was ripe for execution.  

The minister  

Suspicious princes often amplify the suspicions of others. Having gained a vain permission, that those who have no dependence, except on their favour, will have no attachment, except to the person of their benefactor, Cleander, the successor of Perennis, was a Phrygian by birth; of a nation, over whose stubborn but servile temper he only could prevail. He loaded the last years of his native country, and Rome in the capacity of a slave. As a slave he entered the imperial palace, rendered himself useful to his master's passions, and rapidly ascended to the most exalted station which a subject could enjoy. His influence over the mind of Commodus was much greater than that of his predecessor; for Cleander was devoid of any ability or virtue which could inspire the emperor with awe, and for with envy or distrust. Avarice was cruelly, the reigning passion of his soul, and the great principle of his administration. The rank of consul, of patrician, of senator, was exposed to public sale; and it would have been considered as disaffection and distrust, had not the这类 men been loaded with disgraceful and disgraceful honours with the greatest part of his fortune. In the luxurious provincial employments, the minister shared with the governor the spoils of the people. The execution of the laws was venal and arbitrary. A wealthy criminal might obtain, not only the reversal of the sentence by which he was justly condemned; but might likewise inflict whatever punishment he pleased on the accuser, the witnesses, and the judge.  

By these means, Cleander, in the space of three years, had accumulated more wealth than had ever yet been possessed by any freedman. Commodus was perfectly satisfied with the magnificent presents which the artful courtier laid at his feet in the most seasonable moments. To secure the public envy, Cleander, under the emperor's name, erected baths, porticoes, and places of exercise, for the use of the people. He loaded the last fruits of his extensive empire, and virtues of the Antonines. The former, with more integrity than prudence, had attempted to disclose, to his brother-in-law, the true character of Cleander. An equivocal sentence pronounced by the latter, when pros- consul of Asia, against a worthless creature of the fa- vouritism, proved fatal to him. After the fall of Peren- nis, the terrors of Commodus had, for a short time, assumed the appearance of a return to virtue. He repaid the most odious of his acts, loaded his memory with the public exaction, and ascribed to the perfidious counsels of that wicked minister, all the errors of his inexperienced youth. But his repentance lasted only thirty days; and, under Cleander's protection, the administration of Perennis was often regretted.  

Pestilence and famine contributed to sustain and fill up the measure of the calamities of death of Clean- Rome. The first could only be imputed to the just indignation of the gods; but a monopoly of corn, supported and encouraged by the state, was the sanction, and conducted Commodus with a Pompeian supporter, was considered as the immediate cause of the sec- ond. The popular discontent, after it had long circu- lated in whispers, broke out in the assembled circus. The people quitted their favourite amusements, for the more delicious pleasure of revenge, rushed in crowds towards a palace, in whose walls bore the emperor's name; and, demanding, with angry clamours, the head of the public enemy. Cleander, who commanded the pretorian guards, ordered a body of cavalry to sal- ty forth, and disperse the seditious multitude. The multitude fled with precipitation towards the city; several were slain, and many more were transported to death; but when the cavalry entered the streets, their pursuit was checked by a shower of stones and darts from the roofs and windows of the houses. The foot guards, who had long been jealous of the prerogatives and insolence of the pretorian cavalry, embraced the party of the people. The tumult became a regular and regular source of gain. The pretorian guards, at length, gave way, composed with numbers; and the tide of popular fury returned with re- doubled violence against the gates of the palace, where Commodus lay, dissolved in luxury, and alone uncon- scious of the civil war. It was death to approach his person with the unwelcome news. He would have perished in this supine security, had not two women, his elder sister Favidia, and Marcia, the most favoured of his concubines, ventured to break into his presence. Bathed in tears, and with dishevelled hair, they threw themselves at his feet; and with all the pressing elo- quence of fear, discovered to the affrighted emperor, the crimes of the minister, the rage of the people, and the impending ruin, which, in a few minutes, would burst over his palace and person. Commodus started from his dream of pleasure, and commanded that the head of Cleander should be thrown out to the people. He instantly appeared on the tumult; and the son of Marcus might even yet have regained the affection and confidence of his subjects.  

But every sentiment of virtue and his Diocletian plea- manship was extinct in the mind of Com- modus. Whilst he thus abandoned the affairs of empire to his satellites, he valued nothing in sovereign power, except the unbounded licence of indulging his sensual appetites. His hours were spent in a seraglio of three hundred beautiful wom- en, and as many boys, of every rank, and of every province; and, wherever the arts of seduction proved ineffectual, the brutal lever had recourse to violence.  

[1] Herodian, i. p. 28. Dion, lix. p. 1215. The latter says, that two thousand persons died every day at Rome, during a considerable length of time.  
[3] These three public depositions occasioned a current rumor that Julius Solon was banished to the senate.  
[4] It is not clear in what year Commodus died.  
[5] The testamentary gifts of Cleander amounted, however, to upwards of five and twenty thousand pounds; ten- mils.  
The ancient historians have extantitated on these barbarous scenes of prostitution, which seemed every restraint of nature or modesty; but it would not be easy to translate their too faithful descriptions into the decency of modern language. The intervals of lust were filled up with the basest amusements. The influence of the Sabinian type of a polite age, and the labour of an attentive and skilful instruction had not been able to fuse into his rude and brutish mind the least tincture of learning; and he was the first of the Roman emperors totally devoid of taste for the pleasures of the understanding. Nero himself excelled, or affected to excel, in the elegant arts of music and poetry; nor should we be surprised, had he not been trained the pleasant relaxation of a leisure hour into the serious business and ambition of his life. But Commodus, from his earliest infancy, discovered an aversion to whatever was rational or liberal, and a fond attachment to the amusements of the populace; the sports of the circus, and amphitheatre, the combats of gladiators, and the hunting of wild beasts. The masters in every branch of learning, whom Marcus provided for his son, were heard with inattention and disgust; whilst the Moors and Parthians, who taught him to darts the javelin and sword with the bow, for his dexterity in his application, and soon equalled the most skilful of his instructors, in the steadiness of the eye, and the dexterity of the hand.

Hunting of wild. The servile crowd, whose fortune depended on their master's successes, applauded these ignorant imitations of nature. The barbarous voice of the garrison reminded him that by exploits of the same nature, by the defeat of the Nemean lion, and the slaughter of the wild boar of Erymanthus, the Grecian Heracles had acquired a place among the gods, and an immortal memory among men. They only forgot to observe, that in the employments of society the animals often dispute with man the possession of an unsettled country, a successful war against those savages is one of the most innocent and beneficial labours of heroism. In the civilized state of the Roman empire, the wild beasts had long since retired from the face of nature; those exercices, which till then he had decently confined within the walls of his palace, and to the presence of a few favourites. On the appointed day, the various motives of bloody, fear, and curiosity, attracted to the amphitheatre an innumerable multitude of spectators; and some degree of applause was deserved by the uncommon skill of the imperial performer. Whether he aimed at the head or heart of the animal, the wound


2 The African lions, when pressed by hunger, infested the open villages of the inhabitants; and their stone axes or hammers were mere sticks. The royal beast was reserved for the pleasures of the emperor and the capital; and the unfortunate peasant who killed one of them, though in self-defence committed a mere homicide. Their boasted game law was mitigated by Honorius, and fully repealed by Justinian.


5 The ostrich's neck is three feet long, and composed of seventeen bones. See Buffon. Hist. Naturelle.

6 Commodus killed a camelopardalis or giraffe. (Dion. l. xixi. p. 1212.) He assigned the head and neck of this most unseemly of the large quadrupeds. This singular animal, a native only of the interior parts of Africa, has not been seen in Europe since the revival of letters; and though the de descriptions of Buffon, and other naturalists, tom. xii. p. 777, did not venture to describe his head, he has not ventured to delineate the giraffe.

7 The giraffe has often been seen and delineated in Europe since this date. The cabinet of natural history in the jardin des Plantes possess several as good in preservation.—G.


9 The virtuous and even the wise princes forbade the senators and people of Rome to present to the scullerus profes. There has been but what was more dreaded by their profane wretches of exile. The picture is not to the dishonour of the emperor; but at the same time produced, in the age, forty senators and sixty knights. See Lippin. Satirisk. lib. i. c. 2. He has happily corrected a passage of Suetonius. Suetonius, Neron. lib. ii. c. 68.

10 Lippin. l. ii. c. 7, 8. Juvenal, in the eighth satire, gives a picture of the splendours of this emperor, as he has adorned his hands. This has produced, in the age, forty senators and sixty knights. See Lippin. Satirisk. lib. i. c. 2. He has happily corrected a passage of Suetonius, Neron. lib. ii. c. 68.

11 Hist. August. p. 50. Dion. l. xixi. p. 1220. He received for each time, dollars, about 5000, or 6000.

12 Vespasian only allowed his antagonists a broad weapon, desiring most probably the consequences of their despair.

13 They were obliged to repeat six hundred and twenty-two times. Paulus first of the Scutarii, &c.

14 Dion. l. xixi. p. 1221. He speaks of his own baseless and dangerous.
of Lucilla, was the only senator who asserted the honour of his rank. As a father, he permitted his sons to consult their safety by attending the amphitheatre. As a Roman, he declared, that his own life was in the Emperor's hands, but that he would never behold the son of Marcus prostituting his person and dignity. Not long after this, Pompasius escaped the resentment of the tyrant, and, as his honour, had the good fortune to preserve his life.  

Commodus had now attained the summit of vice and infamy. Amidst the acclamations of a flattering court, he was unable to disguise from himself, that he had despised the Senate and hated the life of virtue and virtue in his empire. His ferocious spirit was irritated by the consciousness of that hatred, by the envy of every kind of merit, by the just apprehension of danger, and by the habit of slaughter, which he contracted in his daily amusements. History has preserved a long list of consular senators sacrificed to his wanton suspicion, which sought out, with peculiar anxiety, those unfortunate persons connected, however remotely, with the family of the Antonines, without sparing even the ministers of his crimes or pleasures. His cruelty proved at last to be fatal to himself. He had shed with impunity the blood of his enemies for the space of thirteen years, and now, as speedily as he was dreaded by his own domestics, Marcia, his favourite concubine, Euclea, his chamberlain, and Lotius his pretorian prefect, alarmed by the fate of their companions and predecessors, resolved to prevent the destruction which every hour hung over their heads, either from the madness of the tyrant, or the sudden indignation of the people. Marcia seized the occasion of presenting a draught of wine to her lover, after he had fatigued himself with hunting some wild beasts. Commodus retired to sleep; but whilst the wine was working on his heart and sinews, the son and drunkenness, a robust youth, by profession a wrestler, entered his chamber, and strangled him without resistance. The body was secretly conveyed out of the palace, before the least suspicion was entertained in the city, or even in the court, of the emperor's death. Such was the fate of the son of Marcus, and so easy was it to destroy a hated tyrant, who, by the artificial powers of government, had oppressed, during thirteen years, so many millions of subjects, each of whom was equal to his master in personal strength and personal ability. 

Death of Com- 
modus.  

Dec. 21, 192. 

1. He mixed however some prudence with his courage and passed the greatest part of his time in a country retirement; alleging his advanced age, and the weakness of his eyes.  2. He never saw him in the council, that he might avoid the sight of his father's infirmities; but while his infirmities had suddenly left him, and they returned as suddenly upon him, he was seized with incontinence of action, and was dead in a few moments. 

2. The prefects were changed almost hourly or daily; and the members of the Senate, once fatal to his most favoured chamberlains.  

[112. Aug. p. 40. 6.]

[Commodus had already resolved to destroy them the following night, and to have proceeded on a visit to Rome; but when he learned that they had deserted him, he put it off until the following day.]  

[The prefects, who had a care for the imperial household, had been for some time planning the death of Commodus, and had seized the opportunity of the emperor's illness to murder him, but Commodus by means of an impostor had been induced to follow a different course.]  

3.  

[He was a natural son of Abus Pompaia, in Piedmont, and of a timber merchant. The order of his employment (it is marked by Cleophaclus) well deserves to be set down, as expressive of the form of government and manners of the age.

1. He was a centurion, 2. friends and ministers of Marcus; and when, at a late hour of the night, he was awakened with the news, that the chamberlain and the prefect were at his door, he received them with intrepid resignation, and desired they would execute their master's orders. Instead of death, they offered him the throne of the Roman world. During some consultation of their intentions and designs. Convinced at length of the death of Commodus, he accepted the purple with a sincere reluctance, the natural effect of his knowledge both of the duties and of the dangers of the supreme rank.  

Lactantius conducted without delay his new emperor to the camp of the pretorians, diffusing at the same time through the city a seasonable report that Commodus died suddenly of an apoplexy; and that the virtuous Pertinax had already succeeded to the throne. The guards were rather surprised than pleased with the suspicious death of a prince, whose indulgence and liberality they alone had experienced; but the emergency of the occasion, the authority of their prefect, the reputation of Pertinax, and the clamours of the people, obliged them to stifle their secret discontent, to accept the donative promised of the new emperor, and to swear allegiance to him. 

They were assured that the Senate and mob, as well as the gladiators, had maintained their promises to conduct him to the senate-house, that the military consent might be ratified by the civil authority.

This important night was now far and by the senate, with the dawn of day, and the absence of the commencement of the new year, the senators expected a summons to attend an ignominious ceremony. In spite of all remonstrances, even of those of his creatures, who yet preserved any regard for prudence or decency, Commodus had resolved to pass the night in the gladiators' school, and from presence to take possession of the palace, as a habit and with the attendance of that infamous crew. On a sudden, before the break of day, the senate was called together in the temple of Concord, to meet the guards, and to ratify the election of a new emperor.  

For a few minutes they sat in silent suspense, doubtfully of their unexpected deliverance, and suspicious of the cruel artifices of Commodus; but when at length they were assured that the tyrant was no more, they resigned themselves to all the transports of joy and indignation. Pertinax, who modestly represented the meanness of his extraction, and pointed out several consular senators more deserving of the imperial crown, was constrained by their dutiful violence to ascend the throne, and received all the titles of imperial power, confirmed by the most sincere vows of fidelity. The memory of Commodus, the name of tyrant, of gladiator, of public plunderer, of enemy, resonated in every corner of the house. They decreed, in tumultuous votes, that his honours should be
be reversed, his titles erased from the public monuments, his statues thrown down, his body dragged with a hook into the stripping-room of the gladiators, to satiate the public fury; and they expressed some indignation against those officious servants who had already presumed to screen his remains from the justice of the senate. But Pertinax could not refuse those last respects to his memory. Marcus Aurelius, his first protector Claudius Pompeianus, who lamented the cruel fate of his brother-in-law, and lamented still more that he had deserved it.

Legal jurisdiction of the senators: the emperor Commodus.

The effusions of impotent rage against the dead emperor, whom the senate had plethora when alarmed by the most plausible servility, betrayed a just but ungenerous spirit of revenge. The legality of these decrees was however supported by the principles of the imperial constitution. To censure, to depose, or to punish with death, the first magistrate of the republic, who had also the character of a citizen, was a doubtless prerogative of the Roman senate; but that feeble assembly was obliged to content itself with inflicting on a fallen tyrant that public justice, from which, during his life and reign, he had been shielded by the strong arm of military despotism.

Virtues of Pertinax. Pertinax found a nobler way of condemning his predecessor's memory; by the contrast of his own virtues with the vices of Commodus. On the day of his accession, he resigned over to his wife and son his whole private fortune; that they might have no pretence to solicit favours at the expense of the state. He refused to flatter the vanity of the former with the title of Augusta; or to corrupt the inexperienced youth of the latter by the rank of Caesar. Accurately distinguishing between the duties of a parent and those of a sovereign, he educated his son with a severity, which, while it gave him no assured prospect of the throne, might in time have rendered him worthy of it. In public, the behaviour of Pertinax was grave and affable. He lived with the virtuous part of the senate, (and, in a private station, he had been acquainted with the true character of each individual,) without either pride or jealousy; considered them as friends and companions, with whom he had shared the dangers of the tyranny, and with whom he wished to enjoy the security of the present time. He very frequently invited them to familiar entertainments, the frugality of which was demonstrated by them; and regretted the luxurious prodigality of Commodus.

He endeavours to heal, as far as it was possible, the wounds inflicted by the hand of tyranny, was the pleasing, but melancholy, task of Pertinax. The innocent victims, who yet survived, were recalled from exile, released from prison, and restored to the full possession of their honours and fortunes. The unbaked bodies of murdered senators (for the cruelty of Commodus endeavoured to extend itself beyond death) were deposited in the sepulchres of their ancestors; their memory was justified; and every consolation was bestowed on their ruined and afflicted families. Among these consolations, none was more grateful to the senators; none was more consolatory to the common enemies of their master, of virtue, and of their country. Yet even in the inquisition of these legal assassins, Pertinax proceeded with a steady temper, which gave every thing to justice, and nothing to passion. Among these consolations, none was more grateful to the senators; none was more consolatory to the common enemies of their master, of virtue, and of their country.
CHAPTER V.

OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

The power of the sword is more sensibly felt in an extensive monarchy, than in a small community. It has been cultivated by the ablest politicians, that no state, without the sword, can maintain the happiness of a hundredth part of its members in arms and idleness. But although this relative proportion may be uniform, the influence of the army over the rest of the society will vary according to the degree of its positive strength. The advantages of military science and discipline cannot be exerted, unless the soldiery are united into one body, and actuated by one soul. With a handful of men, such an union would be ineffectual; with an unwieldy host, it would be impracticable; and the powers of the machine would be alike destroyed by the extreme minuteness, or the excessive weight, of its springs. To illustrate this observation, we need only reflect, that there is no superiority of natural strength, artificial weapons, or acquired skill, which could enable one man to keep in constant subjection one hundred of his fellow creatures: the tyrant of a single town or a small district, would soon discover that an hundred armed followers were a weak defence against ten thousand earnest and sincere cutratures of the injured emperor; who conjured the senate, that the purity of his reign might not be stained by the blood even of a guilty senator.

The pretorian camp was that of the emperor, whose licentiousness The pretorian fury was the first symptom and cause of the decline of the Roman empire, scarcely amounted to the last mentioned number. They derived their institution from Augustus. Their eminence, sensible that laws might colour, but that arms alone could maintain, his usurped dominion, had gradually formed this powerful body of guards, in constant readiness to protect his person, to save the senate, and either to prevent or to crush the first motions of rebellion. He distinguished these favoured troops by a double pay, and superior privileges; but, as their formidable aspect would at once have alarmed and irritated the Roman people, three cohorts only were stationed in the capital; whilst the remainder was dis- posted in the adjacent towns of Italy.

Such formidable servants are always the strongest necessary, but often fatal, to the throne and condition of despots. By thus introducing the pretorian guards as it were into the palace and the senate, the emperors taught them to perceive their own strength, and the weakness of the civil government; to view the virtues of their masters with familiar contempt, and to lay aside that fear which the light, active, and mystery, can preserve, towards an imaginary power. In the luxurious idleness of an opulent city, their pride was nourished by the sense of their irresistible weight; nor was it possible to conceal from them, that the person of the sovereign, the authority of the

1 They were originally nine or ten thousand men, (for Tactius and Dion are not agreed upon the subject,) divided into many cohorts.

2 Vitellius increased the pretorian number, and when he had completed his army, he went to the Praetorian Guards, (his friends, one thinks,) and in Mitre the uniform of the standard soldier, 37, Dion Cassius, I, liv. 27.

3 In the civil war between Vitellius and Vespasian, the pretorian camp was attacked and defended with all the machines used in the siege of Tyre, (Tacit. Hist. iv. 28.)

4 Close to the walls of the city, on the broad summit of the Quirinal and Vicinial hills. See Nardini Roma Antica, p. 174. Domitian de Roma Antiqua, p. 56.
In the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Chapter V, the author, Edward Gibbon, describes the fall of Rome and the rise of the Byzantine Empire. The passage begins with the Senate, the political center of Rome, and the empire itself, which were all in their hands. Gibbon then explains how the pretorian bands, known for their dangerous and often violent nature, were formed and how they became a significant part of Roman politics. The pretorian bands were used by emperors to maintain control and were often responsible for political assassinations and uprisings. Gibbon's account highlights the turbulent history of Rome, with emperors like Nero and Caligula engaging in power struggles and the pretorian bands playing a crucial role in these conflicts. The passage is a vivid and detailed account of Rome's decline, with a focus on the pretorian band's influence on Roman history.
The public disaffection of the world he found himself without a friend, and, considering him of the approaching ruin, disposed themselves as ashamed of the prince whom their aversion had persuaded them to accept; nor was there a citizen that did not consider his elevation with horror, as the last insult on the Roman name. The nobility, whose conspicuous station, and ample possessions, enabled them to bear a part in the agitation, disdained to partake of the sentiments, and met the affected civility of the emperor with smiles of complacency, and professions of duty. But the people, secure in their numbers and obscurity, gave a free vent to their passions. The streets and public places of Rome resounded with clamours and imprecations. Claudius, who had enjoyed the last person of Julian, rejected his liberality, and conscious of the impotence of their own resentment, they called aloud on the legions of the frontiers to assert the violated majesty of the Roman empire.

The armies of Britain and of Illyricum, lamented the death of Pertinax, in whose company, or under whose command, they had so often fought; and conquered. They received with surprise, with indignation, and perhaps with fear, the news of a change in the government; but the pretorians had disposed of the empire by public auction; and they sternly refused to ratify the ignominious bargain. Their immediate and unanimous revolt was fatal to Julian, but it was fatal at the same time to the public peace; as the generals of the respective armies, Claudius Albinus, Pescennius Niger, and Septimius Severus, were still more anxious to succeed than to revenge, the murdered Pertinax. Their forces were exactly balanced. Each of them was at the head of threelegions; with a numerous train of auxiliaries; and however different in their characters, they were all soldiers, and disdained to be governed but by the ancient and traditional mode.

Claudius Albinus, governor of Britain, surpassed both his competitors in the nobility of his extraction, which he derived from some of the most illustrious names of the old republic. The branch from whence he claimed his descent, was sunk in mean circumstances, and transplanted into a remote province. It is difficult to form a just idea of his true character. Under the philosophic cloak of austerity, he stands accused of concealing most of the virtues which degrade human nature. But his accusers are those venal writers who adore the form, but in truth hate the substance of the Legionary. Virtue, or the appearances of virtue, recommended Albinus to the confidence and good opinion of Marcus; and his preserving with the son the same interest which he had acquired with the father, is a proof at least that he was possessed of a very flexible disposition. The favour of a tyrant does not always suppose a want of merit in the object of it; he may, without intending it, reward a man of worth and ability, or he may find such a man useful to his own service. It does not appear that Albinus served the son of Marcus, either as the minister of his cruelties, or even as the witness of his pleasures. He was employed in a distant honourable command, when he received a confidential letter from the emperor, acquainting him of the emperor's designs on the government, and authorizing him to declare himself the guardian and successor of the throne, by assuming the title and ensigns of Caesar. The governor of Britain wisely declined the dangerous honour, which would have marked him for the jealousy, or involved him in the approaching ruin, of Commodus. He courted power by nobler, or, at least, by more specious arts. On a premature report of the death of the emperor, he assembled his troops; and, in an elegant discourse, deplored the inevitable mischiefs of despotism, described the happiness and glory which their elevation was to confer on the republic, and declared his firm resolution to re-establish the senate and people in their legal authority. This popular harangue was answered by the loud acclamations of the British legions, and received at Rome with a secret murmur of applause. Safe in the possession of this little world, and in the command of an army less distinguished indeed for discipline than for numbers and valour, Albinus braved the menaces of Commodus, maintained towards Pertinax a stately ambiguous reserve, and instantly declared against the usurpation of Julian. The convulsions of the capital added new confusion; no one dared to crew his strength; but as the pretorians engaged in the conflict of patriotism. A regard to decency induced him to decline the lofty titles of Augustus and emperor; and he imitated perhaps the example of Galba, who, on another occasion, had styled himself the Lieutenant of the senate and people.

Personal merit alone had raised Pescennius Niger censuerus Niger, from an obscure birth in Syria, and station, to the government of Syria; a lucrative and important command, which, in times of civil confusion, gave him a near prospect of the throne. Yet his part seems to have been better suited to the second than to the first rank; he was an unsuitable man for the post he might have approved himself an excellent lieutenant, to Severus, who afterwards displayed the greatness of his mind by adopting several useful institutions from a vanquished enemy. In his government, Niger acquired the esteem of the soldiers, and the love of the provincials. His rigid discipline fortified the valour and confirmed the obedience of the former, whilst the voluptuous Syrians were less delighted with the mild firmness of his administration, than with the facility of his manners, and the apparent pleasure with which he attended their frequent and pompous festivals. Yet the consul of the year in which the murder of Pertinax had reached Autiochus, the wishes of Asia invited Niger to assume the imperial purple and revenge his death. The legions of the eastern frontier embraced his cause; the opulent but unarmed provincials from the frontiers of Ethiopia to the Hadriatic, cheerfully submitted to his power; and the kings beyond the Tigris and the Euphrates congratulated his election, and offered him their homage and services. The mind of Niger was not capable of receiving this sudden tide of fortune; he flattered himself that his accession would be undisturbed by competition, and unattended by civil blood. But he had enjoyed the vain pomp of triumph, he neglected to secure the means of victory. Instead of entering into an effectual negociation with the powerful armies of the

1 Hist. August, p. 80. 84.
2 Pertinax, who governed Britain a few years before, had been left for dead, in a mutiny of the soldiers. Hist. August, p. 51. Yet they loved and regretted him: admiration ens viveur cui trucebatan.
3 Rufus, in Gall. c. 10.
4 Hist. August, c. 54. See his commentaries upon the passage of the senate.
5 J. I. II. p. 66. The chronicle of John Malalas, of Antioch, shows the sơ'racet of the Christian church; the antiquity of which our gratified superscription, and their love of pleasure.
6 A king of Thieves, in Egypt, is mentioned in the Augustan his- tory. As a man, as an ally, as a friend, the Christian church is a Sparti- tanes is not, as I strongly suspect, mistaken, he has brought to light a dynasty of tributary princes totally unknown to history.
west, whose resolution might decide, or at least must balance, the mighty contest; instead of advancing without delay towards Rome and Italy, where his presence was impatiently expected, 3 Niger trifled away in the luxury of Antioch those irrecoverable moments which were diligently improved by the decisive activity of Severus.

3 A.D. 193.

Book II. Chapter 6. The country of Pannonia and Dalma-
tia, which occupied the space between the Danube and the Hadriratie, was one of the last and most difficult conquests of the Romans. In the defence of national freedom, two hundred thousand of these barbarians had once appeared in the field, alarmed the disunited provinces, and exercised the vigilance of Tiberius at the head of the collected force of the empire. The Pannonians yielded at length to the arms and institutions of Rome. Their recent sub-

ject, however, the neighbourhood, and even the mixture, of the unconquered tribes, and perhaps the climate, adapted, as it has been observed, to the pro-
duction of great bodies and slow minds, all contributed to preserve some remains of their original ferocity, and under the name and uniform countenance of Roman provincials, the hardy features of the natives were still to a certain extent preserved in their warlike and unforpered attitude. They furnished an inexhaustible supply of recruits to the legions stationed on the banks of the Danube, and which, from a perpetual warfare against the Germans and Sarmatians, were deservedly esteemed the best troops in the service.

The Pannonian army was at this time run commanded by Septimus Severus, a native of Africa, who, in the gradual ascent of private honours, had concealed his daring ambition, which was never diverted from its steady course by the allure-
ments of pleasure, the apprehensions of danger, or the false hopes of safety. On the first mention of the name of Pertinax, he assembled his troops, painted in the most lively colours the crime, the insolence, and the weakness of the pretorian guards, and animated the legions to arms and to revenge. He concluded (and the peroration was thought extremely eloquent) with promising every soldier about four hundred pounds; an honourable donation, double in value to the infamous bribe with which Julian had purchased the empire. 4 The acclamations of the army imme-
diately saluted Severus with the names of the two former consuls of Rome, Pertinax, and emperor. The Pannonian legions saluted him, and he thus attained the lofty station of a consul and an emperor.

April 13. which he was invited, by conscious me-

rit and a long train of dreams and omens, the fruitful offsprings either of his superstition or policy.

The new candidate for empire had improved the popular estimate of his situation. His province ex-


tended from the Danube to the Alps, and gave an easy access Marches into Italy; and he remembered the say-

Italy. ing of Augustus, That a Pannonian army

might in ten days appear in sight of Rome. 5 By a

celerity proportioned to the greatness of the occasion, he might reasonably hope to revenge Pertinax, punish Julian, and receive the homage of the senate and people, as their lawful emperor, before his competitors, separated from Italy by an immense tract of sea and land, were apprised of his success, or even of his elec-
tion. The few hundred miles which still separated him allowed himself any moments for sleep or food; marching on foot, and in complete armour, at the head of his columns, he insinuated himself into the confidence and affection of his troops, pressed their diligence, revived their spirits, maintained their hope, and determined to share the hardships of the meanest soldier, whilst he kept in view the infinite superiority of his reward.

The wretched Julian had expected, and Advances to-
thought himself prepared, to dispute the empire with the governor of Syria; but in the invin-

cible and rapid approach of the Pannonian legions, he saw his inevitable ruin. The hasty arrival of every messenger increased his just apprehensions. He was successively informed, that Severus had passed the Alps; that the Italian cities, unwilling or unable to oppose him, had surrendered themselves to him; that the most prudent professions of joy and duty; that the important place of Ravenna had surrendered without resistance, and that the Hadriratie fleet was in the hands of the conqueror. The enemy was now within two hundred and fifty miles of Rome; and every moment dimin-

ished the uncertainty of life and empire alluded to Julian.

He attempted, however, to prevent, of his throne at least to protract, his ruin. He implored the

fervent prayer of the pretorians, filled the city with unavailing preparations for war, drew lines round the suburbs, and even strengthened the walls of his palace; but the pretorians, were defended without hope of relief, against a victorious invader. Fear and shame prevented the guards from deserting his standard; but they trembled at the name of the Pannonian legions, commanded by an experienced general, and accustomed to vanquish the barbarians on the frozen Danube. They quitted, with a sigh, the pleasures of the baths and theatres, to put on arms, whose use they had almost forgotten, and beneath the weight of which they were oppressed. The practi-

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cised elephants, whose uncouth appearance, it was supposed, would strike terror into the army of the unac-

"A.Vim?"
from the only danger of secret conspiracy, by the faithful attendance of six hundred chosen men, who never quitted his person or their cuirasses, either by night or day, during the whole march. Advancing with a steady and firm pace, and his ambitious heart in the dells of the Apennines, received into his party the troops and ambassadors sent to retard his progress, and made a short halt at Interamnia, about seventy miles from Rome. His victory was already secured; but the despair of the pretorians might have rendered it bloody; and Severus had the humble ambition of ascending the throne without drawing the sword.26 His emissaries, dispersed in the capital, assured the guards, that provided they would abandon their worthless prince, and the perpetrators of the murder of Pertinax, to the justice of the conqueror, he would no longer consider that melancholy event as the act of the whole body. The faithless pretorians, whose resistance was supported only by sullen obstinacy, gladly complied with the easy conditions, seized the greatest part of the assassins, and signified to the senate, that they no longer defended the cause of Julian. That stubborn band, convoked by the consuls, unanimously acknowledged Severus as lawful emperor, decreed divine honours to Pertinax, and pronounced a sentence of deposition and death against his unfortunate successor.

Julian was conducted into a private apartment of the baths of the palace, and there, having purchased, with an immense treasure, an anxious and precarious reign of only sixty-six days.27 The almost incredible expedition of Severus, who, in so short a space of time, conducted a numerous army from the banks of the Danube to those of the Tyber, proves at once the plenty of provisions produced by agriculture and commerce, the goodness of the roads, the discipline of the legions, and the indolent subdued temper of the provinces.28

Dignity of the pretorian guards

Disgraceful to the pretorians. The first cares of Severus were bestowed on two measures, the one dictated by policy, the other by clemency; the revenge, and the honours, due to the memory of Pertinax. Before the new emperor entered Rome, he issued his commands to the pretorian guards, directing them to await his arrival on a large plain near the city, without arms, but in the habits of ceremony, in which they were employed in private life. His order was obeyed by those haughty troopers, whose command was the effect of their just terror. A chosen part of the Illyrian army encompassed them with levelling spears. Incapable of flight or resistance, they expected their fate in silent consternation. Severus mounted the chair of authority, took up the baton, and piously disarmed them, dismissing them with ignominy from the trust which they had betrayed, dispersing them of their splendid ornaments, and banishing them, on pain of death, to the distance of an hundred miles from the capital. During the transaction, another detachment had been sent to seize their arms, occupy their camp, and prevent the hasty consequences of their despair.29

Funeral and consecration of Pertinax

The funeral and consecration of Pertinax was next solemnized with every circumstance of sad magnificence.30 The senate, with a melancholy pleasure, performed the last rites to that excellent prince, whom they had loved, and still regretted. The concern of his successor was probably less sincere. He esteemed the virtues of Pertinax, but those virtues would for ever have confirmed his ambition, and produced his funeral oration with studied eloquence, inward satisfaction, and well-acted sorrow; and by this pious regard to his memory, convinced the credulous multitude that he alone was worthy to supply his place. Sensible, however, that arms, not ceremonies, must assert his claim to the empire, he left Rome at the end of thirty days, and without suffering himself to be elated by this easy victory, prepared to encounter his more formidable rivals.

The uncommon abilities and fortune of Severus have induced an elegant historian to compare him with the first and Albinus, greatest of the Caesars.31 The parallel is, at least, imperfect. Where shall we find, in the character of Severus, the commanding superiority of soul, the generous clemency, and the various genius, which could reconcile and unite the love of pleasure, the thirst of knowledge, and the fire of ambition? In one instance only, they may be compared, with some degree of propriety; in the celerity of their motions, and their civil victories. In less than four years,32 A.D. 190—197, Severus subdued the richies of the east, and valor of the west. He vanquished two competitors for high command, and secured the armies, provided with weapons and discipline equal to his own. In that age, the art of fortification, and the principles of tactics, were well understood by all the Roman generals; and the constant superiority of Severus was that of an artist, who used the same instruments with more skill and industry than his rivals. I shall not, however, enter into a minute narrative of those military operations; but as the two civil wars against Niger and against Albinus were almost the same in their conduct, event, and consequences, I shall collect into one point of view, the most striking circumstances, tending to develop the character of the conqueror, and the state of the empire.

Falsehood and insincerity, unsuitable Conduct of the as they seem to the dignity of public life in wars. transactions, offend us with a less degrading idea of meanness, than when they are found in the intercourse of private life. In the one instance, they destroy the courage; in the other, only a defect of power: and, as it is impossible for the most able statesmen to subdue millions of followers and enemies by their own personal strength, the world, under the name of policy, seems to have granted them a very liberal indulgence of falsehood.33 By this means, the arts of Severus cannot be justified by the most ample privileges of state reason. He promised only to betray, he flattered only to ruin; and however he might occasionally bind himself by oaths and treaties, his conscience, obsequious to his interest, always released him from the inconvenient obligation.34

If his two competitors, reconciled by towards Niger; their common danger, had advanced upon him without delay, perhaps Severus would have sunk under their united effort. Had they even attacked him, at the same time, with separate views and separate armies, the contest might have been long and doubtful. But they fell, singly and successively, an easy prey to the arts as well as arms of their subtle enemy, lulled into security by the moderation of his

26 Victor and Eutropius, vili. 17. mention a combat near the Milvian bridge, the Ponte Mauve, unknown to the better antecedent writers.


28 From these sixty-six days, we must first deduct sixteen, as Pertinax was murdered on the 25th of March, and Severus most probably arrived on the 1st of April. (see Hist. August. c. xiii. iii. p. 293. Note 7.) We cannot allow less than ten days after his election, to put a numerous army in motion. Forty days remain for this rapid march; and as we may compute about eight hundred miles from Rome to the neighbourhoood of Vienna, allowing two months to make twenty miles every day, without halt or intermission.


30 Though it is not, most assuredly, the intention of Lutatius to exact the character of Clarus, yet his setting him up in the title-page of the Panegyric, where he describes him, at the same time, making love to Cleopatra, sustaining a siege against the power of Egypt, and converting the whole body of the people of that country, can only be the cobest panegyric.

31 From this election, April 14, 193, to the death of Albinus, February 19, 197. See Tillemont's Chronology.

32 Herodian, i. ii. p. 63.
professions, and overwhelmed by the rapidity of his action. He first marched against Niger, whose reputation and power he the most dreaded; but he declined and opposed, supposing the name of his antagonist, and only signified to the senate and people his intention of regulating the eastern provinces. In private he spoke of Niger, his old friend and intended successor, with the most affectionate regard, and highly applauded his generous design of revenging this injury. To publish the vile usurpan of the throne, was the duty of every Roman general. To persevere in arms, and to resist a lawful emperor, acknowledged by the senate, would alone render him criminal. The sons of Niger had fallen into his hands among the children of the provincial governors, detained at Rome as pledges for the loyalty of their parents. As long as the power of Niger inspired terror, or even respect, they were educated with the most tender care, with the children of Severus himself; but they were soon involved in their father's dangers and removed, first by the conspiracy, and afterwards by death, from the eye of public compassion.

Whilst Severus was engaged in his eastern war, he had reason to apprehend that the governor of Britain might pass the sea and the Alps, occupy the vacant seat of empire, and oppose the election with the authority of the senatorial forces of the west. The ambitious conduct of Albinus, in not assuming the imperial title, left room for negotiation. Forgetting, at once, his professions of patriotism, and the jealousy of sovereign power, he accepted the precarious rank of Caesar, as a reward for his high ambition. Till the first contest was decided, Severus treated the man, whom he had doomed to destruction, with every mark of esteem and regard. Even in the letter, in which he announced his victory over Niger, he styles Albinus the brother of his soul and empire, sends him the affectionate salutations of his wife, full of tenderness, and entreats him to preserve the armies and the republic faithful to their common interest. The messengers charged with this letter were instructed to accost the Caesar with respect, to desire a private audience, and to plunge their dagger into his heart. The design was discovered, and the too credulous Albinus, at length, passed over to the continent, and prepared for an unequal contest with his rival, who rushed upon him at the head of a veteran and victorious army.

Event of the.

The military labours of Severus seem to have been subordinate to the importance of his other employments. Two engagements, 1 the one near the Hellespont, the other in the narrow defiles of Cilicia, decided the fate of his Syrian competitor; and the troops of Europe asserted their usual ascendancy over the effeminate natives of Asia. 2 The battle of Lyons, where one hundred and fifty thousand 3 Baebians were engaged, was equally fatal to Albinus. The valour of the British army maintained, indeed, a sharp and doubtful contest with the hardy discipline of the Illyrian legions. The fame and person of Severus appeared, during a few moments, irrecoverably lost, till that warlike prince rallied his fainting troops, and led them on to a decisive victory. 4 The war was finished by that memorable day.

The wars of modern Europe decided by one have been distinguished, not only by the ferocious animosity, but likewise by the obstinate perseverance, of the contending factions. They have generally been justified by some principle, or, at least, coloured by some pretext, of religion, freedom, or liberty. The leaders of these ambitious and depraved passions, were the two eldest brothers of the Neronian dynasty and hereditary influence. The troops fought like men interested in the decision of the quarrel; and as military spirit and party zeal were strongly diffused throughout the whole community, a vanquished chief was immediately supported by new adherents, eager to shed their blood in the same cause. But the Romans, after the fall of the republic, combated only for the choice of masters. Under the standard of a popular candidate for empire, a few enlisted from affection, some from fear, many from interest, none from principle. The legions, from Europe into Asia, it had been allure into civil war by liberal donatives, and still more liberal promises. A defeat, by disabling the chief from the performance of his engagements, dissolved the mercenary allegiance of his followers; and left them to consult their own safety, by a timely desertion of the cause of their former employer, or an appeal to the provinces, under whose name they were oppressed or governed; they were driven by the impulse of the present power, and as soon as that power yielded to a superior force, they hastened to implore the clemency of the conqueror, who, as he had an immense debt of discharge, was obliged to sacrifice the most guilty countries to the avarice of his soldiers.

In the vast extent of the Roman empire, there were few fortified cities capable of protecting a routed army; nor was there any person, or family, or order of men, whose natural interest, unsupported by the powers of the government, was capable of restoring the cause of a sinking party. 5 Yet, in the contest between Niger and

Severus, a single city deserves an honorable exception. As Byzantium was one of the great principalities of ancient Asia, it had been provided with a strong garrison, and a fleet of five hundred vessels was anchored in the harbour. 6 The impetuousity of Severus disappointed this prudent scheme of defence; he left to his generals the siege of Byzantium, forced the less guarded passage of the Hellespont, and hastened to his enemy in Greece, to forward an encounter with his rival. Byzantium, attacked by a numerous and increasing army, and afterwards by the naval power of the empire, sustained a siege of three years, and remained faithful to the name and memory of Niger. The citizens and soldiers (we know not from what cause) were animated with equal fury, several of the principal officers of Niger, who dispaired of, or who disbanded, a pardon, had thrown themselves into this last refuge: the fortifications were esteemed impregnable, and, in the defence of the place, a celebrated engineer displayed all the mechanic arts of the ancients. 7 Byzantium, at length, surrendered to famine. The magistrates and soldiers

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1Whilst Severus was very dangerously ill, it was industriously given out, that he intended to appoint Niger and Albinus his successors. As he could not be sincere in his respect for both, he might as well be so with regard to either. Yet Severus carried his hypocrisy so far, as to profess that intention in the memoir of his own life.
4Hist. Aug. p. 84. Spartianus has inserted his curious letter at full length.
5There were three engagements, one near to Cyzicum, not far from Chalcedon, the second under the walls of the city, and the third near Issus, in Cilicia, where Alexander had defeated Tarrus. Dion. p. 1264. Tarrus was the name of a river, and the letters of the Roman Turus at last caused him to be put to death. Dion. p. 1264. G. 6Montesquieu, Considérations sur les Grands et sur la République des Romains, c. xii.
7Most of these, as may be supposed, were small open vessels; some, however, were armed with two and a few with three, ranks of oars.
8The engineer's name was Priscus. His skill saved his life, and he was employed in the service of the emperor through the whole of the latter's reign. The facts of the siege, consult Dion Cassius (ii. xxv. 1321) and Herod. (iii. ii. p. 93. 102). See the theory of Alland et Chevalier de P neurological links to the data.
were put to the sword, the walls demolished, the privileges suppressed, and the destined capital of the east subsisted only as an open village, subject to the insulting jurisdiction of Perinthus. The historian Dion, who had admired the flourishing and lamented the desolate, state of Byzantium, ascended to the summit of the acropolis, and admiring the Roman people of the strongest bulwark against the barbarians of Pontus and Asia. The truth of this observation was but too well justified in the succeeding age, when the Gothic fleets covered the Euxine, and passed through the undefended Bosphorus into the centre of the Mediterranean.

Deaths of Niger and Albinus. Consequences of the civil wars. Both Niger and Albinus were discovered and put to death in their flight from the field of battle. Their fate excited neither surprise nor compassion. They had staked their lives against the chance of empire, and suffered what they would have inflicted; nor did Severus claim the arrogant superiority of suffering his rivals to live in a private station. But his unforgiving temper, stimulated by avarice, indulged a spirit of revenge, where there was no room for apprehension. The most considerable of the provincials, who, without the least proof of guilt, became the surest of the governor under whose authority they were accidentally placed, were punished by death, exile, and especially by the confiscation of their estates. Many cities of the east were stripped of their ancient honours, and obliged to pay to the treasury of Severus, four hundred thousand of the sums contributed by them for the service of Niger.

Antimony of Severus against cruelty of Niger was, in some measure, restrained by the uncertainty of the event, and his pretended reverence for the senate. The head of Albinus was presented with a letter, informing the Romans, that he was resolved to spare none of the adherents of his unfortunate competitors. He was irritated by the just suspicion that he never had possessed the affections of the senate, and he concealed his old malevolence under the recent discovery of some reasonable correspondences. Thirty-five senators, however, accused of having favoured the party of Albinus, he freely pardoned; and, by his subsequent behaviour, endeavoured to convince them, that he had forgotten, as well as forgiven, their supposed offences. But at the same time he condemned forty-two citizens of Tarsus to death. He put to death the empress Eunice; his wives, children, and clients, attended them in death, and the noblest provincials of Spain and Gaul were involved in the same ruin. Such rigid justice, for so he termed it, was, in the opinion of Severus, the only conduct capable of ensuring peace to the state, or stability to the prince; and he conceived slenderness to lament, that, to be mild, it was necessary that he should first be cruel.

1 Perinthus, upon the shores of the Propontis, was finally called Dion, and this ruin can be traced in the present town, not far from the site of this city, now in ruins. See D'Aubigné, Geog. voc. vol. i. p. 291. Byzantium, afterwards Constantinople, caused in its turn, the decline of Herodes. — G.  

2 Notwithstanding the authority of Spartianus and some modern Greeks, we may be allowed from Dion and Herodian, that Byzantium, many years after the death of Severus, lay in ruins.  

3 The number of inhabitants is estimated by Severus at 75,000; others suppose 20,000. Measured with the public granaries of corn in the province of Asia, which were each of 25,000 modii, or about 5000 quinners per day, I am persuaded that the granaries of ancient Byzantium in no per in the same circumstances were not less plentiful, that policy on the one hand, and admiration on the other, magnified the town beyond its real extent.  

4 See Fagan's history of the British Isles.  

5 The picture of the history which has been preserved of the destruction of this town is very fragmentary, and the ruin itself is not very easy to reconcile with the account of Dion; besides, also, the latter spoke of it in the fragments of his history which have been preserved, to Herodian. In this manner, he and many others, have generally considered, and there are so many inaccuracies in the history of Severus, that it cannot be probable that this is one of them. — G.  

6 Dion, lib. xxxiv. p. 1550.  

7 Dion. (I. xi. p. 194.) only 29 senators are mentioned by him, but according to Herodian, i. 37, among whom are six of the name of Perinthus. Herodian (I. iii. p. 115.) speaks in general of the cruelty of Severus.  

8 Aurelius Victor.
the army, and exhorting one of his generals to begin the necessary reformation from the tribunes themselves; since, as he justly observes, the officer who has forfeited the esteem, will never command the obedience, of his soldiers. Had the emperor pursued the train of reflection, he would have discovered, that the primary cause of this general corruption might be ascribed, not to the weakness of the Roman laws, but to the pernicious indulgence, however, of the commander in chief.

The pretorians, who murdered their own command of the praetorian guards, the chief ministers of the emperor and sold the empire, had regarded the idea, to have discovered, that their chief function was to be the executor of the imperial will, and, increased to four times the ancient number. Formerly these troops had been recruited in Italy; and as the adjacent provinces gradually imbided the softer manner of Rome, the levies were extended to Macedonia, Noricum, and Spain. In the course of these changes, the new levies were less distinguished than the troops of war, it was established by Severus, that from all the legions of the frontiers, the soldiers most distinguished for strength, valour, and fidelity, should be occasionally drafted; and promoted, as a mark of the reward, into the more eligible service of the guards. By this new system, the youth were diverted from the exercise of arms, and the capital was terrified by the strange aspect and manners of a multitude of barbarians. But Severus flattered himself, that the legions would consider these new levies of the praetorian guards, the raw material of the whole military order; and that the present aid of fifty thousand men, superior in arms and appointments to any force that could be brought into the field against them, would for ever crush the hopes of rebellion, and secure the empire to himself and his posterity.

The emperor, from his popular favor, and the formidable troops soon became the first office of the empire. As the government degenerated into military despotism, the praetorian prefect, who in his origin had been a simple captain of the guards, was placed, not only at the head of the army, but of the finances, and even of the law. In every department of administration, he represented the person, and exercised the authority, of the emperor. The first prefect who enjoyed and abused this immense power was Plautianus, the favorite minister of Severus. His reign lasted above ten years, till the murder of his daughter with the oldest son of the emperor, which seemed to assure his fortune, proved the occasion of his ruin. The animosities of the palace, by irritating the ambition and alarming the fear of Plautianus, threatened to produce a revolution, and obliged the emperor, who still loved him, to consent with reluctance to his death. After the fall of Plautianus, an eminent lawyer, the celebrated Papinian, was appointed to execute the matry of office of praetorian prefect.

Till the reign of Severus, the virtue of the senate was even the good sense of the emperors provoked by military despotism, had been distinguished by their zeal or attachment to the republic, but to the passive and favorable regard to the nice frame of civil policy instituted by Augustus. But the youth of Severus had been trained in the implicit obedience of camps, and his riper years spent in the despotism of military command. His haughty and inflexible spirit could not discover, or admit of error. He could not be comprehended. The Grook had been outgrown by any intermediate power, however imaginary, between the emperor and the army. He disdained to profess himself the servant of an assembly that detested his person and trembled at his frown: he issued his commands, in which his request would have proved as effectual; assured the conduct of a soldier and a conqueror, and exercised, without disguise, the whole legislative as well as the executive power.

The victory over the senate was easy. Even the eye and every/the imperial prosecution were directed to the legal. Nor could the Romans possess the arms and treasure of the state; whilst the senate, neither elected by the people, nor guarded by military force, nor animated by public spirit, rested its declining authority on the frail and crumbling basis of ancient opinion. The fine theory of a republic insensibly vanished, and was replaced by a new political and substantial feelings of monarchy. As the freedom and honors of Rome were successively communicated to the provinces, in which the old government had been either unknown, or was remembered with abhorrence, the tradition of republican maxims grew at large; and was entertained. The Grook became the array of the Antonine, and who, with a malicious pleasure, that although the sovereignty of Rome, in compliance with an obsolete prejudice, abstained from the name of king, he possessed the full measure of regal power. In the reign of Severus, the senate was filled with published eloquent slaves from the eastern provinces, who justified personal flattery by speculative principles of servitude. These new advocates of prerogative were heard with pleasure by the court, and with patience by the people, when they incrusted the duty of passive obedience, and descended on the inevitable mischiefs of freedom. The lawyers and the historians concurred in teaching, that the imperial authority was held, not by the delegated commission, but by the irrevocable resignation, of the senate; that the emperors were freed from the restraint of civil laws, could command by his arbitrary will the lives and fortunes of his subjects, and might dispose of the empire as of his private patrimony. The most eminent of the civil lawyers, and particularly Papinian, Paulus, and Ulpian, flourished under the house of Severus; and the Roman jurisprudence having closely united itself with the system of monarchy, was supposed to have attained its full maturity and perfection.

[Not of the army in general, but of the troops in Gaul. Even the letter and its contents seem to prove that Severus had determined to re-establish the discipline of the army. Herodian is the only historian who accuses him of having been the first cause of its remissness.

G.]

[Hi. August. p. 73.]

[Herodian, l. ii. p. 131.]

[Dioc. I. ixi. p. 1243.]

[The first of the praetorian guards had never been a more captain of the guards. From the moment of the creation of this office under Augustus, it was one of great power. This emperor also commanded that there should always be two Prefects of the Praetorian guard, who should be chosen from the equestrian rank only. Twenty first disbandments of this guard in the reign of Severus, indicated the second by appointing prefects from among the senators. It appears that it was under Commodus that the prefects of the Praetorian guard obtained their immense power over the state, and that this power was confined to the whole empire only, with the exception of Rome and its territory, which was under the command of the prefect of the city. As the power of the praetorians was of the direction of the finances, and of the deduction of imposts, it was not enfranchised to them till after the great emigrations made by the firstconstitutions of the empire. The praetorian guard was not a military, but a civil force; and what it did was not what it was, but what it imposed. The Praefectorum praetorianorum regnum. (c. vi. mentions none.—G.)

[In its origin, and wants of power, was the estimation of the Roman empire, some of them married men, and even fathers of families; merely that his daughter, on her marriage with the young emperor, might be attired by a train of. eunuchs worthy of an empress queen. Dio. I. ixxvi. p. 1271.]

[Dio Cassius seems to have written with no other view than to form these opinions into an historical system. The Prefects will show how ascendantly the lawyers, on their side, laboured in the cause of prerogative.

A.]

[Dion Cassius seems to have written with no other view than to form these opinions into a historical system. The Prefects will show how ascendantly the lawyers, on their side, laboured in the cause of prerogative.]}
The contemporaries of Severus, in the enjoyment of the peace and glory of his reign, forgave the cruelties he had inflicted on their predecessors. Folly, that experienced the fatal effects of his maxims and example, justly considered him as the principal author of the decline of the Roman empire.

CHAPTER VI.

The Death of Severus.—Pyrrhia of Caracalla.—Usurpation of Maxentius.—Victory of Licinius.—General State of the Roman Finances.

Greatness and destruction, however steep and dangerous, may entertain an active spirit with the consciousness and exercise of its own powers; but the possession of a throne could never yet afford a lasting satisfaction to an ambitious mind. This melancholy truth was felt and acknowledged by Severus. Fortune and merit had, from an humble station, elevated him to the first place among mankind. "He had been all things," as he said himself, "and all was of little value." Distraught with the care, not of acquiring, but of preserving, an empire, oppressed with age and infirmities, careless of life and safety, he was conscious of all his prospects of life were closed. The desire of perpetuating the greatness of his family, was the only remaining wish of his ambition and paternal tenderness. His wife the empress Julia, was passionately addicted to the vain studies of magic and divination, deeply versed in the interpretation of dreams and omens, and perfectly acquainted with the science of judicial astrology; which, in almost every age except the present, has maintained its dominion over the mind of man. He had lost his first wife, whilst he was governor of the Lionesse Gaul. In the choice of a second, he sought only to connect himself with some favourite of fortune; and as soon as he had discovered that a young lady of Emea, in Syria, had a royal nativity, he solicited, and obtained her hand. Julia Donna (for that was her name) deserved all that the stars could promise her. She possessed, even in an advanced age, the attractions of the fairest, was celebrated for a lively imagination, a firmness of mind, and strength of judgment, seldom bestowed on her sex. Her amiable qualities never made any deep impression on the dark and jealous temper of her husband; but in her son's reign, she administered the principal affairs of the empire, with a precision and judgment, which without the authority, and with a moderation that sometimes corrected his wild extravagances.

Julia applied herself to letters and philosophy with some success, and with the most splendid reputation. She was the patroness of every art, and the friend of every man of genius. The grateful flattery of the learned, has celebrated her virtue; but, if we may credit the tradition of ancient history, chastity was very far from being the most conspicuous virtue of the empress Julia.2

Their two sons. Two sons, Caracalla and Geta, were the fruit of this marriage, and the desert sons.2

The elevation of Caracalla is fixed by the accurate M. de Tillemont to the year 1304, the association of Geta to the year 205.1


c See a dissertation of Menage, at the end of his edition of Diogenes Laertii, de Fratris Philothesi.


1 Basianus was his first name, as it had been of his maternal grandfather. During his reign he assumed the appellation of Antoninus. His death, the public indignation loaded him with the nick names of Tarantus and Caracalla. The first was borrowed from a celebrated physician; the second from a long Gallic soldiers whom he distributed to the people of Rome.

2 This Cæsarian war, neither marked Fingal and his by decisive events, nor attended with any heroes.
important consequences, would ill deserve our attention; but it is supposed, not without a considerable degree of probability, that the invasion of Severus is connected with the most shining period of the British history or fable. Fingal, whose fame, with that of his heroes and bards, has been revived in our language by a recent publication, is said to have commenced the Caledonians in that memorable juncture, to have eluded the power of Severus, and to have obtained a signal victory on the banks of the Carun, in which the son of the King of the World, Caracalla, fled from his army by the hair of his head, and where his life might still hang over these Highland traditions; nor can it be entirely dispelled by the most ingenious researches of modern criticism; but if we could, with safety, indulge the pleasing supposition, that Fingal lived, and that Ossian sang, the striking contrast of the situation and manners of the contending nations might amuse a philosophic mind. The parallel would be little to the advantage of the more civilized people, if we compared the unrelenting revenge of Severus with the generous clemency of Fingal; the timid and brutal conqueror with the heroic defender, the tender humanity of the young hero with the elegant genius of Ossian; the mercenary chiefs who, from motives of fear or interest, served under the imperial standard, with the free-born warriors who started to arms at the voice of the king of Morven; if, in fact, we contemplated the unuttered Caledonian's, his often warmest wishes for the welfare of his country, and the degenerate Romans, polluted with the mean vices of wealth and slavery.

The Decline and last Illness

of Caracalla. of Severus inflamed the wild ambition and black passions of Caracalla's soul. Impatient of all delay, he resolved, once and for all, to remove the power that had attempted, more than once, to shorten the small remainder of his father's days, and endeavoured, but without success, to excite a mutiny among the troops. The old emperor had often censured the misguided loyalty of Marcus, who, by a single act of justice, might have saved the Romans from the tyranny of his worthless son. Placed in the same situation, he experienced how easily the rigour of a judge dissolves away in the tenderness of a parent. He deliberated, he threatened, but he could not punish; and this last and only instance of mercy was more fatal to the empire than a long series of measures of severity. The disgust of his mind irritated, and accession of his two sons, instant of it by his impatience. He 6th February. expired at York, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and in the eighteenth of a glorious and successful reign. In his last moments he recommended concord to his sons, and his sons to the army. The salutary advice never reached the heart, or even the understanding, of the impetuous youths; but the more obedient troops, mindful of their oath of allegiance, and of the authority of their deceased master, resisted the solicitations of Caracalla, and proclaimed both brothers emperors of Rome. The new princes soon left the Caledonians in peace, returned to the capital, celebrated their father's funeral with divine honours, and were cheerfully acknowledged as lawful sovereigns by the people and the provincials. Some pre-eminence of rank seems to have been al-

1 Ossian's Poems, vol. 1, p. 175.
2 That the Caractacus of Ossian is the Caractacus of the Roman History, is, perhaps, the only point of British antiquity in which Mr. Arber and Mr. Chalmers are in entire concurrence; but of the opinion is not without difficulty. In the Caledonian war, the son of the then reigning emperor, the child of Antinous, who, by the death of his mother, had become alone that of the whole empire, could not seem to be the literal interpretation of the account of Severus. But if Severus had been adopted by the Roman Emperor, or if the account of Antinous had been the subject of a popular report, or even of a wild conjecture, the opinion would not be at all different. It is quite uncertain, throughout the whole passage, whether the Caractacus of Ossian should be identified with the Caractacus of Tacitus. See Dion, l. iv. ch. iv. ch. v. XXXII. of Antoninus. This difficulty is very much increased by the most ancient historians. See Dion, l. iv. ch. vii. ch. viii. ch. IX. of Antoninus. This difficulty is very much increased by the most ancient historians. See Dion, 1. iv. p. 1317. Hist. Aug. p. 1320. Aurel. Victor, p. 214. p Dion, l. iv. p. 1264. Hist. Aug. p. 74. Aurel. Victor.
victory. He artfully listened to his mother's entreaties, and consented to meet his brother in her apartment, on terms of peace and reconciliation. In the midst of their conversation, some centurions, who had contrived to conceal themselves, rushed with drawn swords upon the unfortunate Geta. His distracted mother flung herself upon him in her arms. In the unavailing struggle, she was wounded in the hand, and covered with the blood of her younger son, while she saw the elder animating and assisting the fury of the assassins. As soon as the deed was perpetrated, Caracalla, with hasty steps, and horror in his countenance, ran towards the step, the only refuge, and threw himself on the ground before the statues of the tutelar deities. The soldiers attempted to raise and comfort him. In broken and disorderly words he informed them of his imminent danger and fortunate escape; insinuating that he had prevented the designs of his enemy, and declared his resolution to live and die with his faithful troops. Geta had been the favourite of the soldiers; but complaint was useless, revenge was dangerous, and they still revered the son of Severus. Their discontent died away in idle murmurs, and Caracalla soon convinced the rest of his family of their fate, by distributing in one lavish donative the accumulated treasures of his father's reign. The real sentiments of the soldiers alone were of importance to his power or safety. Their declaration in his favour commanded the dutiful professions of the senate. The obsequious assembly was pleased to address itself to the God, whose divine influence, by distributing fortune, had made Caracalla wish to assuage the first emotions of public indignation, the name of Geta was mentioned with decency, and he received the funeral honours of a Roman emperor. Posteriority, in pity to his misfortune, has cast a veil over his virtues. We consider them as the fruits of his father's ambition, without recollecting that he himself wanted power, rather than inclination, to consummate the same attempts of revenge and murder.

Remove and cruelty of Caracalla. Neither business, nor pleasure, nor flattery could defend Caracalla from the stings of a guilty conscience; and he confessed, in the anguish of a tortured mind, that his disordered fancy often beheld the angry forms of his father and his brother rising into life, to threaten and upbraid him. The consequence of this obloquy should have been to destroy mankind, by the virtues of his reign, that the bloody deed had been the involuntary effect of fatal necessity. But the repentance of Caracalla only prompted him to remove from the world whatever could remind him of his guilt, or recall the memory of his murdered brother. On his return from the senate, to the palace, he found his mother in company of several noble matrons, weeping over the untimely fate of her younger son. The jealous emperor threatened them with instant death; the sentence was executed against Paolina, the last remaining daughter of the emperor Marcus; and even the afflicted Julia was obliged to silence her lamentations, to suppress her sighs, and to receive the assassin with smiles of joy.

Caracalla conciliated, in the temple of Serapis, the sword, with which, as he boasted, he had slain his brother Geta. Dion. l. xxvi. p. 130.

Herodian, i. iv. p. 147. In every Roman camp there was a small chapel near the head-quarters, in which the statues of the tutelary deities were preserved and adored; and we may remark, that the eagles, and other military emblems, were in the first rank of these divine images, as the especial objects of the consecration and adoration of the soldiers. Sec Lipsius, de Milita Romana, i. 5, v. 2.


Dion. l. xxvi. p. 130. Julia was placed among the Gods, He drew, dam nam sit rite, said his brother. Hist. August. p. 21. Some marks of Geta's conciliation are still found among the statues preserved in the temples; and we observe a kind of aegis in the shape of a pavement which has been observed to be placed between Caracalla and of Severus and of Caracalla. Herod, lib. iv. c. 3. Spartan, in Geta's c. 4. Dion. l. xxvi. p. 130.

Vol. I.—II

The favourable judgment which history has passed upon Geta, is founded not on the sentiment of pity alone—the testimony of the writers of the age is unanimous on this point—but on the table, and was jealous and suspicious of his brother, but he was humbled by the power and authority of Severus and of Caracalla. Herod, lib. iv. c. 3. Spartan, in Geta's c. 4. Dion. l. xxvi. p. 130.
more lustre on the memory of Papian, than all his great employments, his numerous writings, and the superior reputation as a lawyer, which he has preserved through every age of the Roman jurisprudence.1

His tyranny extended over the whole empire. It had hitherto been the peculiar felicity of the Romans, and in the worst of times their consolation, that the virtue of the emperors was active, and their vice indolent. Augustus, Trajan, Hadrian, and Marcus, visited their extensive dominions in person, and their presence was marked by acts of wisdom and benevolence. The tyranny of Tiberius, Nero, and Domitian, who resided almost constantly at Rome, or in the adjacent villas, was confined to the senatorial and equestrian orders.2 But Caracalla was the common enemy of mankind. He left the capital [and never returned to it] about a year after the murder of Geta.

The rest of his reign was spent in the several provinces of the empire, particularly those of the East, and every province was by turns the scene of his rapine and cruelty. The songsters, supported by his capricious motions, were obliged to provide daily entertainments at an immense expense, which he abandoned with contempt to his guards; and to erect, in every city, magnificent palaces and theatres, which he either disdained to visit, or ordered to be immediately thrown down. The wealthy were razed to the ground, the palaces, and private houses, the temple of Serapis, he viewed and directed the slaughter of many thousand citizens, as well as strangers, without distinguishing either the number or the crime of the sufferers; since, as he coolly informed the senate, all the Alexandrians, those who had perished, and those who had escaped, were alike guilty.1

Relaxation of discipline never made any lasting impression on the mind of his son, who, although not destitute of imagination and eloquence, was equally devoid of judgment. The most dangerous maxim, worthy of a tyrant, was remembered and abused by Caracalla, "To secure the affections of the army, and to esteem the rest of his subjects as of little moment." But the liberality of the father had been replaced by severity, and his justice to the troops was tempered by firmness and authority. The careless profusion of the son was the policy of one reign, and the inevitable ruin both of the army and of the empire. The vigour of the soldiers, instead of being confirmed by the severe discipline of camps, melted away in the luxuries of cities. The excessive increase of their pay and donatives,3 exhausted the state to enrich the military order, whose modesty in peace, and service in war, are best secured by an honourable poverty. The demourant of Caracalla was thought to have a regard of pride; but his mother had got even the proper dignity of his rank, encouraged their insolent familiarity, and, neglecting the essential duties of a general, affected to imitate the dress and manners of a common soldier.

It was impossible that such a character, and such a name as Murder of Caracalla, could inspire either love or esteem.4 But as long as his vices were not beneficial to the army, he was secure from the danger of rebellion. A secret conspiracy, provoked by his own jealousy and fear to that army. The equestrian praetorian were divided between two masters. The military department was intrusted to Adventus, an experienced rather than an able soldier; and the civil affairs were transacted by Opilius Macrinus, who, by his dexterity in business, had raised himself, with a fair integrity, to the rank of a senator. The empire was varied with the caprice of the emperor, and his life might depend on the slightest suspicion, or the most casual circumstance. Malice or fanaticism had suggested to an African, deeply skilled in the knowledge of futurity, a very dangerous prediction, that Macrinus and his sons might be murdered on the morrow. The report was soon diffused through the provinces; and when the man was sent in chains to Rome, he still asserted, in the presence of the prefect of the city, the faith of his prophecy. That magistrate, who had received the letter, instead of guarding himself of the successors of Caracalla, immediately communicated the examination of the African to the imperial court, which at that time resided in Syria. But, notwithstanding the diligence of the public messengers, a friend of Macrinus found means to apprise him of the approaching danger. The emperor received the letters from Rome; and as he was then engaged in the conduct of a chariot race, he delivered them unopened to the praetorian prefect, directing him to despatch the ordinary affairs, and to report the more important business that might be contained in them. Macrinus read his fate, and resolved to prevent it. He inflamed the discontent of some inferior officers, and employed the hand of Martialis, a desperate soldier, who had been refused the rank of centurion. The de-

1 With regard to Papian, see Heinsohn's Historia Juris Romani, i. 730, &c.

2 Papian was not at that time Praetorian Prefect—Caracalla had taken this office from him immediately after the death of Severus—Such is the account which Dion gives, (p. 1397.)—and the testimony of the Spartians, who gives the Prefecture to Papian until the time of his death, as that of a senator who then lived at Rome,—(ib.)


4 Dion, i. liv. p. 1201.

5 Dion, i. liv. p. 1256. Herodian, i. iv. p. 156. The former records it as a cruel massacre, the latter as a perfidious one too. It seems probable, that the Alexandrians had irritated the tyrant by their rapine, and prevented their return.

6 After these massacres, Caracalla also deprived the Alexandrians of their rank as officers of public finance—in their place, they were placed in parts by means of a will—he surrounded it with the citizens, who might not more peaceable have intercourse from abroad. They were elected unhappy, Alexander treated by the eunuchs of Borsia—Such was in fact the epistle bestowed upon Caracalla, and sumptuously written to the eunuchs, and said that he was much displeased with this name, and often boasted of it. (Dion, lib. liv. p. 1257. &c.)

7 Dion, i. liv. p. 1254. Mr. Watton, (Hist. of Rome, p. 293.) supposes that this maxim was invented by Caracalla himself, and attributed to his father.

8 Dion, (Hist. liv. p. 1384.) informs us, that the extraordinary gifts of Caracalla to the army amounted annually to twenty millions of drachmas, and that at least three hundred and fifty thousand soldiers were employed. There is another passage in Dion, concerning the military pay, infinitely curious, where it was absolutely certain, that probably the best sense seem to be, that the praetorian guards received twenty hundred and fifty drachmas, (forty pounds) a year. (Dion, i. liv. p. 1387.) Under the reign of Augustus, they were paid at the rate of five hundred and fifty drachmas, or denarii, per day, 750 a year. (Titiae, Annal. i. 17.) Domitian, who increased the soldiers' pay one-fourth, must have raised the praetorians to 800 drachmas. (Generalis de Pecuniis Veneri, 1. iv. c. 2.) These excessive augmentations ruined the empire, for, with the soldiers' pay, their numbers too were increased. We have seen the praetorians above increased from 20,000 to 20,000 men.

9 Valibus sunt abstat, quanto magis dracmass, quam soldatis. (Hist. liv. p. 1257.)

10 Dion, lib. liv. p. 1387. He commanded that the soldiers should receive more than they had yet received, as the reward of their services, the Praetorians twenty, hundred and fifty drachmas, and the other five thousand drachmas. Valibus sunt abstat, quanto magis dracmass, quam soldatis. (Hist. liv. p. 1257.) He commanded that the soldiers should receive more than they had yet received, as the reward of their services, the Praetorians twenty, hundred and fifty drachmas, and the other five thousand drachmas. Valibus sunt abstat, quanto magis dracmass, quam soldatis. (Hist. liv. p. 1257.) He commanded that the soldiers should receive more than they had yet received, as the reward of their services, the Praetorians twenty, hundred and fifty drachmas, and the other five thousand drachmas. Valibus sunt abstat, quanto magis dracmass, quam soldatis. (Hist. liv. p. 1257.) He commanded that the soldiers should receive more than they had yet received, as the reward of their services, the Praetorians twenty, hundred and fifty drachmas, and the other five thousand drachmas. Valibus sunt abstat, quanto magis dracmass, quam soldatis. (Hist. liv. p. 1257.) He commanded that the soldiers should receive more than they had yet received, as the reward of their services, the Praetorians twenty, hundred and fifty drachmas, and the other five thousand drachmas. Valibus sunt abstat, quanto magis dracmass, quam soldatis. (Hist. liv. p. 1257.) He commanded that the soldiers should receive more than they had yet received, as the reward of their services, the Praetorians twenty, hundred and fifty drachmas, and the other five thousand drachmas. Valibus sunt abstat, quanto magis dracmass, quam soldatis. (Hist. liv. p. 1257.) He commanded that the soldiers should receive more than they had yet received, as the reward of their services, the Praetorians twenty, hundred and fifty drachmas, and the other five thousand drachmas. Valibus sunt absta...
must be always chosen in the senate, and the sovereign power, no longer exercised by the whole body, was always delegated to one of its members. But Macrinus was not a senator. The sudden elevation of the prætorian prefect betrayed the meanness of their origin; and the equestrian order was still in possession of that distinction and that prerogative by which it was commanded to arbitrate away the lives and fortunes of the senate. A murmur of indignation was heard, that a man whose obscure extraction had never been illustrated by any single service, should dare to invest himself with the purple, instead of bestowing it on some distinguished senator, equal to the pretensions of the imperial station. As soon as the character of Macrinus was surveyed by the sharp eye of discontent, some vices, and many defects, were easily discovered. The choice of his ministers was in many cases justly censured, and the dissatisfied people, with the usual candour, accused at once his indolent inactivity and his excessive severity.

His rash ambition had climbed a height where it was difficult to stand; and his court, impossible to fall without instant destruction. Taunted in the arts of court and the forms of civil life, he trembled at the presence of the fierce and undisciplined multitude, over whom he had assumed the command; his military talents were despised, and his personal courage suspected; a whisper that circulated in the camp, disclosed the fatal secret of the conspiracy against the late emperor. It anticipated the sentence of murder by force of hypocrisies, and heightened contempt by detestation.

To alienate the soldiers, and to provoke inevitable ruin, the character of a reformer was only wanting; and such was the peculiar hardship of his fate, that Macrinus was compelled to exercise that invidious office. The plans of his reign were drawn in a long train of ruin and disorder; and that worthless tyrant had been capable of reflecting on the sure consequences of his own conduct, he would perhaps have enjoyed the dark prospect of the distress and calamities which he bequeathed to his successors.

In the management of this necessary reformation, Macrinus proceeded with a caution which, besides his restored health and vigour to the Roman army, in an easy and almost imperceptible manner. To the soldiers already engaged in the service, he was constrained to leave the dangerous and extravagant pay given by Caracalla; but the new recruits were received on the more moderate though liberal establishment of Severus, and gradually formed to modesty and obedience. One fatal error destroyed all the salutary effect of this judicious plan. The enormous army, assembled in the East by the late emperor, instead of being immediately dispersed by Macrinus through the several provinces, was suffered to remain united in Syria, during the winter that followed his elevation. In the luxurious idleness of their quarters, the troops viewed their strength and numbers,
communicated their complaints, and revolted in their minds the advantages of another revolution. The veterans, instead of being flattered by the advantageous distinction, were alarmed by the first steps of the emperor, which they considered as the presage of his future intentions. The recruits, with sullen reluctance, entered on a service, whose labours were increased while its rewards were diminished by a covetous and unvaried sovereign. The murmurs of the army swelled with impunity into seditious clamours; and the partial mutinies betrayed a spirit of discontent unmingled with loyalty. The rebel army hesitated only to the slightest occasion to break out on every side into a general rebellion. To minds thus disposed, the occasion soon presented itself.

Death of the empress Julia. Edict, proclama tions, and revolt.

The empress Julia had experienced all the vicissitudes of fortune. From a humble station she had been raised to greatness, only to taste the superior bit terness of an exalted rank. She was doomed to weep over the death of one of her sons, and over the life of the other. The cruel fate of Caracalla, though her grief might have long lasted to her, and, by overcoming the feelings of a mother, and of an empress. Notwithstanding the respectful civility expressed by the usurper towards the widow of Severus, she descended with a painful struggle into the condition of a subject; from her own position, her own interest, her voluntary desire, from the anxious and humiliating dependence. Julia Mesa, her sister, was ordered to leave the court and Antioch. She retired to Emesa with an immense fortune, the fruit of twenty years favour, accompanied by her two daughters, Soemias and Mamma, each of whom was a widow, and each had an only son. Bassianus, for that was the name of the son of Soemias, was consecrated to the honourable ministry of high priest of the Sun; and this holy vocation, embraced either from prudence or superstition, contributed to raise the Syrian youth to the empire of Rome. A numerous body of troops was stationed at Emesa; and, as the severe discipline of Macrinus had constrained them to pass the winter encamped, they were eager to revenge the cruelty of such unaccustomed hardships. The soldiers, who resorted in crowds to the temple of the Sun, beheld with veneration and admiration the elegant dress and figure of the young pontiff; they recognized, or they thought that they recognized, the features of Caracalla, whose memory they now adored. The artful Mesa saw and cherished their rising partiality for Bassianus, sacrificing her brother's reputation to the fortune of her grandson, she insinuated that Bassianus was the natural son of their sovereign. The sums distributed by her emissaries with a lavish hand, silenced every objection, and the profusion sufficiently proved the affinity, or at least the resemblance, of Bassianus with the great original.

The young Antonius (for he had as May 16, summed and polluted that respectable name) was declared emperor by the troops of Emesa, asserted the youngCaesar's right, and called aloud on the army to follow the standard of a young and liberal prince, who had taken up arms to revenge his father's death and the oppression of the military order. Whilst a conspiracy of women and the dead and death eunuchs was concerted with prudence, of Macrinus, and conducted with rapid vigour, Macrinus, who, by a decisive motion, might have crushed his infant enemy, devoted himself to the opposite extreme, and security, which alike fixed him inactive at Antioch. A spirit of rebellion diffused itself through all the camps and garrisons of Syria, successive detachments murdered their officers, and joined the party of the emperor, who, thirsting for revenge, no longer hesitated to enjoy the compassion of the soldiers, and to animate their drooping courage. Antoninus himself, who, in the rest of his life, never acted like a man, in this important crisis of his fate approved himself a hero, mounted his horse, and declared, with a calm and resolute countenance, in hand among the thickest of the enemy; whilst the eunuch Gannys, whose occupations had been confined to female cares and the soft luxury of Asia, displayed the talents of an able and experienced general. The battle still raged with doubtful violence, and Macrinus might have obtained the victory, had he not betrayed his own cause by a shameful and precipitate flight.

His cowardice served only to protract his life a few days, and to stamp deserved ignominy on his misfortunes. It is scarcely necessary to add, that his son Diadumenianus was involved in the same fate. As soon as the stubborn pretorian could be convinced that they fought for a prince who had basely deserted them, they surrendered to the conqueror; the contending parties of the Roman army, mingling tears of joy and tenderness, united under the banners of the imagined son of Caracalla. From this time Macrinus, whose guilt and prudence, more especially those of the East, were distracted with hopes and fears, agitated with tumult, and stained with a useless effusion of civil blood, since whosoever of the rivals prevailed in the struggle, he excited the envy of his supporters, or he suspected letters in which the young conqueror announced his victory to the obedient senate, were filled with professions of submission. (Dion. I. lviii. p. 1320. The abridgment of Xiphilin, though less particular, is in this place clearer than the original. As soon as this princess heard of the death of Caracalla, she determined to die of hunger. The respect shown by her to Macrinus, in making no change in her title or her court, peremptorily to live, but it seems at first that the mutilated text of Dion, and the imperfect allowance of this, was enabled to descend from the regard that she had conceived for ambitious projects, and endeavoured to raise herself to the throne. She was the more expensive to the world, for example of Sempronius Gracchus and Nicomachus, two Roman provinces hounded upon her own. Macrinus commanded her forthwith to leave the city, without however she observed her former design, and voluntarily perished of hunger. (Ibid. I. lviii. p. 1320.)

Gannys, this name from his maternal grandfather, the father of Julia Mesa, his grandmother, and of Julia Domna the wife of Severus. Venerius, his father's cognomen) is perhaps the only historian who has given the key of this genealogy in saying of Caracalla: Hic Bassianus erat mater eunomi ducibus. Caracalla, Elagabalus, and Alexander Severus successively bore this name. [Gannys was not a eunuch, (Dion. 1355.)]
of virtue and moderation; the shining examples of Marcus and Augustus he should ever consider as the great rule of his administration; and he affected to dwell with pride on the striking resemblance of his own age and fortunes with those of Augustus, in whom, he said, the merits of conqueror were united by the murder of his father. By adopting the style of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, son of Antoninus and grandson of Severus, he tacitly asserted his hereditary claim to the empire; but, by assuming the tribunitial and proconsular powers before they had been conferred on him by the senate, he offended the delicacy of Roman prejudice. This new and injudicious violation of the constitution was probably dictated either by the ignorance of his Syrian courtiers, or the fierce disdain of his military followers.

Picture of Elagabalus.

A. D. 219.

As the attention of the new emperor was diverted by the每逢ing amuse-
ments, he wasted many months in his luxurious progress from Syria to Italy, passed at Nicomedia his first winter after his victory, and deferred till the ensuing summer his triumphal entry into the capital. A faithful picture, however, which preceded his arrival, and was placed by his immediate ordai

larger, was conveyed by the Romans the just but unworthy resemblance of his person and manners. He was drawn in his sacerdotal robes of silk and gold, after the loose flowing fashion of the Medes and Phoenicians; his head was clothed with a crown, and the side of his forehead was adorned with gems of an inestimable value. His eyebrows were tinged with black, and his cheeks painted with an artificial red and white. The grave senators confessed with a sigh, that, after having long expected the end of the tyranny of their own country, Rome was at length humbled beneath the effeminate luxury of Oriental despotism.

The sun was worshipped at Emessa, under the name of Elagabalus, and under the form of a black conical stone, which, as it was universally believed, had fallen from heaven on that sacred place. To this protecting deity, Antoninus, not without some reason, ascribed his elevation to the throne. The display of superstitious gratitude was the only serious business of his reign. The triumph of the god of Emessa over all the religions of the earth, was considered a foretaste of the downfall of paganism. The formidable appellation of Elagabalus (for he presumed as pontifex and favourite to adopt that sacred name) was dearer to him than all the titles of imperial greatness. In a solemn procession through the streets of Rome, the way was strewed with gold dust; the black stone, set in precious metals, was placed on a chariot drawn by six milk-white horses richly caparisoned. The pious emperor held the reins, and, supported by his ministers, moved slowly backwards, that he might perpetually enjoy the felicity of the divine presence. In a magnificent temple raised on the Palatine Mount, the sacrifices of the god Elagabalus were celebrated with every circumstance of cost and solemnity. The richest wines, the most extraordinary victuals, and the rarest aromatics, were profusely consumed on his altar.

Around the altar a chorus of Syrian damsels performed their lascivious dances to the sound of barbarian music, whilst the gravest personages of the state and army, clothed in long Phoenician tunics, officiated in the meager functions, with affected zeal, and secret indifference.

To this temple, as to the common centre of religious worship, the imperial fanatic attempted to remove the Ancilia, the Palladium, and all the sacred pledges of the faith of Numa. A crowd of inferior deities attended in various stations the majesty of the god of Emessa; but his court was still imperfect, till a female of distingished rank was admitted to his bed. Pallas had been first chosen for his consort; but as it was dreaded lest her warlike terrors might affright the soft delicacy of a Syrian deity, the Moon, adored by the Africans under the name of Astarte, was deemed a more suitable companion for the Sun. Her images with the rich offerings of her temple as a marriage portion, was transported with solemn pomp from Carthage to Rome, and the day of these mystic nuptials was a general festival in the capital, and throughout the empire.

A rational voluntary adherence with His providence to the temperate and invariable climates of nature, and improves the gratia luxuriations of sense by social intercourse, endowing conceptions, and the soft colouring of taste and the imagination. But Elagabalus, (I speak of the emperor of that name,) corrupted by his youth, his country, and his own fortune, abandoned his sacrifices to overgrown fury, and soon found disgust and satiety in the midst of his enjoyments. The inflammatory powers of art were summoned to his aid; the confused multitude of women, of wines, and of dishes, which preceded his triumphs, to gratify the soul of a voluptuary, was renewed with ungodly fury, and soon found disgust and satiety in the midst of his enjoyments. The inflammatory powers of art were summoned to his aid; the confused multitude of women, of wines, and of dishes, which preceded his triumphs, to gratify the soul of a voluptuary, was renewed with ungodly fury, and soon found disgust and satiety in the midst of his enjoyments. The inflammatory powers of art were summoned to his aid; the confused multitude of women, of wines, and of dishes, which preceded his triumphs, to gratify the soul of a voluptuary, was renewed with ungodly fury, and soon found disgust and satiety in the midst of his enjoyments. The inflammatory powers of art were summoned to his aid; the confused multitude of women, of wines, and of dishes, which preceded his triumphs, to gratify the soul of a voluptuary, was renewed with ungodly fury, and soon found disgust and satiety in the midst of his enjoyments.
The DECLINE and FALL

Contempt of decency, which distresses the ancient Roman tyrants.

It may seem probable, the vices and follies of Elagabalus have been adorned times by fancy, and blackened by prejudice; but the scenes displayed before the Roman people, and attest- by grave and contemporary historians, their impres- sessions of infamy surpasses that of any other age or country. The licence of an eastern monarch is se- cluded from the eye of curiosity by the inaccessibility of his station, and the haughty pride of his subjects. The solemnities of honour and gallantry have introduced a refinement of pleasure, a regard for decency, and a respect for the public opin- ion, into the modern courts of Europe; but the corrup- tions of counsel and the imperious nobles of Rome gratified every vice that could be conceived from the most di- vers and monstrous. Secure of impunity, careless of censure, they lived without restraint in the patient and humble society of their slaves and parasites. The em- peror, in his turn, viewing every rank of his subjects with the same contemptuous indifference, asserted without control his sovereign privilege of lust and luxury.

Discourses of the army.

The most worthless of mankind arc,
not afraid to condemn in others the same disorders which they allow in themselves; and can readily discover some nice difference of age, character, or station, to give the partial distinctions of the liberal-ious soldiers, who had raised to the throne the dissol- lute son of Caracalla, blushed at their ignominious choice, and turned with disgust from that monster, to contemplate with pleasure the opening virtues of his cousin Alexander the son of Mamæa. The crafty Massa, sensible that her grandson Elagabalus must publicly or privately destroy himself by his own vices, had provided another and surer support of her family. Embracing a favourable moment of fondness and devotion, she had persuaded the young emperor to adopt Alexander, and to invest him with the titles of Caesar, that his own divine occupations might be no longer interrupted by the care of the earth. In the second rank that amiable prince soon acquired the affections of the public, and excited the tyrant's jealousy, who resolved to ter- minate the dangerous competition, either by corrupt- ing the masses, or by taking away the life, of his rival. His arts proved unsuccessful; his vain designs were constantly discovered by his own iniquitous folly, and disapproved by those virtuous and faithful servants whom the prudence of Mamæa had placed about the person of her son. In a solitary sally of pas- sion, Elagabalus resolved to execute by force what he had been unable to compass by fraud, and by a des- potic sentence degraded his cousin from the rank and honours of Caesar. The message was received in the senate with silence, and in the camp with fury. The praetorian guards swore to protect Alexander, and to revenge the dishonoured majesty of the throne. The tears and promises of the trembling Elagabalus, who only begged them to spare his life, and to leave him in the possession of his beloved Hierocles, diverted their just indignation; and they contented themselves with preserving his personal dignity, and watching over the safety of Alexander, and the conduct of the emperor.

Sedition of the guards and murder of Elaga- balus.

It was impossible that such a recon- ciliation should last, or that even the mean soul of Elagabalus could hold an empire on such humiliating terms of de- pendence. He soon attempted, by a dan- gerous experiment, to try the temper of the soldiers. The report of the death of Alexander, and the natural suspicion that he had been murdered, inflamed their passions into fury, and the tempest of the camp could only be appeased by the presence and authority of the popular youth. Provoked at this new instance of theircrofting, and appealed to the public Justice, the emperor ventured to punish some of the leaders of the tumult. His unseasonable severity proved instantly fatal to his minions, his mother, and himself. Elagabalus was massacred by the ignignant praetorians, his mutilated corpse dragged through the streets of the city, and his memory was branded with eternal infamy by the senate; the justice of whose decree has been ratified by pos- terity.

In the room of Elagabalus, his cousin the son of Mamæa, it was chosen by contumly by the praetorian guards. His relation to the family of Severus, his name which he assumed, was the same as that of his predecessor; his virtue and his danger had already endeared him to the Romans, and the eager liberality of the senate conferred upon him, in one day, the various titles and powers of the impe- rial dignity. But as Alexander was a modest and dis- tinguished youth, of only seventeen years of age, the reins of government were in the hands of two women, of his mother Mamæa, and of Massa, his grandmother. After the death of the latter, who survived him a short time to her son, the one remained the sole regent of his son and of the empire.

In every age and country, the wish, power of his or at least the stronger, of the two sexes. mother Mamæa, has usurped the powers of the state, and confined the other to the cares and pleasures of domestic life. In the ancient republic of Rome, they were in all cases the equals of the soldiers. But as the Roman emperors were still considered as the generals and magistrates of the republic, their wives and mothers, although distinguished by the name of Augusta, were never associated to their per- sonal honours; and a female reign would have appeared an impossibility in the state of public magnificence in which the Romans, who married without love, or loved without delicacy and respect. The haughty Agrippina aspired, indeed, to share the honours of the empire, which she had conferred on her son; but her mad ambi- tion, detected by every citizen who felt for the dignity of the empire, and the utmost necessity of having a successor who should preserve the harmony of the empire, and the successions of those families which had been raised by the liberality of her husband, and who had deserved to continue independent of princes, and to continue independent of princes, and to enjoy the highest authority in the state, she procured the appointment of her son as Caesar, and afterwards as Augustus, and thus preserved the dignity of the imperial line.

The war of the death of Elagabalus, and of the accession of Alex- ander, has employed the learning and ingenuity of Paul Tiele- mont, Valeschi, Vogel, and Torse, Bishop of Avesa. The ques- tion is most accurately intrenched, but still adheres to the authority of Dion: the truth of whose calculations is undeniable, and the purity of whose text is justified by the agreement of Appian, Zonares, and Cedrenus. Elagabalus reigned three years, nine months, and four days, from his victory over Maximus, and was killed March 10. But what shall we reply to the meditated and undeniably genuine, which reckons the fifth year of his tribunial power? We shall re- ply, with the learned Valeschi, that the usurpation of Maximus was annullcd, and that the son of Caracalla was his from the fifth. No year, however, has been reserved for the expiration of his own life, or for the completeness of a smaller knot of this question may be easily united, or cut asunder.

This opinion of Valeschi has been successfully opposed by Eck- tel, who has shown the impossibility of reconciling it with the mea- sures of Elagabalus, and has given a most satisfactory explanation of the five tribunals of this emperor. He ascended the throne, and received the tribunial power the 16th of May, in the 971st year of Rome; and the first of January the following year, he commenced a new tribunial, accomplished by the elevation of two other emperors. During the years 972, 973, and 974, he enjoyed the tribu- nial power, and in the 975th year of his accession, he was slain, the 10th of March. (Ecktel, De doctr. num. veter. vol. viii. p. 325, and following. — G.)

Lampridius says that it was given to him by the soldiers, on ac- count of his severity in military discipline. (Lampr. in Alex. Ser. c. 17 and 18.)

2 But August. p. 114. By this unusual mechanical, the senate seems to have succeeded the hopes of pretenders, and prevent the factions of the army.

3 Metella Nubidulus, the eunuch, acknowledged to the Roman people, and the attention, that had kind Nature allowed us to cast without the help of women, should be delivered from a very troublesome companion; and it could recommend marriage as the sacrifice of private pleasure to public duty. Aulus Gellius, i. 6.
of Rome, was disappointed by the artful firmness of Seneca and Burrhur. The good sense, or the indifference, of succeeding princes, restrained them from offending the prejudices of their subjects; and it was reserved for the prodigies of Elagabalus, to raise the acts of the senate, with the name of his mother Soemias, who was placed by the side of the consuls, and subscribed, as a regular member, the decrees of the legislative assembly. Her more prudent sister, Mamia, declined the useless and odious prerogative, and a solemn law was enacted, excluding women for ever from the senate, and devoting to the sacred gods, the head of the wretch by whom this sanction should be violated. The substance, not the pageantry, of power was the object of Mamia's manly ambition. She maintained an absolute and lasting empire over the mind of her son, and in his affection the mother could not brook a rival. Alexander, with her consent, married the daughter of a patrician; but his respect for his father-in-law, and love for the empress, were inconsistent with the tenderness or interest of Mamia. The patrician was executed on the ready accusation of the empress, with her undaunted and infallible dignity.

Notwithstanding this act of jealous cruelty, as well as some instances of avarice, with which Mamia is charged; the general tenor of her administration was equally for the advantage of the senate and of the empire. With the approbation of the senate, she chose sixteen of the wisest and most virtuous senators, as a perpetual council of state, before whom every public business of moment was debated and determined. The celebrated Ulpian, equally distinguished by his knowledge of, and his respect for, the laws of Rome, was at their head; and the prudent firmness of this aristocracy restored order and authority to the government. As soon as they had purified the city from foreign superstition and luxury, the remains of the capricious tyranny of Elagabalus, they applied themselves to remove his worthless creatures from every department of public administration, and to supply their places with men of virtue and ability. Learning, and the love of justice, became the only recommendations for civil offices. Valour, and the love of discipline, the only qualifications for military employments.

Mamia, the character of the young emperor, on whose personal qualities the happiness or misery of the Roman world must ultimately depend. The fortunate soil assisted, and even prevented, the hand of time from the process, which in a short period, has convinced Alexander of the advantages of virtue, the pleasure of knowledge, and the necessity of labour. A natural mildness and moderation of temper preserved him from the assaults of passion, and the allurements of vice. His unalterable regard for his mother, and his esteem for the wise Ulpian, guarded his unexperienced youth from the poison of flattery. The simple journal of his ordinary life, cuprous exhibits a pleasing picture of an accomplished emperor, and with some allowance for the difference of manners, might well deserve the name of 'the Roman.'

First, the first moments of the day were consecrated to private devotion, and his domestic chapel was filled with the images of those heroes, who, by improving or reforming human life, had deserved the grateful reverence of posterity. But, in a few days the desire of mankind the most acceptable worship of the gods, the greatest part of his morning hours was employed in his council, where he discussed public affairs, and determined private causes, with a patience and discretion above his years. The dryness of business was relieved by the charm of literature; and a portion of time was always set apart for his favourite studies of poetry, history, and philosophy. The works of Virgil and Horace, the republics of Plato and Cicero, formed his taste, enlarged his understanding, and gave him the noblest ideas of man and government. The exercises of the body succeeded to those of the mind; and Alexander, who was tall, active, and robust, surpassed most of his equals in the gymnastic arts. Refreshed by the use of the bath and a light dinner, he resumed, with new vigour, the business of the day; and, till the hour of supper, the principal meal of the Romans, he was attended by his secretaries, with whom he read and answered the multitude of letters, memorials, and petitions, that must have been addressed to the master of the greatest part of the world. His table was served with the most frugal simplicity; and whenever he was at liberty to consult his own inclination, the company consisted of the students of learning and virtue, amongst whom Ulpian was constantly invited. Their conversation was familiar and instructive; and the pauses were occasionally enlivened by the recital of some pleasing composition, which supplied the place of the dancers, comedians, and even gladiators, so frequently summoned to the tables of the rich and luxurious Romans. The dress of Alexander was plain and modest, his demeanor courteous and affable: at the proper hours his palace was open to all his subjects, but the voice of a ordinary man was heard, as in the Elysian mysteries, pronouncing the same salutary admonitions: *Let none enter those holy walls, unless he is conscious of a pure and innocent mind.*

Such an uniform tenor of life, which A. D. 222—235, left not a moment for vice or folly, is a General happier proof of the wisdom and justice of nature, than all her creations. From the death of Elagabalus, it enjoyed an auspicious calm of thirteen years, during which the oppressive taxes invented by Caracalla and his pretended son, flourished in peace and prosperity, under the administration of magistrates, who were convinced by experience, that to deserve the love of the subjects,
was their best and only method of obtaining the favour of their sovereign. While some gentle restraint
were imposed on the extravagance of the Roman people, the price of provisions, and the interest
of money, were reduced by the paternal care of Alexander, whose prudent liberality, without distressing
the industrious, supplied the wants and amusements of the populace. The dignity, the freedom, the author,
of the senate were restored; and every virtuous senator
might approach the person of the emperor, without a fear,
and without a blush.

Alexander refers to

The name of Antoninus, ennobled by
the virtues of Pius and Marcus, had
attained to so high a connexion, by adoption to
the imperial family, as to be next to Constantine.
It became the honourable appellation of the sons
of Severus, was bestowed on young Diadumenianus,
and at length prostituted to the infamy of the high
priest of Æneas. Alexander, though pressed by the
struggle, and, perhaps, sincere importunity of the
senate, nobly refused the borrowed lustre of a name:
whilst in his whole conduct he laboured to restore
the glories and felicity of the age of the genuine Anto-
nines. He attempts to

In the civil administration of Alex-
ander, order and wisdom were enforced by the power
of the people, and the people, sensible of the public felicity, repaid their benefactor with their love and gratitude. There
still remained a greater, a more necessary, but a more
difficult enterprise: the reformation of the military
order, whose interest and temper, confirmed by long
ignorance and an acquisition of arts foreign to
disciipline, and careless of the blessings of public tran-
quillity. In the execution of his design, the emperor
affected to display his love, and to conceal his fear, of
the army. The most rigid economy in every other
branch of the administration, supplied a fund of gold
and silver, and the ordinary pay, and the extraordinary
rewards of the troops. In their marches he relaxed
the severe obligation of carrying seventeen days pro-
vision on their shoulders. Ample magazines were
formed along the public roads, and as soon as they en-
tered the enemies' country, a numerous train of mules
and camels waited on their hasty laziness. As Alexander
despaired of correcting the luxury of his
soldiers, he attempted, at least, to direct it to objects
of martial pomp and ornament, fine horses, splendid
armour, and shields enriched with silver and gold. He
shared with his soldiery in the toils and fatigues he was
visited, in person, the sick and wounded, preserved
an exact register of their services and his own grati-
tude, and expressed, on every occasion, the warmest
regard for a body of men, whose welfare, as he affected
to declare, was so closely connected with that of the
state. By the most genteel arts he laboured to inspire
the fierce multitudes with a sense of duty, and to re-
store at least a faint image of that discipline to which
the Romans owed their empire over so many other
nations, as warlike and more powerful than them-
seelves. But his prudence was vain, his courage fatal,
and the ambition of a reformation served only to
inflame the ill it was meant to cure.

Seizure of the

The praetorian guards were attached
praetorian guards to the youth of Alexander. They loved
the young emperor as a tender pupil, whom they had
been educated in the principles of the empire, on the
imperial throne. The amiable prince was sen-
sible of the obligation; but as his gratitude was re-
strained within the limits of reason and justice, they
soon were more dissatisfied with the virtues of Alex-
ander, than they had ever been with the vices of
Elagabalus and Caracalla. Their pretext was, that the
friend of the laws and of the people; he was consi-
ered as the enemy of the soldiers, and to his perni-
cious counsels every scheme of reformation was im-
puted. Some trifling accident blew up their discontent
into a furious mutiny; and a civil war raged, during
which the affairs of Rome, whilst the influence of that excellent
minister was defended by the grateful people. Terri-
fied, at length, by the sight of some houses in flames,
and by the threats of a general conflagration, the
people yielded with a sigh, and left the virtuous, but un-
fortunate, Ulpian to his fate. He was pursued into the
enemy's country, where he was taken, and massacred: the
praetorian master, who vainly strove to cover him with the purple,
and to obtain his pardon from the inexorable soldiers. Such
was the deplorable weakness of government, that the emperor
was unable to revenge his murdered friend with an undistinguish
without stooping to the arts of patience and dissimulation. Epaphrodi-
tus, the principal leader of the mutiny, was removed
from Rome, by the honourable employment of prefect of Egypt;
from that high rank he was gently degraded to the government of Crete; and when, at length, his
prisoners were restored to him, he sacrificed the life which,
in his absence, Alexander ventured to inflict the tardy,
but deserved punishment of his crimes. Under the reign
of a just and virtuous prince, the tyranny of the army
threatened with instant death his most faithful minis-
ters, who were suspected of an intention to correct
their intolerable disorders. The historian Cæ-
sius had commanded the Pannonian legions with the spirit of ancient disci-
pline. Their brethren of Rome, embracing the com-
mon cause of military licence, demanded the head of
the reformer. Alexander, however, instead of yielding
up the head of his friend, or giving him up to the
menaces of his office, they would revenge the insult
in his blood, the nominal first magistrate of the state re-
tired, by the emperor's advice, from the city, and
spent the greatest part of his consulsoply at his villas in Campania.

The lenity of the emperor confirmed the example of the Roman Senate in the
legislation, the empire imitated the example of the guards, and defended
their prerogative of licentiousness with the same
furiously obstinate. The administration of Alexander was
an unavailing struggle against the corruption of his age. In Illyricum, in Mauritania, in Armenia, in
Mesopotamia, in Germany, fresh mutinies perpetually

4 [Gibbon has here confused two events altogether different, viz: the quarrel of the people with the pretorians, and the murder of Ulpian. Dion first relates the murder of Ulpian, then speaking back, a habit quite familiar to him, says that the life of the time of Ulpian, there had been a war of three days between the pretorians and the praetorians, and that the murder of Ulpian was not the cause of it. Dion says, on the contrary, that it was occasioned by some unimportant event, and thereby inferring that some were inclined for the murder, that the other were against it. The sentence of judgment, by which this pretor of the pretorians had condemned to death his two predecessors, Chrestus and Flavius, whom the soldiers wished to avenge. Zosimus, lib. I c. 2 attributes this sen-
tence of condemnation to Maximus, but the troops could even then have never been from a tyrant and Plassen. Hence, whoso betakes they hated. — G.]

5 Though the author of the life of Alexander (Hist. August. p. 132) speaks of the delusion raised against Ulpian by the soldiers, he conceals the catastrophe, as it might disclose a weakness in the ad-
nunciation of his hero. From the sudden reverse of fortune, the reader is left to judge of the weight and caution of that author.

6 Of the fate of Ulpian's fate and own danger, see the mutilated conclusion of Dion's History, 1. xxx. p. 1571.

[Dion possessed no estates in Campania, and was not rich. He says that his estate was in Istia, a town of Campania. In one place out of Rome, that he returned to Rome at the close of his consulate, and had an opportunity of being restored to the emperor in Campania. He asked, and obtained permission to pass the rest of his life in his native state, (Nicias in Biblioth. p. 35.) there being that he put the last stroke to his history, which he finished with his second consulate. — G.]
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

broke out; his officers were murdered, his authority was insulted, and his life at last sacrificed to the

Firmness of the flaccid discontents of the army.6 One fact well deserves to be recorded, as it illustrates the manners of the troops, and exhibits a singular instance of their return to a sense of duty and obedience. Whilst the emperor lay at Antioch, in his Persian expedition, the particulars of which we shall hereafter relate, the punishment of some soldiers, who had been discovered in the baths of women, excited a sedition in the legion to which they belonged. Alexander ascended his tribunal, and with a modest firmness represented to the armed multitude the absolute necessity as well as his inflexible resolution of correcting the vices introduced by his impure predecessor, and of maintaining the discipline, which could not be relaxed without the ruin of the Roman name and empire. Their clamours interrupted his mild expostulation. "Reserve your shouts," said the undaunted emperor, "till you take the field against the Persians, the Germans, and the Sarmatians. Be silent in the presence of your sovereign and benefactor, too, to prevent the excesses of the emperors and the rapine of the money of the provinces. Be silent, or I shall no longer style you soldiers, but ciutizen; 7 if those indeed who disdain the laws of Rome deserve to be ranked among the meanest of the people." His menaces inflamed the fury of the legion, and their brandished arms were directed to all the heights of the camp. He assumed the intrepid Alexander, 8 would be more nobly displayed in the field of battle; me you may destroy, you cannot intimidate; and the severe justice of the republic would punish your crime, and revenge my death. 9 The legion still persisted in clamorous sedition, when the emperor pronounced with a loud voice, the decisive sentence, "Citizens! lay down your arms, and depart in peace to your respective habitations." The tempest was instantly appeased; the soldiers, filled with grief and shame, silently confessed the justice of their punishment, and the power of discipline, yielded up their arms and military ensigns, and retired in confusion, not to their camp, but to the several inns of the city. Alexander enjoyed, during thirty days, the edifying spectacle of their repentance; nor did he restore them in the former rank in the army, till he had punished with death these tribunes whose consigniture had occasioned the sedition. The great prince overserved the emperor, whilst living, and avenged him when dead.10

Defects of his

The resolutions of the multitude gene-

ral and char-

rally depend on a moment; and the ca

price of passion might equally determine the seditionousMultitudes to lay down their arms at the em-

peror's feet, or to plunge them into his breast. Per

haps, if the singular transaction had been investigated by the penetration of a philosopher, we should dis-

cover the secret causes which on that occasion au-

thorized the boldness of the prince, and commanded the obedience of the troops; and perhaps, if it had been related by a judicious historian, we should find this action, worthy of Caesar himself, reduced nearer to the level of probability and the common standard of the character of Alexander Severus. The abilities of that amiable prince seem to have been inadequate to the difficulties of his situation, the firmness of his conduct inferior to the purity of his intentions. His virtues, as well as the vices of Elagabalus, contracted a tincture of weakness and effeminacy from the soft climate of Syria, of which he was a native; though he clung at his foreign origin, and listened with a vain complacency to the adulations of his soldiers, he received his race from the ancient stock of Roman nobi

6 Ann. Reimart. ad Dion Cassius, i. xxx, p. 1399.
7 You have here word Quis-

wires; which, to use the word Soldi-

ers, was used in a sense of con-
tempt, and reduced the soldiers to the less honourable condition of mere ciu-

dizens. Tacit. Annal. i. 43.
8 Hist. August. i. 132.
9 Vol. i.— 5

lity! The pride and avarice of his mother cast a

shade on the glories of his reign; and by exacting from his riper years the same dutiful obedience which she had justly claimed from his unexperienced youth, Manon exposed both her son's character and her own. 2 The fatigues of the Persian war irritated the military discontent; the unsuccessful event degraded the reputation of the emperor as a general, and even as a soldier. 3 Every cause prepared, and every circumstance hastened, a revolution, which distracted the Roman empire with a long series of intestine calamities.

The dissolve tyranny of Commodus, Deception on the civil wars occasioned by his death, finances of the and the new maxims of policy intro-

duced by the house of Severus, had all contributed to the dangerous power of the soldiery, and to obliterate the faint image of laws and liberty that was still impressed on the minds of the Romans. This internal change, which undermined the foundations of the empire, we have endeavoured to explain with some degree of order and perspicuity. The personal charac-

teristics of their emperor, the course of their fortunes, can interest us no farther than as they are connected with the general history of the Decline and Fall of the monarchy. Our constant attention to that great object will not suffer us to overlook a most important edict of Antoninus Caracalla, which communica-

ted the freedom of the empire to all portions of the nation, and of the rights and privileges of Roman citizens. His unbounded liberality bowd not, however, from the sentiments of a generous mind; it was the sordid result of avarice, and will naturally be illustrated by some observa-

tions on the finances of that state, from the victorious ages of the commonwealth to the reign of Alexander Severus.

The siege of Vei in Tuscany, the first considerable enterprise of the Romans, establishment was protracted to the tenth year, much less by the strength of the place than by the elusiveness of its besiegers. "The unaccounted hardships of so many winter campaigns, at the distance of near twenty miles from home, 6 required more than common encourage-

ments; and the senate wisely prevented the clamours of the people, by the institution of a regular pay for the
soldiers, which was levied by a general tribute, assessed according to an equitable proportion on the property of the citizens. During more than two hundred years after the conquest of Veii, the victories of the republic added less to the wealth than to the power of the inhabitants. They had paid their taxes for military service only, and the vast force both by sea and land, which was exerted in the Punic wars, was maintained at the expense of the Romans themselves. That high-spirited people (such is often the generous enthusiasm of men, more curiously sublimated by the most exquisite but voluntary burthens, in just the confidence that they should speedily enjoy the rich harvest of their labours. Their expectations were not disappointed. In the course of a few years, the riches of Syracuse, of Carthage, of Macedonia, and of Asia, were brought in measure and alhution of the tribute on Roman citizens, and the Roman people, the sovereign of so many nations, was forever delivered from the weight of taxes. The increasing revenue of these provinces was found sufficient to pay the ordinary establishment of war and government, and the superfluous mass of gold and silver was deposited in the temple of Saturn, and reserved for any unforeseen emergency of the state.

History has never perhaps suffered a greater or more irreparable injury, than in the loss of the curious register bequeathed by Augustus to the senate, in which that experienced prince so accurately balanced the revenues and expenses of the Roman empire. Deprived of this clear and comprehensive estimate, we are reduced to collect a few imperfect hints from the ancient of which we have accidentally turned aside from the splendid to the more useful parts of history. We are informed that, by the conquests of Pompey, the tributes of Asia were raised from fifty to one hundred and thirty-six, or two hundred and forty million of drachms, or about four million and a half sterling. Under the last and most indolent of the Potenlines, the revenue of Egypt is said to have amounted to twelve thousand five hundred talents; a sum equivalent to more than two millions and a half of our money, but which was afterwards considerably improved by the most exact economy of the Romans, and the increase of the trade of Ethiopia and India. Gaul was enriched by rapine, as Egypt was by commerce, and the tributes of those two great provinces have been considered as nearly equal in value. The ten thousand Euboeote or Phoenician talents, about four millions sterling, which vanquished Carthage was condemned to pay, within the term of fifty years, were a slight acknowledgment of the superiority of Rome, and cannot be held as a proportion with the taxes afterwards raised both on the lands and on the persons of the inhabitants, when the fertile coast of Africa was reduced into a province.

Spain, torrential, singular fatality, was the Peru and Mexico of the old world. The discovery of the rich western continent by the Spaniards, and the oppression of the simple natives, who were compelled to labour in their own mines for the benefit of strangers, form an exact type of the more modern history of America. The Spaniards were acquainted only with the sea-coast of Spain; avarice, as well as ambition, carried the arms of Rome and Cartagena into the heart of the country, and almost every part of the soil was found pregnant with copper, silver, and gold. Mention is made of a mine near Carthagena which yielded every day twenty thousand drachms of silver, or about three hundred thousand pounds a year. Twenty thousand pound weight of gold was annually received from the provinces of Asturias, Galicia, and Lusitania.

We may call it a period of leisure and materials to of the life of Caesar, and to pursue this curious inquiry through the eyes of the many potent states that were annihilated in the Roman empire. Some notion, however, may be formed of the revenue of the provinces where considerable wealth had been deposited by nature, or collected by man, if we observe that annual tribute of twenty million pounds, paid to the choice of solitude and sterility. Augustus once received a petition from the inhabitants of Gyarus, humbly praying that they might be relieved from one-third of their excessive impositions. Their whole tax amounted indeed to no more than twenty million and fifty drachms, or about five pounds; but Gyarus was a little island, and rather a rock, of the Aegean sea, destitute of fresh water and every necessary of life, and inhabited only by a few wretched fishermens.

From the faint glimmerings of such data, of the doubtfulness and uncertainty of all the rest, we should willingly be inclined to believe, 1st. That (with every fair allowance for the difference of times and circumstances) the general income of the Roman provinces could seldom amount to less than fifteen or twenty millions of our money; and, 2dly, That so ample a revenue must have been fairly adequate to all the expenses of the moderate government instituted by Augustus, whose court was the modest family of a private senator, and whose military establishment was calculated for the defence of the frontiers, without aspiring views of conquest, or any serious and permanent scheme of invasion. Notwithstanding the seeming improbability of both these conclusions, the late citizens instinctively of them at least is positively disowned by Augustus by the language and conduct of Augustus. It is not easy to determine whether, on this occasion, he acted as the common father of the Roman world, or as the oppressor of liberty; whether he wished to relieve the provinces, or to impoverish the senate and the equestrian order. But no sooner had he assumed the reins of government, than he frequently in-

1 See the 4th and 5th Books of Livy. In the Roman Census, property, power, and taxation, were confounded with each other.
3 In his Eulog. on Ptolemy, p. 662. See a fine description of this accumulated wealth of ages, in Locae's Phil. Hist. l. iv. c. 150 &c.
4 [The retribution imperii] see further Tacticus, Suetonius in Aug. c. 48. Justinius, in Faram. i. 432, other emperors kept similar registers, and published them, this description by Dr. Wallis, De Reformat. imperii Rom. Lepiz. 1775. The last book of Augustus contained also the statistics of the Roman empire, but he it last.—G.
5 Tacit. Annal. l. 11. It seems to have existed in the time of Ap- pius, Plutarch, in Pompeii, p. 662.
6 [This estimate is too exact; according to Plutarch the revenues of the Roman empire before the time of Augustus were 25 million of drachms; Pompey raised them to 85 millions, that is, to 2,744,791 pounds sterling; which says elsewhere, and the talents, that is, 57,974,000 pounds sterling to be paid in Asia at one time, an enormous sum but Appian in his estimate is said to give the time of the revenue of ten years. The annual revenue, and the time of the payment of Awbury amounted to 20,000 talents, or 3,575,000 pounds sterling.—G.]
7 Velleius Paterculus, l. ii. c. 39. He seems to give the preference to the Rhine.
8 The Euboea, the Phocian, and the Alexandrian talents were double in weight to the Attic. See Hooper on ancient weights and measures, p. c. 5. It is very probable that the same talent was carried from Tyre to Carthage.
9 Polyb. l. xiv. c. 2.
timated the insufficiency of the tributes, and the neces-
sity of throwing an equitable proportion of the public
burden on Italy. In the execution of this unpopular design, he advanced, however, by cau-
tious and well-weighted steps. The introduction of
customs was followed by the establishment of an
excise, and the scheme of taxation was completed by an
artful assessment on the real and personal property
of the Roman citizen, who had been exempted from any
kind of contribution above a century and a half. 2

The customs. 1. In a great empire like that of Rome,
a natural balance of money must have gradually established itself. It has been already observed,
that as the wealth of the provinces was attracted to
the capital, so it was not only with his usual tendency
to power; so a considerable part of it was restored to the
industrious provinces by the gentle influence of com-
merce and arts. In the reign of Augustus and his
successors, duties were imposed on every kind of
merchandise, which through a thousand channels flowed to
the great centre of commerce and luxury; and in
whosoever manner the law was expressed, it was the
Roman purchaser, and not the provincial merchant,
who paid the tax. 5

The rate of the customs varied from the eighth to the fortieth part of the value of the
commodity; and we have a right to suppose that the
value of a commodity was the result of natural
policy; that a higher duty was fixed on the articles of
luxury than on those of necessity, and that the produc-
tions raised or manufactured by the labour of the sub-
jects of the empire, were treated with more indulgence
than was shown to the peregrines, or at least the un-
popular commerce of Arabia and India. 3 There is still
extant a long but imperfect catalogue of eastern com-
modities, which about the time of Alexander Severus
were subject to the payment of duties; cinnamon,
myrrh, pepper, ginger, and the whole tribe of aromatics,
a great variety of precious stones, among which the
diamonds appear to have been held in the highest estimation
for their beauty: 2 Parthian and Babylonian leather,
cottons, silks, both raw and manufactured, ebony,
vory, and enuculus. 1 We may observe that the
use and value of those effeminate slaves gradually rose
with the decline of the empire and luxury; and in the
Roman state, was obliged to declare by a public edict, that

4 It is not astonishing that Augustus should hold this language. The
sean also declared under Nero, that the state could not subsist, unless
the imports were as much augmented as they were in the time of A-
ugustus. See Bacchus, p. 192, & c. 46.) After the acquisition of
the province of the Gauls, the ancient emperors could collect the
tributes paid by Italy, the abode made in 609-604, and 605 of
of Rome, the state derived a revenue from this great extent of country,
only a few of the later emperors, (Ceasar, Commes, &c.) and Ciceron often complains of it, especially in his Letters to Atticus. (Liv. ii. ii. 1-12.)—G.

5 The customs (portaria) had existed from the time of the ancient
kings of Rome. Those of Italy were imposed in the year of Rome 604 by the praetor Cecidius Metellus Nepos. Augustus did nothing more
than re-establish them, (see the preceding note.—G.)

6 The cornus or excise was taken on personal property only, as to the other taxes the exception from them is not discussed in the laws at

1 Thuc. Annal. xii. 31.
2 See Pliny. (Hist. Nat. L. vi. c. 25, xii. c. 18.) His observation, that
the Indian articles were imported at a hundred times the original price,
may give some notion of the practice of the customs, which, it is said,
was extended to more than eight hundred thousand pounds.
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was extended to more than eight hundred thousand pounds.
5 The Pavedres Lib. 19, iv. De pavimen. Compare Cicero
Verr. ii. c. 72 and 74.—G.

6 The aeris were none accounted with the art of cutting diamonds.
7 He despaired, in his treatise de l'Empere, chez les Romains, has
translated this catalogue, from the Digest, and attempts to illustrate it
by a very profuse commentary.
was the motive of the testator, the treasury claimed, without distinction, the twentieth part of his estate; and in the course of two or three generations, the whole property of the subject must have gradually passed into that of the state.

Regulations of the emperors. In the first and golden years of the reign of Nero, that prince, from a desire of popularity, and perhaps from a blind impulse of benevolence, conceived a wish of abolishing the oppression of the customs and other exactions, and the wisest sense of the public burthen. 1.

It had indeed been possible to realize this dream of fancy, such princes as Trajan and the Antonines were usually bent on exalting the glory of an empire which he had excited in the army. Of the several introductions made by Augustus, the twentieth on inheritances and legacies was the most fruitful, as well as the most comprehensive. As its influence was not confined to Rome or Italy, the produce continually increased to the exorbitant height of the Roman state.

The new citizens thus charged on equal terms, 2 with the payment of new taxes, which had not affected them as subjects, derived an ample compensation from the rank they obtained, the privileges they acquired, and the fair prospect of honours and fortune that was thrown open to their ambition. But the favour which implied a distinction was also lost in the prodigality of Caracalla, and all the provincials, for the purpose of acquiring his gratitude, were compelled to assume the vain title, and the real obligations, of Roman citizens. Nor was the rapacious son of Severus contented with such a measure of taxation, as had appeared sufficient to his moderate predecessors. Instead of a twentieth, he exacted a tenth of all legacies and inheritances; 3 and during his reign (for the ancient proportion was restored after his death) he crushed alike every part of the empire under the weight of his iron sceptre. 4

When all the provincials became liable to the peculiar impositions of Roman citizens, they seemed to acquire a legal exemption from the tributes which they had paid in their former condition of subjects. Such were not the maxims of government adopted by Caracalla and his pretended son. The old as well as the new taxes were, at the same time, levied in the provinces. It was reserved for the virtue of Alexander to relieve them in a great measure from this intolerable grievance, by reducing the tributes to a thirtieth part of the sum exacted at the time of his accession. 5 It is impossible to conjure the motive that engaged him to spare so trilling a remnant of the public evil; but the noxious weed, which had not been totally eradicated, again sprang up with the most luxuriant growth, and in the succeeding age darkened the Roman world with its deadly shade. In the course of this history, we shall be too often summoned to explain this method of taxation, the capitation, and the heavy contributions of corn, wine, oil, and meat, which were exacted from the provinciates for the use of the court, the army, and the capital.

As long as Rome and Italy were reduced to Consequences of despotism; and the centre of government, a hallowed national spirit was preserved by the ancient freedom of Rome, and insensibly imbued by the adopted, citizens. The principal commands of the army were filled by men who had received a liberal education, were well instructed in the advantages and laws, and who were by equal steps engaged in the succession of civil and military honours. 6 To their influence and example we may partly ascribe the modest obedience of the legions during the two first centuries of the imperial history.

But when the last encroachment of the Roman constitution was trampled down by Caracalla, the separation of professions gradually succeeded to the distinction of ranks. The more polished citizens of the internal provinces were alone qualified to act as lawyers and magistrates. Therough trade of arms was aban- doned, and the peasants and herdsmen of the frontier, who knew no country but their camp, no science but that of war, no civil laws, and scarcely those of military discipline. With bloody hands, savage manners, and desperate resolutions, they sometimes girded, but much oftener subverted, the throne of the emperors.

CHAPTER VII.

The election and tyranny of Marzim.—Rebellion in Africa and Italy, under the authority of the senate.—Civil and religious policy.—Fisher of Flavian, and his son, of Marzim and Balthinus, and of the three Gordians.—Usurpation and secular games of Philip.

Of the various forms of government, the apparent which have prevailed in the world, an ridicule hereditary monarchy seems to present the fairest scope for ridicule. Is it possible to relate, without an indignant sneer, that, on the father's decease, the property of a nation, like that of a drove of oxen, descends to his infant son, as yet unknown to mankind and to himself; and that the bravest warriors and the wisest statesmen, relinquishing their natural right to empire, approach the royal cradle with bearded knees and protestations of inviolable fidelity! Satire and declamation may paint these obvious topics in the most dazzling colours, but our more serious thoughts will respect a useful prejudice, that establishes a rule of succession, independent of the passions of mankind; and we shall cheerfully acquiesce in any expedient which derives

4 He who paid ten aureus, the usual tribute, was charged with no more than the third part of an aureus, and proportional pieces of gold were made for this latter order. Hist. August. p. 127, with the commentary of Balæusius.

5 See the lives of Agricola, Vespasian, Trajan, Severus, and his three competitors; and indeed of all the eminent men of those times.
the multitude of the dangerous, and indeed the ideal, power of giving themselves a master.

In the cool shade of retirement, we tapers of history may easily devise imaginary forms of tory succession; government, in which the sceptre shall be constantly bestowed on the most worthy, by the free and unanimous will of the whole community. Experience overturns these airy fabrics, and teaches us, that in a large society, the elections of a monarch can never devolve to the wisest, or to the most numerous, part of the people. The army is the only order of men sufficiently united to concour in the same sentiments, and powerful enough to impose them on the rest of their fellow-citizens; but the temper of soldiers, habituated at once, to violence and to slavery, renders them very unfit guardians of a legal or even a civil constitution. Justice, humanity, or political wisdom, are qualities they are too little acquainted with in themselves, to appreciate them in others. Valour will acquire their esteem, and liberality will purchase their suffrage; but the first of these merits is often lodged in the most savage breasts; the latter can only exert itself at the expense of the public; and both may be turned against the possessor of the throne, by the ambition of a daring nature.

"The superior prerogative of birth, Want of it in the Roman empire productive of the greatest calamities, and least invincible of all distinctions among mankind. The acknowledged right extinguishes the hopes of faction, and the conscious security disgusts the cruelty of the monarch. To the firm establishment of this idea, we owe the peaceful succession, and mild administration, of European monarchies. To the defect of it, we must attribute the frequent civil wars, through which an Asiatic despot is obliged to cut his way to the throne of his father. This scene of contention is usually limited to the princes of the reigning house, and as soon as the more fortunate competitor has removed his brethren, by the sword and the howstring, he no longer entertains any jealousy of his nearer subjects. But the Roman empire, after the authority of the senate had sunk into contempt, was a vast scene of confusion. The royal, and even noble, families of the provinces, had long since been led in triumph before the bar of the haughty republicans. The ancient families of Rome had successively fallen beneath the tyranny of the Caesars; and whilst those positions were there established, we retained them on the rest of the empire, and disappointed by the repeated failure of their posterity, it was impossible that any idea of hereditary succession should have taken root in the minds of their subjects. The right to the throne, which none could claim from birth, every one assumed from merit. The daring hopes of ambition were set loose from the salutary restraints of law and prejudice; and the meanest of mankind might, without folly, entertain a hope of being raised by valour and fortune to a rank in the army, in which a single crime would enable him to wrest the sceptre of the world from his feeble and unprotected master. Alexander Severus, and the elevation of Maximin, not only taught the young of the empire how to think himself safe upon the throne, and every barbarian peasant of the frontier might aspire to that august, but dangerous station.

Births and fortunes About thirty-two years before that event, the emperor Septimius, returning from an eastern expedition, had, in Thrace, celebrated, with military games, the birthday of his younger son, Geta. The country flocked in crowds to behold their sovereign, and a young barbarian of gigantic stature, earnestly solicited, in his rude dialect, that he might be allowed to contend for the prize of wrestling.

As the pride of discipline would have been disgraced in the overthrow of a Roman soldier by a Thracian peasant, he was matched with the stoutest followers of the camp, sixteen of whom he successively laid on the ground. His victory was rewarded with some trifling gifts, and a permission to enlist in the troops. On the next day the happy barbarian was introduced above a crowd of recruits, dancing and exulting after the fashion of his country. As soon as he perceived that he had attracted the emperor's notice, he instantly ran up to his horse, and followed him on foot, without the least appearance of fatigue, in a long and rapid career.

"Thracian," said Severus with astonishment, "art thou disposed to wrestle after thy race?" "Most willingly, sir," replied the unwaried youth; and almost in a breath, overthrew seven of the strongest soldiers in the army. A gold collar was the prize of his matchless vigour and activity, and he was immediately appointed to serve in the horse-guards, who always attended on the person of the sovereign.

Maximin, for that was his name, his military servitude born on the territories of the Alani, descendence from a mixed race of barbarians. His father was a Goth, and his mother of the nation of the Alani. He displayed, on every occasion, of labour equal to his birth; and his native fierceness was so tempered or disguised by the knowledge of the world. Under the reign of Severus and his son, he obtained the rank of centurion, with the favour and esteem of both those princes, the former of whom was an excellent judge of merit. Gratuitous forbade Maximin to serve under the assassin of Caracalla. He honour taught him to decline the illomened insults of Elagabalus. On the accession of Alexander, he returned to court, and was placed by that prince in a station useful to the service, and honourable to himself. The fourth legion, to which he was appointed captain, under his lawful master, was reckoned the most disciplined of the whole army. With the general applause of the soldiers, who bestowed on their favourite hero the names of Ajax and Hercules, he was successively promoted to the first military command; and had not he still retained too much of his savage origin, the emperor might perhaps, have given his own sister in marriage to the son of Maximin.

Instead of securing his fidelity, these Conspiracy of favours served only to inflame the ambition of the Thracian peasant, who deemed his fortune inadequate to his merit, as long as he was constrained to acknowledge a superiority, though a stranger to him. His wisdom, he was conscious of his own unfitness, and which showed him that the emperor had lost the affection of the army, and taught him to improve their discontent to his own advantage. It is easy for faction and cupidity to shed their poison on the administration of the best of princes, and to undermine their virtues, by artfully confounding them with those vices to which they bear the nearest affinity. The troops listened with pleasure to the emissaries of Maximin. They blushed at their own ignominious patience, which, during thirteen years, had supported the vexatious discipline imposed by an effeminate Syrian, the coward slave of his master. In the meantime, as it was fit time, they cried, to cast away that useless phantom of the civil power, and to elect for their prince and general, a real soldier, educated in camps, exercised in war, who would assert the glory, and distribute among his companions the treasures, of the empire. A great army was at that time assembled on the banks of the Rhine, under the command of the emperor himself,
who, almost immediately after his return from the Persian war, had been obliged to march against the barbarians of Germany. The important care of training and reviewing the new levies, was entrusted to Maximin. One day, as he entered the field of exercise, the emperor, on a sudden, left his stand, or a false conspiracy, saluted him emperor, silenced by their loud acclamations his obstinate refusal, and hastened to consummate their rebellion by the murder of A. D. 335.

The circumstances of his death are variously narrated. The writers, who suppose that he died in ignorance of the ingratitude and ambition of Maximin, affirm, that after taking a frugal repast in the sight of the army, he retired to sleep, and that, about the seventh hour of the day, a part of his own guards broke into the imperial tent, and, with many wounds, assassinated their victorious and unsuspecting prince. If we credit another, and indeed a more probable account, Maximin was invested with the purple by a numerous detachment, at the distance of several miles from the head-quarters; and he trusted for success rather to the secret wishes than to the public; for the great length of time, Alexander had sufficient time to awaken a faint sense of loyalty among his troops; but their reluctant professions of fidelity quickly vanished on the appearance of Maximin, who declared himself the friend and advocate of the military order, and was unanimously acknowledged emperor of the Romans by the applauding legions. The Emperor had betrayed, withheld him, and converted into contempt some portion of the just pity which his innocence and misfortunes must inspire. His mother Mannea, whose pride and avarice he fondly accused as the cause of his ruin, perished with her son. He bore it as the first sacrifice to the first tyrant of the soldiers. Others were reserved for the more deliberate cruelty of the usurper; and those who experienced the mildest treatment, were stripped of their employments, and ignominiously driven from the court and army.

Tyrrany of Maximin. The former tyrants, Caligula and Nero, had neither the courage nor the means to destroy their revolvers. Consulting their hands were in the power of the emperor, the luxury of Rome, and the perfidious voice of flattery. The cruelty of Maximin was derived from a different source, the fear of contumacy. Though he depended on the attachment of the soldiers, who loved him for virtue, the same, he was conscious that his mean and barbarian origin, his savage appearance, and his total ignorance of the arts and institutions of civil life, formed a very unfavourable contrast with the amiable manners of the unhappy Alexander. He remembered that in his humble fortune, he had often waited before the door of the haughty nobles of Rome, and had been denied admittance by the insolence of their slaves. He recoiled, too, the friendship of a few who had relieved his poverty, and assisted his rising hopes. But the men who had spurned, and therefore, who had provoked, the Tyrranic, were guilty of the same crime, the knowledge of his original obscurity. For this crime many were put to death; and by the execution of several of his benefactors, Maximin published, in characters of blood, the indelible history of his baseness and ingratitude.

The universal supposition of the tyrant was open to every suspicion against those among his subjects who were the most distinguished by their birth or merit. Whenever he was alarmed with the sound of treason, his cruelty was unbounded and unremitting. A conspiracy against his life was either discovered or invented. Some of the unfortunate sufferers he ordered to be sewed up in the hides of slaughtered animals, others to be exposed to wild beasts, others again to be beaten to death with clubs. During the three years of his reign, he disdained to visit either Rome or Italy. His camp, occasionally removed from the borders of the Danube, was the seat of his stern despotism, which trampled on every principle of law and justice, and was supported by the avowed power of the sword. No man of noble birth, elegant accomplishments, or knowledge of civil business, was suffered near his person. The Roman emperors and the public administration were possessed of an independent revenue, destined to purchase corn for the multitude, and to supply the expenses of the games and entertainments. By a single act of authority, the whole mass of wealth was at once confiscated for the use of the imperial treasury. The temples were robbed of their most valuable offerings of gold and silver, and the statues of gods, heroes, and emperors, were melted down and coined into money. These impious orders could not be executed without tumults and massacres, as in many places the people chose rather to die in the defence of their altars, than to behold in the midst of peace their cities exposed to the rapine and cruelty of war. The soldiers themselves, among whom this sacrilegious plunder was distributed, received it with a blush; and, hardened as they were in acts of violence, they dreaded the just reproaches of their friends and relations. Throughout the Roman world a general cry of indignation was heard, imploring vengeance on

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1. *Hist. August.* p. 135. I have softened some of the most improbable and unwholesome parts of this wretched history. From this ill-recorded narration, it should seem that the prince's huskies, having accidentally entered the tent, and awakened the sleeping monarch, he ordered the accursed soldiers to commit the murder.


3. Caligula, the eldest of the four, was only twenty-five years of age when he ascended the throne; Caracalla was twenty-three, Commodus nineteen, and Numerus more than seventeen.

4. It appears that he was totally ignorant of the Greek language, which, from its universal use in conversation and letters, was an essential part of every liberal education.

5. I have before observed, that Maximin was the son of a farmer who was assassinated by his servant, was named as the principal author of it. Without a witness, without a trial, and without an opportunity of defence, Magnus, with four thousand of his supposed accomplices, were put to death. Italy and the whole empire were infested with innumerable spies and informers. On the slightest accusation, the first of the Roman nobles, who had governed provinces, commanded armies, and been adorned with the consul and triumphal ornaments, were chained on the public carriages, and hurried away to the emperor's presence. Confiscation, exile, or simple death, were esteemed preferable to the unhappy alternative. Some of the unfortunate sufferers he ordered to be sewed up in the hides of slaughtered animals, others to be exposed to wild beasts, others again to be beaten to death with clubs. During the three years of his reign, he disdained to visit either Rome or Italy. His camp, occasionally removed from the borders of the Danube, was the seat of his stern despotism, which trampled on every principle of law and justice, and was supported by the avowed power of the sword. No man of noble birth, elegant accomplishments, or knowledge of civil business, was suffered near his person. The Roman emperors and the public administration were possessed of an independent revenue, destined to purchase corn for the multitude, and to supply the expenses of the games and entertainments. By a single act of authority, the whole mass of wealth was at once confiscated for the use of the imperial treasury. The temples were robbed of their most valuable offerings of gold and silver, and the statues of gods, heroes, and emperors, were melted down and coined into money. These impious orders could not be executed without tumults and massacres, as in many places the people chose rather to die in the defence of their altars, than to behold in the midst of peace their cities exposed to the rapine and cruelty of war. The soldiers themselves, among whom this sacrilegious plunder was distributed, received it with a blush; and, hardened as they were in acts of violence, they dreaded the just reproaches of their friends and relations. Throughout the Roman world a general cry of indignation was heard, imploring vengeance on the knowledge of his original obscurity. For this crime many were put to death; and by the execution of several of his benefactors, Maximin published, in characters of blood, the indelible history of his baseness and ingratitude.

6. The Tyrranic of Maximin. Oppression of the people was confined to the illustrious senators, or even to the bold adventurers, who in the court or army expose themselves to the caprice of fortune, the body of the people viewed their sufferings with indifference, or perhaps with pleasure. But the tyrant's avarice, stimulated by the insatiate desires of the soldiers, at length attacked the public wealth. Every cent of the state was possessed of an independent revenue, destined to purchase corn for the multitude, and to supply the expenses of the games and entertainments. By a single act of authority, the whole mass of wealth was at once confiscated for the use of the imperial treasury. The temples were robbed of their most valuable offerings of gold and silver, and the statues of gods, heroes, and emperors, were melted down and coined into money. These impious orders could not be executed without tumults and massacres, as in many places the people chose rather to die in the defence of their altars, than to behold in the midst of peace their cities exposed to the rapine and cruelty of war. The soldiers themselves, among whom this sacrilegious plunder was distributed, received it with a blush; and, hardened as they were in acts of violence, they dreaded the just reproaches of their friends and relations. Throughout the Roman world a general cry of indignation was heard, imploring vengeance on the knowledge of his original obscurity. For this crime many were put to death; and by the execution of several of his benefactors, Maximin published, in characters of blood, the indelible history of his baseness and ingratitude.

7. The murder of Maximin, by instigating wise counsels with female gratitude, sometimes thought to be the tyrant's way of truth and mercy. See. Ammianus, xiv. c. 2. Before Maximin was murdered, he alludes to the fact which he had more fully related under the reign of Gordian. We may either from the medals, that Tiberius was one of the Tresvex, or from the name of Dirce, that she died before Maximin, (Valerian & ed. cEcce.) that the former. 

8. Some they believe Scipio and Scipio was it Maximin himself who caused her to be put to death. - *Hist. August.* p. 141. 

9. He was a musician to Spartian and Atinus. *Hist. August.* p. 141.
the common enemy of human kind; and at length, by an act of private oppression, a peaceful and unarmed province was driven into rebellion against him.\footnote{Herodian, i. vii. p. 528. Zosim, i. p. 15.}

Revolt in Africa. The procurator of Africa was a ser.
A.D. 237. April.\footnote{Herodian, i. vii. p. 153.}

D. 3.\footnote{Hist. August. p. 132.}

The celebrated house of Pompey in carni-
val public.\footnote{Hist. August. p. 107.}

The Cadiz, the Nauvamps, the Carystian, and the Sydau-

The colours of Roman marble have been fairly described and
discussed by Pliny; and in his reference to the sunken cypress
their rustling leaves, and the beauty of the Nauvamps was white
with an opal speck of purple. See Salmonis ad Hist. August.
p. 161.}

\footnote{Hist. August. p. 132. 142. He sometimes gave five hundred pair of gladiators, never less than one hundred and fifty. He once gave}
tune of a subject; and whilst the liberality of other
ingistrates was confined to a few solemn festivals in Rome,
the magnificence of Gordian was repeated, when he was edile, every month in the year, and ex-
tended, during his consulsiphip, to the principal cities of Italy.
He was twice elevated to the last men-\footnote{Herodian, i. vii. p. 152.}

dignity, by Caecina and by Macrinus, with the view of acquiring the est-
rem of virtuous princes, without alarming the jealousy of tyrants. His long life was innocently spent in the study of letters and the peaceful honours of Rome; and till he was named procurator of Africa as the\footnote{Hist. August. p. 122.}

voice of the senate and the approbation of Africa; he was thoroughly conversant with the command of armies and the government of provinces. As long as that emperor lived, Africa was happy under the administration of his worthy representative; after the barbarous Maximin had usurped the throne, Gordi-

\footnote{Hist. August. p. 122.}

\footnote{Herodian, i. vii. p. 152.}

\footnote{Hist. August. p. 122.}

\footnote{Hist. August. p. 122.}

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\footnote{Hist. August. p. 122.}
the election of a barbarian peasant, now produced a contrary effect, and provoked them to assert the injured rights of freedom and humanity. The hatred of Maximin towards the senate was declared and implacable; the tamest submission had not appeased his fury, the milder importunity did not remove his suspicions; and even the care of their safety urged them to share the fortune of an enterprise, of which (if unsuccessful) they were sure to be the first victims. These considerations, and perhaps others of a more private nature, were debated in a previous conference of consuls and the magistrates. As soon as the resolution was decided, they convoked in the temple of Castor the whole body of the senate, according to an ancient form of secrecy, calculated to awaken their attention, and to conceal their decrees. "Conscript fathers, said the consul Syllanus, the two Gordians, both of consular dignity, the one your proconsul, the other your lieutenant, have been declared emperors by the general consent of Africa. Let us return thanks," he boldly continued, "to the youth of Thysdrus; let us return thanks to the faithful people of Carthage, our generous deliverers from a horrid master. Why do you hesitate? May you thus soon be thus timely! Why do you cast those anxious looks on each other? why hesitate? Maximin is a public enemy! may his enmity soon expire with him, and may we long enjoy the prudence and felicity of Gordian the father, the valour and constancy of Gordian the son!* not that the senate thinks they have a better Maximin in the languid spirit of the senate. By an enemy, unanimous decree the elections of the Gordians was ratified, Maximin, his son, and his adherents, were pronounced enemies of their country, and liberal rewards were offered to whoever had the courage and fortune to destroy them.

Assumes the rook. During the emperor's absence, a demand of Rome; the pretence of the prætorian guards remained at Rome, to protect, or rather to command, the capital. The prefect Vitalianus had signalized his fidelity to Maximin, by the alacrity with which he had obeyed, and even prevented, the cruel mandates of the tyrant. His death alone could rescue the authority of the senate and the lives of the senators, from a state of danger and suspense. Before their resolutions had transpired, a questor and some tribunes were commissioned to take his devoted life. They were in the order with success; and with their bloody daggers in their hands, ran through the streets, proclaiming to the people and the soldiers the news of the happy revolution. The enthusiasm of liberty was seconded by the promise of a large donation, in lands and money; the statues of Maximin were torn down; the capital of the empire acknowledged, with transport, the authority of the two Gordians and the senate; and the example of Rome was followed by the rest of Italy, and prepared for a civil war.

*A new spirit had arisen in that assembly, whose long patience had been insulted by wanton despotism and military licence. The senate assumed the reins of government, and, with a calm intrepidity, prepared to vindicate by arms the cause of freedom. Among the consular senators recommended by their merit and services to the favour of the prince, the senate would select one not unequal to the command of an army, and the conduct of a war. To these was the defence of Italy intrusted. Each was appointed to act in his respective department, authorized to enrol and discipline the Italian youth, and instructed to fortify the ports and highways against the impending invasion of Maximin. A number of deputies, chosen from the most illustrious of the senatorian and equestrian orders, were dispatched at the same time to the governors of the several provinces, earnestly conjuring them to fly to the resistance of their country, and to remind the nations of the danger which threatened the Roman senate and people. The general respect with which these deputies were received, and the zeal of Italy and the provinces in favour of the senate, sufficiently proved that the subjects of Maximin were reduced to that unutterable distress, to which an enemy has power to make them more to fear from oppression than from resistance. The consciousness of that melancholy truth, inspires a degree of persevering fury, seldom to be found in those civil wars which are artificially supported for the benefit of a few factions and designing leaders. For while the cause of the Gordians was embraced with such diffusive ardour, the two Gordians themselves were no more, dias. A. D. 237.

Dedast and death. The feeble court of Carthage was alarmed with the rapid approach of Capelanus, governor of Mauritania, who, with a small band of veterans, and a few barbarians, advanced to the rescue of his unwarlike province. The younger Gordian sailed out to meet the enemy at the head of a few guards, and a numerous undisciplined multitude, educated in the peaceful luxury of Carthage. His useless valour served only to procure him an honourable death in the field of battle, the casual severities of Cyprian, who exceeded thirty-six days, put an end to his life on the first news of the defeat. Carthage, destitute of defence, opened her gates to the conqueror, and Africa was exposed to the rapacious cruelty of a slave, obliged to satisfy his unremitting master with a large accession of blood and treasure.

The fate of the Gordians filled Rome withMixt just but unexpected terror. The imus and Balbinus convoked in the temple of Consul and the senate, cord, affected to transact the common business of the day; and seemed to decline, with trembling anxiety, the consideration of their own, and the public, danger. A silent consternation prevailed on the assembly, till a senator, of the name and family of Trajan, awakened his brethren from their fatal lethargy. He represented to them, that the choice of cautious dilatory measures had been pronounced by the power of the senate, and that Maximin, though great by nature, and exasperated by injuries, was advancing toward Italy, at the head of the military force of the empire; and that their only remaining alternative, was either to meet him bravely in the field, or to tamely expect the tortures and ignominious death of a use-ful rebel. "We have lost," continued he, "two excellent princes; but unless we desert ourselves, the hopes of the republic have not perished with the Gordians. Many are the senators, whose virtues have deserved, and whose abilities would sustain, the imperial dignity. Let us elect two emperors, one of whom may conduct the war against the public enemy, whilst his colleague remains at Rome to direct the civil administration. I cheerfully expose myself to the danger and envy of the nomination, and give my vote in favour of Maximus and Balbinus. Ratify my choice, and make the republic more worthy of the empire."

The general apprehension silenced the whispers of jealousy; the merit of the candidates was universally acknowledged; and the house resounded with the sincere acclamations of "Long live and victory to Maximus and Balbinus. You are happy in the judgment of
the senate; may the republic be happy under your administration!4

Their characters made emperors justified the most sanguine hopes of the people; and their talents seemed to appropriate to each his peculiar department of peace and war, without leaving room for jealous emulation. Balbinus was an admired orator, a poet of distinguished fame, and a wise magistrate, who had exercised with innocence and applause the civil jurisdiction in almost all the interior provinces of the empire. His birth was noble, his fortune affluent, his manners liberal and affable. In him the love of pleasure was corrected by a sense of dignity, nor had the habits of ease deprived him of a capacity for business. The mind of Maximus was formed in a rougher mould. By his valour and abilities he had raised himself from the meanest origin to the first employments of the state and army. His victories over the Sarmatians and the Germans, the austerity of his life, and the rigid impartiality of his justice, whilst he was prefect of the city, commanded the esteem of a people, whose affections were engaged in favour of the most amiable Balbinus. The two colleagues had both been consuls, (Balbinus had twice enjoyed that honourable office,) both had been named among the twenty lieutenants of the senate; and since the one was sixty and the other twenty-four years old, they had both attained the full maturer age of life and experience.

The,summit at Rome. After the senate had conferred on The younger Gordian, and Balbinus an equal portion of the consular and tribunitian power, the title of fathers of their country, and the joint office of supreme pontiff, they ascended to the capitol, to return thanksgiving to the gods, protectors of Rome.6 The solemn rites of sacrifice were disturbed by a sedition of the people. The licentious multitude neither loved the rigid Maximos, nor did they sufficiently fear the mild and humane Balbinus. They assailed the doors of the temple of Jupiter; with obstinate clamours they asserted their inherent right of consenting to the election of their sovereign; and demanded, with an apparent moderation, that, besides the two emperors chosen by the senate, a third should be added of the family of the Gordians, and be substituted to the princes who had sacrificed their lives for the republic. At the head of the city guards, and the youth of the equestrian order, Maximus and Balbinus attempted to cut their way through the seditious multitude. The multitude, armed with sticks and stones, drove them back for some time. The contest was in the beginning of the month of May, and ended in the month of June. Yet the declaration of these facts is impossible to be had on the authority of a modern Greek, so grossly ignorant of the history of the third century, that he creates several imaginary emperors, and confounds the affairs of the times. In the absence of ancient historians, the evidence of the present day is the only witness of the event, to whom our faith is committed only, and who has established the facts before us, in the following order.

1. Maximus, in the year 990, after having conquered the Germans, re-entered Pannonia, establishes his winter quarters at Sirmonium, and prepares to make war with the people of the north. The year 991, upon the calends of January, his fourth consulate commenced. The Gordians are elected in Africa, probably on the beginning of the month of March. The senate confirms with joy this election, and declares Maximus the sole emperor. Five days after hearing of this revolt, Maximus leaves Sirmonium with his army, to march against Italy. These events happen towards the end of the first of April. Maximus collects the siege of Aquileia, on the 9th of April. Pupienus assembles his army at Ravenna. Maximus and his son are murdered by the soldiers, who are irritated by the pride manifested by Maximus on this occasion. This event takes place in the 10th of May. Pupienus returns to Rome, and rules with Balbinus—they are assassinated by order of the senate, which ascends the throne. (Eckhel De doct. Num. vol. vii. p. 293.—0.)

Whilst in Rome and Africa revolt Maximus prepares successes attended each other with such to attack the enormaxizing rapidity, the mind of Maximus and their enemies was agitated by the most furious passions. He is at his ease, and in one month hearing the news of the rebellion of the Gordians, and of the decree of the senate against him, not with the temper of a man but the rage of a wild beast; which, as it could not discharge itself on the distant senate, threatened the life of his son, of his friends, and of all who ventured to approach his palace. The gratification of the Roman patriotism that the death of the Gordians was quickly followed by the assurance that the senate, laying aside all hopes of pardon or accommodation, had substituted in their room two emperors, with whose merit he could not he unequaled. Revenge was the only consolation left to Maximus, and revenge could only be obtained by arms. The strength of the legions had been assembled by Alexander from all parts of the empire. Three successful campaigns against the Germans and the Sarmatians, had raised their fame, confirmed their discipline, and even increased their numbers, by filling the ranks with the bodies of the vanquished. The life of Maximus had been spent in war, and the candid severity of history cannot refuse him the valour of a soldier, or the abilities of an experienced general. It might naturally be expected, that a prince of such a character should be able of subduing the rebellion to gain stability by delay, would not immediately have marched from the banks of the Danube to those of the Tyber, and that his victorious army, instigated by contempt for the senate, and eager to gather the spoils of Italy, should have burned with impatience to finish the war against the enemy and bury the memory of his father. But this trust to the obscure chronology of that period, it appears that the operations of some foreign war deferred the Italian expedition till the ensuing spring. From the prudent conduct of Maximus, we may learn that the savage features of his character have been exaggerated by the perversity of his enemy. His moderate and temperate methods, submitted to the force of reason, and that the barbarian possessed something of the generous spirit of Sylla, who subdued the enemies of Rome,

3 See the Augustan History, p. 166, from the registers of the senate; the date is confessedly faulty, but the coincidence of the Apollonius Tametris with the year seems correct. 4 He was descended from Cornelius Balbus, a noble Spaniard, and the adopted son of Theophrastus the Greek historian. Balbus obtained the freedom of Rome by the favour of Pompey, and preserved it by the eloquence of Cicero, (see Orat. pro. Corbulo. Balbus.) The friendship of Cesar (for whom he rendered the most important secret services in the civil war) raised him to the consulship and the pontificate. In 87 b. c. he was appointed by the advice of this Balbus triumphed over the Sarmatians. See Dictionnaire de Bayle, ad not Balbus, where he distinguishes the several persons of this name, and the different crimes which they committed concerning them. 5 See the Augustan History, p. 166, where no dependence is to be had on the authority of a modern Greek, so grossly ignorant of the history of the third century, that he creates several imaginary emperors, and confounds the affairs of the times. In the absence of ancient historians, the evidence of the present day is the only witness of the event, to whom our faith is committed only, and who has established the facts before us, in the following order. 6 Herodian, i. vii. p. 256, supposes that the senate was at first consulted in the matter of the appointment. The Augustan History, p. 116, seems much more authentic.
before he suffered himself to revenge his private injuries.2

Marches into Ita. When the troops of Maximin, an-

1 Rev. A. D. 236. Feb., vanishing in excellent order, arrived at

the foot of the Julian Alps, they were
terrified by the silence and desolation that reigned on the
frontiers of Italy. The villages and open towns had be

abandoned on their approach by the inhabitants,
to which the cattle was driven away. The provisions re-

moved, or destroyed, the bridges broke down, nor was

any thing left which could afford either shelter or sub-
sistence to an invader. Such had been the wise or-
ders of the generals of the senate; whose design was to

prevent the ruin of his army by the impetuosity of

the slow operation of famine, and to consume his

strength in the sieges of the principal cities of Italy,

which they had plentifully stored with men and provi-
sions from the deserted country.

Siege of Aquileia. Aqui-


c received and withstood the first

shock of the invasion. The streams that issue from the

head of the Hadrutic gulf, swelled by the melting of the

winter snows,1 opposed an unexpected obstacle to the

arms of Maximin. At length, on a singular bridge, construk-

ted with art and difficulty, of large hogs, which was transpor-

ted by the imperial treasury, up the bank, rooted up the beau-

tiful vineyards in the neigh-

bourhood of Aquileia, demolished the suburbs, and

employed the timber of the buildings in the engines and
towers, with which on every side he attacked the citadel. The fallen to death among the seces-

sion of a long peace, had been hastily repaired on this sud-

den emergency; but the firmest defence of Aquileia

consisted in the constancy of the citizens; all ranks of

whom, instead of being dismayed, were animated by

the extreme danger, and their knowledge of the tyrant’s unrelenting temper. Their courage was stimu-

lated and directed by Crispinus and Menophilus, two of the

twenty senators of the senate, who, with a small body of regular troops, had thrown themselves

into the besieged place. The arm of Maximin was

repulsed on repeated attacks, his machines destroyed

by showers of artificial fire; and the generous en-

thusiasm of the Aquileians was exalted into a confidence

of success, by the opinion, that Belerus, their tutelar
deity, combated in person in the defence of his
distressed worshipers.3

Conduct of Maximus. The emperor Maximus, who had

advanced as far as Ravenna, to secure that

important place, and to hasten the military prepara-
tions, beheld the event of the war in the more faithful
mirror of reason and policy. He was too sensible, the

Emperor, that even, with the persevering efforts of a great army; and he dreaded, lest the enemy,
tired with the obstinate resistance of Aquileia, shoud

on a sudden relinquish the fruitless siege, and march
directly towards Rome. The fate of the empire and

the cause of freedom must then be committed to the

chance of a battle; and what arms could he oppose to

the veteran legions of the Rhine and Danube? Some

troops newly levied among the generous but enervated

young Italy; and a body of German auxiliaries, on

whose firmness in the hour of trial, it was dangerous to

depend. In the midst of these just alarms, the stroke of
domestic conspiracy punished the crimes of Maximin, and
delivered Rome and the Senate from the calamities

that would surely have attended the victory of an en-frag-ner barbarian.

The people of Aquileia had severely Muder of Maxi-

mim, experienced many of the common misfortunes of

a siege; their magazines were A. D. 236, April

plentifully supplied, and several fountains within the

walls assured them of an inexhaustable resource of

fresh water. The soldiers of Maximin were, on the

contrary, exposed to the inclemency of the autumn, the

contagion of disease, and the extremity of famine. The

open country was ruined, the rivers filled with the

slain, and polluted with blood. A spirit of despair

and disaffection began to diffuse itself among the

troops; and as they were cut off from all intelligence,

they coldly believed that the whole empire had em-

braced the cause of the senate, and that they were

left as devoted victims to perish under the imprangible

walls of Aquileia. The fierce temper of the tyrant

was exasperated by disappointments, which he im-

puted to the cowardice of his army; and his wanton

and inhuman severity was attributed to the

spirited hatred, and a just desire of revenge. A party

of pretorian guards, who trembled for their wives and

children in the camp of Alba, near Rome, executed

the sentence of the senate. Maximin, abandoned by

his general, the court, and his people, was cut down

by the sword, which he had associated to the honours of the

purple, Anulius the prefect, and the principal ministers of his

tyranny.a

The sight of their heads, borne on the point of

spear, convinced the citizens of Aquileia that the

siege was at an end; the gates of the city were thrown

open, a liberal market was provided for the hungry

troops of Maximin, and the whole army joined in so-

lemn protestations of fidelity to the senate and the

people of Rome, and to their lawful emperors Maximus and

Balbinus. Such was the desired fate of

a brutal savage, destitute, as he has gen-

erally been represented, of every sentiment that distin-

guishes a civilized, or even a human, being. The

body was suited to the soul. The stature of Maximin exced-

ed the measure of eight feet, and circumstances almost

incrivable are related of his matchless strength and ap-

c魅力. Had he lived in a less warlike age, his

acclamations and poetry might well have described him as one of

those monstrous giants, whose supernatural power was

constantly exerted for the destruction of mankind.

It is easier to conceive than to de-

joy of the Ro-

suns, and the world on the fall of the tyrant, the news of which is

said to have been carried in four days from Aquileia to

Rome. The return of Maximus was a triumphal pro-

cession, his collegiate and young Gordian went out to

meet him, and the three princes made their entry into

the capital, attended by the ambassadors of almost all

the cities of Italy, saluted with the splendid offerings of

gratitude and superstition, and received with

the unabridged acclamations of the senate and people, who

persuaded themselves that a golden age would suc-

ceed his reign of iron.b The conduct of the two

emperors corresponded with these expectations. They

administered justice in person; and the rigour of the one

was tempered by the other’s clemency. The oppres-

sion

1 Varullus. Paterculus, l. i. e. 24. The president de Monte-

esqueau (On his fall he burned the Villa and B. E. 1. 2. 22. Blocks the melting of

the snows quite better with the months of June or July, than with

that of February: The opinion of a man who passed his life between

the Alps and the Apennines, is undoubtedly of great weight: yet I

observe, 1. That the long winter, of which Muratone takes advan-

tage, is not that which most strikes me. 2. That the vicissitude of suns and rains, to

which Maximus was exalted (Herodian. i. 277) demotes the spring rather than the summer: I may

observe likewise, that several streams, as they melted into one com-

pound, must swell the course of the Po, more poetically, (as observed by Virgil.

They are about twelve miles. We may observe

in Herodian. i. viii. p. 262. The Cellea deity was supposed to be

Apollo, and received under that name the thanks of the

people. A tradition was likewise given to Venus the Bold, in honour of the women of

Aquileia, who had given up their hair to make ropes for the

military engines.


of Maximus’s reign has not been defined with much accuracy, ex-

cept that it lasted not more than three years, and not in the way of

a warlike prince: (Herodian. i. 258. x. 1.) We may depend on the

integrity of the text, as the Latin version is by no means so

exact. The same may be said in respect of the ten years of

Gordian, (Sueton. Gordian, p. 59. )

of which many, (see our notes on i. 2. 1.) are alluded to in the

ix. 4. See Sueton. Gordian. p. 60. But the author of the Herodian

told us that Maximin could drink in a day an ampulla (or about seven gallons) of wine, and eat thirty or forty pounds of meat. He could

move a loaded wagon, break a horse’s leg with his fist, crumble stones in his hand, and tear up small trees by the roots. See his


b See the congratulatory letter of Claudius Julianus the consul, to

the two emperors, in the Augustan History.
Six taxes with which Maximus had loaded the rights of inheritance and succession, were repealed, or at least moderated. Discipline was revived, and with the advice of the senate many wise laws were enacted by their imperial ministers, who endeavoured to restore a civil constitution on the ruins of military tyranny. "What reward may we expect for delivering Rome from the desolation of the enemy?" asked Maximus, in a moment of freedom and confidence. Ballinus answered it without hesitation, "The love of the senate, of the people, and of all mankind." "Alas!" replied his more penetrating colleague, "Alas! I dread the hatred of the soldiers, and the fatal effects of the conscription of those who should be exempted. His apprehensions were but too well justified by the event.

Solution at Rome

Whilst Maximus was preparing to defend Italy against the common foe, Ballinus, who remained at Rome, had been engaged in scenes of blood and intestine discord. Disturb and jealousy reigned in the senate; and even in the temples where they assembled, every senator carried either open or concealed arms. In the midst of their deliberations, two veterans of the guards, actuated either by curiosity or a sinister motive, audaciously thrust themselves into the house, and advanced by degrees the weakness of the praetorians, as the secret adherents of the tyrant. Those who escaped the first fury of the tumult took refuge in the camp, which they defended with superior advantage against the reiterated attacks of the people, assisted by the numerous bands of gladiators, the property of Maximus, the praetorians, and the soldiers. His ineptitude in taking the bull by the horns, with infinite loss and confusion on both sides. When the pipes were broken that supplied the camp with water, the praetorians were reduced to intolerable distress; but in their turn they made desperate sallies into the city, set fire to a great number of houses, and filled the streets with the blood of the inhabitants. The emperor Ballinus attempted, by ineffectual edicts and precarious truces, to reconcile the factions at Rome. But their animosity, though smothered for a while, burnt with redoubled violence. The soldiers, detesting the senate and the people, despising the weakness of a prince, who wanted either the spirit or the power to command the obedience of his subjects.  

Discontent of the praetorian guards

After the tyrant's death, his formidable army had acknowledged, from necessity rather than from choice, the authority of Maximus, who transported himself without delay to the camp before Aquileia. As soon as he had received their oath of fidelity, he addressed them in terms full of mildness and moderation; lamented, rather than arraigned, the wild disorders of the times, and assured the soldiers, that of all their past conduct, the senate would remember only their generous desertion of the tyrant, and their voluntary return to their duty. Maximus enforced his exhortations by a liberal donation, purified the camp by a solemn sacrifice of expiation, and then dismissed the legions to their several provinces, leaving a guard of his personal bodyguards; a precaution, of which the praetorian guards sufficiently declared that they considered themselves as the object, rather than the partners, of the triumph. When the whole body was united in their camp, those who had served under Maximin, and those who had re-

maintained at Rome, insensibly communicated to each other their complaints and apprehensions. The emperors chosen by the army had perished with the tyrant, or those elected by the senate were seated on the throne.  

The long discord between the civil and military powers was decided by a war, in which the former had obtained a complete victory. The soldiers must now learn a new duty, the submission of the enemy; and whatever clemency was affected by that politic assembly, they dreaded a slow revenge, coloured by the name of discipline, and justified by fair pretences of the public good. But their fate was still in their own hands; and if they had courage to despise the vain terrors of a feeble imposture, it was in a manner to judge, since the world, that those who were masters of the arms, were masters of the authority of the state.

When the senate elected two princes, Massacre of those of it is probable that, besides the declared Maximinus and Balbinus, reason of providing for the various emer-
gencies of peace and war, they were hunted by the secret desire of weakening by division the despotism of the supreme magistrate. Their policy was effectual, but it proved fatal both to their emperors and to themselves. The jealousy of power was soon exasperated by the difference of character. Maximinus despised the greatness of Balbinus, who was profane, and Balbinus disdained by his colleague as an obscure soldier. Their silent discord was understood rather than seen; but the mutual consciousness prevented them from uniting in any vigorous measures of defence against their common enemies of the praetorian camp. The whole city was employed in the Capitoline games, and the emperors were left almost alone in the palace. On a sudden they were alarmed by the approach of a troop of desperate assassins. Ignorant of the fact, and of the situation or designs, for they already occupied very distant apartments, afraid to give or to receive allegiance, they waited the inevitable moments in idle debates and fruitless recriminations. The arrival of the guards put an end to the vain strife. They seized on these emperors of the senate, for such they called them with malicious contempt, stripped them of their garments, and dragged them in insolent triumph through the streets of Rome, with a design of inflicting a slow and cruel death on these unfortunate princes. The fear of a rescue from the faithful Germans of the imperial guards, shortened their torments; and their bodies, mangled with a thousand wounds, were left exposed to the insults or to the pity of the populace.  

In the space of a few months, six princes The third Gor-
had been cut off by the sword. Gordian, dis- 
and of the emperor, who had already received the title of Cæsar, was the only one to escape, and to the soldiers as proper to fill the vacant throne. They carried him to the camp, and unanimously saluted him Augustus and Emperor. His name was dear to the senate and people; his tender age promised a long impunity of military licence; and the submission of Rome and the provincials to the choice of the praetorian guards, saved the republic, at the expense indeed of its freedom and dignity, from the horrors of a new civil war in the heart of the capital.  

1 The observation had been made imperiously enough in the ac-
clamations of the senate, and with regard to the soldiers it carried the appearance of a solemn decree. 

2 Discordes socii, et quam intelligenter potius quam videntur. 

Hist. August. p. 170. This well chosen expression is probably sto-
lized, from some better authority than the historian. 

3 Herodian, l. viii. p. 267, 268. 

4 Quum non alius cras in praesenti, is the expression of the August-
illian History. 

5 Quinque Curtius (l. z. c. 9,) pays an elegant compliment to the 
emperor of the day, for having, by his happy accession, extinguish-
ed so many firebrands, sheathed so many swords, and put an end to the evils of a disturbed government. At the same time, he 
mentions every word of the passage, I am of opinion, that it suits better with the elevation of the senator, than with any other period of the Roman History. I in that case, it may serve to decide the age of 
Quintus Curtius. Those who place him under the first Cæsars, 
are from the purest and most correct style, but are embarrassed by the 
acclamations of Qullistinian, in his accurate list of Roman historians;
Gordian expired with Mithisheus, who died of a flux, not without very strong suspicions of poison. Philip, his successor in the praefecture, was an A. D. 243., Arab by birth, and consequently, in the Arts of Philip, earlier part of his life, a robber by profession. His rise, from the abjectest of all inferiors, by his crimes and abuses of power, which added to the misfortunes of the empire, seems to prove that he was a bold and able leader. But his boldness prompted him to aspire to the throne, and his abilities were employed to supplant, not to serve, his indolent master. The minds of the soldiers were irritated by an artificial scarcity, created by his toasts; the desertion of the troops, the distress of the army was attributed to the youth and incapacity of the prince. It is not in our power to trace the successive steps of the secret conspiracy and open sedition, which were at length fatal to Gordian. A sepulchral monument was erected to his memory on the spot 4 where he was killed.

4 Murder of Gordian.

The fortunate Philip, raised to the empire by the votes of the soldiers, found a ready obedience from the senate and the provinces.

We will now pursue the career of the prodigious young prince, who, though somewhat fanciful, de- tery republican scription, which a celebrated writer of our own times has traced of the military government of the Roman empire. What in that age was called the Roman aristocracy 5 of Algiers, where the militia, possessed of the sovereignty, creates and deposes a magistrate, who is styled a Dey. Perhaps, indeed, it may be laid down as a general rule, that a military government is, in some respects, more republican than monarchical.

When the army had elected Philip, who was praetorian prefect to the third Gordian, the latter demanded, that he might remain sole emperor; he was unable to obtain it. He requested that the power might be divided equally between himself and the prince, and that he listen to his speech. He consented to be degraded to the rank of Caesar; the favour was refused him. He desired, at least, he might be appointed prefect; his prayer was rejected. Finally, he pleaded for his life. The army, in these several judgments, exercised the supreme magistracy. According to the historian, whose doubtful narrative the president de Montesquieu has adopted, Philip, who, during the whole

240. August, p. 161. From some hints in the two letters, I should suspect that the rumours were not expelled the palace, without some degree of gentle violence, and that the young Gordian, though he had so long associated with his carers, was so urgent in his mimic, since a cause eloquentius dignam pasuum pacemque partem perfertur virtute et strenue jam et contemptibile victoriam imperius.

transgression, had preserved a sullen silence, was inclined to spare the innocent life of his beneficiary; till, recoiling from his innocence might excite a dangerous compassion in the Roman world, he commanded, without regard to his suppliant cries, that he should be seized, stript, and led away to instant death. After a moment’s pause, the inhuman sentence was executed.

On his return from the East to Rome, Philip, desirous of obliterating the memory of his crimes, and of captivating the affections of the people, solemnized the secular games with infinite pomp and magnificence. Since their institution or revival by Augustus, they had been celebrated by Claudio, and the emperor renewed the fifth time on the accomplishment of the Secular games, full period of a thousand years from the A.D. 248. April foundation of Rome. Every circumstance of the secular games was skilfully adapted to inspire the superstitious mind with deep and solemn reverence. The long interval between them exceeded the term of human life; and as none of the spectators had already seen them, none could flatter themselves with beholding them a second time. The mystic sacrifices were performed during three nights, on the banks of the Tyber; and the Campus Martius was so brilliantly illuminated with innumerable lamps and torches. Slaves and strangers were excluded from any participation in these national ceremonies. A chorus of twenty-seven youths, and as many virgins, of noble families, and whose parents were both alive, improvised the propitious songs in favour of the present, and with the hope of the rising generation, requesting, in religious hymns, that, according to the faith of their ancient oracles, they would still maintain the virtue, the felicity, and the empire of the Roman people. The magnificence of Philip’s shows and entertainments dazzled the eyes of the multitude. The devotions employed in the rites of superstition, whilst the reflecting few revolted in their anxious minds the past history and the future fate of the empire.

Decline of the Roman Empire.

Since Romulus, with a small band of shepherds and outlaws, fortified himself on the hills near Rome, nearly ten centuries had elapsed. During the four first ages, the Romans, in the laborious school of poverty, had acquired the virtues of war and government: by the vigorous exertion of those virtues, and by the assistance of fortune, they had obtained, in the course of three succeeding centuries, an absolute empire over many countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa. The last three hundred years had been consumed in apparent prosperity and internal decline. The nation of soldiers, magistrates, and legislators, who composed the thirty-five tribes of the Roman people, was dissolved into the common mass of mankind, and confounded with the millions of servile provincials, who had received the name, without adopting the spirit, of Romans. A mercenary army, levied among the subjects and barbarians of the frontier, was the only order of men who preserved and abused their independence. By their tumultuary election, a Syrian, a Goth, or an Arab, was exalted to the throne of Rome, and invested with despotic power over the conquists and over the country of the Scipios.

The limits of the Roman empire still extended from the Western Ocean to the Tigris, and from Mount Atlas to the Rhine and the Danube. To the undis-easing eye of the vulgar, Philip appeared a monarch no less powerful than Hadrian or Augustus had formerly been. The form was still the same, but the motion was no longer originating health and vigour. The capacity of the people was discouraged and exhausted by a long series of oppression. The discipline of the legions, which alone, after the extinction of every other virtue, had propped the greatness of the state, was corrupted by the ambition, or relaxed by the weakness, of the emperors. The strength of the frontiers, which have always consisted in arms rather than in fortifications, was insensibly undermined; and the fairest provinces were left exposed to the rapaciousness or ambition of the barbarians, who soon discovered the decline of the Roman empire.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the state of Persia after the restoration of the monarchy by Ardashir.

Whenever Tacitus indulges himself the barbarians in those beautiful episodes, in which he of the East and of the North relates some domestic transaction of the Germans or of the Parthians, his principal object is to relieve the attention of the reader from a uniform scene of vice and misery. From the reign of Augustus to the time of Alexander Severus, the enemies of Rome were in her bosom—the tyrants, and the soldiers; and her prosperity had a very distant and feeble interest in the revolutions that might happen beyond the Rhine and the Euphrates. But when the military order had levelled, in wild anarchy, the power of the prince, the laws of the senate, and even the discipline of the camp, the barbarians of the North and of the East, who had long hovered on the frontier, boldly attacked the provinces of a declining monarchy. Their vacuous inroads were changed into formidable irruptions, and, after a long vicissitude of mutual calamities, many tribes of the victorious invaders established themselves in the provinces of the Roman empire. To obtain a clearer knowledge of these great events, we shall endeavour to form a previous idea of the character, forces, and designs of those nations who avenged the cause of Hannibal and Mithridates.

In the more early ages of the world, Revolutions of whilst the forest that covered Europe Asia afforded a retreat to a few wandering savages, the inhabitants of Asia were already collected into populous cities, and reduced under extensive empires, the seat of the arts, of luxury, and of despotism. The Assyrians reigned over the East, till the sceptre of Niucus and Semiramis dropped from the hands of their enervated successors. The Medes and the Babylonians degraded. When these events happened 339 years before Christ, the former may be placed 2044 years before the same era. The Astronomical Observations, found at Babylon by Alexander, went fifty years higher.
The decline and fall  

CHAP. VIII.

Aegypt was the mandate of Alexander, the son of Philip, who was intrusted by the Greeks with their glory and revenge, were sufficient to subdue Persia. The princes of the house of Seleucus usurped and lost the dominion of the great throne. About the same time that, by an ignominious treaty, they resigned to the Romans the country on this side Mount Taurus, they were driven by the Parthians, an obscure horde of Sefthyrian origin, from all the provinces of Upper Asia. The formidable power of the Parthians, which sprang from India to the frontiers of Syria, was in its turn subverted by Ardashir, or Artaxerxes; the founder of a new dynasty, which, under the name of Sassanides, governed Persia, till the invasion of the Arabs. This great revolution, whose fatal influence was soon experienced by the Romans, happened in the fourth year of the war against the Parthians, and twenty-six years after the Christian era.

Aegypt had served with great reality restored putation in the armies of Artaban, the last king of the Parthians, and it appears that he was driven into exile and rebellion by royal ingratitude, the consequence of a secret intrigue. His birth was obscure, and the obscurity equally gave room to the aspirations of his enemies, and the flattery of his adherents. If we credit the scandal of the former, Ardashir sprang from the illegitimate children of a Persian soldier.4 This latter represents him as descended from a branch of the ancient kings of Persia, though time and misfortune had gradually reduced his ancestors to the humble station of private citizens. As the lineal heir of the monarchy, he asserted his right to the throne, and challenged the rod of the Seleucid, with Kadarmar, who is often supposed to be the same as Noah. This is the fabulous age, in which we find reigns of seven hundred, and nine hundred years' duration. The combats of the kings with the Greeks or evil spirits, and their keen disputes with the Jews or Fairies, are as ridiculous as the contents of Jupiter, of Venus, of Mars, and of the other Greek divinities. It is evident that the history of the Caneides corresponds to the accounts of Greco heroes, or of our knights errant. It irritates the heroic actions of Rustan, and his contest with Affendar, the eldest son of Giushtaspe. The great Cyrus, during the continuance of the kingdom, would not be the real founder of the dynasty; for he had been found dead among the ruins of his last of these kings, Inkander, appointed the nobles of the country governor of the province. One day he was seized by Artashir-Bakshar, or Artaxerxes, the founder of the dynasty of the Sassanides, which lasted four hundred and twenty years.5—See a dissertation of Ferret, Memoires de l'Academie des inscrip. et belles lettres, vol. iv. p. 263.—

In the fifth and sixtenth year of the era of Seleucus, See Austrin, l. ii. p. 65. The great event (such is the carelessness of these authors) was celebrated by the Greeks of Comodun, and by Moses of Chorene, as low as the reign of Philip. Ardashir has so severely corrected his authors, that he has nailed himself king, and was the founder of the dynasty of the Arsacides. The Persian historians have preserved but few of the names of the kings of this dynasty; and the names and titles derived from Ardashir—Bahmar, or Artaxerxes, the founder of the dynasty of the Sassanides, which lasted four hundred and twenty years.6—See a dissertation of Ferret, Memoires de l'Academie des inscrip. et belles lettres, vol. iv. p. 263.—

In the former and sixtenth century, the authors, from the latter all his descendants have been styled Xanasanes.7

* * *

The name of Baber; the soldier's Sassan, from the former and sixtenth century, the authors, from the latter all his descendants have been styled Xanasanes.8

Iberteff, Bibliotheca Persica, vol. ii. ch. 61, 618.

Herodotus, i. vi. p. 867. Abulpharragius Dyanb, p. 58.

Dionysius, l. i. 1252, 1261. Herodotus, i. vi. p. 867. Abulpharragius Dyanb, p. 58.

See Mosc. Chorenienia, l. ii. c. 65.-71.
secrets, who variously explained the fundamental doctrines of their religion, and were all indiscriminately revered by a crowd of infidels, who rejected the divine mission and miracles of the prophet. To suppress the idolaters, reunite the schismatics, and confute the unbelievers, by the infallible decision of a general council, all the Mohammedans, from the chief of the elders to the humblest of his dominions. These priests, who had so long sighed in contempt and obscurity, obeyed the welcome summons; and on the appointed day appeared, to the number of about eighty thousand. But as the debates of so tumultuous an assembly could not have been regulated, or even influenced by the art of policy, the Persian synod was reduced, by successive operations, to forty thousand, to four thousand, to four hundred, to forty, and at last to seven Magi, the most respected for their learning and piety. One of these, Erdvarih, a young but holy prince, received the hands of his brother three cups of soporiferous wine. He drank them off, and instantly fell into a long and profound sleep. As soon as he waked, he related to the king and to the believing multitude, his journey to heaven, and his intimate conference with the Divine. Every doubt was removed by this supernatural evidence; and the articles of the faith of Zoroaster were fixed with equal authority and precision. A short delineation of that celebrated system will be found useful, not only to display the character of the Persian nation, but to illustrate many of their most important transactions, both in peace and war, with the Roman empire. 

Persian Religion: The great and fundamental article of two principles, the system, was the celebrated doctrine of the two principles; a bold and injudicious attempt of the ancients to reconcile the contrary notions of moral and physical evil, with the attributes of a benevolent Creator and Governor of the world. The first and original Being, in whom, or by whom, the universe exists, is denominated in the writings of Zoroaster, Time without bounds; but it must be confessed, that this infinite substance seems rather a metaphysical abstraction of the mind, than a real object endowed with self-consciousness, or possessed of moral perfections. From either the blind, or the intelligent operation of this infinite Time, which bears but too near an affinity with the infinity of the Greeks, the two secondary but independent principles of the universe, without either produced, Ormuzd and Ahriman, each of them possessed of the powers of creation, but each disposed, by his invariable nature, to exercise them with different designs. The principle of evil is eternally absorbed in darkness: the wise benevolence of Ormuzd formed capable of virtue, and abundantly provided his fair habitation with the materials of happiness. By his vigilant providence, the motion of the planets, the order of the seasons, and the temperate mixture of the elements, are preserved. But the malice of Ahriman has long since pierced Ormuzd's egg; or, in other words, has violated the harmony of his works. Since that fatal interruption, the most minute articles of good and evil are intimately intermingled and agitated to
	had already fallen into disuse during the dynasty of the Sasanides; but it was still written by the learned. The Persi originally from Paro or Persia, was then the reigning dynasty. [See Kleiner's Anhang zu den Zend-avesta, vol. ii. part ii. p. 25 c. &c. — G.]

[The modern Perses, (and in some degree the Saddhus,) exalt Ormuzd into the first and omnipotent cause, while they degrade Ahriman into an inferior but rebellious spirit. Their desire of cleaving the Mahometans may have contributed to refine their theological system.]

According to the Zend-avesta, Ahriman will not be destroyed or plunged forever into darkness: at the resurrection of the dead, he will be entirely destitute of existence. The kingdom of darkness, Ahriman's kingdom, is to be transferred to his kingdom, heaven, and it will be divided into an infernal and divine portion. Ormuzd will elevate the law and ordinances of Ormuzd; will enter into a league of eternal friendship with the people of Ormuzd, and receive of Ormuzd's kingdom of light, as a reward of his virtues and worth, in the society of the dead, in the kingdom of Eternity. (See the abridgment before quoted, rub. 1.)

Kleiner's Anhang, 50 part, p. 83, No. 26: the Iskand, one of the chapters of the Zend-avesta.

According the Saddhu Dun Dehasheh, a more modern work, Ahriman was to be destroyed, but this is contrary both to the rest of the Zend-avesta itself, and to the idea which its author gives us of the kingdom of Eternity; yet he was to acquire a seat in the society of the dead, in the kingdom of Eternity, (See the abridgment before quoted, rub. and 1,)

Kleiner's Anhang, 50 part, p. 83, No. 26: the Iskand, one of the chapters of the Zend-avesta.

Mithra was the sun among the Persians, Anquetil has disputed, and triumphantly refuted the opinion of those who confound them together; and it is most a contrary in the Zend-avesta, Mithra is the first of the Genii of the Persians, who were created by Ormuzd. If he who governs all nature—forget this ample reviewer; the Persians, from time immemorial, have taken part in the duties of Mithra. These Genii, who are termed Sarvâns, and are called Jamsârs, but they are never anywhere confounded with the Persians; the Persians are not more humble in their estimation among themselves than the Persians. It is he who gave to the earth the light of the sun. The sun manged Khor (Isdath,) is also an inferior genius, who, with many other Genii, takes part in the duties of Mithra. These Genii, whom the ancients called Jamsârs, and to whom the Persians paid equal worship, are under the supreme domain of Mithra. When a Persian, at the moment of his death, is conducted through the temples of Jamsârs, first by one part of the Persian, Pers. c. 8. Notwithstanding all their distinctions and presentations, which seem sincere enough, their tyrants, the Mohammedans, have constantly stigmatized them as idolatrous worshipers of the fire.
Every mode of religion, to make a moral precept, deep and lasting impression on the human heart, must be accompanied by the practices of devotion, for which we can assign no reason; and must acquire our esteem, by inculcating moral duties analogous to the dictates of our own hearts. The religion of Zoroaster was abundantly provided with the former, and possessed a sufficient portion of the latter. At the age of puberty, the faithful Persian was invested with a mysterious gridle, the badge of the divine protection; and from that moment all the actions of his life, even the most indifferent, or the most necessary, were sanctified by their peculiar prayers, ejaculations, or genuflexions; the omission of which would have been considered a sin, not inferior in guilt to the violation of the moral duties. The moral duties, however, of justice, mercy, liberality, &c. were in their turn required of the disciple of Zoroaster, who wished to escape the persecution of Ahriman, and to live with Ormuzd in a blissful eternity, where the degree of felicity will be exactly proportioned to the degree of virtue and piety.

But there are some remarkable instances in which Zoroaster lays aside the prophet, assumes the legislator, and discovers a liberal concern for private and public happiness, seldom to be found among the groveling or visionary schemes of superstition. Fasting and celibacy, the common means of purchasing the divine favour, he condemns with abhorrence, and his most ardent prayer is for the providence. The saint, in the Magian religion, is obliged to beget children, to plant useful trees, to destroy noxious animals, to convey water to the dry lands of Persia, and to work out his salvation by pursuing all the labours of agriculture. We may quote from the Zendavesta a wise and benedictive maxim, which compensates for many an absurdity. "He who sows the ground with care and diligence, acquires a greater stock of religious merit than he could gain by the repetition of ten thousand prayers." In the spring of every year a festival was celebrated, destined to represent the primitive equality, and the present connexion, of mankind. The stately kings of Persia, exchanging their vain pomp for more genuine greatness, freely mingled with the humblest but most useful of their subjects. On that day the husbandmen were admitted with unusual distinction, to the table of the king and his satraps. The monarch accepted their petitions, inquired into their grievances, and conversed with them on the most equal terms. "From your labours, was he accustomed to say, and to say with truth, if not with sincerity, from your labours, we receive our subsistence, and you derive your tranquillity from our vigilance; since, therefore, we are mutually necessary to each other, let us live together like brothers in concord and love," Such a festival must indeed have degenerated, in a wealthy and despotic empire, into a theatrical representation; but it was at least a comedy well worthy of a royal audience, and which might sometimes imitate a salutary lesson on the mind of a young prince.

\[\text{[Zoroaster was much less exacting regarding the performance of ceremonies than the priests of his religion afterwards were—such has been the course of all religions: their worship, simple in its origin, has become overloaded. The maxim of the Zendavesta, referred to afterwards, proves that Zoroaster did not attach to that which is of so much importance as Gibbon seems to think. This is proved by this maxim, quoted by Gibbon himself;—He who sows grain with care and diligence gains the prosperity of the nation. Moreover, it is not from the Zendavesta that Gibbon derives the maxim; what he advances, but from the Sadder, a much later work.}\]

"See the Sadder, the smallest part of which consists of moral precepts. Those who are enjoined are innumerable; genuflexions, prayers, &c. were required whenever the devout Persian was outside of the water; or as often as he put on the sacred gridle. Sadder, art. 14, 56, 60.

\[\text{Zendavesta, tom. i. p. 274, and Frez de Systeme de Zoroastre, tom. ii.}\]

\[\text{Hyde de Religione Persarum, c. 12.}\]
their faith, to the practice of ancient kings, and even to the example of their legislation, who had fallen a victim to a religious war, excited by his own intolerant principles, and about to make the worship of the sun their only settlement, except that of Zoroaster, was severely prohibited. The temples of the Parthians, and the statues of their deified monarchs, were thrown down with ignominy. The sword of Aristotle (such was the name given by the orientals to the polytheism and philosophy of the Greeks) was easily broken; the flames of persecution soon reached the more stubborn Jews and Christians; nor did they spare the heretics of their own nation and religion. The majesty of Ormuck, who was jealous of a rival, was seconded by the despotism of Artaxerxes, who could not suffer a rival and a citizen within his dominions to be safe; and art and science were soon reduced to the incalculable number of eighty thousand. This spirit of persecution reflects dishonour on the religion of Zoroaster; but as it was not productive of any civil commotion, it served to strengthen the new monarchy by uniting all the various inhabitants of Persia in the bands of religious zeal.

Establishment of royal authority in the provinces. The Parthian empire.

There still remained the more difficult task of establishing a strong and vigorous administration. The weak indulgence of the Arsacides had resigned to their sons and brothers the principal provinces, and the greatest offices of the kingdom, in the nature of hereditary possessions. The eilaxa, or eighteen most powerful satraps, were permitted to assume the regal title; and the vain pride of the monarch was delighted with a nominal dominion over so many vassal kings. Even tribes of barbarians in their mountains, and the Greek cities of Upper Asia, within their walls, scarcely acknowledged, or seldom obeyed, any superior; and the Parthian empire exhibited, under other names, a lively image of the feudal system which has since prevailed in Europe. But the active victor, at the head of a numerous and disciplined army, visited in person every province of Persia. The defeat of the boldest rebels, and the reduction of the strongest fortifications, diffused by the terror of his arms, the rumour of his approach, and the peaceful reception of his authority. An obstinate resistance was fatal to the chiefs; but their followers were treated with lenity. A cheerful submission was rewarded with honours and riches; but the prudent Artaxerxes, suffering no person except himself to be enthroned; was the only object of the active monarch. He maintained, by the just and necessary exercise of power, the absolute right and dominion over the people and the throne. His extent and population, nearly equal in extent to that of Persia, was on every side, bounded by the sea, or by great rivers; by the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Araxes, the Oxus, and the Indus, by the Caspian sea, and the gulf of Persia. That country was computed to contain, in the last century, five hundred and fifty-four cities, sixty thousand villages, and about two millions of inhabitants. But it must likewise be confessed, that in every age the want of harbours on the sea-coast, and the scarcity of fresh water in the inland provinces, have been very unfavourable to the commerce and agriculture of the Persians; who, in the calculation of their numbers, seem to have indulged one of the common errors of mankind, though most common, articles of national vanity.

As soon as the ambitious mind of Artaxerxes had triumphed over the resistance of the Parthian and the monarchy of his vassals, he began to threaten the Roman empire, the neighbouring states, who, during the long slumber of their predecessors, had insulted Persia with impunity. He obtained some easy victories over the wild Scythians and the effeminate Indians; but the Romans were an enemy, who, by their past injuries and present power, deserved the utmost efforts of his arms. A forty years' tranquillity, the fruit of valor and manoeuvres, crowned the victories of Artaxerxes; during the period that elapsed from the accession of Marcus to the reign of Alexander, the Roman and the Parthian empires were twice engaged in war, and although the whole strength of the Arsacides contended with a part only of the forces of Rome, the event was most commonly in favour of the latter. Marcus, indeed, prompted by his precarious situation and pitiful temper, purchased a price at the expense of some millions of our money but the generals of Marcus, the emperor Severus, and his son, erected many trophies in Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria. Among their exploits, the imperfect relation of which would have unseasonably interrupted the more important series of domestic revolutions, we shall only mention the repeated calamities of the two great cities of Seleucia and Ctesiphon.

Seleucia, on the western bank of the city of Seleucia on the Tigirs, about three leagues to the south of the ancient Babylon, was the capital of the Macedonian conquests in Upper Asia. Many ages after the fall of their empire, Seleucia retained the genuine characters of a Greek colony, arts, military virtue, and the spirit of freedom. The independent republic was governed by a senate and a king, a body of one hundred and sixty persons; of whom the chief consisted of six hundred thousand citizens; the walls were strong, and as long as conscripted prevailed among the several orders of the state, they viewed with contempt the power of the Parthian; but the madness of faction was sometimes provoked to implore the dangerous aid of the common enemy, who was possessed almost at the gates of the colony. The Parthian monarchs, like the Mogul sovereigns of Hindostan, delighted in the pastoral life of their Scythian ancestors.

We can scarcely attribute to the Persian monarchy the sea-coast of Gedrosia or Macran, which extends along the Indian Ocean from Cape Jason (the promontory Capella) to cape Guard. In the twelfth year of Artaxerxes, and probably many ages afterwards, it was thinly inhabited by a savage people of Ichthyophagi, or Fishermen, who knew no arts, who acknowledged no master, and who were divided by inhospitable deserts from the rest of the world. (See Ariánus de la Frereet, p. 247.) In the middle of the century of the death of the last Persian monarch, M. d'Avrillé discovered a territory, which seems it may have been occupied by a people of the same name, and which was called by them Persia, as well as the Grecian heretics.


These colonies were extremely numerous. Selecneus Nicator founded thirty-nine cities, all named from himself or some of his relations. See Arrian in Syria, p. 124. The very name of Selecneus (still in use among the eastern Christians) appears as late as the year 596, of Christ, 1016, on the mosaics of the Greek cities within the Parthian empire, and on the mosaics of the Christian school of the Freretz, p. 257. and the Vulgate of the New Testament, comm. de l'Académie, tom. iii.

Bible, and those two inscriptions that establish the period as that of the reign of the kings of the nations. See Plin. Hist. Nat. vi. 50. D'Archeol. Antiq. iv. 235. (757., 271, 272.) relates the siege of the island of Mesene in the Tigirs, with some circumstances not unconnected with the story of Naus and Sisyphus.

Cicero. de Legibus. ii. 10. Xerxes, by the advice of the Magi, destroyed the temples of the Greeks.

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Histoire de l'ancienne et de la nouvelle religion de la Chine. p. 257. 

But the Parthians maintained their independence against the successors of Shah Abbas. (Voyages de Tavernier, part i. l. v. p. 635.)

Chardin, tom. ii. p. 1616. 

For the precise situation of Babylon, Seleucia, Ctesiphon, Moc

Chardin, tom. ii. p. 1616. 

For the precise situation of Babylon, Seleucia, Ctesiphon, Moc

and the imperial camp was frequently pitched in the plain of Ctesiphon, on the eastern bank of the Tigris, at the distance of only three miles from Seleucia.\footnote{This may be inferred from Strabo, I. xvii. p. 739.}\footnote{Dio, xix. 13. 2.}

The innumerable attendants on luxury and despotism resorted to the court, and the little village of Ctesiphon insensibly grew into a great city.\footnote{Dio, xxi. 5. 2.} Under the reign of Marcus, the Roman generals penetrated as far as Ctesiphon and Seleucia. They were received as friends by the Greek colony; they attacked as enemies the seat of the Parthian kings; yet both cities experienced the same treatment. The Parthian and confederates, the massacre of three hundred thousand of the inhabitants, tarnished the glory of the Roman triumph.\footnote{Dio, xxi. 19. 1.}

Conquest. Alexander, was solid of capitals exceeded booty, tempted Parthian Persia under sent kings from of some years, attacked of the Euphrates reduction Armenians. The massacre of three hundred thousand of the inhabitants, tarnished the glory of the Roman triumph. Seleucia, already exhausted by the neighbourhood of a too powerful rival, sunk under the fatal blow; but Ctesiphon, in about thirty-three years, had sufficiently recovered its strength to maintain an obstinate siege against the emperor Severus. The city was, however, taken by assault; the king, who defended it in person, exposed with precipitation; an hundred thousand captives, and a rich booty, rewarded the fatigues of the Roman soldiers.\footnote{Dio, xxi. 13. 6.}

Notwithstanding these misfortunes, Ctesiphon succeeded to Babylon and to Seleucia, as one of the great capitals of the East. In summer, the monarch of Persia enjoyed at Ecbatana the cool breezes of the mountains of Media; but the mildness of the climate engaged him to prefer Ctesiphon for his winter residence.

From these successful inroads the Romans derived no real or lasting benefit; nor did they attempt to preserve such distant conquests, separated from the provinces of the empire by a great tract of water.\footnote{Dio, xxi. 19. 1.}

The reduction of the kingdom of Osroene was an acquisition of less splendour indeed, but of far more solid advantage. That little state occupied the northern and most fertile part of Mesopotamia, between the Euphrates and the Tigris. Edessa, its capital, was situated about twenty miles beyond the confines of those rivers; and the inhabitants, since the time of Alexander, were a mixed race of Greeks, Arabs, Syrians, and Armenians.\footnote{Dio, xxi. 12. 3.}

The feeble sovereigns of Osroene, placed on the dangerous verge of two contending empires, were attached from inclination to the Parthian; but the Emperor of Rome acted from them a reluctant homage, which is still attested by their medals. After the conclusion of the Parthian war under Marcus, it was judged prudent to secure some substantial pledges of their doubtful fidelity. It was constructed on several parts of the country, and a Roman garrison was fixed in the strong town of Nisibis. During the troubles that followed the death of Commodus, the princes of Osroene attempted to shake off the yoke; but the stern policy of Severus confirmed their dependence, and the perfidy of Caracalla completed the easy conquest.\footnote{Dio, xvi. 210.}

Abgarus, the last king of Edessa, was sent in chains to Rome, his dominions reduced into a province, and his capital dignified with the rank of colony; and thus the Romans, about ten years before the fall of the Parthian monarchy, obtained a firm and permanent establishment beyond the Euphrates.\footnote{Dio, xvi. 210.}

Prudence as well as glory might have justified a war on the side of the Romans, the province of Osroene had been viewed with the most intense jealousy; the conquest of this province would have afforded the Romans a strong Sand to the Caucæan gulf, a safe haven to the Greek ships, and the means of checking the increasing power of the Parthian monarchies; but in the present state of the country, it would have been at once an improper and a dangerous undertaking.\footnote{Herod. ii. 6. 1.}

The Romans, however, were deterred from the hope of invading the heart of the Parthian monarchy by the jealousy of the great monarch himself towards the Romans, whom he looked upon as his natural enemies.\footnote{Dio, xvi. 210.}

The Romans, however, were deterred from the hope of invading the heart of the Parthian monarchy by the jealousy of the great monarch himself towards the Romans, whom he looked upon as his natural enemies.\footnote{Dio, xvi. 210.}

This kingdom, from Osroene, who gave a new name to the country, to the last Abgarus, had lasted 553 years. See the learned work of M. BAYER, Historia Osroenitæ et Edesiana.\footnote{Herod. ii. 6. 1.}

Xenophon, in the preface to the Cyropædia, gives a clear and magnificent idea of the extent of the empire of Cyrus. Herodotus (i. 85.) corroborates the above account, and places the bounds of the empire at the Araxes and the Euphrates, between which the great Moors was supposed to exist.\footnote{Herod. ii. 6. 1.}

There were two hundred armed.elephants at the battle of Arbæna, in the reign of Tigranes. In the year 162, an army of the Bactrians, which was vanquished at Logotus, seventeen thousand horse only were completely arrayed.\footnote{Dio, xvi. 210.}

Abgarus had four thousand four hundred elephants, with towers filled with archers on their backs, and of eighteen hundred chariots armed with spears. This formidable host, the like of which is not to be found in eastern history, and has scarcely been imagined in eastern romance, was disconfounded in a great battle, in which the Romans under Severus approved himself an intrepid soldier and a skilful general. The great king fled before his valor.
an immense booty and the conquest of Mesopotamia, were the immediate fruits of this signal victory. Such are the circumstances of this ostentatious and improbable relation, dictated, as it too plainly appears, by the vanity of the monarch, adorned by the unblushing servility of his flatterers, and received without contradiction by the world and by the obsequious senate. From being inclined to believe that the aims of Alexander obtained any memorable advantage over the Persians, we are induced to suspect, that all this blaze of imaginary glory was designed to conceal some real disgrace.

Our suspicions are confirmed by the count of the war, the authority of a contemporary historian, who mentions the victories of Alexander with respect, and his faults with censure. He describes the judicial plan which had been formed for the conduct of the war. Three Roman armies were destined to invade Persia at the same time, and by different roads. But the operations of the campaign, though wisely concerted, were not executed either with ability or success. The first of these armies, as soon as it had entered the marshy plains of Babylon, towards the artificial conflux of the Euphrates and the Tigris, 1 was encompassed by the superior numbers, and annihilated by the arrows, of the enemy. The advance of Chosroes, 2 king of Armenia, 3 and the long tract of mountainous country, in which the Persian cavalry was of little service, opened a secure entrance into the heart of Media, to the second of the Roman armies. These brave troops laid waste the adjacent provinces, and by several successful actions against Artaxerxes, 4 the ancient and bright colour to the emperor's vanity. But the retreat of this victorious army was imprudent, or at least unfortunate. In passing the mountains, great numbers of soldiers perished by the badness of the roads, and the severity of the winter season. It had been resolved, that whilst these two great detachments were penetrated into the opposite extremities of the Persian dominions, the main body, under the command of Alexander himself, should support their attack, by invading the centre of the kingdom. But the inexperienced youth, influenced by his mother's counsels, and perhaps by his own fears, deserted the bravest troops, and the fairest prospect of victory; and after consuming in Mesopotamia an inactive and inglorious summer, he led back to Antioch an army diminished by sickness, and provoked by disappointment. The behaviour of Artaxerxes had been very different from that of Alexander. He displayed with rapidity from the hills of Media to the marshes of Babylon, and to the expanse of the Persian dominions, the main body, under the command of Alexander himself, appeared as if it had united with the ablest conduct the most undaunted resolution. But in several obstinate engagements against the veteran legions of Rome, the Persian monarch had lost the flower of his troops. Even his victories had weakened his power. The favourable opportunities of the absence of Alexander, and of the confusion that followed that emperor's death, presented themselves in vain to his ambition. Instead of expelling the Romans, as he pretended, from the confines of Asia, he found himself unable to arrest from their heads the little province of Mesopotamia.

The reign of Artaxerxes, which from the last defeat of the Parthians lasted not twenty-four years, forms a memorable era in the history of the East, and even in that of Rome. His character seems to have been marked by those bold and commanding features, that generally distinguish the princes who conquer, from those who inherit, an empire. Till the last period of the Persian monarchy, his code of laws was respected as the ground-work of their civil and religious policy. 5 Several of his acts and orations, either public or private, particularly discovers a deep insight into the constitution of government. "The authority of the prince," said Artaxerxes, "must be defended by a military force; that force can only be maintained by taxes; all taxes must, at last, fall upon agriculture; and agriculture can never flourish except under the protection of justice and moderation." 6 Artaxerxes bequeathed his new empire, and his ambitious designs against the Romans, to Sapor, a son not unworthy of his great father; but those designs were too extensive for the power of Persia, and served only to involve both nations in a long series of destructive wars and reciprocal calamities.

The Persians, long since civilized and military power corrupted, were very far from possessing of the Persians, the martial independence, and the intrepid hardness, both of mind and body, which have rendered the northern horde to the extinction of the power of Greece and Rome, as it now does of Europe, never made any considerable progress in the East. Those disciplined evolutions which harmonize and animate a confused multitude, were unknown to the Persians. They were equally unskilled in the art of constructing, besieging, or defending sieges and fortifications. They trusted more to their numbers than to their courage; more to their courage than to their discipline. The infantry was a half-armed spiritless Their cavalry crowd of peasants, levied in haste by the contemptible, allurements of plunder, and as easily dispersed by a show of victory as by a display of force. The monarch and his host were transported into the camp the pride and luxury of the senglio. Their military operations were impeded by a useless train of women, eunuchs, horses, and camels; and in the midst of a successful campaign, the Persian host was often separated or destroyed by an unexpected famine. 9

But the nobles of Persia, in the bosom Their cavalry ex-Their cavalry excellency of luxury and despotism, preserved a strong sense of personal gallantry and national honour. From the age of seven years they were taught to speak truth, to shoot with the bow, and to ride; and it was The nobles of Persia (so natural is the idea of feudal tenures) received from the king's bounty lands and houses, on the condition of their service in war. They were ready on the first summons to mount on horseback with a martial and splendid train of followers, and to join the numerous bodies of guards, who were carefully selected from amongst the most robust slaves, and the bravest adventurers of Asia. These armies, both of light and of heavy cavalry, equally formidable by the impetuosity of their charge, and the rapidity of their

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1 Eutychius, tom. ii. p. 160, vero, Pococke. The great Chosroes of the Persians is the same person as Chosroes Naum in Herodotus, and is possibly Artaxerxes Mithridates, who appears to have played a variable role of their conduct.

2 D'Herbelot Bibliothèque Orientale, an aut Artaxerxes. We may observe that after an ancient period of fables, and a long interval of darkness, the modern histories of Persia begin to assume an air of truth with the dynasty of the Sasanides.

3 Herodotus, i. p. 214. Ammianus Marcellinus, i. xxvii. c. 6. Some differences are observed between the two histories, the natural effects of the changes produced by a centur an half.

4 The Persians are still the most skillful horsemen, and their horses are the finest in the East.
The state of Germany till the invasion of the barbarians, in the time of the emperor Decian.

The government and religion of Persia have deserved some notice, from their connexion with the decline and fall of the Roman empire. We shall occupy ourselves with those of the ancient world, which, with their arms and horses, their flocks and herds, their wives and families, wandered over the immense plains which spread themselves from the Caspian sea to the Vistula, from the confines of Persia to those of Germany. But the warlike Germans, who first resisted, then invaded, and at length overran the Western monarchy of Rome, will occupy a much more important place in this history, and possess a stronger, and, if we may use the expression, a more domestic, claim to our attention and regard. The most civilised of the modern Egyptians and the woods of Germany; and in the rude institutions of those barbarians we may still distinguish the original principles of our present laws and manners. In their primitive state of simplicity and independence, the Germans were surveyed by the discerning eye, and delineated by the sensitive pencil of the ancients, Orosius and Bede, the early historians of the world, who have so much more frequently discussed, that it is now grown familiar to the reader, and difficult to the writer. We shall therefore content ourselves with observing, and indeed with repeating, some of the most important circumstances of the climate, of manners, and of institutions, which rendered the wild barbarians of Germany such formidable enemies to the Roman power.

Extent of Germany. Ancient Germany, excluding its independent limits the province westward of the Rhine, which had submitted to the Roman yoke, extended itself over a third part of Europe; almost the whole of modern Germany, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Livonia, Prussia, and the greater part of Poland.}

CHAPTER IX.

From Herodotus, Xenophon, Herodian, Ammianus, Chardin, &c.
I have extracted such probable accounts of the Persian nobili-tarity as merely common to every age, or particular to that of the Sassenades.

1. The Scyths, even according to the ancients, are not Sarmatians, but Greeks, after having expelled the Gauls into Greece and Barbary, divided the Barbarians into four great classes—the Celts, the Scyths, the Indians, and the Ethiopians—all the inhabitants of Gaul they named Celts—Scythia extended from the Baltic sea, to the sea of Azov. Those nations who are found in the north-west, in the angle between the Celtic region and Scythia, were named Celta-Scythians and the Sarmatians were placed in the southern part of this angle. But those names of Celts, Sceytians, Ceto-Sceytians and Sarmanitans, were invented by the Greeks, says Scholier, in consequence of their profound ignorance of cosmography, and have no foundation in reality. Important as it has been already so frequently, so ably, and so successfully discussed, that it is now grown familiar to the reader, and difficult to the writer. We shall therefore content ourselves with observing, and indeed with repeating, some of the most important circumstances of the climate, of manners, and of institutions, which rendered the wild barbarians of Germany such formidable enemies to the Roman power.

2. Ancient Germany, excluding its independent limits the province westward of the Rhine, which had submitted to the Roman yoke,
part of Poland, were peopled by the various tribes of one great nation, whose complexion, manners, and language denoted a common origin, and preserved a striking resemblance. On the west, ancient Germany was divided by the Rhine from the Gallic, and on the south, the Danube, from the Illyro-Hellenic provinces of the empire. A ridge of hills, rising from the Danube, and called the Carpathian mountains, covered Germany on the side of Dacia or Hungary. The eastern frontier was fairly marked by the mutual fears of the Germans and the Saratians, and was often confounded by the mixture of warlike nations near the borders of the former and latter regions. In the remote darkness of the north, the ancients imperfectly described a frozen ocean that lay beyond the Baltic sea, and beyond the peninsula, or islands of Scandinavia.

Climate.

Some ingenious writers have suspected that Europe was much colder formerly than at present. The most ancient descriptions of the climate of Germany tend exceedingly to confirm their theory. The general complaints of intense frost, and eternal winter, are perhaps little to be regarded, since we have no method of reducing to the accurate standard of the thermometer, the feelings of antiquity; particularly of the ancients, in the lesser regions of Greece or Asia. But I shall select two remarkable circumstances of a less equivocal nature.

1. The great rivers which covered the Roman provinces, the Rhine and the Danube, were frequently frozen over, and capable of supporting the most enormous weights of men and horses. This made the severe season for their inroads, transported, without apprehension or danger, their numerous armies, their cavalry, and their heavy wagons, over a vast and solid bridge of ice. Modern ages have not presented an instance of a like phenomenon. 2. The rain-deer, the hare, and the wild boar are proverbial among the ancients, as deriving the best comforts of his dreary life, is of a constitution that supports, and even requires, the most intense cold. He is found on the rock of Spitzberg, within ten degrees of the pole; he seems to delight in the snows of Lapland and Siberia; but at present he cannot subsist, much less multiply, in any country to the south of the Baltic. In the time of Caesar, the hare ascended the mountains; in the north, he was native of the Hercynian forest, which then overshadowed a great part of Germany and Poland. The modern improvements sufficiently explain the causes of the diminution of the cold. These immense woods have been gradually cleared, which intercepted from the earth the rays of the sun. The morasses have been drained, and, in proportion as the soil has been cultivated, the air has become more temperate. Canada, at this day, is an exact picture of ancient Germany. Although situated in the same parallel with the finest provinces of France and England, that country experiences the most rigorous cold. There are very numerous cold springs; the ground is covered with deep and lasting snow, and the great river St. Lawrence is regularly frozen, in a season when the waters of the Seine and the Thames are usually free from ice.

It is difficult to ascertain, and easy to its effects on the exaggerate, the influence of the climate over the ancient Germanic and Scythian bodies of the natives. Many writers have supposed, and most have allowed, though, as it should seem, without any adequate proof, that the rigorous cold of the north was favourable to long life and generative vigour, that the women were more fruitful, and the human species more prolific, and that the women were more refined, than the more easy and temperate climate.

We may assert, with greater confidence, that the keen air of Germany formed the large and muscled limbs of the natives, who were, in general, of a more lofty stature than the people of the south, gave them a kind of strength better adapted to violent exertions, than the more superficial and tender limbs. The ancients are said to have derived the most remarkable and constitutional bravery, which is the result of nerves and spirits. The severity of a winter campaign, that chilled the courage of the Roman troops, was scarcely felt by these hardy children of the north, who, in their turn, were unable to resist the summer heats, and dissolved away in languor and sickness under the beams of an Italian sun.

There is not any where upon the Origin of the Globe a large tract of country which Germans, we have discovered destitute of inhabitants, or whose first population can be fixed with any degree of historical certainty. Many of the modern nations, the descendants of which have persisted till the present day, are, on the contrary, the result of a long series of ages, of conquests and migrations. Many learned writers have doubted the existence of a Tacitus supposed to derive from that of one of their gods, Tutes. It appears most probable that this word signified simply men, people; a collection of savage tribes would have given themselves no other name; thus the Lypadiers call themselves, Dimag, people, the Sacmoes, Thies; the Tugurii, men, &c. As the name was conveyed to the Romans, (Germani) Cesar found it in use in Gaul, and made use of it as a national name.

Many learned writers have endeavoured to establish the existence of Tacitus. (Hist. rom. Ges. 2, have contended that it was not given to the Teutones, till since the time of Cesar; but Adelung has satisfactorily refuted their allegations, and traced the name of the Fasti capitolini, (see Grauter inscription, 399, where the consul M. Verginius Flaccus has celebrated the war against the Gauls, the Insubrini, and the Germans command by Vindomar. (Suetonius, Vit. Cesare, cap. vi, p. 192.)

The modern philosophers of Sweden seem to have regarded the waters of the Baltic gradually in sink a regular proportion, which they have revered, as a subject worthy of investigation and estimation. In the beginning of the present age, the flat country of Scandinavia must have been covered by the sea; at present, many islands, of various forms and dimensions, such[1] is the name given by Mehl, Filby, and Thrastis, of the vast countries round the Baltic. See M. Bertier, Heures d'histoire de Danemark, de Suède, etc. The author of Dallin's History of Sweden, composed in the Swedish language (Ufaas, 1810) has given the names, the Aulhe de Bo, and M. Pelletier, Hist. des Côtes, tom. i. 419.


I. Histoire Naturelle. tom. [l. p. 79. 146.

2. Caesar de Bell. Gallie. 29, 30. The iniquity of the invasions of the Germani was recognized by the ancient historians, although some of them had traveled in it more than sixty days' journey.

3. C. Cluverius (Germani nationes) estimates the size of the Germans, which are called in his edition, the Subaces, or the ancient Teutones, which are sufficiently described by Tacitus. (Hist. rom. Ges. 2, have contended that it was not given to the Teutones, till since the time of Cesar; but Adelung has satisfactorily refuted their allegations, and traced the name of the Fasti capitolini, (see Grauter inscription, 399, where the consul M. Verginius Flaccus has celebrated the war against the Gauls, the Insubrini, and the Germans command by Vindomar. (Suetonius, Vit. Cesare, cap. vi, p. 192.)

4. C. Gesner. 3, 26. Clever, l. v, p. 14. It is observed that the navigable head of the Danube is sucking in every country from the equator to the poles. The fog seems to approach the nearest to our species in the privilege.

5. The Romans have antiquity in the exercise of their excellent discipline were in a great measure preserved in health and vigour, which may be remarked in the men of the only animal which was not allowed, and in every country from the equator to the poles. The fog seems to approach the nearest to our species in the privilege.

6. The Germans in ancient times, and in modern times, in the exercise of their excellent discipline were in a great measure preserved in health and vigour, which may be remarked in the men of the only animal which was not allowed, and in every country from the equator to the poles. The fog seems to approach the nearest to our species in the privilege.

7. The Tacit. German. 19. 45. The author of the Gaug followed the course of the Danube, and discharged itself on Greece and Asia. Tacitus could distinguish the one Insurbini from the others by the name of Tacitus.

8. The Gaug. These were also among the Danubi. From the
existence from the gradual union of some wandering savages of the Hencyan woods. To assert those savages to have been the spontaneous production of the earth, is, in the alphabetical world, rash inference; it is condemned by religion, and unwarranted by reason.

Fables and conjectures. Such rational doubt is but ill-suited with the genius of popular vanity.

Among the nations who have adopted the Mosaic history of the world, the ark of Noah has been of the same importance as the Bibles and romances to the siege of Troy. On a narrow basis of acknowledged truth, an immense but rude superstructure of fables has been erected; and the wild Irishman, as well as the wild Tartar, could point out the individual son of Japhet, from whose loins his ancestors were lineally descended. The last century abounded with antiquarians of profound learning and easy faith, who, by the dim light of legends and traditions, of conjectures and etymologies, conducted the great grandchildren of Noah from the tower of Babel to the extremities of the globe. Of these judicious critics, one of the most entertaining was Claud Rudbeck, professor in the university of Upsal. Whatever is celebrated either in history or fable, this zealous patriot ascribes to his country. From Sweden (which formed so considerable a part of ancient Germany) the Greeks themselves, and the most polished nation in the world, the Romans, who so profusely favoured by nature, could not long remain desert after the flood. The learned Rudbeck allows the family of Noah a few years to multiply from eight to about twenty thousand persons. He then disperses them into small colonies to replenish the earth, and to propagate the human species. The Bibles or Scandinavian (with which we are more familiar if I am not mistaken, under the command of Askenaz the son of Gomer, the son of Japhet,) distinguished itself by a more than common diligence in the prosecution of this great work. The northern hive cast its swarms over the greatest part of Europe, Africa, and Asia, and the Latin countries, in the blood circulated from the extremities to the heart.

The Germans. But all this well-organized system of rant of letters: German antiquity is annihilated by a single fact, too well attested to admit of any doubt, and of too decisive a nature to leave room for any plausible conjectures, in the account of Tacitus, were acquainte with the use of letters; and the use of time of Caesar, many other tribes of Gallic origin, who could not long withstand the attacks of the Suevi. The Helvetians, who dwelt at the entrance of the Black forest, between the Nayeonce and the Danube, had been driven thence long before the time of Caesar. We must also mention the Fabelles Tevagists, from Languedoc who had established themselves around the Black Forest. The Boeans, or Boli, who had penetrated this forest, and who have left in the word Boeans, traces of their name, were subjugated in the first century, by the Marcomanni. The Boeans establishing themselves in Noricum, were at last united with the Lombards, and received entertaining names among the Acii, Basarom, 

According to Dr. Keating, (History of Ireland, p. 13, 14.) the glorified Boeans was the son of Orcus, the son of Ormus, the son of Runa, the son of Faraun, the son of Fathasun, the son of Magag, the son of Japhet, the son of Noah, founded on the coast of Munster, the 14th day of May, in the year of the world one thousand nine hundred and seventy-eight. Though he succeeded in his great enterprise, the house behaving of his wife rendered his domestic life very unhappy, and provoked him to such a degree, that he killed — his favourite greyhound, in the cellar in which he learned his letters. The run very proper Dux Consorarum, was the first instance of female falsehood and idolatry ever known in Ireland.

The Geography of the Tartary by Abulghazi Bahadur Khan.

The geographer, entitled Atlantica, is uncommonly scarce. Bayle has given two or three extracts from it. Republique des lettres, Janvier et Février, 1683.

Germanii in. 10. Literatur secrete vera pariter ac familiaris ignotum. We may rest contented with this decisive authority, and the obscure descent of the Roman characters. The learned Celsius, a Swede, a Selzar, and a philosopher, was of opinion, that they were nothing more than a portion of a very curious inscription for the case of engraving. See Peloton. Historie des Celtes, l. ii. c. 11. Dictionnare Diplomatique, tom. i. p. 225. We may add, that the oldest Roman inscriptions are supposed to be of the third century, and the most ancient writer who mentions the Roman character, Tacitus. This is not surprising, as the Romans expressed their thoughts in the round. The Romans and Tacitus, were 
Praefaces pinzart Ruff tabellis. Recherches Philosophiques sur les Americains, tom. iii. p. 239. The author of that very curious work is, if I am not mistaken, a German by birth. The Alexandrain Geographer is often extin with the accuracy of Cuvier.

See Caesar, and the learned Mr. Whinber in his History of Man-

cher, vol. 1. Gentilis. 15. When the Germans commenced the Uli of Cologne to cast off the Roman yoke, they were furnished with their earliest freedom to rendezvous, The modern writers, upon the commencement of the Rhine, is a multitude of facts, some of them most curious, and difficult to the belief of the most incredulous reader. The Rhine is a most observable river, with a curved course between arid lines for the case of engraving. See Pelloutier, Historie des Celtes, l. ii. e. 11. Dictionnare Diplomatique, tom. i. p. 225. We may add, that the oldest Roman inscriptions are supposed to be of the third century, and the most ancient writer who mentions the Roman character, Tacitus. This is not surprising, as the Romans expressed their thoughts in the round. The Romans and Tacitus, were
plentifully stocked, supplied its inhabitants with food and exercise. Their monstrous herds of cattle, less remarkable indeed for their beauty than for their utility, formed the principal object of their wealth. A small quantity of corn was sufficient for their wants, the fertility and richness of the earth; the presence of orchards or artificial meadows was unknown to the Germans; nor can we expect any improvements in agriculture from a people, whose property every year experienced a general change by a new division of the arable lands, and who, in that strange operation, avoided disputes, by the most disgraceful of their territory to lie waste and without tillage.

and of the use

Gold, silver, and iron, were extremely of metals. ly scarce in Germany. Its barbarous inhabitants wanted both skill and patience to investigate those rich veins of silver, which have so liberally rewarded the attention of the princes of Brunswick and Saxony. Sweden, which now supplies Europe with iron, was equally ignorant of its own riches; and the appearance of the arms of the Germans furnished a sufficient proof how little iron they were able to bestow on what they must have deemed the noblest use of that metal. The various transactions of peace and war had introduced some Roman coins (chiefly silver) among the borders of the Rhine and Danube; but the more distant tribes were absolutely unacquainted with the use of money, carried on their transactions by barter, and prized their rude earthen vessels as of equal value with the silver vases the presents of Rome to their princes and ambassadors.

To a mind capable of reflection, such leading facts convey more instruction, than a tedious detail of subordinate circumstances. The value of money has been settled by general consent to express our wants and our property; as letters were invented to express our ideas; and both these institutions, by giving a more active energy to the powers and passions of human nature, have contributed to multiply the objects they were designed to represent. The use of gold and silver is in a great measure fictitious; but it would be impossible to enumerate the important and various services which agriculture, and all the arts, have received from iron, when tempered and fashioned by the operation of fire, and the dexterous hand of man. Money, in a word, is the most immediate and most delicious wine to any productive instrument, of human industry; and it is very difficult to conceive by what means a people, neither actuated by the one, norSecond, by the other, could emerge from the grossest barbarism.

Their indolence.

I here contemplate a savage nation in the most parochial part of the globe, a supine indolence and a carelessness of futurity will be found to constitute their general character. In a civilized state, every faculty of man is expanded and exercised; and the great chain of mutual dependence connects and conscious the several members of society. The numerous portion of it is employed in constant and useful labour. The select few, placed by fortune above that necessity, can, however, fill up their time by the pursuits of interest or glory, by the improvement of their estate or of their understanding, by the duties, the pleasures and the falls of social life. The Germans were not possessed of these varied resources. The care of the house and family, the management of the land and cattle, were delegated to the old and the infirm, to women and slaves. The lazy warrior, destitute of every art that might employ his leisure hours, companied his pets in the entrances of sleep and food. And yet, by a powerful diversity of nature, (according to the remark of a writer who had pierced into its darkest recesses,) the same barbarians are by turns the most indolent and the most restless of mankind. They delight in sloth, they de- test tranquillity. The languid soul, oppressed with its own weight, anxiously required some new and powerful sensations to make up for the loss of its amusements adequate to its fierce temper. The sound that summoned the German to arms was grateful to his ear. It roused him from his uncomfortable lethargy, gave him an active pursuit, and, by strong exercise of the body, and violent emotions of the mind, restored him to the more lively sensations of his existence. In the dull intervals of peace, these barbarians were immoderately addicted to deep gaming and excessive drinking; but both of which, by different means, the one by inflaming their passions, the other by extinguishing their reason, alike relieved them from the pain of their lazy life. They gloried in passing whole days and nights at table; and the blood of friends and relations often stained their numerous and drunken assemblies. Their debts of honour (for in that light they have transmitted to us those of play) they discharged with the most romantic fidelity. The desperate gamester, who would stake his person and liberty on a last throw of the dice, patently submitted to the decision of fortune, and suffered himself to be bound, chastised, and sold into remote slavery, by his weaker but more lucky antagonist.

Strong beer, a liquor extracted with their taste for very little art from wheat or barley, and strong liquors, corrupted (as it is strongly expressed by Tacitus) into a certain semblance of wine, was sufficient for the gross purposes of German debauchery. But those who had tasted the rich wines of Italy, and afterwards of Gaul, sighed for the more delicious species of intoxication. They attempted not however, (as has since been executed with so much success,) to naturalize the vine on the banks of the Rhine and Danube; nor did they endeavour to procure by industry the materials of an advantageous commerce. To solicit by labour what might be ravished by arms, was esteemed unworthy of the German spirit. The intermeceral thirst of strong liquors often urged the barbarians to invade the provinces on which art or nature had bestowed those much envied presents. The Tuscan who betrayed his country to the Celtic nations, attracted them to Italy by the prospect of the rich fruits and the productions of their art; without attempting an assault.

And in the same manner the German auxiliaries, invited into France during the civil wars of the sixteenth century, were allured by the promise of plentiful quariers in the provinces of Champagne and Burgundy. Drunkenness, the most Hibernian, but not the most dangerous of our vices, was sometimes capable, in a less civilized state of mankind, of occasioning a battle, a war, or a revolution.

The climate of ancient Germany has been mild and temperate, by the labour of ten centuries from the time of Charlemagne. The same extent of ground which at present maintains, in ease and plenty, a million of husbandmen and artificers, was unable to supply an hundred thousand lazy warriors with the simple necessities of life. The Germans abandoned their im- proving forests to the purposes of husbandry, employed in pasturage the most considerable part of their territory, bestowed on the small remainder a rude and careless
cultivation, and then accused the scantiness and sterility of a country that refused to maintain the multitude of its inhabitants. When the return of famine severely admonished them of the importance of the arts, the national distress was sometimes alleviated by the emigration of a third, perhaps, or a fourth part of their people. The necessities of life and the enjoyment of property are the pledges which bind a civilized people to an improved country. But the Germans, who carried with them what they most valued, their arms, their cattle, and their women, cheerfully abandoned the vast silence of their woods for the unbounded liberty and enjoyment. The innumerable swarms that issued, or seemed to issue, from the great storehouse of nations, were multiplied by the fears of the vanquished, and by the credulity of succeeding ages. And from facts thus exaggerated, an opinion was gradually established, and has been supported by writers of distinguished reputation, that, in the age of Caesar and Tacitus, the inhabitants of the north were far more numerous than they are in our days. A more serious inquiry into the causes of population seems to have convinced modern philosophers of the falsehood, and indeed the impossibility, of the supposition. To this question the minds of Robertson and of Voltaire can oppose the equal names of Robertson and Hume.

I. A warlike nation like the Germans, German freedom, without either cities, letters, arts, or money, found some compensation for this savage state in the enjoyment of liberty. Their poverty secured them to the society of their desires and their possessions are the strongest fetters of despotism. Among the Suiones (says Tacitus) riches are held in honour. They are therefore subject to an absolute monarch, who, instead of intrusting his people with the free use of arms, as is practised in the rest of Germany, commands the whole safe custody not of any citizen, or even a freeman, but of a slave. The neighbours of the Suiones, the Sitiones, are sunk even below servitude; they obey a woman. In the mention of these exceptions, the great historian sufficiently acknowledges the general theory of government. They are only at a loss to conceive by what means riches and despotism could penetrate into a remote corner of the north, and extinguish the generous flame that blazed with such freedom on the frontier of the Roman provinces; or how the ancestors of those Danes and Norwegians, so distinguished for their valor and unconquerable spirit, could thus tamely resign the great charter of German liberty. Some tribes, however, on the coast of the Baltic, acknowledged the authority of kings, though without relinquishing the rights of men; but in the far greater part of Germany, the form of government was a democracy, tempered, indeed, and controlled, not so much by general and positive laws, as by the occasional descendant of birth or valour, of eloquence or superstition.

Civil governments, in their first institutions, are voluntary associations for mutual defence. To obtain the desired end, it is absolutely necessary that each individual should con- sent to the measures, and be willing to submit to the inconvenience of his person, and to the punishment or loss of property which may arise from this submission and action to the judgment of the greater number of his associates. The German tribes were contented with this rule but liberal outline of political society. As soon as a youth, born of free parents, had attained the age of manhood, he was introduced into the government, and was invested with a shield and spear, and adopted as an equal and worthy member of the military commonwealth. The assembly of the warriors of the tribe was convened at stated seasons, or on sudden emergencies. The trial of public offences, the election of magistrates, and the great business of peace and war, were determined by its independent voice. Sometimes, indeed, these important questions were previously considered, and prepared in a more select council of the principal chieftains. The magistrates might deliberate and persuade, the people only could resolve and execute; and the result was by a vote of thirds we can oppose the equal names of Robertson and Hume.

1. Paul Diaramus, c. i.-3. Machiarel. Davila, and the rest of Paul's followers, represent these emigrations too much as regular and concerted measures. 2 Mr. Wm. Temple and Montesquieu have indulged in this subject, the usual levellines of their fancies. 3 See Tac. Hist. i. Mariana, Hist. Hispan. 1. c. 1. 4 Robertson's Charles V. Hume's Political Essays. 5 Tac. Germ. 44. 45. Frislandians (who dedicated his supplement to Liey to Christian of Sweden) thinks proper to be very angry with the Romans who expressed so very little reverence for unanimous opinions. 6 The Suiones and the Stiones were the ancient inhabitants of Sweden. They are said not to appertain to the race of the Suevi, but to that of the Nw. Sueti, or the Quibrones, whom the Suevi, in very early ages, expelled from their own country into the west, and having conquered the north, mingled themselves finally with the Suevi and with the Goths, who have left traces of their name and of their power in the island of Gotland. 7 [Gothland.] 8 Why we suspect that superstition was the parent of despotism? The descendants of the Suebians (whose range is said to have extended till the year 1060) are said to have reigned in Sweden above a thousand years. There is an allusion to the religion and emigration of the Suebiga in Tacitus. In the year 1122, I find a singular law, prohibiting the use and profession of false gods, except by the kings, and provided that it was enforced by the presence of reviving an old institution? See Jahn's History of Sweden in the Bibliotheque Raisonne, tom. l. c. 4. 9 Tacit. Germ. c. 43. 10 Id. c. 11-15. Ac. 11 Caesar, in an expression of Tacitus, perturbatione into perturbatione. The correction is equally just and ingenious. 12 Even in our ancient parliaments, the house often carried a question not so much by the number of votes, as by that of their armed followers. 13 Cesár de Bell. Gall. vii. 23. 14 Minimus controversiar. in a very happy expression of Cæsar's. Bassa sub nobis, dices et auxistro summo. Tacit. Germ. 7. 15 Clever. Germ. Ant. i. c. 30. 16 The comparative view of the powers more absum of the magistrates, in two remarkable over the property instances, is alone sufficient to repre- sent the whole system of German man.
The disposal of the landed property within their district was absolutely vested in their hands, and these districts, as we have seen, were termed by Tacitus "comitati," or natural divisions. At the same time they were not authorized to punish with death, to imprison, or even to strike, a private citizen. A people thus jealous of their persons, and careless of their possessions, must have been totally destitute of industry and the arts, but animated with a high sense of honour and independence.

Voluntary entertainment. The Germans only respected those entertainments which they imposed on themselves. The most obscure soldier resisted with disdain the authority of the magistrates. "The noblest members of the tribes, according to the rank of their companions of some renowned chief, to whom they devoted their arms and service. A noble emulation prevailed among the companions, to obtain the first place in the esteem of their chief; amongst the chiefs, to acquire the greatest number of valiant companions. To be ever paid by a band of soldiers, they would accept the pride and strength of the chiefs, their ornament in peace, their defence in war. The glory of such distinguished heroes diffused itself beyond the narrow limits of their own tribe. Presents and embassies solicited their friendship, and the fame of their arms was spread to every side to the utmost of their reach. In the hour of danger it was shameful for the chief to be surpassed in valour by his companions; shameful for the companions not to equal the value of their chief. To survive his fall in battle, was indelible infamy. To protect his person, and to adorn his glory with the trophies of their own exploits, were the most sacred of their duties. The chiefs combated for victory, the companions for the chief. The noblest warriors, whenever their native country was sunk in the laziness of peace, maintained their numerous bands of armed men to the last vestige of the sex; a hero's less spirit, and to acquire renown by voluntary dangers. Gifts worthy of soldiers, the warlike steed, the bloody and ever victorious lance, were the rewards which the companions claimed from the liberality of their chief. The rude plenty of his hospitable board dispersed amongst the sound of arms, the various forms of destruction, and the honourable wounds of their sons and husbands. Fainting arums of Germans have, more than once, been driven back upon the enemy, by the generous despair of the women, who dreaded death much less than servitude. If the day was irrecoverably lost, they well knew how to dispose of themselves, and their children, with their own hands, from an insulting victor. Heroines of such a cast may claim our admiration; but they were most assuredly neither lovely, nor very susceptible of love. Whilst they affected to emulate the virtuous examples of men, they must have renounced that attractive softness, in which principally consists the charm and weakness of women. Conscious pride taught the German females to suppress every tender emotion that stood in competition with honour, and the first honour of the sex has ever been that of chastity. The sentiments and conduct of these high-spirited matrons may, at once, be considered as a cause, as an effect, and as a proof of the general character of the nation. Female courage, however it may be raised by fanaticism, or confirmed by habit, can be

8 The adulteress was whipped through the village. Neither wealth nor beauty could inspire compassion, or procure her a second husband. 18, 19.

9 Ovid employs two hundred lines in the research of places the most favourable to love. Above all, he considers the theatre as the best adapted to collect the beauties of Rome, and to melt them into tenderness and sensuality.

10 Tacit. Hist. 40, 3. The marriage present was a yoke of oxen, horses, and arms. See Germ. c. 19. Tacitus is somewhat too florid on the subject.

11 The change of name, for the first time of the Tectones, was accompanied by considerable correction.

12 Tacit. Germ. c. 7. Plutarch in Mosis. Before the wives of the Tectones destroyed themselves and their children, they had offered to surrender, on condition that they should be received as the slaves of the vestal virgins.
only a faint and imperfect imitation of the manly

duty of distinguishing the age or country in which

The religions system of the Germans

was dictated by their wants, their

fears, and their ignorance. The adored the great

visible objects and agents of nature, the sun and the

moon, the fire and the earth; together with those

imaginary deities, who were supposed to preside over

the most important occupations of human life. They

were persuaded, by some ridiculous arts of divination,

they could discover the will of the superior

beings, and that human sacrifices were the most pre-

cious and acceptable offering to their altars. Some

appliance has been hastily bestowed on the sublime

notion, entertained by the Deity, by which they

neither confined within the walls of a temple, nor

represented by any human figure; but when we

recollect, that the Germans were unskilled in archi-

tecture, and totally unacquainted with the art of sculp-

ture, we shall readily assign the triumph of an idea,

which arose not so much from a superiority of reason,

as from a want of ingenuity. The only tem-

ples in Germany were dark and ancient groves, con-

secrated by the reverence of succeeding generations.

Their secret gloom, the imagined residence of an in-

visible power, presenting no object of direct

worship, impressed the mind with a still deeper

sense of religious horror; and the priests, rude and

illiterate as they were, had been taught by experience

the use of every artifice that could preserve and fortify

impressions so well suited to their interest.

12 Tacitus, c. 7. These standards were only the heads of

the wild beasts, and felt a momentary glow of martial ardor.

But how faint, how cold is the sensation which a

peaceful mind can receive from solitary study! It

was in the hour of battle, or in the feast of victory, that

the bards celebrated the glory of heroes of ancient
days, the ancestors of those warlike chieftains, who

listened with delight to the voices of their warriors,

impressed by the sound of their martial strains.

The view of arms and of danger heightened the

effect of the military song; and the passions which it tended to

excite, the desire of fame, and the contempt of death, were the habitual sentiments of a

German mind.

Such was the situation, and such were the

manners, of the ancient Germans. Their climate, their want of learning, of

arts, and of laws, their notions of honour,

of gallantry, and of religion, their sense of freedom,

the dependency of their characters, were all

attributed to form a people of military heroes. And yet we

find, that, during more than two hundred and fifty

years that elapsed from the defeat of Varus to the

most daring and the most unjust enterprises, by

the approbation of Heaven, and full assurances of

success. The consecrated standards, long revered in

the grove of superstition, were placed in the front of

each battle, and the soldiers were taught to

direct exhortations to the gods of war and of thunder. In

the faith of soldiers (and such were the Germans)
cowardice is the most unpardonable of sins. A brave

man was the worthy favourite of their martial deities;

the wretch, who had lost his shield, was alike banished

from the sacred precincts and the civil assemblies of

his countrymen. Some tribes of the north seem to have

embraced the doctrine of transmigration, others

imagined a gross paradise of immortal drunkenness.

All agreed, that a life spent in arms, and a glorious
death in battle, were the best preparations for a happy

future, either in this or in another world.

The immortality so vainly promised by

the priests, was, in some degree, conferred by the bards. That singular order of men

has most deservedly attracted the notice of all who

have attempted to investigate the antiquities of the

Celts, the Scandinavians, and the Germans. Their

genius and character, as well as the reverence paid to

that important office, have been sufficiently illustrated.

But we cannot so easily express, or even conceive, the

enthusiasm of arms and glory which they kindled in

their breasts. They then, in the heat of the

moment, under the influence of the

pleasing idea, and the second and deeper

sight, the ardor of the brave might

be carried even to excess, and the

ruler of the universe was by this

imagination, which renders

fear, to the second sense, which is peace.

barbarians incapable of conceiving or

embracing the useful restraints of laws, exposes them

naked and unarmored to the blind terrors of superstition.

The German priests, improving this favourable tem-


der of their countrymen, had assumed a jurisdiction

over their ecclesiastical courts, and even in temporal concerns, which the magistrate

could not venture to exercise; and the haughty warrior

patiently submitted to the lash of correction, when it

was inflicted, not by any human power, but by the

immediate order of the god of war. The defects of
civil policy were sometimes supplied by the interpo-
sition of ecclesiastical authority. The latter was

constantly exerted to maintain silence and decency in the

popular assemblies; and was sometimes extended to a

more enlarged concern for the national welfare. A

schooldom was occasionally established by

present countries of Mecklenburgh and Pomerania.
The unknown symbol of the Earth, covered with a

thick veil, was placed on a carriage drawn by cows;

and in this manner the goddess, whose common residence

was in the island of Rugen, visited several adjacent

tribes of her worshippers. During her progress

the sound of war was hushed, quarrels were suspend-

ed, arms laid aside, and the restless Germans had an

opportunity of enjoying the blessings of peace and

harmony. The true of God, so often and so insensibly pul-

ing its way into the minds of the seventh century, was an

obvious imitation of this ancient custom.

But the influence of religion was far

more powerful to influence, than to mod-

erate, the fierce passions of the Germans. Interest

and fanaticism often prompted its ministers to

sanctify
reign of Decius, these formidable barbarians made few considerable attempts, and not any material impression, on the luxurious and enslaved provinces of the empire. Their propaganda of arms and discipline, and their fury was diverted by the intestine divisions of ancient Germany.

WANT OF ARMS.

I. It has been observed, with ingenuity, and not without truth, that the command of iron soon gives a notion the command of gold. But the rude tribes of Germany, alike desistate of both those valuable metals, were reduced slowly to acquire, by their unassisted strength, the possession of the one as well as the other. The face of a German army displayed their poverty of iron. Swords, and the longer kind of lances, they could seldom use. Their shoes (as they called them) were wood, or the worst leather. They were long spears headed with a sharp but narrow iron point, and which, as occasion required, they either darted from a distance, or pushed in close onset. With this spear, and with a shield, their cavalry was contented. A multitude of darts, scattered with incredible force, were an additional resource of the infantry. Their military dress, when they wore any, was nothing more than a loose mantle. A variety of colours was the only ornament of their wooden or osier shields. Few of the chiefs were distinguished by cuirasses, scarce any by helmets. Though the horses of Germany were in esteem of luxury had engaged in the skilful evolutions of the Roman menage, several of the nations obtained renown by their cavalry; but, in general, the principal strength of the Germans consisted in their infantry, which was drawn up in several deep columns, according to the distinction of tribes, and of discipline of fatigue or delay, these half-formed warriors rushed to battle with dissonant shouts and disregarded ranks; and sometimes, by the effort of native valour, prevailed over the constrained and most artificial bravery of the Roman auxiliaries. But as the barbarians poured forth their whole souls on the first onset, they knew not how to rally or to retire. A repulse was a sure defeat; and a defect was most commonly sure destruction. When we recollect the complete armour of the Roman soldiers, their discipline, exercises, evolutions, fortiﬁed capacity of the infantry, it appears a just matter of surprise, how an unassisted valour of the barbarians could dare to encounter in the ﬁeld the strength of the legions, and the various troops of the auxiliaries, which seconded their operations. The contest was too unequal, till the Romans—auxiliaries, from their own national importance, and a spirit of disobedience and sedition had relaxed the discipline, of the Roman armies. The introduction of barbarian auxiliaries into those armies, was a measure attended with very obvious dangers, as it might gradually instruct the Germans in the arts of war and of policy. Although they were admitted in small numbers, and with the strictest precaution, the example of Civilis was proper to convince the Romans, that the danger was not imaginary, and that their precautions were not always sufﬁcient. During the civil wars that followed the death of Nero, that artful and intrepid Batavian, whom his errors condescended to engage with Hannibal and Sertorius, formed a great design of freedom and ambition. Eight Batavian cohorts, renowned in the wars of Britain and Italy, repaired to his standard. He introduced an army of Germans into Gaul, prevailed in the powerful cities of the Danube and Langres to embrace his cause, defeated the legions, destroyed their fortiﬁed camps, and employed against the Romans the military knowledge which he had acquired in their service. He was checked in his insurrection, he yielded to the power of the empire, Civilis secured himself and his country by an honourable treaty. The Batavians still continued to occupy the islands of the Rhine, the allies, not the servants, of the Roman monarchy.

II. The strength of ancient Germany Civil dissensions appears formidable, when we consider of Germany the effects that might have been produced by its united effort. The wide extent of country might very possibly contain a million of warriors, as all who were of age bear arms were of a temper to use them. But the dissensions of its own inhabitants, and the inability of cutting any plan of national greatness, was agitated by various and often hostile intentions. Germany was divided into more than forty independent states; and, even in each state, the union of the several tribes was extremely loose and precarious. The barbarians were easily provoked; they knew not how to forgive an injury, much less an insult; their resentments were bloody and implacable. The casual disputes that so frequently happened in their tumultuous parties of hunting or drinking, were sufﬁcient to inflame the minds of whole nations; the private feud of any considerable chieftain, itself a leader of his followers and allies. To chastise the insolent, or to plunder the defenceless, were alike causes of war. The most formidable states of Germany affected to encompass their territories with a wide frontier of solitude and devastation. The awful distance preserved by their neighbours, attested the terror of their arms. Impartial famines, impartial wants of fortune or of discipline, delay, these half-formed warriors rushed to battle with dissonant shouts and disregarded ranks; and sometimes, by the effort of native valour, prevailed over the constrained and most artiﬁcial bravery of the Roman auxiliaries. But as the barbarians poured forth their whole souls on the ﬁrst onset, they knew not how to rally or to retire. A repulse was a sure defeat; and a defect was most commonly sure destruction. When we recollect the complete armour of the Roman soldiers, their discipline, exercises, evolutions, fortiﬁed capacity of the infantry, it appears a just matter of surprise, how an unassisted valour of the barbarians could dare to encounter in the ﬁeld the strength of the legions, and the various troops of the auxiliaries, which seconded their operations. The contest was too unequal, till the Romans—auxiliaries, from their own national importance, and a spirit of disobedience and sedition had relaxed the discipline, of the Roman armies. The introduction of barbarian auxiliaries into those armies, was a measure attended with very obvious dangers, as it might gradually instruct the Germans in the arts of war and of policy. Although they were admitted in small numbers, and with the strictest precaution, the example of Civilis was proper to convince the Romans, that the danger was not imaginary, and that their precautions were not always sufﬁcient. During the civil wars that followed the death of Nero, that artful and intrepid Batavian, whom his errors condescended to engage with Hannibal and Sertorius, formed a great design of freedom and ambition. Eight Batavian cohorts, renowned in the wars of Britain and Italy, repaired to his standard. He introduced an army of Germans into Gaul, prevailed in the powerful cities of the Danube and Langres to embrace his cause, defeated the legions, destroyed their fortiﬁed camps, and employed against the Romans the military knowledge which he had acquired in their service. He was checked in his insurrection, he yielded to the power of the empire, Civilis secured himself and his country by an honourable treaty. The Batavians still continued to occupy the islands of the Rhine, the allies, not the servants, of the Roman monarchy.

**Notes:**

* Misila spargunt, Tacit. Germ. c. 6. Either that historian used a vague expression, or he meant that they were thrown at.

* It was their principal distinction from the Sarmatians, who generally fought in battle.

* The relation of this enterprise occupies a great part of the fourth book of Tacitus, and is more remarkable for its eloquence than perspicuity. Sir Henry Savile, in his notes, corrected several inaccuracies.

* Tacit. Hist. iv. 12. Like them, he had lost an eye.

* The Batraci were a tribe of the Non-Suevi, who dwelt south of the Duchy of Oldenburg and of Lomansburgh, upon the banks of the Lippe, and among the Hartz mountains. It was among them that the emperor Constantine was present Velleda, who had been a pupil of the Druids.

* Originale is the common reading, but good sense, Lipsius, and some MSS. declare the true reading to be Originatus.

* Tacit. Germ. c. 33. The river Abbe de la Betere is very angry with Tacitus, talks of the devil who was a murderer from the beginning. &c. &c.
defeated by the stronger bias of private jealousy and interest. 8

The general conspiracy which terrified the empire in the reign of Marcus Antoninus. 9

Antoninus, comprehended almost all the nations of Germany, and even Sarmatia, from the mouth of the Rhine to that of the Danube. 9 It is impossible for us to determine whether this hastily confederated army was formed by necessity, by reason, or by passion; but we may rest assured, that the barbarians were neither allured by the indolence, nor provoked by the ambition, of the Roman monarch. This dangerous invasion required all the firmness and vigilance of Marcus. He fixed generals of ability in the several stations of attack, and assumed in person the conduct of the war against the most important province on the Upper Danube. After a long and doubtful conflict, the spirit of the barbarians was subdued. The Quadi and the Marcomanni, 10 who had taken the lead in the war, were the most severely punished in its catastrophe. They were commanded to retire five miles, 8 from their own home, on the farther bank of the Danube, and to deliver up the flower of the youth, who were immediately sent into Britain, a remote island, where they might be secured as hostages, and useful as soldiers. 5 On the frequent rebellions of the Quadi and Marcomanni, the irritated emperor resolved to reduce the country into the union of the Roman province. His designs were disappointed by death. This formidable league, however, the only one that appears in the two first centuries of the imperial history, was entirely dissipated, without leaving any traces behind in Germany.

Distracted by the great vicissitudes of the times, the German tribes, who had confined themselves to the general outlines of the manners of Germany, without attempting to describe or to distinguish the various tribes which filled that great country in the time of Caesar, or of Trajan. As the ancient, or as new tribes, successively present themselves in the series of this history, we shall concisely mention their origin, their situation, and their particular character. Modern nations are fixed and permanent societies, connected among themselves by laws and government, bound to their native soil by arts and agriculture. The German tribes were voluntary and fluctuating associations of soldiers, almost of savages. The same territory often changed its inhabitants in the tide of conquest and emigration. The same communities, uniting in a plan of defence or invasion, several tribes united to form the confederacy. The dissolution of an ancient confederacy restored to the independent tribes their peculiar but long-forgotten appellation. A victorious state often communicated its own name to a vanquished people. Sometimes crowds of volunteers flocked from all parts to the standard of a favourite leader: his camp became their country, and some circumstances of the enterprise soon gave a common denomination to the mixed multitude. The distinctions of the ferocious invaders were perpetually varied by themselves, and confounded by the astonished subjects of the Roman empire. 2

Wars, and the administration of public affairs, are the principal subjects of history; but the number of persons interested in these busy scenes, is very different, according to the different conditions of mankind. In great monarchies, millions of obedient subjects pursue their useful occupations in peace, under a government which is supported, not only by the consent, but also by the force, of the people, and the mildness of which is equally necessary to preserve order and to ensure tranquillity. 

CHAPTER X.

The emperors Decius, Gallus, Ermilius, Valerian, and Gallienus—The general insurrection of the barbarians. The thirty tyrants.

From the great secular games celebrated by Philip, to the death of the emperor Galerius, there elapsed a space of thirty years. The empire was at length, after the short interval of the great republic, again divided into three parts, each of which was separated by civil dissensions, and united by a common danger. The barbarians, remorseless invaders of the ancient Roman territories, were at length reduced to the condition of subjects. The general interregnum of this period, during which nothing seems to have occurred that is worthy of remark, may be explained by the weakness and vacillation of the Roman emperors. During this calamitous period, every instant of time was marked, every province of the Roman world was afflicted, by barbarous invaders and military tyrants, and the ruined empire appeared to have been divided by the last and fatal moment of its dissolution. The confusion of the times, and the scarcity of authentic memorials, oppose equal difficulties to the historian, who attempts to preserve a clear and unbroken thread of narration. Surrounded with imperfect fragments, always concise, often obscure, and sometimes contradictory, he is reduced to collect, to compare, and to conjecture: and though he ought never to place his conjectures in the rank of facts, yet the knowledge of human nature, and of the sure operation of its fierce and unrestrained passions, might, on some occasions, supply the want of historical materials.

There is not, for instance, any difficulty in the emperor Philip in conceiving, that the successive murders of so many emperors had loosened all the ties of allegiance between the prince and people; that all the emperors of Philip were disposed to imitate the example of their master; and that the captive army, long since habituated to frequent and violent revolutions, might every day raise to the throne the most obscure of their fellow-soldiers. History can only add, that the rebellion against the emperor Philip broke out in the summer of the year two hundred and forty-nine, among the legions of Mysias: and that a subaltern officer, named Marinus, was the object of their seditious choice. 4

Philip was alarmed. He dreaded lest the treason of the Mysian army should prove the first spark of a general conflagration. Distressed with the consciousness of his guilt and of his danger, he communicated the intelligence to the senate. A gloomy silence prevailed, the effect of fear, and perhaps of disaffection: till at length Decius, one of the empire, roveth, of the assembly, assuming a spirit worthy of the emperor, of his noble extraction, ventured to Decius. He discovered more intrepidity than the emperor was to possess. He treated the whole business with contempt, as a hasty and incon siderate

8 Many traces of this policy may be discovered in Taritius and Dion; and many more may be inferred from the principles of human nature.

9 Hist. August. p. 31. Ammian. Marcelli, I, xxi, c. 5. Aurel. Victor. The emperor Marcus was reduced to sell the rich furniture of the palace, and to enlist slaves and robbers.

10 The Marcomanni, a colony, who from the banks of the Rhine, originated the empire, were the first to revolt. After the death of Marcus, a general and ancient mingled monarchy under their king Marobaudus. See Strabo, I. vii. De Res. Civ. Ili. xvi. Annuus, A. D. 268.

11 Mr. Wetton (History of Rome, p. 166.) increases the prohibition to ten times the distance. His reasoning is specious, but not conclusive. Five miles were sufficient for a barbarian barrier.

12 Dion, I. xxvi. and Ixii.

13 See Procop. war, ch. ii. On the origin and migrations of nations. See the Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, toms. xviii, p. 490. It is important that the antiquarian and the philosopher are so happily blended.
null, and Philip's rival as a phantom of royalty, who in a very few days would be destroyed by the same inscrutability that had created him. The speedy completion of the prophecy inspired Philip with a just esteem for so able a counsellor; and Decius appeared to him the only person capable of restoring peace and discipline to an army, whose tumultuous spirit did not immediately subside after the death of Marcellus, who, long resistant to his own nomination, seems to have insinuated the danger of presenting a leader of merit, to the angry and apprehensive minds of the soldiers; and his prediction was again confirmed by the event. The legions of Masca forced their judge to become the executioner of a public offender, and their own alternative of death or the purple. His subsequent conduct, after that decisive measure, was unavoidable. He conducted, or followed, his army to the confines of Italy, whither Philip, collecting all his force to repel the formidable competitor whom he had raised up, advanced to meet him. The imperial troops were superior in number; but the rebels formed an army of veterans, commanded by an able and experienced leader. Philip was either killed in the battle, or put to death a few days afterwards at Verona. His son and associate in the empire was massacred at Rome by the victorious army of Decius. It was impossible they could enjoy more favourable circumstances than the ambition of that age can usually plead, was universally acknowledged by the senate and provinces. It is reported, that, immediately after his reluctant acceptance of the title of Augustus, he had assured Philip by a private message, of his innocence and loyalty, solemnly protesting, that, on his arrival in Italy, he would resign the imperial ornaments, and return to the condition of an obedient subject. His professions might be sincere. But in the situation where fortune had placed him, it was scarcely possible that he could either forgive or be forgiven. The emperor Decius had employed a few months in the works of peace and the administration of justice, when he was summoned to the banks of the Danube by the invasion of the Goths. This is the first considerable occasion in which history mentions that great people, who afterwards broke the Roman power, sacked the capital, reigned in Gaul, Spain, and Italy. So memorable was the part which they acted in the subversion of the Western empire, that the name of Goths is frequently but improperly used as a general appellation to denote a savage people. The Goths, therefore, were only the remnant of the nations that subsisted in the Edda, a system of mythology, compiled in Iceland about the thirteenth century, and studied by the learned of Denmark and Sweden, as the most valuable remains of their ancient traditions.

Notwithstanding the mysterious oblations and sacrificial rites of the Edda, we can easily disentangle two persons confounded under the name of Odin: the god of war, and the great legislator of Scandinavia. The latter, the Mahomet of the north, instituted a religion, and converted the entire population of the inhabitants of Scandinavia.

The Goths from Scythia. In the beginning of the sixth century, and after the conquest of Italy, the Scyths. In possession of present greatness, very naturally indulged themselves in the prospect of past and of future glory. They wished to preserve the memory of their ancestors, and to transmit to posterity their own achievements. The principal minister of the court of Ravenna, the learned Cassiodorus, gratified the inclination of the conquerors in a Gothic history, which consisted of twelve books, now reduced to the imperfect abridgment of Jornandes. These writers, perhaps, as well as the Goths themselves, were over the misfortunes of the nation, celebrated its success, and adorned the triumph with many Asiatic trophies, that more properly belonged to the people of Scythia. On the faith of ancient songs, the uncertain, but the only, the memorials of barbarians, they dedicated to the fortunes of the Goths from the vast island, or peninsula, of Scandinavia. That extreme country of the north was not unknown to the conquerors of Italy: the ties of ancient consanguinity had been strengthened by recent offices of friendship; and a Scandinavian king had cheerfully abdicated his savage greatness, that he might pass the remainder of his days in the peaceful and polished court of Ravenna. Many ancient vestiges, which he was enabled to raise, as a popular vanity, attest the ancient residence of the Goths in the countries beyond the Baltic. From the time of the geographer Ptolemy, the southern part of Sweden seems to have continued in the possession of the less enterprising remnant of the nation, and a large territory between the Elbe and the Baltic is given to them by Zosimus. During the middle ages, (from the ninth to the twelfth century), whilst Christianity was advancing with a slow progress into the north, the Goths and the Swedes composed two distinct and sometimes hostile members of the same monarchy. The latter of these two names has prevailed without extinguishing the former. The Swedes, who might well be satisfied with their own fame in arms, have, in every age, claimed the kindred glory of the Goths. In a moment of discontent against the court of Rome, Charles the Twelfth insinuated, that his victorious troops were not degenerated from their heroic ancestors, who had already subdued the mistress of the world.

Till the end of the eleventh century, Religion of the a celebrated temple subsisted at Upsal, the most considerable town of the Swedes and Goths. It was enriched with the gold which the Scandinavians and acquired in their practical adventures, and sanctioned by the unanimous representations of the three principal deities, the god of war, the goddess of generation, and the god of thunder. In the general festival, that was solemnized every ninth year, nine animals of every species (without excepting the human) were sacrificed, in their Bleeding and drowning, to the three Goths.

The only traces that now subsist of this barbaric superstition are contained in the Edda, a system of mythology, compiled in Iceland about the thirteenth century, and studied by the learned of Denmark and Sweden, as the most valuable remains of their ancient traditions.

On the authority of Abbevius, Jornandes quotes some old Gothic chronicles in verse. [See Sik. Crit. c. 4.]

(The Goths inhabited Scandinavia, but were not originally inhabitants of that country.) The great nation was anciently of the race of the Suevi—it occupied in the time of Tacitus, and a long time before, Mecklenburg, Pomeraia, Southern Prussia, and the north coast of Poland. A large portion of the North Sea, and the great island of Gotland, which is the birthplace of the Goths, was inhabited by their ancestors, to whom we are indebted for much of what we know of their origin; the above mentioned island, and a large country on the east of it, was called Suevia, and is divided between Sweden and Denmark. It was inhabited by the Suevi, and afterwards by the Goths. The Goths, in the thirteenth century, when the migrations of the common enemies of the Suevi and the Vandals had subsided, compelled the invincible valor of Odin, by his persuasive eloquence, and by the fame, which he acquired, of a most skilful magician. The faith that he

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1. His birth at Bacula, a little village in Pannonia. (Epist. i. 4. Plut. De Cato, 48.)
2. It is supposed to have been in the year 104.
3. See in the Prolegomena of Grotius some large extracts from Adam of Bremen, and Fato-Uramnianus. The former wrote in the year 1077, the latter about the year 1300.
4. Voltaire, Histoire de Charles XII, 1. iii. When the Archers delivered the aid of England to Poland, they were allowed to return, with the words, that they always represented that conqueror as the true successor of Attila. Hark's History of Gustavus, vol. ii. p. 200. See Adam of Bremen, Fata-Uramnianus, p. 101. The temple of Upsal was destroyed by Ingo king of Sweden, who began his reign in the year 1030, and continued four years, when a Christian cathedral was erected on its ruins. See Sjolin's History of Sweden, in the Bibliotheca Rinascen.
The Decline and Fall

Chapter X

had propagated, during a long and prosperous life, he confirmed by a voluntary death. Appreciative of the ingenious approach of disease and infirmity, he resolved to expire as became a warrior. In a solemn assembly the Vandals pronounced him dead in nine mortal places, hastening away (as he asserted with his dying voice) to prepare the feast of heroes in the palace of the god of war. The native and proper habitation of the Scythians and of the Scythian race, that was situated on the Baltic, is said to have been established by the wanderings of Odin, the Fianna, and the Cymric. The Vandals, descendents of Odin, held the land, perhaps, with more sincere devotion. Odin, as it was supposed, was the chief of a tribe of barbarians that dwelt on the banks of the lake Mevotis, till the fall of the Huns and the fall of the arms of Pompey marked the north with servitude. That Odin, having with indignant fury to a power which he was unable to resist, conducted his tribe from the fringes of the Assur, all the inhabitants of Scandinavia, with the great design of forming, in a short and inconceivable period, a new freedom, a new religion and a people, which, in some remote age, might be subservient to his immortal renown; when his invincible Gods, armed with martial fanaticism, should issue in numerous swarms from the neighbourhood of the polar circle, to chaste the oppressors of mankind.

If so many successive generations of Natives were capable of preserving a faint tradition of their Scandinavian origin, we must not expect, from such uncouth Barbarians, any distinct account of the time and circumstances of their emigration. To cross the Baltic was an easy and natural attempt. The inhabitants of Sweden were masters of a sufficient number of large vessels, with oars, and the distance is little more than one hundred miles from Carlsecron to the nearest ports of Scania. From its strength, they had embarked on firm and solid ground. At least as early as the Christian era, and as late as the age of the Antonines, the Goths were established towards the mouth of the Vistula, and in that fertile province where the commercial cities of Thorn, Ething, Koningtonberg, and Dantsick, were long afterwards founded. The westward march of the Goths, the numerous tribes of the Vandals were spread along the banks of the Oder, and the sea-coast of Pomerania and Mecklenburg. A striking resemblance of manners, complexion, religion, and language, show that the Vandals and Goths were originally one great people. The latter appear to have been subdivided into Ostrogoths, Visigoths, and Gepidæ. The distinction among the Vandals was more strongly marked by the independent names of Hurni, Burgundians, Lombards, and a variety of other petty tribes. The Vandals, in the course of the age, expanded themselves into powerful monarchies.

In the age of the Antonines, the Goths from Prusia were still seated in Prussia. About the reign of Alexander Severus, the Roman province of Dacia had already experienced their proximity by frequent incursions of their frontiers. The Vandals, traversing the Danube, conducted them into the interior of Maecian, and by the Galaudet. This migration of the Vandals from the Baltic to the Euxine, but the cause that produced it lies concealed among the various motives which actuate the conduct of unsettled barbarians. Either a pestilence, or a famine, a victory, or a defeat, an immediate or remote cause, the eloquence of a daring leader, were sufficient to impel the Gothic arms on the milder climates of the south. Besides the influence of a martial religion, the numbers and spirit of the Goths were equal to the most dangerous adventures. The use of round bucklers and short一把 swords is of ancient occurrence. The enterprises of the Goths had been the commencement of a war of conquest, a war of extermination. The curiosity of the Vandals conducted them farther from their mother country into the territory of the Vandals and the Goths belonged equally to the great division of the Suevi; but the two tribes were very different. Those who have written upon this part of History, appear to me to have neglected to observe that the ancients almost always gave the name of the powerful and conquering people, whatever it was, by which they were conquered. The Vandals and Goths were called Vandals and Goths, because we are told that the Suevi had been conquered by the Vandals, and the Vandals had been conquered by the Goths. Those who lost their liberty, and became of the Gothic family, the Vandals and Goths were considered as having been assimilated to the Gepidæ, etc. in the same manner. A common origin was thus attributed to nations, who had been united only by the conquest of one nation, and this conclusion has caused innumerable errors (see History, G.)

The Avar and Picti, the eastern and western Goths, obtained those denominations from their original seats in Scandinavia. In all their future marches and setlements, they preserved, with their names, the same relative situation. When they first departed from Sweden, the infant colony was contained in three vessels. The third and largest vessel bore the evident sense of an illiberal Edda, and the interpretation of the most skilful critics, Aegid, instead of deciding a real city of the Aegidian name, is the fictitious name of a province. The minds of the Goths and of the Vandals, and of the Ostrogoths and Visigoths; this division took place after their migration into Dacia, in the third century. Those who came from Mecklenburg and Pomerania, were called Visigoths; those who came from the south of Prussia and the north-west of Poland, were named Ostrogoths. (Adel, Hist. anec. des Allm. p. 202. Gatt. Hist. univers. p. 431. G.)

1 Mallet, Introduction à l'Histoire du Danemark.
2 Mallet, c. iv. p. 55, has collected from Strabo, Pliny, Procopius, and Stephane Byzantium, the vestiges of such a city and people.
3 It cannot be true—Boyce has proved that the city of Asof was not in existence, till the twelfth century. (See his dissertation upon the history of Asof, in the second volume of the collection of Hist. russe.)—G. 4 This wonderful expedition of Odin, which, by deducing the enmity of the Goths and Romans from so memorable a cause, might supply the noble groundwork of an epic poem, cannot be rejected as improbable; it has given rise to the most remarkable and beautiful allusions in the Ædda, and the interpretation of the most skilful critics, Aegid, instead of deciding a real city of the Aegidian name, is the fictitious name of a province. The minds of the Goths and of the Vandals, and of the Ostrogoths and Visigoths; this division took place after their migration into Dacia, in the third century. Those who came from Mecklenburg and Pomerania, were called Visigoths; those who came from the south of Prussia and the north-west of Poland, were named Ostrogoths. (Adel, Hist. anec. des Allm. p. 202. Gatt. Hist. univers. p. 431. G.)
5 See the Exemplum of Peter Patrickius in the excerpta Legationum; and with regard to its probable date, see Tillemont, Hist. des emper. des Germain., t. iii. p. 636. 6 Omnium barbarum gentium insordine, rotanda scita, herbis gaudi, eruga regis obsque, etc. (Hist. roman., (Hist. roman., p. 3. 7 The Vandals and the Goths belonged equally to the great division of the Suevi; but the two tribes were very different. Those who have written upon this part of History, appear to me to have neglected to observe that the ancients almost always gave the name of the powerful and conquering people, whatever it was, by which they were conquered. The Vandals and Goths were called Vandals and Goths, because we are told that the Suevi had been conquered by the Vandals, and the Vandals had been conquered by the Goths. Those who lost their liberty, and became of the Gothic family, the Vandals and Goths were considered as having been assimilated to the Gepidæ, etc. in the same manner. A common origin was thus attributed to nations, who had been united only by the conquest of one nation, and this conclusion has caused innumerable errors (see History, G.)
The Goths invaded, as the Scythian hordes, which, towards the Scythian plains on the east, bordered on the new settlements which the Goths, presented to nothing their arms, except the doubtful chance of an unprofitable

victory. But the prospect of the Roman territories was far more alluring and the fields of Dacia were covered with rich harvests, sown by the hands of an industrious, and exposed to be gathered by those of a warlike, people. It is probable, that the conquests of Trajan, maintained by his successors, less for any real advantage, than for ideal dignity, had contributed to weaken the empire. A state finally settled province of Dacia was neither strong enough to resist, nor rich enough to satiate, the rapaciousness of the barbarians. As long as the remote banks of the Niester were considered as the boundary of the Roman power, the fortifications of the Lower Danube were more carelessly guarded, and the inhabitants of Mesia lived in a security actually false and in an inaccessible distance from any barbarian invaders. The interpolations of the Goths, under the reign of Philip, finally convinced them of their mistake. The king, or leader, of that fierce nation, traversed with contempt, the province of Dacia, and passed both the Niester and the Danube without encountering any opposition capable of retarding his progress. The relaxed discipline of the Roman troops betrayed the most important posts, where they were stationed, and the fear of deserved punishment induced great numbers of them to enlist under the Gothic banner. Many of these various multitude of barbarians appeared, at length, under the walls of Marcianopolis, a city built by Trajan in honour of his sister, and at that time the capital of the second Mesia. The inhabitants consented to ransom their lives and property, by the payment of a large sum of money, and the invaders retreated, but into their deserts, animated rather than satisfied, with the first success of their arms against an opulent but feeble country. Intelligence was soon transmitted to the emperor Decius, that Caunus, king of the Goths, had passed the Danube at a second time, with more considerable forces; that his numerous detachments were scattered everywhere over the province of Mesia, whilst the main body of the army, consisting of seventy thousand Germans and Sarmatians, a force equal to the most during achievements, required the presence of the Roman monarch, and the exertion of his power to prevent it.

Decius found the Goths engaged in- Various events of fort Nicopolis, on the Jutrus, one of the Gothic war. A.D. 250. the many monuments of Trajan's victories. On his approach they raised the siege, but with a design only of marching away to a conquest of greater importance, that of Philippopolis, a city of Thrace, founded by the father of Philippus, the Great, the front seat of Phocis, a city of the same name. Decius followed them through a difficult country, and by forced marches; but when he imagined himself at a considerable distance from the rear of the Goths, Caunus turned with rapid fury on his pursuers. The camp of the Romans was surprised and pillaged, and, for the first time, their emperor fell in disorder before a troop of half

armed barbarians. After a long resistance, Philippopolis, destitute of succour, was taken by storm. A hundred thousand persons are reported to have been massacred in the battle. The city of Philippopolis, of which many prisoners of consequence became a valuable acquisition to the spoil; and Priscus, a brother of the late emperor

1 Tacit. Germania, c. 16.
2 Obterm. Germ. Antiqu. i. 111. e. 43.
3 Those who do not accept the nation of the Slaves.—G.
4 Tacitus most assuredly deserves that title, and his cautious manner of his inquiries.
5 The place is still ancient, and the site of which Marcusopolis was certainly the capital. (See Hierocles de Provinciis, and Weissel in sacros. p. 326, Inser.) It is surprising to see this palpable error of the scribe could escape the judicious correction of the translators. The little stream, on whose banks it stood, falls into the Danube. D'Availie, Geographie Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 360.
6 Stephani Byzant. de Urbinis, p. 749. Weissel, Itineran, p. 156. Zonaras, by an odd mistake, ascribes the foundation of Philipopolis to the immediate front seat of Phocis, a city of the same name. (D'Availie Geogr. anc. vol. 1. p. 255.—G.)
7 Ausonius, 11. 3.
Philip, blushed not to assume the purple under the protection of the barbarous enemies of Rome.\(^a\) The time, however, consumed in that tedious siege, enabled Decius to revive the courage, restore the discipline of the army, and increase the numbers of his troops. He intercepted several property of the army, and engaged other German and Suebi, who were hastening to share the victory of their countrymen,\(^1\) intrusted the passes of the mountains to officers of approved valour and fidelity;\(^2\) repaired and strengthened the fortifications of the Danube, and exerted his utmost vigilance to secure either the progress or the retreat of the Goths. Encouraged by the return of fortune, he anxiously waited for an opportunity to retrieve, by a great and decisive blow, his own glory, and that of the Roman arms.\(^3\)

At the same time when Decius was the object of such eagerness of recovery, the senate and the people of Rome were waiting with the most anxious expectation for the result of the memorable battle of Clastodictyon. The emperor, who was at the height of his glory, and who, as it appeared, was become the universal sovereign of the Roman empire, was to be the avenger of the Roman arms.

Decius revives the spirits of his troops.

A.D. 250. 270, rather acclamations, Valerian, who was October, afterwards emperor, and who then served with distinction in the army of Decius, was declared the most worthy of that exalted honour. As soon as the decessor of the senate was transmitted to the emperor, he assembled a great council in his camp, and speaking before the investiture of the censor elect, he apprized him of the difficulty and importance of his great office.

"Happy Valerian," said the prince to his distinguished subject, "happy in the general approbation of the senate, and popular in the people! You are the counselor of mankind; and judge of our manners. You will select those who deserve to continue members of the senate; you will restore the equestrian order to its ancient splendour; you will improve the revenue, yet moderate the public bursaries. You will distinguish in the army the valorous, and the various officers of the citizens, and accurately review the military strength, the wealth, the virtue, and the resources of Rome. Your decisions shall obtain the force of laws. The army, the palace, the ministers of justice, and the great officers of the empire, are all subject to your tribunal.

None are exempted, excepting only the ordinary consuls, the prefect of the city, the king of the sacrifices, and (as long as she preserves her chastity inviolate) the eldest of the vestal virgins. Even these few, who may not dread the severity, will anxiously solicit the esteem, of the Roman censor."\(^4\)

A magistrate, invested with such exalted powers, would have appeared impracticable, and not so much the minister as the co-heir of the Roman censors. Decius, however, was not so terrified at the idea of the usurpation of such an immense weight of power.\(^5\) The approaching event of war soon put an end to the prosecution of a project so specious but so impracticable; and whilst it preserved Valerian from the danger, saved the emperor Decius from the disappointment, which would, most probably, have occurred in an attempt to execute so interesting a project.

The Goths were now, on every side, invader and death surrounded and pursued by the Roman legions. The flower of their troops had been perished in the long siege of Philippopolis, and the exhausted country could no longer afford subsistence for the remaining multitude of licentious barbarians. Reduced to this extremity, the Goths would gladly have purchased, by the surrender of all their booty and prisoners, the permission of an unobstructed retreat. But the emperor, confident of victory, and resolving, by the chastisement of these invaders, to strike a salutary terror into the nations of the north, refused to listen to any terms of accommodation. The high-spirited barbarians, of whom the honour of the purple, was slain by an arrow, in the sight of his afflicted father; who, summoning all his fortitude, admonished the dismayed troops, that the loss of a single soldier was of little importance to the republic. The conflict was terrible; it was the conflict of despair against grief and rage. The first line of the Goths at length gave way in disorder; the second, advancing to sustain it, shared its fate; and the third only remained entire, prepared to dispute the passage of the morasses, which was imprudently attempted. Decius, at the very moment, amid the clamour of the people, made an appeal to the emperor for a renewal of the combat. He was put to silence by a messenger, who called for the return of the Goths to the Danube, but that emperor would not listen to so disgraceful an accommodation. Decius, accosted by the envoys of the Goths, demanded the submission of his enemy, and hesitated not to use the most odious expressions. The envoys, apprised before that tribunal during his censorship. The occasion indeed was equally singular and honourable. Plutarch in "Camilla" p. 630.

\(^a\) Aurelius Victor, c. 59.

\(^1\) Pictoricus Carpius, on some medals of Decius, insinuate those advantages.

\(^2\) Claudius (who afterwards reigned with so much glory) was posted in the post of Thermopylae with 200 barbadoes, 100 heavy and 100 light horse, 60 Cretan archers, and 1000 well-equipped cavalry. See an original letter from the emperor to his officer, in the Augustan History, p. 200.

\(^3\) Jornandes, c. 16—18. Zosimus, l.s. p. 52. In the general acclamation of his enemies was easy to discover the prejudices of the Goths and the Grecean writer. In carelessness alone they are alike.

\(^4\) Montegulphien. Grandeur et Decadence des Romains, c. viii. He illustrates the nature and use of the censorship with his usual ingenuity and accuracy. The passage is the more curious because it has been alluded to by a writer so well known as the Antagonists. See Pliny's "Epistol," c. 43 and 66.

\(^5\) Exception, Fosseaux appeared before the tribunal during his censorship. The occasion indeed was equally singular and honourable. Plutarch in "Camilla" p. 630.
ured to encounters in the bogs, their persons tall, their spears long, such as could wound at a distance.\(^\text{1}\) In this mass the Roman army, after an ineffectual struggle, was irrecoverably lost; nor could the body of the emperor ever be found.\(^\text{2}\) Such was his end in the fiftieth year of his age; an accomplished prince, active in war, and affable in peace;\(^\text{3}\) who, together with his son, has deserved to be compared, both in life and death, with the brightest examples of ancient virtue.\(^\text{4}\)

Election of Gal- lus. This fatal blow humbled, for a very little time, the insolence of the legions. They appear to have patiently expected, and submissively obeyed, the decree of the senate which regulated the succession to the throne. From a just regard for the memory of Decius, the imperial title was conferred on Hostilianus, his only surviving son; but an equal rank, with more effec- tual power, was granted to Gallus, whose experience and ability seemed equal to the great trust of guardian to the young prince and the distressed empire.\(^\text{5}\) The first care of the new emperor was to deliver the Illyrian provinces from the intolerable weight of the victorious enemy. He passed, without the knowledge of his generals, from their hands the rich fruits of their invasion, an immense booty, and, what was still more disgraceful, a great number of prisoners of the highest merit and quality.

Retreat of the Goths. He plentifully supplied all camps with every convenience that could assuage their angry spirits, or facilitate their so much wished for departure; and he even promised to pay them annually a large sum of gold, on condition they should never afterwards infest the Roman territories by their incursions.

Gallus parceled out among the pay-opulent kings of the eastern territory, the protection of the victorious commonwealth, were gratified with such liberal presents as could only derive a value from the hand that bestowed them; an ivory chair, a coarse garment of purple, an incumberous piece of plate, or a quantity of copper coin.\(^\text{6}\) After the wealth of nations had centred in Rome, the emperors displayed their greatness, and even their policy, by the regular exercise of a steady and moderate liberality towards the allies of the state. They relieved the poverty of the barbarians, honoured their merit, and reimbursed their fidelity. These voluntary marks of bounty were understood to flow, not from the fears, but merely from the generosity or the gratitude of the Romans; and whilst presents and subsidies were liberally distributed among friends and suppliants, they were strenuously resisted to such as claimed them as a debt.

Popular discomfiture. But this stipulation, of an annual pay- ment, to a victorious enemy, appeared without disguise in the light of an ignominious tribute; the minds of the Romans were not yet accustomed to accept such unequal laws from a tribe of barbarians; and the prince, who by a necessary concession had probably saved his country, became the object of the general contempt and aversion. The death of Hos- tilianus, though it happened in the midst of a raging pestilence, was interpreted as the personal crime of Gallus;\(^\text{7}\) and even the defeat of the late emperor was ascribed by the voice of suspicion to the perfidies of his lieutenants.\(^\text{8}\) In the year 253, in which the empire enjoyed during the first year of his administration,\(^\text{9}\) served rather to inflame than to appease the public discontent; and, as soon as the apprehensions of war were removed, the infancy of the peace was more deeply and more sensibly felt.

But the Romans were irritated to a victory and re- gained higher degree, when they discovered, that the 011i-lus-2 had that they had not even secured their lives.\(^\text{10}\) And, A. D. 253, repose, though at the expense of their honour. The dangerous secret of the wealth and weakness of the empire had been revealed to the world. New swarms of barbarians, encouraged by the success, and not conceiving themselves bound by the obligation, of their brethren, spread devastation through the Illyrian provinces, and terror as far as the gates of Rome. The defence of the monarchy, which seemed abandoned by the pusillanimous emperor, was assumed by the triumvirs, governor of Panonin and Maestia; who rallied and revived the spirit of the troops. The barbarians were unexpectedly attacked, routed, chased, and pursued beyond the Danube. The victorious leader distributed as a donative the money collected for the tribute, and the acclama- tions of the soldiers proclaimed him emperor on the field of battle.\(^\text{11}\) But, careless of the general welfare, indulged himself in the pleasures of Italy, was almost in the same instant informed of the success, of the revolt, and of the rapid approach, of his aspiring lieutenant. He advanced to meet him as far as the plains of Spoleto. When the armies met in front of each other, the soldiers of Gallus compared the ignominious conduct of their sovereign with the glory of his rival. They admired the valour of the triumvirs; they were attracted by his liberality, for he offered a considerable increase of pay to all deserters.

The murder of Gallus, and of his son. Gal- lus abandoned his plans to the end of the war; and the senate gave a legal sanction to the right of conquest. The letters of the triumvirs to that assembly displayed a mixture of moderation and vanity. He assured them, that he should resign to their wisdom the civil administration; and, when he was presenting himself with the quitting of the camp of Sispole, would in a short time assert the glory of Rome, and deliver the empire from all the barbarians both of the north and of the east.\(^\text{12}\) His prudence was flattered by the applause of the senate; and medals are still extant, representing him with the name and attributes of Hercules the Victor, and of Mars the Avenger.

If the new monarch possessed the same abilities, he wanted the time, necessary to fulfil these splendid promises. He was assassinated by four months intervened between his victory and his fall.\(^\text{13}\) He had vanquished Gallus: his power sank under the weight of a competitor more formidable than Gallus. That unfortunate prince had sent Valerian, already distinguished by the honorable title of censor, to bring the legions of Gaul and Germany\(^\text{14}\) to his aid. Valerian executed that commission with zeal and fidelity, and as he arrived too late to save his sovereign, he resolved to revenge his death. The troops of the triumvirs, who still lay encamped in the plains of Spoleto, were awed by the sanctity of his

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\(^\text{1}\) For the place, see Jornandes, c. 19, and Victor in Caeretan. These improbable accounts, in the letter of Dr.med, are 2 p. 252. 24.

\(^\text{2}\) Jornandes, c. 19. The Gothic writer at least observed the peace which his victorious adversary had sworn to Gallus.\(^\text{15}\)

\(^\text{3}\) Zosimus, i. p. 53, 36.

\(^\text{4}\) Victor in Caeretan.\(^\text{16}\)

\(^\text{5}\) Zosimus, i. p. 628.

\(^\text{6}\) A vera rerum, and a golden pound of five pounds' weight, were alleged with force and urging for the value of the weight. See the letters of Emperor Decius, xxxv, 4. Quinum valere aurum, a weight of copper, in value about half an English pound. This eluding was the usual present made to foreign ambassadors. (Livy, xxxv, 9.)

\(^\text{7}\) See the figures of a Roman general so late as the time of Alexander Severus, in the Excerpta Legationum, p. 22. Edit. Lomellino.

\(^\text{8}\) Zosimus, i. p. 252. 36.

\(^\text{9}\) Victor in Caeretan.

\(^\text{10}\) Zosimus, i. p. 628.

\(^\text{11}\) Banduri Nunius, p. 94.

\(^\text{12}\) Eutropius, i. 12. c. 6. says territio mercis. Decius omitis omits this emperor.

\(^\text{13}\) Zosimus, i. p. 252. Eutropius and Victor station Valerian's army in Raetia.
CHAR. X.
character, but much more by the superior strength of his army; and as they were now become as incapable of personal attachment as they had always been of constitutional principle, they readily imitated their example, and armed their hands in the blood of a prince, who so lately had been the object of their personal choice. The guilt was theirs, but the advantage of it was Valerian's, who obtained the possession of the throne by the means indeed of a civil war, but with a degree of innocence singular in that age of revolutions; since he owed not the gratitude or allegiance to his predecessor, whom he deherned.

Character of Valerian.
Valerian was about sixty years of age, when he was invested with the purple, not by the caprice of the populace, or the clamours of the army, but by the unanimous voice of the Roman world.

In his gradual ascent through the honours of the state, he had deserved the favour of virtuous princes, and had declared himself the enemy of tyrants. His noble birth, his mild and unblemished manners, his learning, prudence, and experience, were revered by the senate and people; and if mankind (according to the observation of an ancient writer) had been led by liberty to choose a master, their choice would most assuredly have fallen on Valerian. Perhaps the merit of this emperor was inadequate to his reputation; perhaps his abilities, or at least his spirit, were affected by the languor and coldness of old age. The consciousness of his decay, and the ignoble habit of the court, share the throne with a younger and more active associate: the emergency of the times demanded a general no less than a prince; and the experience of the Roman censor might have directed him who acted best to the imperial purple, as the reward of military merit. But instead of making a judicious choice, which would have confirmed his reign and endeared his memory, Valerian, consulting only the dictates of affection or vanity, immediately invested with the supreme honours his son Gallienus, a youth whose minute abilities had been hitherto concealed by the obscurity of a private station. The joint government of the father and the son subsisted about seven, and the sole administration of Gallienus continued about eight, years. But the whole period was one uninterrupted series of confusion and calamity. As the Roman empire was at the zenith of its power, and on every side, attacked by the blind fury of foreign invaders, and the wild ambition of domestic usurpers, we shall consult order and perspicuity, by pursuing, not so much the doubtful arrangements of date, as the moral natural distribution of subjects. The most dangerous enemies of Rome, during the reigns of
Introns of the barbarians.
1. The Franks.
2. The Alemani.
3. The Goths.
4. The Persians.
Under these general appellations, we may comprehend the adventurers of less considerable tribes, whose obscure and uncoutn

Origin and confederation of the Franks.
In the history of the Franks, we find no history. Their migrations are mentioned without any particular country. Their most celebrated monarchs are the Visigoths, who were never in possession of a well-defined monarch; the Vandals, who are never mentioned in the history of the Franks; and the Ostrogoths, who were never in possession of a well-defined monarch.

2. He was about seventy at the time of his accession, or, if he is more probable, of his death. Hist. August., p. 175. Titullense, Hist. des Saraces, in the edition of A. D. 1691, p. 151, note 1.
3. I found a tyrannorum, Hist. August., p. 173. In the glorious example of the Valerian, the Visigoths set a ways, and in the object of despotic powers, the his
4. According to the distinction of Victor, he seems to have received the title of Emperor from the army, and of that of Augustus from the senate.
5. Victor from and from the medallists, Titullense (tom. iii. p. 710), very justly infers, that Gallienus was associated to the empire about the month of August of the year 255.

A. D. 253-255.

3 Varius systems have been formed to explain a difficult passage in Gregory of Tours, i. i. c. 9.
The Geographer of Ravenna, i. 11, by mentioning Maurinica, on the confines of Denmark, as the ancient seat of the Franks, gave birth to an ingenious system of Leibnitz.

7. Modern writers have been led by the reign of Gordianus, to an accidental circumstance fully canvassed by Tillemant, tom. iii. p. 1710. 1811.

8. The confederacy of the Franks are frequent in the chronicles, and the Tacit, c. 30, 37.

9. The confederacy of the Franks is a fact, and has been observed by several authors. — G.

10. In a subsequent period, most of the old names are occasionally mentioned, as the vestiges of them, in the Antichristian, in the Synod of Sardica, in the Synod of Piacenza, in the Synod of Tours, in the Synod of Carthage, and in the Synod of Utrecht.


12. The term of Posthumus, who is repeatedly styled The Conqueror of the Germans, and The Saviour of Gaul.
But a single fact, the only one indeed

lineage, and their common bravery. The latter was

southernmost part of Italy; the cavalry was rendered still more formidable by a mixture of light infantry, selected from the bravest and most active of the youth, whom frequent exercise had inured to accompany the horsemen in the longest march, the most rapid charge, or the most precipitate retreat.  

This warlike people of Germans had invaded Gaul and been astonished by the immense prepara-
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nations of Alexander Severus, they were dismayed by the arms of his successor, a barbarian equal in valour and fierceness to themselves. But still hovering on the frontier of the Rhine they yielded to the general disorder that ensued after the death of Decius. They inflicted severe wounds on the rich provinces of Gaul; they were the first who removed the veil that covered the feeble majesty of Italy. A numerous body of the Alemanni penetrated across the Danube, and through the Rhastian Alps, into the plains of Lombardy, advanced as far as Ravenna, and displayed the victorious banners of barbarians almost in sight of Rome. The insult and the danger rekindled in the senate some sparks of their ancient virtue. Both the emperors were engaged in far distant wars, Valerian in the East, and Gallienus in the West. The resources of the Romans were in themselves. In this emergency the senators resolved the are expelled from the defence of the republic, drew out the Rome by the senatorial guards, who had been left to the and people, to garrison the capital, and filled up their numbers, by enlisting into the public service the stoutest, and most willing of the plebeians. The Alemanni, astonished with the sudden appearance of an army more numerous than their own, retired into Germany, laden with spoil; and their retreat was esteemed as a victory by the warlike Romans.  

When Gallienus received the intelligence that his capital was delivered by the barbarians, he was much less delighted than alarmed with the courage of the senate, since it might one day prompt them to rescue the public from domestic tyranny, as well as from foreign invasion. His timid ingratitude was published to his subjects, in an edict which prohibited the senators from exercising any military employment, and even from approaching the camps of the legions. But his fears were groundless. The rich and luxurious nobles, sinking into their natural condition, as a favour, this disgraceful exemption from military service; and as long as they were indulged in the enjoyment of their baths, their theatres, and their villas, they cheerfully resigned the more dangerous cares of empire to the rough hands of peasants and soldiers.  

A mixed body of Suevi assume the name of Alemann: in quest of food, or plunder, or of glory.  

In that part of Upper Saxony beyond the Elbe, which is at present called the marquisate of Lusace, there existed, in ancient times, a sacred wood, the awful seat of the superstition of the Suevi. None were permitted to enter the holy precincts, without confessing, by their servile bonds and suppliant posture, the immediate presence of the sovereign Deity. Patriotism contributed as well as devotion to consecrate the Sonnen- wald, or wood of the Senones. It was universally believed, that the nation had received its first existence on that sacred spot. At stated periods, the numer- ous and warlike army of the Suevi, in the Suevic blood, reorted shatter by their ambassadors; and the memory of their common extraction was perpetuated by barbarie rites and human sacrifices. The wide extended name of Suevi filled the interior countries of Germany, from the banks of the Oder to those of the Danube. They were distinguished from the other Germans by their peculiar mode of dressing their long hair, which they gathered into a rude knot on the crown of the head; and they delighted in an ornament that showed their ranks more lofty and terrible in the eyes of the enemy. Jealous, as the Germans were, of military renown, they all confessed the superior valor of the Suevi; and the tribes of the Usipetes and Tetenari, who, with a vast army, encountered the dictator Caesar, declared that they esteemed it no disgrace to have fled before a people, to whose arms the immortal gods themselves were unequal.  

In the reign of the emperor Caracalla, the name of Alemann was given to an innumerable swarm of Suevi appeared on the banks of the Mein, and in the neighbourhood of the Roman provinces, in quest either of food, or plunder, or of glory. The bands of the Suevi gradually became an irre-  

4 Aurel. Victor, c. 28. Instead of Panes erecto, both the sense and the construction of the sentence are a failure, and it is alike difficult to correct the text of the best, and the worst, witnesses.  

5 In the time of Antoninus (the end of the fourth century) Herola or Lurida was in a very ruinous state (Anon. Epit. xxv. 35), which probably was the consequence of the ravages of barbarians, and of the action of the march of an inroad, which continued long after the age of the Emperors. Still they have always been distinguished in their archi- tecture by their own name. By this year (Anno Domini 292), they made an irruption into Rhetia, and not long after were united to the Al- emanni. Still they have always been distinguished in their archi- tecture by their own name. By this year (Anno Domini 292), they made an irruption into Rhetia, and not long after were united to the Al- emanni. Still they have always been distinguished in their archi- tecture by their own name. By this year (Anno Domini 292), they made an irruption into Rhetia, and not long after were united to the Al- 

6 The Suevi engaged Caesar in this manner, and the manoeuvre were the same by which the Gallic army was not proper in the conquests of Caesar. (In Belo Gallus, l. c.)  

7 Hist. August., p. 106.  

8 De Germs. l. c. 132.  

9 Cesius a ceteris Germanis, sic Suevorum Insigne a serva separa- 

10 Cesar in Belo Gallien. liv. 7.  


Another invasion of the Alemanni, of a more formidable aspect, but more glorious, event, is mentioned by a writer in the lower part of the 4th century. Three hundred thousand of that warlike people are said to have been vanquished, in a battle near Milan, by Gallienus in person, at the head of only ten thousand Romans. 7 We may, however, with great probability, ascribe this incredible victory, either to the credulity of the historian, or to some other cause, of explaining of the emperor's victories. It was by arms of a very different nature that Gallienus endeavoured to protect Italy from the fury of the Germans. He espoused Pipa, the daughter of a king of the Marcomanni, a Suevic tribe, which was often confounded with the Alemanni in their wars and conquests. To further his alliance, he granted an ample settlement in Pannonia. The native charms of unpollished beauty seem to have fixed the daughter in the affections of the inconstant emperor, and the bands of policy were more firmly cemented by those of love. But the great stream of the Gothic hordes of Rome still refused the name of marriage, to the profuse mixture of a citizen and a barbarian; and has stigmatized the German princess with the opprobrious title of concubine of Gallienus.*

Inroads of the Goths. III. We have already traced the emigration of the Goths from Scandinavia; and it might be inferred that they were driven by the Romans with more than usual firmness and success. The provinces that were the seat of war, recruited the armies of Rome with an inexhaustible supply of hardy soldiers; and more than one of these Illyrian peasants attained the station, and displayed the spirit of the general. To the Goths, as the price of his alliance, he granted an ample settlement in Pannonia. The native charms of unpollished beauty seem to have fixed the daughter in the affections of the inconstant emperor, and the bands of policy were more firmly cemented by those of love. But the great stream of the Gothic hordes of Rome still refused the name of marriage, to the profuse mixture of a citizen and a barbarian; and has stigmatized the German princess with the opprobrious title of concubine of Gallienus.*

Conquest of the Bosphorus. By the Goths. 8 The Goths, in their new settlement of the Ukraine, soon became masters of the northern coast of the Euxine; to the south of that inland sea were situated the soft and wealthy provinces of Asia Minor, which possessed all the qualities which could attract, and nothing that could resist, a barbarian conqueror.

The banks of the Bosphores are only sixty miles distant from the narrow entrance of the Peninsula of Crim Tartary, known to the ancients under the name of Chersonesus Taurica. 9 On that inhospitable shore, Euprudes, embellishing with exquisite art the tales of antiquity, has placed the scene of one of his most affecting tragedies. 10 The bloody sacrifices of Diana, the arrival of Orestes and Pylades, and the triumph of virtue and religion over savage ferocities, serve to represent an historical truth, that the Tauri, the original inhabitants of that peninsula, were in some degree reclaimed from their brutal manners, by a gradual intercourse with the Grecian colonies, which settled along the maritime coast. The little kingdom of Bosphorus, whose capital was situated on the Straits, through which the Mauois communions itself to the Euxine, was composed of degenerate Greeks, and half-civilized barbarians. It subsisted, as an independent state, from the time of the Peloponnesian war, 11 until it was by the death of the last Monarch of a distant fortress, of his dominions, sunk under the weight of the Roman arms. From the reign of Augustus, 12 the kings of Bosphorus were the humble, but not useless, allies, of the empire. By presents, by arms, and by a slight fortification drawn across the isthmus, they effectually guarded the entrance of the important passage of the strait.

The ships used in the navigation of the Euxine were of a very size and structure. They were small naval force, small, flat-bottomed boats framed of timber only, without the least mixture of iron, and occasionally covered with a fly-boat, to enable the crew of thirty men defending a few of these floating houses, the Goths carelessly trusted themselves to the mercy of an unknown sea, under the conduct of sailors pressed into the service, and whose skill and fidelity were equally suspectible. But the Goths, in their new settlement of the Ukraine, soon became masters of the northern coast of the Euxine; to the south of that inland sea were situated the soft and wealthy provinces of Asia Minor, which possessed all the qualities which could attract, and nothing that could resist, a barbarian conqueror.

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sight of the country of Colchis, so famous by the expedition of the Argonauts; and they even attempted, though with little success, to plunder the large fleet at the mouth of the river Phasis. Trebizond, celebrated in the retreat of the ten thousand as an ancient colony of Greeks, derived its wealth and splendour from the munificence of the emperor Hadrian, who had constructed an artificial port on a coast left destitute by nature. Wall built around the city, the walls were thick and populous; a double enclosure of walls seemed to defy the fury of the Goths, and the usual garrison had been strengthened by a reinforcement of ten thousand men. But there are not any advantages capable of supplying the absence of discipline and vigilance. The numerous barbarians ranged without opposition through the extreme province of Pontus. The rich spoils of Trebizond filled a great fleet of ships that had been found in the port. The rough youth of the sea-coast were chained to the car; and the Goths, satisfied with the success of their first naval expedition, returned in triumph to your new establishments in the kingdom of Bosphorus.

The second expedition of the Goths was undertaken with greater powers of ships and coasters; but they steered a different course, and, going by the exterior provinces of Pontus, followed the western coast of the Euxine, passed before the wide mouths of the Bosphorus, the Niester, and the Danube, and increasing their fleet by the capture of a great number of fishing vessels, they approached the narrow outlet through which the Euxine sea pours its waters into the Mediterranean, and divides the continents of Europe and Asia. The garrison of Chaledon was encamped near the temple of Jupiter Urus, on a promontory that commanded the entrance of the strait; and so inconsiderable were the dreaded invaders of the barbarians, that this body of troops was placed in a position more secure than the position of those who had learned sufficient policy to reward the traitor, whom they detected. Nice, Prusa, Aperna, Cius, cities, on the entrance of them; till a favourable wind, springing up the next day, carried them in a few hours into the placid sea, or rather lake, of the Propontis. Their landing on the little island of Cyzicus was attended with the ruin of that ancient and noble city. From thence issuing again through the narrow passage of the Hellespont, they pursued their winding navigation amidst the numerous islands scattered over the Archipelago, or the Ægean sea. The assistance of captives and deserters must have been very necessary to pilot their vessels, and to direct their various incursions, as well on the coast of Greece as that of Asia. At length the Gothic fleet anchored in the port of Piraeus.

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1 Xenoph. Anabasis, i. p. 379. 2 Ed. Hutchinson. 3 Arrian, p. 129. The general observation in Tarnowsky’s. 4 See an essay of Gregory Thunnaresitus, bishop of Neo-Caesarea, quoted by Dr. Tarnowsky. 5 Zosimus, l. i. p. 22, 33. 6 He inscribed the place with 400 galleys, 150,000 foot, and a numerous cavalry. 7 See Strabo, l. vii. 8 Ptolemy’s Description of the East, i. & ii. 23, 34. 9 Zosimus, l. i. p. 33. 10 Syennelas tells an intelligible story of Prince Oordatusus, who defeated the Goths, and who was killed by Prince Oderataus. 11 Vorgove de Chardin, tom. i. p. 45. He sailed with the Turks from Constantinople. 12 Syennelas (p. 282) speaks of this expedition as undertaken by the Heruli. 13 Strabo, l. xi. p. 95.
five miles distant from Athens, which had attempted to make some preparations for a vigorous defence. Cleodamus, one of the engineers employed by the emperor's orders to fortify the maritime cities against the Goths, had betrayed his trust by building the ancient walls, fallen to decay since the time of Sylva. The efforts of his skill were ineffectual, and the barbarians became masters of the native seat of the muses and the arts. But while the conquerors abandoned themselves to the license of plunder and intemperance, their fleet, having laid with a sudden shock in the haven of Piraeus, was unexpectedly attacked by the brave Dexippus, who, flying with the engineer Cleodamus from the sack of Athens, collected a hasty band of volunteers, peasants as well as soldiers, and in some measure avenged the calamities of his country."

But this exploit, whatever lustre it might shed on the declining age of Athens, served rather to irritate than to subdue the undaunted spirit of the northern invaders. A general conflagration blazed out at the same time in every district of Greece: Peloponnesus, Crete, and Sparta, which had formerly waged such memorable wars against each other, were now unable to bring an army into the field, or even to defend their ruined fortifications. The rage of war, both by land and by sea, spread from the eastern point of Surnium to the western confines of Corinth. The Goths had already advanced within sight of Italy, when the approach of such imminent danger awakened the indolent Gallienus from his dream of pleasure. The emperor appeared in arms; and his presence seemed to have checked the ardour, and to have divided the strength, of the two adverse armies. Naustiades, the chief of the barbarians, and retreat, ruled, accepted an honourable capitulation, entered with a large body of his countrymen into the service of Rome, and was invested with the ornaments of the consular dignity, which had never before been profaned by the hands of a barbarian. Great numbers of the Goths, disgusted with the perils and hardships of a tedious voyage, broke into Mesia, with a design of forcing their way over the Danube to their settlements in the Ukraine. The wild attempt would have proved inevitable destruction, if the discord of the Roman generals had not contributed to the purposes of the enemy. The small remainder of this destroying host returned on board their vessels; and measuring back their way through the Hellespont and the Bosphorus, ravaged in their passage the shores of Troy, whose fame, immortalized by Homer, will forever excite the memory of the Goths. As soon as they found themselves in safety within the basin of the Euxine, they landed at Archiaus in Thrace, near the foot of Mount Haemus: and, after all their toils, indulged themselves in the use of those pleasant and salutary hot baths. What remained of the voyage was a short and easy navigation. Such was the various fate of this third and greatest of their naval enterprises. It may seem difficult to conceive, how the original body of fifteen thousand warriors could sustain the losses and divisions of so bold an adventure. But as their numbers were already wasted by the sword, by sea, and land, by the influence of a warm climate, they were perpetually renewed by troops of banditti and deserters, who flopped to the standard of plunder, and by a crowd of fugitive slaves, often of German or Sarmanian extraction, who eagerly seized the glorious opportunity of freedom and revenge. In these expeditions, the Gothic nation claimed a superior share of the spoils, for the generosity of the Goths. The others, sometimes distinguished and sometimes confounded in the imperfect histories of that age; and as the barbarian fleets seemed to issue from the mouth of the Tanais, the vague but familiar appellation of Scythians was frequently bestowed on the mingled mass of the different nations.

In the general calamities of mankind, Ruin of the temple of Diana at Ephesus, after having risen with increasing splendour from seven repeated misfortunes, was finally burnt by the Goths in their third naval invasion. The arts of Greece, and the wealth of Asia, had conspired to erect that sacred and magnificent structure. It was supported by an hundred and twenty-seven marble columns of the Doric order, and it was the gifts of devout monarchs, and each was sixty feet high. The altar was adorned with the masterly sculptures of Praxiteles, who had, perhaps, selected from the favourite legends of the place the birth of the divine children of Latona, the the concealment of Apollo after the slaughter of the Cyclops, and the expelling the armed and profaned Amazons. Yet the length of the temple of Ephesus was only four hundred and twenty-five feet, about two-thirds of the measure of the church of St. Peter's at Rome. In the other dimensions, it was still more inferior to that sublime production of modern art by the artificers of Ephesus, Philippi, and Delphi, the accommodation of the edifice surpassing the size and proportions of the parthenon. The temple of Diana was, however, admired as one of the wonders of the world. Successive empires, the Persian, the Macedonian, and the Roman, had revered its sanctity, and enriched its splendour. But the rude savages of the Baltic were destitute of a taste for the elegant arts, and they destroyed their temple as they had burnt the temple of Apollo. Another circumstance is related of Curtius, of the most polite and powerful nations, genius of every kind has displayed itself about the same period; and the age of science has generally beeft the age of military virtue and success.

2 Zosimus and the Greeks (as the author of the Philopatris) give the name of Scythians to those whom Jornandes, and the Latin writers, constantly represent as Goths.
5 They are described by Peter's text 70 p. 60; each palm is very little short of nine English inches. See Graeca's Miscellanies, vol. i. p. 223. On the Roman Rook.
6 That year, 408, was celebrated as one of the disasters of the Romans induced them to abridge the extent of the sanction of asylum, which by successive privileges they had extended to the secret of India round the temple. Xarob. l. xix. p. 641. Tacit. Annal. iii. 60, &c.
7 They offer no sacrifices to the Grecian gods. SeeEpistol. Gregor. Thaum. 32.
8 Zonaras, l. vii. p. 633. Such an anecdote was perfectly suited to the taste of Niebuich. He makes use of it in his agreeable Essay on Pedantry, l. i. c. 24.
Conquest of Armenia by the Artaxerxes and his son Sapor, had tried to destroy the Persians, the house of Arsaces. Of the many princes of that ancient race, Chosroes, king of Armenia, had alone preserved both his life and his independence. He defended himself by the natural strength of his country; by the perpetual resort of fugitives and malecontents; by the alliance of the Scythians, who were, above all, by his own courage. Invincible in arms during a thirty years war, he was at length assassinated by the emissaries of Sapor king of Persia. The patriotic satraps of Armenia, who asserted the freedom and dignity of the crown, implored the protection of Rome in favour of Perdikes the lieutenant; the motions of Persia were always followed with a suspicion. The time arrived, the son of Chosroes was an infant, the allies were at a distance, and the Persian monarch advanced towards the frontier at the head of an irresistible force. Young Tigranes, the future hope of his country, was saved by the fidelity of a servant, and Armenia continued above twenty-seven years a reluctant province of the great monarchy of Persia. Elated with this easy conquest, and presuming on the distresses or the degeneracy of the Romans, Sapor obliged the strong garrison of Carhre and Nisibis to surrender, and spread devastation and terror on either side of the Euphrates.

Valerian was now an important frontier, the ruin of a faithful and natural ally, and the rapid success of Sapor's ambition, affected Rome with a deep sense of the insult as well as of the danger. Valerian flattered himself, that the vigilance of his lieutenants would sufficiently provide for the safety of the Rhine and of the Danube; but he resolved, notwithstanding his advanced age, to march in person to the defence of the Euphrates. During his progress through Asia Minor, the naval enterprises of the Goths were suspended, and the afflicted province enjoyed a transient and delusive calm. He passed the Euphrates, encountered the Persian monarch near the walls of Edessa, was vanquished, and taken prisoner by Sapor. The particulars of this great and deplorable event are darkly and imperfectly repre

IV. The new sovereigns of Persia, menia by the Artaxerxes and his son Sapor, had tried to destroy the Persians, the house of Arsaces. Of the many princes of that ancient race, Chosroes, king of Armenia, had alone preserved both his life and his independence. He defended himself by the natural strength of his country; by the perpetual resort of fugitives and malecontents; by the alliance of the Scythians, who were, above all, by his own courage. Invincible in arms during a thirty years war, he was at length assassinated by the emissaries of Sapor king of Persia. The patriotic satraps of Armenia, who asserted the freedom and dignity of the crown, implored the protection of Rome in favour of Perdikes the lieutenant; the motions of Persia were always followed with a suspicion. The time arrived, the son of Chosroes was an infant, the allies were at a distance, and the Persian monarch advanced towards the frontier at the head of an irresistible force. Young Tigranes, the future hope of his country, was saved by the fidelity of a servant, and Armenia continued above twenty-seven years a reluctant province of the great monarchy of Persia. Elated with this easy conquest, and presuming on the distresses or the degeneracy of the Romans, Sapor obliged the strong garrison of Carhre and Nisibis to surrender, and spread devastation and terror on either side of the Euphrates.

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able merchandises. The rich offering was accompanied with an epistle, respectful but not servile, from Odonatus, one of the noblest and most opulent senators of Palmyra.  "Who is this Odonatus?" (said the haughty victor, and he commanded that the presents should be placed in the Euphrates, that they might be alone to his lord! If he entertain a hope of mitigating his punishment, let him fall prostrate before the foot of our throne with his hands bound behind his back. Should he hesitate, swift destruction shall be poured on his head, on his whole race, and on his country, 22 The despairing appeal to which the Palmyrenian was reduced, called into action all the latent powers of his soul. He met Sapor; but he met him in arms. Infusing his own spirit into a little army collected from the villages of Syria, 23 and the tents of the desert, 24 he hovered round the Persian host, harassed their retreat, carved off part of the treasure, and what was dearer than any treasure, several of the women of the great king; who was at last obliged to repass the Euphrates with some marks of haste and confusion. 24 By this exploit, Odonatus laid the foundations of his future fame and fortunes. The monarch impressed by this Sapor, was protected by a Syrian or Arab of Palmyra.

**Treatise of Valerian.**

The voice of history, which is often little more than the organ of hatred or flattery, reproaches Sapor with a proud abuse of the rights of conquest. We are told that Valerian, in choice between let the imperial purple, was exposed to the multitude, a constant spectacle of fallen greatness; and that whenever the Persian monarch mounted on horseback, he placed his foot on the neck of a Roman emperor. Notwithstanding all the reconstructions of his allies, who repeatedly advised him to remember of his origin, and to dread the returning power of Rome, and to make his illustrious captive the pledge of peace, not the object of insult, Sapor still remained inflexible. When Valerian sunk under the weight of shame and grief, his skin, stuffed with straw, and formed into the likeness of a human figure, was preserved for ages in the most celebrated temple of Persia: a more real monument of triumph, than the fancied trophies of brass and marble so often erected by Roman vanity. 25 The tale is moral and pathetic, but the truth of it may very fairly be called in question. The letters still extant from the princes of Persia, on the subject of Sapor, are mutilated and inept. I "I knew that my father was a mortal," said he; "and since he has acted as becomes a brave man, I am satisfied." While Rome lamented the fate of her sovereign, the savage coldness of his son was met by the service courtiers, as the perfect firmness of a hero and a stoic. 6 It is difficult to paint the light, the various, the inconstant character of Gallienus, which he displayed without constraint, as soon as he became sole possessor of the empire. In every art that he attempted, his lively execution without judgment, and his carelessness, destitute of judgment, he attempted every art, except the important ones of war and government. He was a master of several curious but useless sciences, a ready orator, and elegant poet, a skilful gardener, an excellent cook, and most contemptible prince. When the great eastern emperors, to their own extreme satisfaction and attention, he was engaged in conversation with the philosopher Plotinus, 7 wasting his time in trifling or licentious pleasures, preparing his initiation to the Grecian mysteries, or soliciting a place in the Areopagus of Athens. His profuse magnificence insulted the general public with the solemn ridicule of his triumphs impressed a deeper sense of the public disgrace. 8 The repeated intelligence of invasions, defeats, and rebellions, he received with a careless smile; and singling out, with affected contempt, some particular production of the lost province, he carelessly asked, Whether Rome was not delivered, unless there was a letter from Egypt and Arras cloth from Gaul! There were, however, a few short moments in the life of Gallienus, when, exasperated by some recent injury, he suddenly appeared the intrinsid soldier, and the cruel tyrant; till, sated with blood, or fatigued by resistance, he insensibly sunk into the natural mildness and indolence of his character.

At a time when the reins of government were held with so loose a hand, tyrants, it is not surprising, that a crowd of usurpers should start up in every province of the empire against the government of Gallienus. The son of one emperor, who had been thirty years engaged in the art of war, was to be the object of contempt and ridicule, at the hands of the Anarchic pretenders. The claim to the imperial title. The reign of Gallienus, distracted as it was, produced only nine - their real number: none true pretenders to the throne: Cyriades, whose son was no more than nineteen years of age; Macrianus, Balista, Odonatus, and Zenobia, in the East; in Gaul, the western provinciers; Postumius, Lollianus, Victorinus and his mother Victoria, Marius, and Tetricus. In Illyricum and

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2 Peter Patricius, in Excerpt. Lex. p. 20.
3 Syriac legatus maior. Sextus Rufus, c. 23. Rufus, Victor, the Augustan History, (p. 193) and several inscriptions agree in such a description of Odonatus.
4 He possessed so powerful an interest among the wandering tribes, as a poet, (i.e. s.) and John Malala (tom. ii. p. 640) style him Franks of the Sarmatian tribe.
5 Peter Patricius, p. 23.
6 See his life in the Augustan History.
7 There is still extant a very pretty Ephthalium, composed by Gallienus, for the nuptials of his nephews.
8 See his letters, ed. Paris, 1696.
9 His name is never met of giving Festus to the Emperor, Edition of Campsio to try the experiment of rivaling Ptolemy's Republic. See the life of Ptolemy Philadelphus, in Fabre de Carbon, an ancient work which bears the head of Gallienus has perplexed the antiquaries by its legend and reverse; the former Gallienus Augustus, the latter Ptolemy Augustus. M. Guillemin doubts that the coin struck by some of the enemies of Gallienus, and was designed as a severe satire against that effeminate prince. But as the use of irony may be considered unseemly of the gravity of the Roman mint, M. de Villeneuve has deduced from a passage of Theophanes Poilo (Hist. August. p. 192) and other ancient authors not only the natural solution to the puzzle, but the clue to the restoration of the coin. For in the same collection, we read a similar inscription of Eutropian Augustus round the head of Marcus Aurelius. With regard to the Chiromancy of the Chaldaean, a title given by him to the vanity of Gallienus, who seized, perhaps, the occasion of some momentary calm. See Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, 1745. Here it has been preserved of eastern history before Mahomet, that the modern Persians are totally ignorant of the victory of Sapor, an event so glorious to their nation as the defeat of the Greco-Roman.
8 One of these epistles is from Artavandes, king of Armenia: since Armenia, who then a prevailing province in Persia, the king, the kingdom, and the epistle, must be fictitious.

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16 Potoo expresses the most minute anxiety to complete the number
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

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the confines of the Danube, Ingenius, Regillianus, and Aureolus; in Pontus,* Saturninus; in Iuliaea, Trebonianus Gallo, Tetricus Valens in Achaia; Amil-

ius in Egypt; and Celsus in Africa. To illustrate the obscure monuments of the life and death of each individual, would prove a laborious task, alike barren of instruction and of amusement. We may content ourselves with investigating some general characters, the affects, the events of their reigns, and the manners of the men, their pretensions, their motives, their fate, and the destructive consequences of their usurpation.*

Character and*. It is sufficiently known, that the merit of the odious appellation of Tyrant was often justly accorded to those who, by the illegal seizure of supreme power, without any reference to the abuse of it. Several of the pretenders who raised the standard of rebellion against the emperor Gallicanus, were shining models of virtue, and almost all possessed a considerable share of vigour and ability. Their merit had recommended them to the favour of Valerian, and gradually promoted them to the most important commands of the empire. The generals, who assumed the title of Augustus, were either respected by their troops for their able conduct and severe discipline, or admired for valour and success in war, or beloved for frankness and generosity. Their conduct was generally a standard of their elevation; and even the armourer Marius, the most contemptible of all the candidates for the purple, was distinguished, however, by intrepid courage, matchless strength, and blunt honesty.* His mean and recent trade cast an air of ridicule on his elevation:

* The place of his reign is somewhat doubtful; but there was a tyrant in Pontus, and we are acquainted with the seat of all the others.

† Tillemont, tom. iii. p. 1163, reckons them somewhat differently.

+ See the following notes.

§ The accidental identity of names was the only circumstance that could tend to prejudice in the Augustan annals. The senators of the Antonine and the Tetrican period were reviewed by Elias Vares. (G.)

| The causes of their rebellion. Fueful to the father, whom they esteemed. They disdained to serve the luxurious indulgence of their unworthy son. The throne of the Roman world was unsupported by any principle of loyalty; | The apprehensions of Saturninus were their violent justified by the repeated experience of deaths. Of the nineteen tyrants that started up under the reign of Gallicanus, there was not one who enjoyed a life of peace, or a natural death. As soon as they were invested with the bloody purple, they inspired their adherents with the same fears and ambition which had occasioned their own. Endemical discord and civil war, they trembled on the edge of precipices, in which, after a longer or shorter term of anxiety, they were inevitably lost. These precarious monarchs received, however, such honours, as the flattery of their respective armies and provinces could bestow; but their claim, founded on rebellion, could never claim the sanction of law or history. Italy, Rome, and the senate, constantly adhered to the cause of Gallicanus, and he alone was considered as the sovereign of the empire. That prince condescended, indeed, to acknowledge the victorious arms of Odenathus, who deserved the honourable distinction by the respectful conduct which he always maintained towards the son of Valer-

- The rapid and perpetual transitions Fatal conse- from the cottage to the throne, and from of these mancipation of the provinces. Asia and other emperors, that even an enemy ought to have respected the sanctity of Piso; and although he died in arms against Gallicanus, the senate, with the emperor's generous permission, decribed the triumphal ornaments to the memory of so virtuous a rebel.

- The male sex of every age must be extricated; pro- provided, that in the execution of the children and old men, you can contrive means to save our reputation. Let every one die who has dropped an expression,
who has entertained a thought against me, against us, the son of Valerian, the father and brother of so many princes. ¹ Remember that Ingenius was made emperor; an old sword, kill, hew in pieces. I write to you with my own hand, and would inspire you with my own feelings.² Whilst the public forces of the state were dissipated in private quarrels, the defenceless provinces lay exposed to every invader. The bravest usurpers were compelled, by the extremity of the situation, to conclude ignominious treaties with the common enemy, to purchase with oppressive tributes the neutrality or services of the barbarians, and to introduce hostile and independent nations into the heart of the Roman monarchy.³ The usurpers, and such the tyrants who, under the reigns of Valerian and Gallienus, dismembered the provinces, and reduced the empire to the lowest pitch of disgrace and ruin, from whence it seemed impossible that it should ever emerge. As far as the baseness of materials would permit, we have attempted to trace, with order and perspicuity, the general events of that calamitous period. There still remain some particular facts: I. The disorders of Sicily; II. The tumults of Alexandria; and, III. The rebellion of the Issurians, which may serve to redress the balance on the horizon of history.

Disorders of Sicily.

I. Whenever numerous troops of barbarians, multiplied by success and impunity, publicly defy, instead of subduing, the justice of their country, we may safely infer, that the excessive weakness of the government is felt and abused by the lowest ranks of the community. The situation of Sicily preserved it from the barbarians; nor could the disarmed province have supported an usurper. The sufferings of that once flourishing and still fertile island, were inflicted by barren hands. A licentious crowd of slaves and robbers reigned for a while over the plundered country, and revealed to the memory of the servile wars of more ancient times.⁴ Devastations, of which the husbandman was either the victim or the accomplice, must have ruined the agriculture of Sicily; and as the principal estates were the property of the opulent senators of Rome, who often enclosed within a farm the territory of an old republic, it is not improbable, that this private injury might affect the capital more deeply than all the conquests of the Goths or the Persians.

Tumults of Alexandria.

II. The foundation of Alexandria was a noble design, at once conceived and executed by the son of Philip. The beautiful and regular form of that great city, second only to Rome itself, comprehended a circumference of fifteen miles; ¹ it was peopled by three hundred thousand free citizens, besides at least three million of slaves. ² The lucrative trade of Arabia and India flowed through the port of Alexandria to the capital and provinces of the empire. Idleness was unknown. Some were employed in blowing of glass, others in weaving of linen, others again manufacturing the pa-pyrus. Either sex, and every age, was engaged in the pursuits of industry, nor did even the blind or the lame want occupations suited to their condition. ³ But the people of Alexandria, a various mixture of nations, united the vanity and inconstancy of the Greeks with the superstition and obstinacy of the Egyptians. The most trifling occasion, a transient scarcity of flesh or lentiles, the neglect of an accustomed salutation, a mistake of precedence in the public baths, or even a religious dispute,⁴ were at any time sufficient to kindle a sedition among that vast multitude, whose resentment was furious and implacable. ⁵ After the captivity of Valerian and the insolence of his son had extirpated every scruple ofconstraint or compulsion, they abandoned themselves to the ungoverned rage of their passions, and their unhappy country was the theatre of a civil war, which continued (with a few short and suspicious truces) above twelve years.⁶ All intercourse was cut off between the several quarters of the empire; the highway was not trodden by a foot, every building of strength converted into a citadel; nor did the tumults subside, till a considerable part of Alexandria was irretrievably ruined.° The spacious and magnificent district of Bruchion, with its palaces and museum, the residence of the kings and philosophers of Egypt, is described above a century afterwards, as already reduced to its present state of dreary solitude.⁷

III. The obscure rebellion of Trebel-Rebellion of the Issurians, who assumed the purple in Issuria, a province of Asia, ⁸ taking occasion of the strange and memorable consequences. The pagant of royalty was soon destroyed by an officer of Gallienus; but his followers, despairing of mercy, resolved to shake off their allegiance, not only to the emperor, but to the empire, and suddenly returned to the savage manners, from which they had never perfectly been reclaimed. Their craggy rocks, a branch of the wide extended Taurus, protected their inaccessible retreat. The tillage of some fertile valleys ⁹ supplied them with necessaries, and a habit of rapine with the luxuries of life. In the heart of the Roman monarchy, the Issurians established another nation and another government. Succeeding princes, unable to reduce them to obedience, either by arms or policy, were compelled to acknowledge their weakness, by surrounding the hostile and independent spot with a strong chain of fortifications, which often proved insufficient to restrain the incursions of these domestic foes. The Issurians, gradually extending their territory to the sea-coast, subdued the western and mountainous parts of Cilicia, formerly the nest of those daring pirates, against whom the republic had once been obliged to exert its utmost force, under the conduct of the great Pompey.¹⁰

Our habits of thinking so fondly on the importance of the universe with the fate of man, that this gloomy period of history has been in large measure decorated with the exploits of such infamous characters, earthquakes, uncommon meteors, preternatural darkness, and a crowd of prodigies, fictitious or exaggerated.¹¹ But a long and general famine was a calamity of a more serious kind. It was the inevitable consequence of rapine and oppression, which extirpated the produce of the present, and the hope of future harvests. Famine is almost always followed by epidemic diseases, the effect of scanty and unwholesome food. Other causes must, however, have contributed to the furious plague, which, from the year two hundred and fifty to the year two hundred and sixty-five, raged without interruption in

¹ Gallienus had given the titles of Caesar and Augustus to his son Salonius, slain at Cologne by the usurper Postumus. A second son of the emperor, to his elder brother Valerian, the brother of Gallienus, was also associated to the empire; several other brothers, sisters, nephews, and sons of the emperor, formed a very numerous royal family. See Tillemont, tom. iii. and M. de Breyquay in the Memóires de l'Académie, tom. xxvii. p. 269.

² Hist. August. p. 188. Without the consent of his fence, on the head of the magnificent walls of Rovani in his service. Posthuma, a body of Franks. It was perhaps in the character of auxiliaries that they introduced themselves into Spain. (The Augustus History, p. 177, calls it serviles bellicos. See Dio- dor. Sicul. i. xxxiv. ³ Pline, Nat. Hist. v. 10. ⁴ Diodor. Sicul. i. xvi. p. 206. Edit. Wesseling. ⁵ Lowrie, a very curious letter of Hadrian, in the Augustus History, p. 245.
every province, every city, and almost every family, of the Roman empire. During some time five thousand persons were daily in Rome; and many towns, that had escaped the hands of the barbarians, were entirely depopulated. a

Disintegration of the human species. We have the knowledge of a very curious circumstance, of some use perhaps in the melancholy calculation of human calamities. An exact register was kept at Alexandria, and it is said, even all the citizens entitled to receive the distribution of corn. It was found, that the ancient number of those comprised between the ages of forty and seventy, had been equal to the whole sum of claimants, from four-teen to fourscore years of age, who remained alive after the reign of Gallienus. Applying this authentic fact to the most correct table of mortality, it is evident, that above half the people of Alexandria had perished; and could we venture to extend the analogy to the other provinces, we might suspect, that war, pestilence, and famine, had consumed, in a few years, the moiety of the human species. b

CHAPTER XI.


Under the deplorable reign of Valerian and Gallienus, the empire was oppressed and almost destroyed by the soldiers, the tyrants, and the barbarians. It was saved by a series of great princes, who deprived their obscure origin from the martial provinces of Illyricum. Within a period of about thirty years, Claudius, Aurelianus, Victor Tacitus, Diocletian, and his colleagues, triumphed over the foreign and domestic enemies of the state, re-established, with the military discipline, the strength of the frontiers, and deserved the glorious title of restorers of the Roman world.

The removal of an effeminate tyrant into the provinces, made way for a succession of heroes, and blessed us. At the indig- nation of the people imputed all their calamities to Gallienus, and the far greater part were, indeed, the consequences of his dissolute manners and careless administration. He was even destitute of a sense of honour, which so frequently supplies a want of public virtue; and as long as he was permitted to enjoy the possession of Italy, a victory of the barbarians, the loss of a province, or the rebellion of a general, seldom disturbed the tranquil course of his pleasures. At length, a fresh conspiracy, and an army, 243. In the Upper Danube, invested with the imperial purple their leader Aureolus; who disregarding a confined and barren reign over the mountains of Rhaetia, passed the Alps, occupied Milan, threatened Rome, and challenged Gallienus to dispute in the field the sovereignty of Italy. The emperor, overcome by the insult, and alarmed by the instant danger, suddenly exerted that latent vigour, which sometimes broke through the indulgence of his temper. Forcing himself to the luxury of the palace, he appeared in arms at the head of his legions, and advanced beyond the Po to Cromnus. Aureolus, his hopes disappointed, renounced his name of Pontirolo a preserves the memory of a bridge over the Adda, which, during the action, must have proved an object of the utmost importance to both armies. The Ilherian usurper, after receiving a fatal blow, and having a large fleet of barbarians retracted into Milan. The siege of that great city was immediately formed; the walls were battered with every engine in use among the ancients; and Aureolus, doubtful of his internal strength, and hopeless of foreign succours, already anticipated the fatal consequences of his unsuccessful resistance.

His last resource was an attempt to seduce the loyalty of the besiegers. He scattered libels through their camp, inviting the troops to desert an unworthy master, who sacrificed the public happiness to his luxury, and the lives of his most valuable subjects to the slightest suspicions. The arts of Aureolus, skillful in the art of sedition, procured him the enmity of his rival. A conspiracy was formed by Heraclianus, the praetorian prefect, by Marcian, a general of rank and reputation, and by Cecrops, who commanded a numerous body of Dalmatian guards. The death of Gallienus was resolved; and notwithstanding their desire of first terminating the siege of Milan, the extreme danger which accompanied every moment's delay obliged them to hasten the execution of their daring purpose. At a late hour of the night, but while the emperor still protracted the pleasures of the table, an alarm was suddenly given, that Aureolus, at the head of all his forces, had made a deep inroad into the suburbs of Milan; Gallienus, who was never deficient in personal bravery, started from his silken couch, and without allowing himself time either to put on his armour, or to assemble his guards, he mounted on horseback, and rode full speed towards the supposed place of the attack. Encompassed by his declared or concealed enemies, he soon, amidst the nocturnal tumult, received a mortal dart from an uncertain hand. Before he expired, a patriotic sentiment rising in the mind of Gallienus, induced him to name a deserving successor, and it was his last request, that the imperial ornaments should be delivered to Claudius, who then commanded a detached army in the neighbourhood of Pavia. The report at least was diligently propagated, and the order cheerfully obeyed by the conspirators, who had already agreed to place Claudius on the throne. On the first news of the emperor's death, the troops expressed some surprise and regret, as the camp was removed, and the other assuaged, by a donation of twenty pieces of gold to each soldier. They then ratified the election, and acknowledged the merit of their new sovereign.

The obscurity which covered the origin of Claudius, though it was after-relativised by some flattering emperors, sufficiently betrays the mean-ness of his birth. We can only discover that he was a native of one of the provinces bordering on the Danube; that his youth was spent in arms, and that his modest valour attracted the favour and confidence of Decius. The senate and people already considered him as an excellent officer, equal to the most important trusts, and censured the inattention of Valerian, who suffered him to remain in the subordinate station of a tribune. But it was not long before that emperor distinguished the merit of Claudius, by declaring him general and chief of the Illrian frontier, with the command of all the troops in Thrace, Mesia, Dacia, Pannonia, and Dalmatia, the appointments of the prefect of Egypt, the establishment of the proconsul of Africa, and the sure prospect of the consulsiphip. By his victory over the Goths, he deserved from the senate the


b Enoseh, Hist. Ecclesiast. The fact is taken from the Letters of Dionysius, who, in the time of those troubles, was bishop of Alexandria.

c In a great number of parishes 11,000 persons were found between fourteen and eighty. 3553 between forty and seventy. See Buffon, Histoire Naturelle. The census of the year 1763 was taken between the French and Americans. The exact relation of the Chevalier de Ponce, who was present, gives a very distinct idea of the ground.

d See Pons de Ponce, tabl, xii. p. 222, 121.

1 On the death of Gallienus, see Trebellius Pollus in Hist, August, p. 561. Zosimeus, i. i. p. 57. Zonaras, i. xii, p. 621. Estplus, iv. 5. Aureolus Victor in Epitom. Victor in Caesar. I have compared and condensed them all, in the text, to the best advantage. See others who seem to have had the best memoirs.

2 Some supposed him, oddly enough, to be the bastard of the younger Gordian. Others took advantage of the province of Pardania, to dispose his origin from Pardania, and the ancient kings of Troy.
honour of a statute, and excited the jealous apprehen-
sions of Gallienus. It was impossible that a soldier
could esteem so dissolve a sovereign, nor is it easy
to conceal a just contempt. Some unguarded expres-
sions which drop from Claudioi, were officially trans-
mitted to us the mind of our friend and servitor,
Claudius. As you regard his allegiance, use every
means to appease his resentment, but conduct your
negotiation with secrecy; let it not reach the knowledge
of the Daenian troops; they are already provoked, and
it might inflame their fury. I myself have sent him
some presents: be it your care that he accept them
with pleasure. Above all, let him not suspect that
I am made acquainted with his impiety. The fear
of my anger might urge him to desperate counsels.1
The presents which accompanied this humble epistle,
in which the monarch solicited a reconciliation with his
distracted subject, consisted of a considerable sum
of money, a splendid wardrobe, and a valuable service
of silver and gold plate. By such arts Gallienus soft-
ened the indignation, and dispelled the fears of his
Illyrian general; and during the remainder of that
reign, the formidable sword of Claudioi was always
drawn in the shade. It was necessary that people,
and indolent from despair, could no longer supply a
numerous army with the means of luxury, or even of
subsistence; that the danger of each individual had
increased with the despotism of the military order,
since princes by their threats must still guard
with the intolerable sacrifice of every gallantly
subject. The emperor expatiated on the mischiefs of
a lawless caprice which the soldiers could only gratify
at the expense of their own blood; as their seditious
elections had so frequently been followed by civil wars,
which extinguished the flower of the Legion. On the
field of battle, or in the cruel abuse of victory. He
pointed in the most lively colours the exhausted state
of the treasury, the desolation of the provinces, the
disgrace of the Roman name, and the insolent triumph
of rapacious barbarians. It was against those barba-
rians, he declared, that he intended to direct the
first effort of his arms. Tetricus might reign for a
while over the west, and even Zenobia might preserve
the dominions of the east.2 These usurpers were his per-
sonal adversaries; nor could he think of indulging any
private resentment till he had saved an empire, whose
imperious property he had been so lately, and so timely prevented,
crush both the army and the people.

The various nations of Germany and A. D. 269.
Sarmatia, who fought under the Gothic The Gothi
standard, had already collected an armi, the empi
ament more formidable than any which had yet issued
from their fathers in the east. They brought
thousand, and the flower of the Legion. On the banks of the Niassa, one
of the great rivers that discharge themselves into that
sea, they constructed a fleet of two thousand, or even
of six thousand vessels; numbers which, however in-
credible they may seem, would have been insufficient
to transport their pretended army of three hundred
and twenty thousand barbarians. Whatever might be
the real strength of the Goths, the vigour and success
of the expedition were not adequate to the greatness of
the preparations. In their passage through the Bos-
phorus, the unskilful pilots were overpowered by the
violence of the current; and while the multitude of
their ships were crowded in a narrow channel, many
were dashed against each other, or against the shore.
The barbarians made several descents on the coasts
both of Europe and Asia; but the open country was
already plundered, and they were repulsed with shame
and confusion, and compelled to retreat from the
fortified cities which they assaulted. A spirit of discouragement and division arose in the

1 Notitia, a periodical and official dispatch which the emperors
received from the fragmentor, or agents disposed through the pro-
vincial governors, through which means they might be acquainted with
the state of the empire in a just and even form manner. But we may distrust the partiality of the
transcribers.

2 Hist. August. p. 203. There are some trifling differences con-
cerning the circumstances of the last defeat and death of Aureolus,
which may perhaps be accounted for by the inaccuracy of Gallienus.
The emperor had occasioned the damnation of Aureolus. The senate decried his relations and
severed from the see. He was thrown down headlong from the Geoponian stai
An officious officer of the revenue had his eyes torn out whilst under examination.

1 Zonaras, i. xii. p. 337.
2 Zonaras on this occasion mentions Postumnus; but the regis-
ters of Gallienus and Postumnus are not known, the event is not recorded by
The Augusta History mentions the smaller, Zonaras the larger, number: the lively fancy of Montiuseus induced him to prefer the
latter.
flee, and some of their chiefs sailed away towards the islands of Crete and Cyprus; but the main body, pursuing a more steady course, anchored at length near the foot of Mount Athos, and assailing the town by land from the top of all the Macedonian provinces. Their attacks, in which they displayed a fierce but artless bravery, were soon interrupted by the rapid approach of Claudius, hastening to a scene of action that deserved the presence of a warlike prince at the head of the remaining powers of the empire. The garrison, overwhelmed by numbers and broken up by their camp, relinquished the siege of Thessalonica, left their navy at the foot of Mount Athos, traversed the hills of Macedonia, and pressed forwards to engage the last defence of Italy.

We still possess an original letter from Zonaras to Claudius the senate and people on this memorable occasion.

"Conscript fathers," says the emperor, "know that three hundred and twenty thousand Goths have invaded the Roman territory. If I vanquish them, your gratitude will reward my services. Should I fall, recompense for the sword, but the whole republic is fatigued and exhausted. We shall fight after Varianus, after Ingenius, Regillianus, Lollianus, Posthumus, Celsius, and a thousand others, whom a just contempt for Gallienus provoked into rebellion. We are in want of darts, of spears, and of some pickets. These have been taken away from the emperor, and the vessels that were usurped by Tetricus, and we blush to acknowledge that the archers of the east serve under the banners of Zenobia. Whatever we shall perform, will be sufficiently great." The melancholy firmness of this epistle announces a hero careless of his fate, conscious of his danger, but still deriving a well-grounded hope from the conduct of the times.

His victory over the Goths.

The event surpassed his own expectations and those of the world. By the most signal victories he delivered the empire from this host of barbarians, and was distinguished by posterity under the glorious appellation of the Gothic Claudius. The immediate conquerors of an irregular war do not enable us to describe the order and circumstances of his exploits; but, if we could be indulged in the allusion, we might distribute into three acts this memorable tragedy. I. The decisive battle was fought near Naissus, a city of Dardania. The legions at first gave way, opressed by the superiority of the enemy; but the gods, or the victorious Trajan, who had been moved to assist in the preservation of the place, turned the tide of battle. The victory was immediately proclamed by the activity of Claudius. He revived the courage of his troops, restored their ranks, and pressed the barbarians on every side. Fifty thousand men are reported to have been slain in the battle of Naissus. Several large bodies of barbarians, covering their retreat with a snow of corpse, were pursued and defeated, or gathered from the field of slaughter. II. We may presume that some insurmountable difficulty, the fatigue, perhaps, or the disobedience, of the conquerors, prevented Claudius from completing in one day the destruction of the Goths. The war was diffused over the provinces of Macedonia, Thrace, and Macedonia, and its operations drawn out into a variety of marches, surprises, and tumultuary engagements; as well by sea as by land. When the Romans suffered any loss, it was commonly occasioned by the foray, arrogance or rashness; but the superior talents of the emperor, his perfect knowledge of the country, and his judicious choice of measures as well as officers, assured on most occasions the success of his arms. The immense booty, the fruit of so many victories, was distributed among the rank and file of the service and slaves. A select body of the Gothic youth was received among the imperial troops; the remainder was sold into servitude; and so considerable was the number of female captives, that every soldier obtained to his share two or three women. A circumstance from which we may conclude, that the invaders of the empire were disposed to settle as well as plunder; since even in a naval expedition they were accompanied by their families. III. The loss of their fleet, which was either taken or sunk, had intercepted the retreat of the Goths. A vast circle of Roman posts, distributed with skill, supported with firmness, and gradually narrowing, forced the barbarians into the inmost inaccessible parts of mount Hsmus, where they found a safe refuge, but a very scanty subsistence. During the course of a rigorous winter, in which they were besieged by the emperor's troops, famine and pestilence, desertion and fatigue, seized them, and the retreat or the imprisoned multitude. On the return of spring, A.D. 270, nothing appeared in arms except a hardy and desperate hand, the remnant of that mighty host which had embarked at the mouth of the Niester.

The pestilence which swept away March, Death, and the battalions of Gotudus, who recommended Aurelianus to the Roman people for his successor. After a short but glorious reign of two years, Claudius expired at Sirmium, amidst the tears and acclamations of his subjects. In his last illness, he convened the principal officers of the state and army, and in their presence recommended Aurelianus, one of his generals, as the most deserving of the throne, and the best qualified to execute the great design which he himself had been permitted only to undertake. The virtues of Claudius, his valour, affection, justice, and temperance, his love of fame and of his country, place him in that short list of emperors who added lustre to the Roman name. These virtues, however, were celebrated with peculiar zeal and complacency by the courtly writers of the age of Constantine, who was the great grandson of Crispus, the elder brother of Claudius. The voice of flattery was soon taught to repeat, that the gods, who so hastily had selected Claudius, had again, in the person of Aurelian, rewarded his merit and piety by the perpetual establishment of the empire in his family.

Notwithstanding these oracles, the The attempt and greatness of the Flavian family (a name fall of Quintilius which it had pleased them to assume) was deferred above twenty years; and the elevation of Claudius occasioned the immediate ruin of his brother Quintilius, who possessed not sufficient moderation or courage to descend into the private station to which the patriotism of the late emperor had condemned him. Without delay or reflection, he assumed the purple at Aquileia, where he informed the Senate of his elevation, and though his reign lasted only seventeen days, he had time to obtain the sanction of the senate, and to experience a mutiny of the troops. As soon as he was informed that the great army of the Danube had invested the well-known valour of Aurelian with imperial power, he sunk under the fame and merit of his rival; and ordering his veil to be opened, prudently withdrew himself from the unequal contest.*

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* According to Zosimus (I. ii. p. 582.) Claudius, before his death, invested him with the purple; but this singular fact is rather contradicted than confirmed by other writers.

† See the life of Claudius by Pollio, and the orations of Manetiius, Eunomius, and others, in Zosimus, i. p. 213. In Julian it was not adulation but superstition and vanity.

‡ This says the most of the ancient historians; but the number of his males and the variety of his improvements are not made more time, and render the account which Zosimus gives, that he reigned some months, more probable. — L.

§ Zosimus, i. I. p. 22. Pollio (Hist. Aug. p. 587.) allows him virtues
The general design of this work will

The death of Claudius had revived the

command.

He concludes a

fainting spirit of the Goths. The troops

which guarded the passes of Mount Ha-

had been drawn away by the apprehension of a civil war; and it seems

probable that the remaining body of the Gothic and

Vandalic tribes embraced the favourable opportunity,

abandoned their settlements of the Ukraine, traversed

the rivers, and swelled with new multitudes the de-

fenseless spaces of Sardinia. Pertinax, who

occupied a small farm, the property of Aurelius, a

rich senator. His warlike son enlisted in the troops

as a common soldier, successively rose to the rank of

a centurion, a tribune, the prefect of a legion, the in-

spector of the camp, the general, or, as it was then

called, the duke, of a frontier. At length, during

the Gothic war, exercised the important office of com-

mander in chief of the cavalry. In every station he

distinguished himself by matchless valour, rigid dis-

cipline, and successful conduct. He was invested

with the conouship by the emperor Valerian, who

styles him, in the pompous language of that age, the

deliverer of Illyricum, the restorer of Gaul, and the

rival of the Scipios. At the recommendation of Valer-

ian, a senator of the highest rank and merit, Ulpius

Crininus, whose blood was derived from the same

source as that of Trajan, adopted the Pannonian hero;

received his daughter in marriage, and relieved

with his ample fortune the honourable poverty which

Aurelian had preserved inviolate.

Aurelian's sue-

The reign of Aurelian lasted only

four years and about nine months; but

every instance that short period was filled by some

memorable achievement. He put an end to the Gothic

war, chastised the Germans who invaded Italy, recov-

ered Gaul, Spain, and Britain out of the hands of Ter-

ticus, and destroyed the proud monarchy which Zen-o-

bia had erected in the east, on the ruins of the alli-

ated Gothic and Arabian empires.

It was the rigid attention of Aurelian, even to the minutest articles of discipline, which bestowed such uninterrupted success on his arms. His military regulations are contained in a

very concise epitome to one of his inferior officers, who is

commanded to enforce them, as he wishes to become

a tribune, or as he is desirous to live. Gaming, drink-

ing, and the arts of divination, were strictly prohi-

ited. Aurelian expected that his soldiers should be

modest, frugal, and laborious; that their armour should

be constantly kept bright, their spurs always ready for immediate service; that they should live in their quarters with chastity and sobriety, without damaging the corn fields, without stealing even a sheep, a fowl, or a bunch of grapes,

without exacting from their landlords, either salt, or

cloth, or viol. The public voice, "continued the em-

peror, "is sufficient for their support; their wealth

should be collected from the spoil of the enemy, not

from the treasurers of the provinces." A single instance

will serve to display the rigour, and even cruelty, of

Aurelian. One of the soldiers had seduced the wife

of his host. The guilty wretch was fastened to two

trees forebly drawn towards each other, and his limbs

were torn asunder by their sudden separation. A few

such examples impressed a salutary consternation.

The punishments of Aurelian were terrible; but

he had seldom occasion to punish more than once the same man on an occasion; he gave a sanctity to

his laws, and the seditions legions dreaded a chief

and says, that, like Perlimwick, he was killed by the licentious soldiers.

According to Dexippus, he died of a disease.

Theodosius (as quoted in the Augustan History, p. 211) affirms that

he died of a disease, with his own hand, by the eight Samianians, and in several subsequent engagements nine hundred and fifty. This
demonic raving was admired by the soldiers, and celebrated in their regiments of which were, mille, mille, mille, acutus.

Aurelius (as Hist. August, p. 212) describes the ceremony of the adoption, as it were performed at Byzantium, in the presence of the emperor and his great officers.

Hist. August, p. 211. This demonic epitome is the usual work of a

soldier, and the military phrase is much used in the ancient

terminology. The former part of the sentence means of

offence, and is contrasted with armes, defensive remonstrance. The

latter signifies keen and well sharpened.

The Vandals, and the Goths who had learned to obey, and who was worthy to

command.

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The Vandals, and the Goths who had learned to obey, and who was worthy to

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the invasions of the savages of the north. A sense of interest attacked the more settled barbarians to the alliance of Rome, and a permanent interest very frequently ripens into sincere and useful friendship. This various colony, which filled the ancient province, and was insensibly blended into one great people, still aunt in the Latin speech and authority of the Gothic tribe, and claimed the fragments of the warlike Scandinavian origin. At the same time the lucky though accidental resemblance of the name of Geta, infused among the cedulous Goths a vain persuasion, that, in a remote age, their own ancestors, already seated in the Lombard dominions, had received the instructions of Zanomix, and checked the victorious arms of Sesostris and Darius.¹

The Alemanni While the vigorous and moderate conqueror of Aurelian restored the Illyrian frontier, the nation of the Alemanni ² violated the condition of peace, which either Galleus had purchased, or Claudius had imposed, and, inflamed by their impatient youth, suddenly flew to arms. Forty thousand horse appeared in the field,³ and the numbers of the infantry doubled those of the cavalry.⁴ The first objects of their aversion were a few cities of the Rhodian frontier; but their hopes soon rising with success, the rapid advances of the Alemanni placed the line of devastation from the Danube to the Po.⁵

A.D. 270. The emperor was almost at the same time informed of the irruption, and of the retreat of the barbarians. Collecting an active body of troops, he marched with silence and celerity along the coast of the Germanic forest; and the Alemanni, laden with the spoils of Italy, arrived at the Danube, without suspecting, that on the opposite bank, and in an advantageous post, a Roman army lay concealed and prepared to intercept their return. Aurelian indulged the first security of the barbarians, and permitted about half their forces to pass the retired honour of the Danube, without further precaution. Their situation and astonishment gave him an easy victory; his skilful conduct improved the advantage. Placing the legions in a semicircular form, he advanced the two horns of the crescent across the Danube, and wheeled them on a sudden towards the centre, inclosed the rear of the German host. The dismayed barbarians, on whatsoever side they cast their eyes, beheld with des- pairs a wasted country, a deep and rapid stream, a victor- ious and implacable enemy.

But with this distressed condition, the Alemanni no longer distrusted the power of peace. Aurelian received their ambassadors at the head of his camp, and with every circumstance of martial pomp that could display the greatness and discipline of Rome. The legions stood to their arms in well ordered ranks and awful silence. The principal commanders, distinguished by the ensigns of their rank, appeared on horseback on either side of the imperial throne. Behind the throne, the consecrated images of the emperor, and his predecessors, the golden eagles, and the various titles of the legions, engraved in letters of gold, were seen in the air on lofty pikes covered with silver. When Aurelian assumed his seat, his majesty grace and majestic figure ² taught the barbarians to revere the person as well as the purple of their conqueror. The ambassadors fell prostrate on the ground in silence. They were commanded to rise, and permitted to speak. By the assistance of interpreters, they extenuated their perfidy, magnified their exploits, explicated on the vicissitudes of war, and the advantages of peace. With an ill-timed confidence, they demanded a large subsidy, as the price of the alliance which they offered to the Romans. The answer of the emperor was stern and imperious. He treated their offer with contempt, and their demand with indignation, reproached the barbarians that they were igno- rants of the art of the war as of the laws of peace, and finally dismissed them with the choice only of submitting to his unconditioned mercy, or awaiting the utmost severity of his resentment.⁶ Aurelian had resigned a distant province to the Goths; but it was dangerous to trust or to pardon these perilous barbarians, whose formidable power kept Italy itself in perpetual alarms. Immediately after this conference, it is said that some unspecified intervention of the emperor's presence in Pannonia, drove the Alemanni to the measure of finishing the destruction of both the Alemanni, or her by her sword, or the success of famine. But an active des- pair had often triumphed over the indolent assurance of success. The barbarians, finding it impossible to traverse the Danube and the Roman camp, broke through the posts in their rear, which were more fuels than breastworks, less carefully guarded; and with incredible diligence, by a different road, returned towards the mountains of Italy.⁷ Aurelian, who considered the war as totally extinguished, received the mortifying intelligence of the escape of the Alemanni, and of the revenge which they already committed in the territory of Milan. They were ordered to follow, with as much expedition as those heavy bodies were capable of exerting, the rapid flight of an enemy, whose infantry and cavalry moved almost with equal swiftness. A few days afterwards the emperor himself marched to the relief of Italy, at the head of a chosen body of auxiliaries, (among whom were the hostages and cavalry of the Vandals,) and of all the praetorian guards who had served in the wars on the Danube.⁸

As the light troops of the Alemanni had spread themselves from the Alps to the Apennines, the Alemanni, whose insignificance of arms, and servile condition, the vigor and abilities of Aurelian and his officers was exercised in the discovery, the attack, and the pursuit of the numerous detachments. Notwithstanding this desultory war, three considerable battles are mentioned, in which the principal force of both armies was obstinately engaged.⁹ The success was various. In the first, fought near Placentia, the Romans received so severe a blow, that, according to the expression of a writer extremely partial to Aurelian, the immediate dissolution of the empire was apprehended.⁰ The crafty barbarians, who had lined up their foals, suddenly attacked the legions in the sight of the emperor, and, it is most probable, after the fatigue and disorder of a long march. The fury of their charge was irresistible; but at length, after a dreadful slaughter, the patient firmness of the emperor rallied his troops, and retouched, in some degree, the honour of his arms. The second battle was fought near Pannon in Umbria; on the spot which, five hundred years before, had been fatal to the brother of Hannibal.¹¹ Thus far the successful

¹ See the first chapter of Jornandes. The Vandals, however, (c. 540) maintained a short independence between the rivers Marsia and Croton (Maurus and Croton) which fell into the Tyrrhenian Sea.

² Descriptions, p. 7—110. Zosimus, l. 1. p. 43. Vopiscus in Aurelian. Hist. August. p. 913. Alemanni, Jutungi, and Marcomanni, it is evident that they meant the same people, and the same war; but it requires some care to conciliate and explain them.

³ Canoelanus, with his usual accuracy, chooses to translate three hundred thousand; his version is equally repugnant to sense and grammar.

⁴ We may remark, as an instance of bad taste, that in the Amphilopus applies to the light infantry of the Alemanni the technical term per se to the Grecian phalanx.

⁵ In the Alemanni, we present Rhodanus; M. de Voius very judiciously alters the word to Eridanos.

⁶ As far as I can ascertain of the number; but we are ignorant how far this mark of respect was extended; if to Caesar and Augustus, it must have produced a very awful spectacle; a long line of the masters of the world.


⁸ Descriptions, p. 106.


¹⁰ The little river, or rather torrent, of Metaurus near Pannon, has
The Roman army had advanced along the Æmilian and Flaminian way, with a design of sacking the defenceless mistress of the world. But Aurelian, who, watchful for the safety of Rome, still hung on their rear, found in this place the decisive moment of giving them a total and irretrievable defeat. The flight of the van, on which their host was exterminated in a third and last battle near Pavia; and Italy was delivered from the inroads of the Alemanni.

Fear has been the original parent of superstition, and has been the cause of every calamity which has befallen trembling mortals to deprecate the wrath of their invisible enemies. Though the best hope of the republic was in the valour and conduct of Aurelian, yet such was the public consternation, when the barbarians were hourly expected at the gates of Rome, that by a decree of the Senate, and without the consultation of the people, Friday, which was considered as having been the day of the battle of Pavia, was prohibited. In the meantime the Shylline books were consulted. Even the emperor himself, from a motive either of religion or of policy, recommended this Sabine festival, chided the tardiness of the senate, and offered to supply whatever expense, whatever animals, whatever captives of any nation, the gods should require. Notwithstanding this liberal offer, it does not appear that any human victims expiated with their blood the sins of the Roman people. The Shylline books enjoined ceremonies of a more harmless nature, processions of priests in white robes attended by a chorus of youths and virgins;hurst, and processions of Jupiter and Juno, and adjacent deities; and sacrifices whose powerful influence disabled the barbarians from passing the mystic ground on which they had been celebrated. However puerile in themselves, these superstitious arts were subversive to the success of the war, and if in the beginning of the first battle of Pavia, the Alemanni fancied they saw an army of speers combattant on the side of Aurelian, he received a real and effectual aid from this imaginary reinforcement.

Fortifications of. But whatever confidence might be placed in ideal ramparts, the experience of the past, and the events of the future, indicated to the Romans the necessity of constructing fortifications of a more solid and more substantial kind. The seven hills of Rome had been surrounded, by the successors of Romulus, with an ancient wall of more than thirteen miles. The vast enclosure may seem disproportionate to the strength and the size of the infant state. But it was necessary, in order to secure an ample extent of pasture and arable land, against the frequent and sudden incursions of the tribes of Latium, the perpetual enemies of the republic. With the progress of Roman greatness, the city and its inhabitants gradually increased, filled up the vast spaces through which the useful field of Mars, and, on every side, followed the public highways in long and beautiful suburbs. The extent of the new walls, erected by Aurelian, and finished in the reign of Probus, was magnified by popular estimation to about fifty miles, but is reduced by accurate measurement to about twenty-one miles. It was a great but melancholy labour, since the defence of the capital betrayed the decline of the monarchy. The Romans of a more prosperous age, who trusted to the arms of the legions the safety of the frontier camps, were very far from entertaining a suspicion, that it would ever become necessary to fortify the seat of empire against the inroads of the barbarians.

The victory of Claudius over the Goths, and the success of Aurelian against the Alamanni, had already restored to the two armies of Rome their ancient superiority over the barbarous nations of the north. To chastise domestic tyrants, and pacify the provinces of the empire, was a task reserved for the second of those warlike emperors. Though he was acknowledged by the senate and people, the frontiers of Italy, Africa, Illyricum, and Thrace, confined the limits of his reign. Gaul, Spain, and Britain, Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor, were still preserved by two of the most formidable powers of so numerous a list, had hitherto escaped the dangers of their situation; and to complete the ignominy of Rome, these rival thrones had been usurped by women.

A rapid succession of monarchs had

Succession of "of that prince were stained by a licentious passion, which he indulged in acts of violence, with too little regard to the laws of society, or even to those of love. He was succeeded by a succession of jealous husbands, whose revenge would have appeared more justifiable, had they spared the innocence of his son. After the murder of so many valiant princes, it is somewhat remarkable, that a female for a long time controlled the fierce legions of Gaul, and still more remarkable, that the son of a woman was fair and impertinent. The arts and treasures of Victoria enabled her successively to place Marcus and Tetrius on the throne, and to reign with a manly vigour under the name of those dependent emperors. Money of copper, of silver, and of gold, was coined in her name; and among the spoils of the imperial cities in the province of the Camps; her power ended only with her life; but her life was perhaps shortened by the ingratitude of Tetricus.

When, at the instigation of his ambition, he had succeeded his father, the sacred titles of Augustus and Monarch of the World, for the peaceable province of Aquitania, an employment suited to his character and education. He reigned four or five years over Gaul, Spain, and Britain, the slave and sovereign of a licentious army, whom he dreaded, and by whom he was despised. The valour and fortune of Aurelian at length opened the prospect of a deliverance. He ventured to disclose his melancholy

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\[ \text{Santir. Hist. iv. 23.} \]


3 See Nardini, Roma Antica, l. c. 8.

4 The character of this prince by Julius Afranius (ap. Hist. Aug. ii. 30). He was considered as a"Aurélius" by the ancient historians. Aurelian, the successor of Gallus, the victor over the Goths, seems to have been the name of the prince of Wadick. There are many which bear the name of Loccinoi, which seem to have been the name of the rival of Posthumus. (Eck. Domin. Num. vol. vii. 492.)

5 The name of the prince, and is considered as one of the most remarkable in history."Aurelian," the name of or army agent, Hist. August. p. 222. Aurelii Victor in Florio, l. c. 8."

6 See Nardini, Roma Antica, l. c. 8.

7 See Nardini, Roma Antica, l. c. 8.
station, raised himself to the dominion of the East! She soon became the friend and companion of a hero. In the intervals of war, Odenathus passionately devoted himself to her. He would feed the wild beasts of the desert, lions, panthers, and bears; and the ardour of Zenobia in that dangerous amusement was not inferior to his own. She had incurred her constitution to fatigue, disinclined the use of a covered carriage, generally appeared on horseback in a military habit, and sometimes marched several miles on foot at the head of the troops. The success of Odenathus was in a great measure ascribed to her incomparable prudence and fortitude. Their splendid victory over the great king, whom they twice pursued as far as the gates of Ctesiphon, laid open to them united fame and glory.

After a successful expedition against Armenia, the Palmyrenian prince returned to the city of Emesa in Syria. Invincible in war, he was there cut off by domestic infirmities. His favourite minister, Magonius, says, there was not any mention of the rewards of Autunus. Such indeed, is the policy of civil war: severely to remember injuries, and to forget the most important services. Revenge is profitable, gratitude is expensive.

A.D. 272.

The Cæsars of Zenobia, person and provinces of Trezicus, when he turned his arms against Zenobia, the celebrated queen of Palmyra and the east. Modern Europe had produced several illustrious women who have sustained with glory the weight of empire; nor is our own age destitute of such distinguished characters. But none, except the doubtful achievements of Semiramis, and the fabulous tales of female valour. Zenobia was esteemed the most lovely woman of Asia, by the conqueror from the Macedonian kings of Egypt, inquired into her beauty her chief beauty, and valued. Zenobia was esteemed the most lovely her beauty and as well as the most heroic of her sex. Her was of a dark complexion (for, in speaking of a lady, these terms become important!) The grace of her person and figure, the largeness of her gestures, the amiable countenance and smile, and the most attractive sweetness. Her voice was strong and harmonious. Her manners was strengthened and adorned by study. Her was not ignorant of the Latin tongue, but possessed in equal perfection the Greek, the Syrian, and the Egyptian languages. She had drawn up for her own use an epitome of oriental history, and familiarly compared the beauties of Homer and Plato under the tuition of the sublime Longinus.

This accomplished woman gave her hand to Odenathus, who, from a private

2 Pollio in Hist. August. p. 150. Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 209. The two Victories, in the lives of Gallienus and Aurelian, Eutrop. ix. 13. Euseb. in Chron. Of all these writers, only the two last (Butier and Cleer) keep after the fall of the Empires before that of Zenobia. M. B. Rose (in the Academy of Inscriptions, tom. i. 421.) does not write, and Tillmont, at least makes it uncertain. If Zenobia were, as the former conjecture, to be considered as one of the Roman generals, she was sent against Odenathus, the senator and general, who had been the object of the Roman generals, who had been sent against her, to retreat into Europe, with the loss of his army and his reputation. Instead of the little passions which so frequently perplex a female reign, the steady administration of Zenobia was guided by the most judicious maxim of policy. If it was expedient to pardon, she could claim her resentment: if it was necessary to punish, she could impose silence on the voice of pity. Her strict economy was accursed of avarice; yet on every proper occasion she appeared magnificent and liberal. The neighbourhood of Arabia, Armenia, and Persia, breaded her vanity, and solicited her alliance. With the dominions of Odenathus, which extended from the Euphrates to the frontiers of Bithynia, his widow ad

5 According to Zosimus, Odenathus was of an illustrious family in Palmyra, and according to Procopius, he was the son of a money-lender, who lived upon the banks of the Euphrates. (Eck. Doct. Natum. Vet. vol. vi. p. 469. 470.)

6 Hist. August. p. 193, 193. Zosimus, l. i. p. 36. Zonaras, lxi. p. 633. The last is clear and probable, the others confused and incorrect. The text of Syncellus, if not corrupt, is absolutely erroneous. Odenathus and Zenobia often sent from the spoil of the enemy, presents of gems and toys, which he received with infinite delight.

7 Some very unjust suspicions have been cast on Zenobia, as if she was necessary to her husband's death.
ded the inheritance of her ancestors, the populous and fertile kingdom of Egypt. 4 The emperor Claudius acknowledged her merit, and was content, that, while he pursued the Gothic war, she should assert the dignity of the empire in the east. 5 The conduct, however, of Zenobia was attended with some ambiguity; not only she declared, that she had succeeded her father in erecting an independent and hostile monarchy. She blended with the popular manners of Roman princes the stately pomp of the courts of Asia, and exalted from her subjects the same adoration that was paid to the successors of Cyrus. 6 She bestowed on her three sons a sound education, and often showed them to the troops adorned with the imperial purple. For herself she reserved the diadem, with the splendid but doubtful title of Queen of the East.

The expedition of Aurelian, 7 against an adversary whose sex alone could render her an object of contempt, his presence restored obedience to the province of Bithynia, already shaken by the arms and intrigues of Zenobia. 8 Advancing at the head of his legions, he received the submission of An条, and was admitted into the palace of the conqueror by the help of a perfidious citizen. The generals through fierce tempests of Aurelian abandoned the traitor to the rage of the soldiers: a supertitious reverence induced him to treat with lenity the countrymen of Apollonius the philosopher. 9 Antioch was deserted on his approach, till he showed his salutary threats to the fugitives, and granted a general pardon to all who, from necessity rather than choice, had been engaged in the service of the Palmyrenian queen. The unexpected mildness of such a conduct reconciled the minds of the Syrians, and, as far as the gates of Emesa, the wishes of the people seconded the terror of his arm weights: 

The emperor desires that the Palmyrenian reputation, had she indolently permitted the west to approach within an hundred miles of her capital. The fate of the east was decided in two great battles; so similar in almost every circumstance, that we can scarcely distinguish them from each other, except by observing that the first was fought near Antioch, and the second near Emesa. 10 In both, the queen of Palmyra animated the armies by her presence, and devolved the execution of her orders on Zabdas, who had rendered considerable military talents by the conquest of Egypt. The numerous forces of Zenobia consisted for the most part of light archers, and of heavy cavalry clothed in complete steel. The Moorish and Illyrian horse of Aurelian were unable to sustain the ponderous chariots of the enemy. They fled in real or affected disorder, engaged the Palmyrenians in a laborious pursuit, harassed them by a desultory combat, and at length discomfited this impenetrable and unwieldy body of cavalry. The light infantry, in the mean time, when they had exhausted their quivers, remaining without protection against a closer onset, exposed their naked sides to the swords of the legions. Aurelian had chosen these veteran troops, who were usually stationed on the Upper Danube, and whose valor had been severely tried in the Alemannic war. 11 After the defeat of Emesa, Zenobia found it impossible to collect a third army. As far as the frontiers of Egypt, the emperor, with the nion of the enemy, the design of his powerful adversary the conqueror, who detached Probus, the bravest of his generals, to possess himself of the Egyptian provinces. Palmyra was the last resource of the widow of Odenathus. She retired within the walls of her capital, made every preparation for a vigorous resistance: but there the city was circumscribed, though favoured by advantageous situation between the Gulf of Persia and the Mediterranean, was soon frequented by the caravans which conveyed to the nations of Europe a considerable part of the rich commodities of India. Palmyra insensibly lost the power of her old greatness, recalled the incidents of the war, connecting the Roman and the Parthian monarchies by the mutual benefits of commerce, was suffered to observe an humble neutrality, till at length, after the victories of Trajan, the little republic sunk into the bowels of Rome, and flourished no more than one hundred years. Had she been able to maintain herself, she might have taken the place and honours of a colony. It was during that peaceful period, if we may judge from a few remaining inscriptions, that the wealthy Palmyrenians constructed those temples, palaces, and porticoes of Greek architecture, whose ruins, scattered over an extent of several miles, have preserved the cultivation of our travellers. The elevation of Odenathus and Zenobia appeared to reflect new splendour on their country, and Palmyra, for a while, stood forth the rival of Rome; but the competition was fatal, and ages of prosperity were sacrificed to a moment of glory. 

4 This appears very doubtful—Claudius during his reign had been styled emperor, by the medals of Alexandria, which are very numerous; if Zenobia, on any pretence in Egypt, it must have been after the commencement of the reign of Aurelian—for the same reason her conquests as far as Galata is improbable. Perhaps Zenobia had governed the province of Arabia, and been declared to reign before the death of the last prince, subjected it entirely to her own power.

5 See in Hist. August. p. 192. Aurelian's testimony to her merit; and for the conquest of Egypt, Zosimus, i. p. 39, 40.

6 Timolius, Herennianus, and Valbusius. It is supposed that the two former were already dead before the war. On the last, Aurelian's equal, with the province of Arabia, which the title of king and several of his medals are still attest. See Tellinen, tom. iii. p. 1190.

7 Zosimus, i. p. 44. 8 Vopiscus (in Hist. August. p. 217) gives us an authentic letter, and a doubtful vision of Aurelian. Apollonius of Tyana was born about this same time as Jesus Christ. His life (that of the former) is related in so fabulous a manner by his disciples, that we are at a loss to determine what was a fable, an age, an impostor, or a fanatic.

9 Zosimus, i. p. 46. 10 At a place called Imna. Eutropius, Sextus, Rufus, and Jerome, mention only this last battle.

11 Zosimus, i. p. 44—48. His account of the two battles is clear and circumstantial.

12 Thus the hundred and thirty seven miles from Seleucia, and two hundred and three from the nearest point of Syria, agree according to the reckoning of Pliny, who, in a few words, (Hist. Natur. v. 21. 28,) gives an excellent description of Palmyra.

13 Some English travellers from Aleppo discovered the ruins of Palmyra as late as the last century. Our curiosity has since been gratified in a more splendid manner by Moorewood and Dawkes. For the history of Palmyra, we may consult the masterly dissertation of Dr. Bailey in the Philosophical Transactions: Lowthorp's Abridgment, vol. iii. p. 518.
vourable to all my undertakings."

Doubling, however, of the protection of the gods, and of the event of the story, Aurelian judged it prudent to offer terms of an advantageous capitulation; to the queen, a splendid retreat; to the citizens, their ancient privileges. His proposals were obstinately rejected, and the refusal was accompanied with insult.

The firmness of Zenobia was supported by the hopes, that in a very short time famine would compel the Roman army to repass the desert; and by the reasonable expectation that the kings of the East, and particularly the Persian monarch, would arm in the defence of their most natural ally. But fortune and the perseverance of Aurelian, who had been confirmed in his purpose by a dream, which happened about this time, distracted the councils of Persia, and the inconsiderable successes which attempted to relieve Palmyra, were easily intercepted either by the arms or the liberality of the emperor. From every part of Syria, a regular succession of convoys safely arrived in the camp, which was increased by the return of Probus with his victorious troops from the conquest of Egypt. It was then that Zenobia resolved to fly. She mounted the fleetest of her dromedaries, and had already reached the banks of the Euphrates, about sixty miles from Palmyra, when she was overtaken by the pursuit of Aurelian’s light troops, before a dangerous and captive to the feet of the emperor. Her capital soon afterwards surrendered, and was treated with unexpected lenity. The arms, horses, and camels, with an immense treasure of gold, silver, silk, and precious stones, were all delivered to the conqueror, who, leaving only a garrison of six hundred archers, returned to Emesa, and employed some time in the distribution of rewards and punishments at the end of so memorable a war, which restored to the obedience of Rome those provinces that had renounced their allegiance since the captivity of Valerian.

Behaviour of Zenobia. While the Syrian queen was brought into the presence of Aurelian, she sternly asked her, How she had presumed to rise in arms against the emperors of Rome! The answer of Zenobia was a prudent mixture of respect and firmness. "Because I disdained to consider as Roman emperors an Arioch or a Gaugamela, I raised the generous despair of Cleopatra, which she had proposed as her model, and ignominiously purchased life by the sacrifice of her fame and her friends. It was to their counsels, which governed the weakness of her sex, that she imputed the guilt of her obstinate resistance; it was on the contrary, that she directed the vengeance of the cruel Aurelian. The fame of Longinus, who was included among the numerous and perhaps innocent victims of her fear, will survive that of the queen who betrayed, or the tyrant who condemned, him. Genius and learning were incapable of moving a fierce unlettered soldier, but they had served to elevate and harmonize the soul of Longinus. Without uttering a complaint, he calmly followed the executioner, pitting his unhappy mistress, and comforting his afflicted friends."

Returning from the conquest of the rebelled East, Aurelian had already crossed the frontiers of Palmyra, when he was provoked by the intelligence that the Palmyrenians had massacred the governor and garrison which he had left among them, and again created the standard of revolt. Without a moment’s deliberation, he once more turned his face towards Syria. Antioc was confirmed by his prosperity, and a large part of Palmyra felt the irresistible weight of his resentment. We have a letter of Aurelian himself, in which he acknowledges, that old men, women, children, and peasants, had been involved in that dreadful execution, which should have been confined to armed revolters: this principal cause directed to the re-establishment of a temple of the sun, he discovers some pity for the remnant of the Palmyrenians, to whom he grants the permission of rebuilding and inhabiting their city. But it is easier to destroy than to restore. The seat of commerce, of arts, and of Zenobia, gradually sunk into an obscure town, a trifling fortress, and at length a miserable village. The present citizens of Palmyra, consisting of thirty or forty families, have erected their mud-cottages within the spacious court of a magnificent temple.

Another and a last labour still awaited an Aurelian; he resolved to throw together the fragments of his former conquer, and to form an army, which, as he vainly boasted, he was capable of maintaining from the sole profits of his paper trade. Such troops were a feeble defence against the approach of Aurelian; and it seems almost unnecessary to relate, that Firmus was routed, taken, tortured, and put to death. Aurelian might naturally congratulate the state, the people, and himself, that in little more than three years he had restored universal peace and order to the Roman world.

Since the foundation of Rome, no A.D. 374,

general had more nobly deserved a triumph than Aurelian; nor was a triumph ever celebrated with superior pride and magnificence. The pomp was opened by twenty elephants, four royal tigers, and above two hundred of the most curious animals from every climate of the north, the east, and the south. They were followed by sixteen hundred gladiators, devoted to the cruel amusement of the amphitheatre. The wealth of Asia, the arms and ensigns of so many conquered nations, and the magnificent plate and wardrobe of the Syrian queen, were disposed in exact symmetry or artificial disorder. The ambassadors of the remotest parts of the earth, of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, Bactria, India, and China, all remarkable by their rich or singular dresses, displayed the fame and power of the Roman emperor, who exposed likewise to the public view the presents that he had received, and particularly a great number of crowns of gold, the offerings of grateful cities. The victories of Aurelian were attested by the
long train of captives who reluctantly attended his triumph, Goths, Vandals, Sarmatians, Allemanni, Franks, Goths, Scyths, Egyptians, and people distinguished by its peculiar inscription, and the title of Amazons was bestowed on ten militant heroines of the Gothic nation who had been taken in arms. But every eye, disregarding the crowd of captives, was fixed on the emperor Tetricus, and the queen of the east. The former, as well as his son, whom he had created Augustus, was dressed in Gallic trowsers, a saffron turie, and robe of purple. The beauteous figure of Zenobia was concealed by fetters of gold; a slave supported the gold chain which encircled her neck, and she almost fainted under the intolerable weight. She preceded on foot the magnificent chariot in which she once hoped to enter the gates of Rome. It was followed by two other chariots, still more sumptuous, of Odenathus and of the Persian monarch. The triumphal car of Aurelian (it had formerly been used by a Gothic king) was drawn, on this memorable occasion, either by four stags or by four elephants. The most illustrious of the senate, the people, and the army, closed the solemn procession. Unfeigned joy, wonder, and gratitude, swelled the acclamations of the multitude; but the satisfaction of the senate was clouded by the appearance of Tetricus and the unfortunate rivals, Aurelian might indulge his pride, he behaved towards them with a lofty condescension which was seldom exercised by the ancient conquerors. Princes who, without success, had defended their throne or freedom, were frequently strangled in prison, as soon as the triumphal pomp ascended the capitol. These usurpers, whom their defeat had convicted of the crime of treachery, were deputed to spend their lives in idleness and honourable repose. The emperor presented Zenobia with an elegant villa at Tibur, or Tivoli, about twenty miles from the capital; the Syrian queen insensibly sunk into a Roman matron, her daughters married into noble families, and her race drove or yet extinct in the fifth century. Tetricus and his son were reinstated in their rank and fortunes. They erected on the Calivan hill a magnificent palace, and as soon as it was finished, invited Aurelian to supper. On his entrance, he was agreeably surprised with a picture which illustrated their singular history. There were delineated offering to the emperor a civic crown and the sceptre of Gaul, and again receiving at his hands the ornaments of the senatorial dignity. The father was afterwards invested with the government of Lucania, and Aurelian, who soon admitted the abdicated monarch to his friendship and conversation, familiarly asked him, Whether it were not more desirable to administer to a province of Italy, than to reign beyond the Alps? The son long continued a respectable member of the senate; nor was there any of the Roman nobility more esteemed by Aurelian, as well as by his successors.

So great was the pomp and magnificence of Aurelian's triumph, that although it and devotion, opened with the dawn of the day, the slow majesty of the procession ascended not the capitol before the ninth hour; and it was already dark when the emperor returned to the palace. The festival was protrayed by theatrical representations, the games of the circus, the hunting of wild beasts, combats of gladiators, and naval engagements. Liberal donations were distributed to the army and people, and several institutions, agreeable or beneficial to the city, contributed to perpetuate the glory of Aurelian. A considerable number of the prisoners, whose presence increased to the gods of Rome; the capitol, and every other temple, glittered with the offerings of his ostentatious piety; and the temple of the sun alone received above fifteen thousand pounds of gold. This last was a magnificent structure, erected by the emperor on the site of the Quirinal hill, and dedicated soon after his triumph, to that deity whom Aurelian adored as the parent of his life and fortunes. His mother had been an inferior priestess in a chapel of the sun; a peculiar devotion to the god of light, was a sentiment which the fortunate peasant imbibed in his infancy; and every mitrarium or victory in the triumph of his reign, fortified superstition by gratitude.

The arms of Aurelian had vanquished; he suppressed aed the foreign and domestic foes of the sedition at Rome. republic. We are assured, that, by his salutary rigour, crimes and factions, mischievous arts and pernicious schemes, the last remnant of an ancient and oppressive government, were eradicated throughout the Roman world. But if we attentively reflect how much swifter is the progress of corruption than its cure, and if we remember that the years abandoned to public disorders exceeded the months allotted to the massacre of Suetonius, we must confess that a few short intervals of peace were insufficient for the arduous work of reformation. Even his attempt to restore the integrity of the coin, was opposed by a formidable insurrection. The emperor's vexation breaks out in the words of a latter writer, "Says he, the gods have decreed that my life should be a perpetual warfare. A sedition within the walls has just now given birth to a very serious civil war. The workmen of the mint, at the instigation of Felicius, a slave to whom I had intrusted an employment in the finances, have risen in rebellion. They are at length suppressed; but seven thousand of my soldiers have been slain in the contest, of those troops whose ordinary station is in Dacia, and the camps along the Danube." Other writers, who confirm the same fact, add likewise, that it happened soon after Aurelian's triumph; that the decisive engagement was fought on the Calivan hill; that the workmen of the mint had adulterated the coin; and that the emperor restored the public credit, by delivering out good money in exchange for the bad, which the people was accustomed to bring into the treasury.

We might content ourselves with relating this extraordinary transaction, but we cannot dissemble how much in its present form it appears to us inconsistent and incredible. The des- base ment of the coin is indeed well suited to the ad-
CHAPTER XII.

OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

administration of Gallienus; nor is it unlikely that the instruments of the corruption might draw the inflexible justice of Aurelian. But the guilt, as well as the profit, must have been confined to a few; nor is it easy to conceive by what arts they could arm a people whom they had injured, against a monarch whom they had betrayed. We might naturally expect, that such miscreants should have shared the public detestation, with the other victims of his policy and oppression; and that the reformation of the coin should have been an action equally popular with the destruction of those obsolete accounts, which by the emperor's order were burnt in the forum of Trajan. In an age when the principles of commerce were so imperfectly understood, the most desirable end might perhaps be effected by harsh and injudicious means; but a temporary grievance of such a nature can scarcely excite and support a serious civil war. The repetition of intolerable taxes, imposed either on the land or on the necessities of life, may at last provoke those who will not, or who cannot, relinquish their country. But the case is far otherwise in every operation which, by whatsoever expedients, restores the just value of money. The transient evil is soon obliterated by the permanent benefit, the loss is divided among multitudes; and if a few wealthy individuals experience a separate diminution of treasure, with their riches, they at the same time lose the distraction and importance which they derived from the possession of them. However Aurelian might choose to disguise the real cause of the insurrection, his reformation of the coin could only furnish a faint pretence to a party already powerful and discontented. Rome, though deprived of freedom, was distracted by faction. The people, towards whom the emperor, himself a plebeian, always expressed a peculiar fondness, lived in perpetual dissension with the senate, the equestrian order, and the praetorian guards. Nothing less than the firmness, though secret conscription of those orders, of the authority of the first, the wealth of the second, and the arms of the third, could have displayed a strength capable of contending in battle with the veteran legions of the Danube, which, under the conduct of a martial sovereign, had achieved the conquest of the west and of the east.

Crises of Au.

Whatever was the cause or the object of this rebellion, imputed with so little probability to the workmen of the mint, Aurelian used his victory with unremitting rigour. He was naturally of a severe disposition; a peasant and a soldier, his nerves yielded not easily to the impressions of the laws. His love of justice and the propriety of the laws, a blind and furious passion; and whenever he despised his own or the public safety endangered, he disregarded the rules of evidence, and the proportion of punishments. The unprowed rebellion with which the Romans rewarded his services, exasperated his hungry spirit. The noblest families of the capital were involved in the guilt or suspicion of this dark conspiracy. A hasty spirit of revenge urged the bloody prosecution, and it proved fatal to one of the nephews of the emperor. The executioners (if we may use the expression of a contemporary poet) were far more crowded, and the unhappy senate lamented the death or absence of its most illustrious members. Nor was the pride of Aurelian less offensive to that assembly than his cruelty. Ignorant of the impatience of the restraints of civil institutions, he disdained to hold his power by any other title than that of the sword, and governed by right of conquest an empire which he had saved and subdued.

It was observed by one of the most illustrious members of the senate, that the emperor Aurelian was naturally suited to the command of an army, than to the government of an empire. Of character in which nature and experience had enabled him to excel, he again took the field a few months after his triumph. It was expected that he was more especially fitted for the exigencies of foreign war, and the Persian monarch, exulting in the shame of Valerian, still braved with impunity the offended majesty of Rome. At the head of an army, less formidable by its numbers than by its discipline and valour, the emperor advanced as far as the straits which divide Europe from Asia. He there experienced, that the most absolute power is a weak defence against the effects of despair. He had threatened one of his secretaries who was accused of extortion; and it was known that he seldom threatened in vain. The last hope which remained for the criminal, was to involve some of the principal officers of the army in his danger, or to make his flight a counterfeiting his master's hand, he showed them, in a long and bloody list, their own names devoted to death. Without suspecting or examining the fraud, they resolved to secure their own lives by the murder of the emperor. On his march, between Byzantium and Heraclæa, Aurelian was suddenly attacked by the conspirators, whose stations gave them a right to surround his person, and, after a short resistance, fell by the hands of Mucapor, a general whom he had always loved and trusted. He died regretted by the army, January, detested by the senate, but universally acknowledged as a warlike and fortunate prince, the useful though severe reformer of a degenerate state.

CHAPTER XII.

Conduct of the army and Senate after the death of Aurelian—Reigns of Tacitus, Probus, Carus, and his sons.

Such was the unhappy condition of the Roman emperors, that, whatever contest between the army and the senate for the government of the country, he who felt the strongest passion for the choice of an emperor, on occasion of his death or absence, was best fitted to be followed and esteemed, an emperor was chosen at last, and almost every reign was closed by the same disgusting repetition of treason and murder. The death of Aurelian, however, is remarkable by its extraordinary consequences. The legions admired, lamented, and revered, their victorious chief. The artifice of his pernicious secretary was discovered and punished. The deluded conspirators attended the funeral of their injured sovereign, with sincere or well-feigned contrition, and submitted to the unanimous resolution of the military order, which was signified by the following epistle: "The brave and fortunate armies to the senate and people of Rome—The crime of one man, and the error of many, have deprived us of the late emperor Aurelian. May it please you, venerable lords and fathers! to place him in the number of the gods, and to appoint a successor whom your judgment shall declare worthy of the imperial purple! None of those:
whose guilt or misfortune have contributed to our loss, shall ever reign over us." The Roman senators heard without surprise, that another emperor had been assassinated in his camp; they secretly rejoiced in the fall of Aurelian; but the modest and dutiful address of the legions, when it was communicated in full assembly by the consul, diffused the most pleasing astonishment. Such honours as fear and perhaps necessity could extort, they liberally poured forth on the memory of their deceased sovereign. Such acknowledgments as gratitude could inspire, they returned to the faithful and wise of the republic, who entertained not just a sense of the legal authority of the senate in the choice of an emperor. Yet, notwithstanding this flattering appeal, the most prudent of the assembly declined exposing their safety and dignity to the caprice of an armed multitude. The strength of the legions was, indeed, a pledge of their sincerity, since those who may command are seldom reduced to the necessity of dissembling; but could it naturally be expected, that a hasty repentance would correct the invertebates habits of fourscore years? Should the soldiers relapse into their accustomed seditions, their insulance might, perhaps, extinguish the majesty of the senate, and prove fatal to the object of its choice. Motives like these dictated a decree, by which the election of a new emperor was referred to the suffrage of the military order.

A.D. 273. Feb. 3. The contention that ensured is one of peculiar interest. It recalls to mind the most improbable, regium of eight events in the history of mankind. The months, as if satiated with the exercise of power, again conjured the senate to invest one of its own body with the Imperial purple. The senate still persisted in its refusal; the army in its request. The reconcilement was preserved for a moment. A majority persisted at least three times, and whilst the obstinate modesty of either party was resolved to receive a master from the hands of the other, eight months insensibly elapsed: an amazing period of tranquil anarchy, during which the Roman world remained without a sovereign, without an usurper, and without a sedition. The generals and magistrates appointed by Aurelian continued to execute their ordinary functions; and it is observed, that a proconsul of Asia was the only considerable person removed from his office, in the whole course of the interregnum. An event somewhat similar, but much less authentic, is supposed to have happened after the death of Romulus, who, in his life and character, bore some affinity with Aurelian. The throne was vacant during twelve or fourteen months, till the election of a Sabine philosopher, and the public peace was guarded in the same manner, till the accession of the orders of the state. But, in the time of Numa and Romulus, the arms of the people were controlled by the authority of the patricians; and the balance of freedom was easily preserved in a small and virtuous community. The decline of the Roman state, far different from its infancy, was attended with every circumstance that could banish from an interregnum the prospect of obedience and harmony; an immense and tumultuous capital, a wide extent of empire, the servile equality of despots, an army of four hundred thousand mercenaries, and the experience of frequent revolutions. Yet, notwithstanding all these temptations, the discipline and memory of Aurelian still restrained the seditious temper of the troops, as well as the fatal ambition of their leaders. The flower of the legions maintained their stations on the banks of the Bosphorus, and the people of the capital in the Senate-house and Forum. The prospect of Rome and of the provinces. A generous though transient enthusiasm seemed to animate the military order; and we may hope that a few real patriots cultivated the returning friendship of the army and the senate, as the only expedient capable of restoring the repulsed ancient beauty and vigour.

On the twenty-fifth of September, A.D. 273. Sept., near eight months after the murder of Aurelian, the consul convoked an assembly of the senate, and reported the doubtful and dangerous situation of the empire. He slightly insinuated, that the precarious loyalty of the soldiers depended on the chance of every hour, and of every accident; but he represented, with the most convincing eloquence, the various dangers that might attend any further delay in the choice of an emperor. Intelligence, he said, was already received, that the Germans had passed the Rhine, and occupied some of the strongest and most opulent cities of Gaul. The ambition of the Persian king kept the east in perpetual alarms; Egypt, Africa, and Illyricum, were exposed to foreign and domestic arms, and the levity of Syria would prefer even a female sceleton to the somberness of the Roman senators. The consul, in the addressing himself to Tacitus, the first of the senators, required his opinion on the important subject of a proper candidate for the vacant throne. If we can prefer personal merit to ac-

character of celibacy, we shall esteem the birth of Tacitus more truly noble than that of kings. He claimed his descent from the philosophic historian, whose writings will instruct the last generations of mankind. The senator Tacitus was then seventy-five years of age. The long period of his innocent life was attended with health and honour. He had twice been invested with the consular dignity, and enjoyed with elegance and sobriety his ample patrimony of between two and three millions sterling. The experience of so many princes, whom he had esteeemed or endured, from the vain follies of Elagabalus to the useful rigour of A.D. 273. Feb. 3. The ultimate source of his reputation were the duties, the dangers, and the temptations, of their sublime station. From the assiduous study of his immortal ancestor, he derived the knowledge of the Roman constitution, and of human nature. The voice of the people had already named Tacitus as the citizen whose fidelity could alone ensure the stability of empire, and his very name reached his ears, and induced him to seek the retirement of one of his villas in Campania. He had passed two months in the delightful privacy of Baiae, when he reluctantly obeyed the summons of the consul to resume his honourable place in the senate, and to assist the republic with his counsels on this important occasion.

Tacitus, in his Hist. August., p. 227, calls him, "primum sentenced with the consent afterwards Privus Petronius, at the same time, to suppose, that the monarchs of Rome, disdaining this humble title, resided in the most ancient of the senators." The only objection to this genealogy is, that the historian was named Cornelius, the emperor Claudius. But under the lower empire, names were extremely various and uncertain.

Zonaras, l. xii. p. 637. The Alexandrian Chronicle, by an obvious mistake, transfers that age to Aurelian.

1 A.D. 273. Feb. 3. He was ordinary consul. But he must have been Suffectus many years before, and most probably under Valerian.

2 His military achievements, Tacitus, in Hist. August., p. 229. This account is the only old statement that coincides, in the number of battles, with the most celebrated, that of his life, equivalent to eight hundred and forty thousand Roman pounds of silver, each of the value of three pounds sterling. But in the age of Tacitus, the coinage of the Roman Empire was changed, and a greater value was given to the denarius.

3 After his accession, he gave orders that ten copies of the historian should be signed, together with the present one, upon the same day. Vol. i. p. 171. Dionys. Halicarn. i. i. 5. 12. Liv. iv. 17. Diona. Halicarn. i. i. 5. 13. Ptolemaicus in Numis. p. 60. The first of these writers relates the story like an orator, the second like a historian, and the third like a poet. But of those three, probably without some mixture of table.
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

He arose to speak, when, from every quarter, the honored name of Augustus and emperor. "Tactius Augustus, the gods preserve thee, we choose thee for our sovereign; to thy care we intrust the republic and the world. Accept the empire from the authority of the senate. It is due to thy rank, to thy conduct, and to their behalf, that we should have the final say. Tactius attempted to decline the dangerous honour, and to express his wonder, that they should elect his age and infirmities to succeed the martial vigour of Aurelian. Are these limbs, couchant fathers, fitted to sustain the weight of armour, the fatigue of circumspection, or the care of climates, and the hardships of a military life, would soon oppress a feeble constitution, which subsists only by the most tender management. My exhausted strength scarcely enables me to discharge the duty of a senator; how insufficient would it prove to the arduous labours of war and government! Can you hope, that the legions will respect a weak old man, whose days have been spent in the shade of peace and retirement! Can you desire that I should ever find reason to regret the favourable opinion of the senate?" and accepts the

The reluctance of Tactius, and it must be mortal. We likewise, have here been inspired by the affectionate obsequy of the senate. Five hundred voices repeated at once, in eloquent confusion, that the greatest of the Roman princes, Numa, Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines, had ascended the throne in a very advanced season of life; that the mind, not the body, a sovereign, not a soldier, was the object of their choice; and that they expected from him no more than to guide by his wisdom the valour of the legions. These pressing though tumultuous instances were seconded by a more regular oration of Metitus Falcotus, the next on the consular bench to Tactius himself. He reminded the assembly of the evils to which Rome had endured from the vices of headstrong and capricious youth, congratulated them on the election of a virtuous and experienced senator, and, with a manly, though perhaps a selfish, freedom, exhorted Tactius to remember the reasons of his elevation, and to seek a successor, not in his own family, but in the republic. The speech of Falcotus was enforced by a general acclamation. The emperor elect submitted to the authority of his country, and received the voluntary homage of his equals. The judgment of the senate was confirmed by the consent of the Roman people, and of the provincial and senatorial authority.

The administration of Tactius was not unworthy of his life and principles. A grateful servant of the senate, he considered that national council as the author, and himself as the subject, of the laws. He studiously preserved the wounds which imperial pride, civil discord, and military violence, had inflicted on the constitution, and to restore, at least, the image of the ancient republic, as it had been preserved by the policy of Augustus, and the virtues of Trajan and the Antonines. It may not be use less to recapitulate some of the most important pro cesses, and view with duteous reverence the election of Tactius.

To invest one of their body, under the title of emperor, with the general command of the armies, and the government of the frontier provinces. 2. To determine the list, or, as it was then styled, the college of consuls. They were twelve in number, who, in successive pairs, each during the space of two months, filled the year, and represented the dignity of that ancient office. The authority of the senate, in the nomination of the consuls, was exercised with such independent freedom, that no regard was paid to an irregular request of the emperor in favour of his brother Florinianus. "The senate," exclaimed Tactius, with the honest transport of a patriot, "understand the character of a prince whom we must consider as our own." 3. To elect consuls and presidents of the provinces, and to confer on all the magistrates their civil jurisdiction. 4. To receive appeals through the intermediate office of the prefect of the city from all the tribunals of the empire. 5. To give force and validity by their decrees, and improve the privacy of consular edicts. 6. To these several branches of authority we may add some inspection over the finances, since, even in the stern reign of Aurelian, it was in their power to divert a part of the revenue from the public service.

Circular epistles were sent, without their joy and delay, to all the principal cities of the empire, Treves, Milan, Aquileia, Thessalonica, Corinth, Athens, Antioch, Alexandria, and Carthage, to claim their obedience, and to inform them of the happy revolution which had restored the Roman senate to its ancient dignity. Two of these epistles are still existing. Two volumes contain the proceedings of the private correspondence of the senators on this occasion. They discover the most excessive joy, and the most unbounded hopes. "Cast away your indolence," it is thus that one of the senators addresses his friend, "emerge from your retirements of Baise and Patience. Give yourselves to the city, to the senate. Rome flourishes, the whole republic flourishes. Thanks to the Roman army, to an army truly Roman; at length we have recovered our just authority, the end of all our desires. We hear appeals, we appoint procureurs, we create emperors; perhaps too we may remain hereafter as a word is sufficient. How lofty our expectations were, however, soon disappointed; nor, indeed, was it possible that the armies and the provinces should long obey the luxurious and unworl y nobles of Rome. On the slightest touch, the unsupported fabric of their pride and power fell to the ground. The expiring senate displayed a sudden lustre, blazed for a moment, and was extinguished for ever. All that had yet passed at Rome was A.D. 276 no more than a theatrical representation. Tactius is no unless it was ratified by the more sub, by the army, the most salutary powers of the legislatures. Leaving the senators to enjoy their freedom and ambition, Tactius proceeded to the Thracian camp, and was there, by the prefect, prefeted, presented to the assembled troops, as the prince whom they themselves had demanded, and whom the senate had bestowed. As soon as the prefect was silent, the emperor addressed himself to the soldiers with eloquence and propriety. He gratified their avarice by a liberal distribution of treasure, under the names of pay and dozantive. He engaged their esteem by a spirited declaration, that although his age might disable him from the performance of military exploits, his counsels should never be unworthy of a Roman general, the successor of the brave Aurelian.

Whilst the deceased emperor was the Alani invade making preparations for a second expe- Atin, and are resi in the East, he had negociated pased by Tactius, with the Alani, a Sibyrian people, who pitched their tents in the neighbourhood of the lake Mecotis. These barbarians, allured by presents and subsidies, had promised to invade Persia with a numerous body of light cavalry. They were faithful to their engagements; but when they arrived on the Roman frontier, Aurelian was already dead, the design of the Persian war was at least suspended. The empire was immediately invested by the legions, and the throne vacated by Tactius.

10 Tactius addressed the praetorians by the appellation of sanctissimis sociis, and the people by that of severa securitatis.
11 In his manumissions he never exceeded the number of an hundred, as limited by the Germanic law, which was enacted under Augustus, and confirmed by Justinian. See the History of the Germans by Vopiscus.
12 The lives of Tactius, Florinianus, and Evbus, in the Augustan History; we may be well assured, that whatever the soldier gave, the senator had already given

6 Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 216. The passage is perfectly clear; yet Calianus and Salutinus wish to correct it.
7 Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 239, 242, 253. The senators celebrated the happy restoration with libations and public rejoicings.
8 Hist. August. p. 256.
during their interregnum, exercised a doubtful autho-

... of Tartars, where the summer proved remarkably un-

...suspension of the military government. The cause of Tacitus was suitable to his age and station. He con-

...born of the faith, as well as of the power, of the empire. Great numbers of the Alani, appeased by the punctual discharge of the engage-

...depth of the winter, from the soft retirement of Campania to the foot of mount Caucasus, he sank under the un-

...sions of a military government. The fate of the body of the emperor was aggravaed by the cares of the mind.

...Restored to freedom, the emperor could not assuage, and by demands which it was impossible to satisfy. Wha-

...siveness of the army dismanted the feeble restraint of laws, and his last hour was hastened by anguish and disappointment. It may be doubtful whether the soldiers imbrned his hands in the blood of this innocent prince. It is certain that his inso-

...human being, was resigned to the rainbow of his life. A.D. 274.

...and death of his brother Flaminius. This Florianus showed himself unworthy to reign, by the hasty usurpation of the purple without the approbation of the senate. The reverence for the Roman constitution, which yet influenced the camp and the provinces, was sufficiently strong to dispose them to censure, but not to provoke them to oppose, the precipitate ambition of Florianus. The discontent would have evaporated in idle murmurs, had not the general of the east, the heroic Probus, boldly declared himself the avenger of the senate. The contest, how-

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...entered to command of Probus, who, in every step of his promotion, showed himself superior to the station which he filled. After five or six months, it was concluded by the abilities of his generals to supply his own de-

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...power," as says Probus, in a private letter, "to
lay down a title so full of envy and of danger. I must continue to personate the character which the soldiers have imposed upon me.30 They are in a state of revolt. A.D. 236. Its.31 When this respectful epistle was read by the consul, the senators were unable to disguise their satisfaction, that Probus should condescend thus humbly to solicit a sceptre which he already possessed. They celebrated with the warmest gratitude his virtue, his exploits, and above all his moderation. A decree immediately passed, without a dissenting voice, to ratify the election of the eastern armies, and to confer on their chief all the several branches of the imperial dignity: the names of Caesar and Augustus, the title of father of his country, the right of holding the purple of his brother, like a private inheritance, and the management of affairs. Amongst the public emoluments which distinguished his reign, were the personal valor and conduct of the emperor, inasmuch that the writer of his life expresses some amazement how, in so short a time, a single man could be present in so many distant wars. The remaining actions he intrusted to the care of his lieutenants, the judicious choice of which forms no inconsiderable part of his glory. Carus, Diocletian, Maximinian, Constantius, Galerius, Aeculepiodotus, Anaballianus, and a crowd of other chiefs, who afterwards ascended or supported the throne, were trained to arms in the severe school of Aurelian and Probus.32

But the most important service which Probus rendered to the republic, was the headlong Gaul deliverance of Gaul, and the recovery of the Seventy flourishing cities oppressed by the barbarians of Germany, who, since the death of Aurelian, had ravaged that great province with impudence and fury. Amongst the many tribes and numerock of invaders, we may distinguish, with some degree of clearness, three great armies, or rather nations, successively vanquished by the valor of Probus. He drove back the Franks into their morasses; a decisive circumstance from whence we may infer, that the confederacy known by the name of the Franks, already possessed, the flat maritime country, intersected and almost overflown by the stagnating waters of the Rhine, and that several tribes of the Frisians and Bavonius had ascended to their alliance. He vanquished the Burgundians, a considerable people of the Vandali race. They had wandered in quest of booty from the banks of the Oder to those of the Seine.33 They esteemed themselves sufficiently fortunate to purchase, by the restitution of all their booty, the permission of an undisturbed retreat. They attempted to elude that article of the treaty. Their punishment was immediate and terrible. Amongst all the formidable were the Lygians, a distant people who reigned over a wide domain on the frontiers of Poland and Silesia.34 In the Lygian nation, the Arii held the first rank by their numbers and fierceness. The Arii (It is thus that they are described by the energy of Tacitus) sturdy and vigorous by nature, they endured with the innate terrors of their barbarism. Their shields are black, their bodies are painted black. They choose for the combat the darkest hour of the night. Their host advances, covered as it were with a funeral veil. They invaded the principal city, Isauria, was destroyed by the consul Servilius and received the surname of Isauricus.—(D’Anville. Gene. Anc. vol. ii. p. 86.—G)

1 [The Illyrians on the borders of the Nile, near to the grand cataracts. (D’Anville. Gene. Anc. vol. ii. p. 86.)]
2 [Zosimus. I. p. 65. Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 239. 540. But it seems incredible, that the defeat of the savages of Isabius could affect the Persian monarch.]
3 [Besides those well-known chiefs, several others are named by Vopiscus (Hist. Aug. p. 211.) whose actions have not reached our knowledge.]
4 [See the Cæsars of Julian, and Hist. August. p. 238. 240. 251.]
5 [It was not till the time of the emperors Diocletian and Maximian, that the Burgundians, under their prince Clovis, ventured to advance into the invasion of Gaul. Under the reign of Probus, they endeavored to pass the river which separated them from the Roman empire; they were repulsed by Probus, and their king was the Danebu. A passage from Zosimus seems to me to indicate that it was rather than the Isabius, book l. ch. 27, of the edition of Henry Estienne, 1573.—G]
7 [When you elected an emperor, you ascertained his titles by a very long and trifling story of his labors and dangers. Eusebius, a small province of Asia Minor between Pisidia and Lycia.]

Note.—The letter was addressed to the prefect, whoso condition on his good behaviour he promised to continue in his great office. See Hist. August. p. 237.

But his dutiful address to the senate displayed the sentiments, or at least the language of a man of his order, conscript fathers! to succeed the emperor Aurelian, you acted in a manner suitable to your justice and wisdom. For you are the legal sovereigns of the world, and the power which you derive from your ancestors, will descend to your posterity. Happy would it have been, if Florus had not usurped the purple of his brother, like a private inheritance, had expected what your majesty might determine, either in his favour, or in that of any other person. The prudent soldiers have punished his rashness. To me they have offered the title of Augustus. But I shall not endure my countrymen to impose on me, and I must—

A.D. 236. It is now one year past since Probus received the surname of Isauricus.—(D’Anville. Gene. Anc. vol. ii. p. 86.—G)
shade; nor do they often find an enemy capable of sustaining so strange and infernal an aspect. Of all our senses, the eyes are the first vanquished in battle. Yet the arms and discipline of the Romans easily disposed of the Gauls, who, at the approach of the enemy, were defeated in a general engagement, and Semno, the most renowned of their chiefs, fell alive into the hands of Probus. That prudent emperor, unwilling to reduce a brave people to despair, granted them an honourable capitulation, and permitted them to return in safety to their own country. But the losses which they suffered in the march, the battle, and the retreat, broke the power of the nation: nor is the Lygian name ever repeated in the history either of Germany or of the empire. The deliverance of Gaul is reported to have cost the lives of four hundred thousand of the invaders; a work of labour to the Romans, and of expense to the emperor, who gave a piece of gold for the head of every barbarian. But as the fame of warriors is built on the destruction of human kind, we may naturally suspect, that the sanguinary account was multiplied by the avarice of the soldiers, and accepted without any very severe examination by the liberal vanity of Probus.

Since the expedition of Maximin, the Roman generals had confined their ambition to a defensive war against the nations of Germany, of which they actually possessed the frontiers of the empire. The more Probus punished his Gallic victories, passed the Rhine, and displayed his invincible eagles on the banks of the Elbe and the Necker. He was fully convinced that nothing could reconcile the minds of the barbarians to peace, unless they experienced the results of the calamities of war. Germany, exhausted by the ill success of the last emigration, was astonished by his presence. Nine of the most considerable princes repaired to his camp, and fell prostrate at his feet. Such a treaty was humbly received by the Germans, as it pleased the conqueror to dictate. He exacted a strict aedile of the effects and captives which they had carried away from the provinces; and obliged their own magistrates to punish the more obstinate robbers who presumed to detain any part of the spoil. A considerable tribute of corn, cattle, and horses, the only wealth of barbarian cities, was reserved for the use of the general. The emperor Probus established on the limits of their territory. He even entertained some thoughts of compelling the Germans to relinquish the exercise of arms, and to trust their differences to the justice, their safety to the power, and the protection of their common constant residence of an imperial governor, supported by a numerous army, was indispensible requisite. Probus therefore judged it more expedient to defer the execution of so great a design; which was indeed rather of speeces than solid utility. Had Germany been reduced into the state of a province, the Romans, with immense labour and expense, would have acquired only a more extensive boundary to defend against the fiercer and more active barbarians of Scythia. He builds a wall. Instead of reducing the warlike natives from a condition of the enemy to that of subjects of the Danube. Probus contented himself with the humble expedient of raising a bulwark against their inroads. The country, which now forms the circle of Swabia, had been left desert in the age of Augustus by the emigration of its ancient inhabitants. The felicity of the new arrangement was obvious to the adjacent provinces of Gaul. Crowds of adventurers, of a roving temper and of desperate fortunes, occupied the doubtful possession, and acknowledged, by the payment of tithes, the majesty of the empire. To protect these new subjects, a line of frontier garrisons was gradually extended from the Rhine to the Danube. The emperors began to be practised, these garrisons were connected and covered by a strong entrenchment of trees and palisades. In the place of so rude a bulwark, the emperor Probus constructed a stone wall of a considerable height, and strengthened it by towers at convenient distances. From the neighbourhood of Newstadt and Ratibosn on the Danube, it stretched across hills, valleys, rivers, and morasses, as far as the Wimpens on the Necker, and at length terminated on the banks of the Rhine, after a winding course of near two hundred miles. A considerable barrier, uniting the two mighty streams that protected in their course, seemed to fill up the vacant space through which the barbarians, and particularly the Alemanni, could penetrate with the greatest facility into the heart of the empire. But the experience of the world, from China to Britain, has exposed the vain attempt of fortifying any extensive tract of country. An active enemy can select and vary his points of attack, must, in the end, discover some feeble spot, or some unguarded moment. The strength, as well as the attention, of the defenders is divided; and such are the blind effects of error and carelessness, the finest troops, that a line broken in a single place, already threatened the security. The face of the wall which Probus erected, may confirm the general observation. Within a few years after his death, it was overthrown by the Alemanni. Its scattered ruins, universally ascribed to the power of the Demon, never served to excite the wonder of the Swabian peasant.

Among the useful conditions of peace introduction and imposed by Probus on the tranquillised settlement of the nations of Germany, was the obligation barbarians of supplying the Roman army with sixteen thousand captives. The emperor Probus, however, determined to press the exaction of the tribute, and to double the number of captives. The emperor Probus dispersed them through all the provinces, and distributed this dangerous reinforcement in small bands, of fifty or sixty each, among the national troops; judiciously observing, that the aid which the republic derived from the barbarians, should be felt but not seen. The cruel and cowardly nature of the feeble elegance of Italy and the internal provinces could no longer support the weight of arms. The hardy frontier of the Rhine and Danube still produced minds and bodies equal to the labours of the camp; but a retreat in part of its wall, had gradually diminished their numbers. The infrequency of marriage, and the ruin of agriculture, affected the principles of population, and not only destroyed the strength of the present, but intercepted the hope of future generations. The wisdom of Probus embraced a great and beneficial plan of replenishing the exhausted frontiers, by new colonies of captive or fugitive barbarians, on whom he bestowed lands, cattle, instruments of husbandry, and every encouragement that might engage them to educate a race of soldiers for the service of the republic. The emperor Probus commanded some of the ablest commanders, and he transported a considerable body of Vandals. The impossibility of an escape reconciled them to their sit-

These settlers, from the payment of tithes, were denominated Dacovenarii. Tacit. Germ. c. 29. See notes d'Abbe de la Bistorie a la Germannia de Tacite, p. 171. His account of the wall is chiefly borrowed (as he says himself) from Tacitus (De rebus Scythicis, lib. II. c. 2). The structure of the wall is very extensive and curious. Tacitus, lib. II. c. 2. See Recherches sur les Chinois et les Egyptiens, tom. ii. p. 81—The eastern frontier of the empire is well described by Tacitus; and the northern frontier, as much the more important, was the subject of a special treaty. Here, it is not improbable that a stone wall, as we have already observed, had been built by the Romans, to connect the province of Pannonia with the Alemanni. Vopiscus, lib. ii. c. 15. According to Velleius Paterculus, (lib. II. cap. 102.) Maroboduus led his Marcomannii into Bohemia: Cluvienus (German. Antiqu. iii. 5.) proves that it was from Swabia. 

Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 339
Hist. August. p. 239, 279. Vopiscus quotes a letter from the emperor to the senate, in which he mentions his design of reducing Germany to a province, and to garrison it with provincials.

Strabo, I. vii. According to Velleius Paterculus, (lib. II. cap. 102.) Maroboduus led his Marcomannii into Bohemia: Cluvienus (German. Antiqu. iii. 5.) proves that it was from Swabia.
nation, and in the subsequent troubles of that island, they approved themselves the most faithful servants of the state. Great numbers of Franks and Gepidæ were settled on the banks of the Danube and Rhine. A hundred thousand Bastarnæ, expelled from their own country, cheerfully accepted an establishment in Thrace and Gaul, and even turned their backs on their native subjects. But the expectations of Probus were too often disappointed. The impotence and idleness of the barbarians could ill brook the slow labours of agriculture. Their unconquerable love of freedom, rising against despotism, provoked them into hasty rebellions, all of which the emperor met with similar success. These artificial supplies, however repeated by succeeding emperors, restore the important limit of Gaul and Ilyricum to its ancient and native vigour.

Daring enterprise. Of all the barbarians who abandoned of their own accord their new settlements, and disturbed the public tranquillity, a very small number returned to their own country. For a short season they might wander in arms through the empire; but in the end they were surely destroyed by the power of a warlike emperor. The successful rashness of a party of Franks was attended, however, with such memorable consequences, that it is proper to detail the story. They had been established by Probus on the sea-coast of Pontus, with a view of strengthening the frontier against the inroads of the Alani. A fleet stationed in one of the harbours of the Euxine, fell into the hands of the Franks; and they resolved, through unknown seas of the ocean, to march out of the Phasis to that of the Rhine. They easily escaped through the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, and cruising along the Mediterranean, indulged their appetite for revenge and plunder, by frequent descents on the unsuspecting shores of Asia, Greece, and Africa. The insidious tranquillity of the Franks was the more easily perceived by the recent revolts of Athens and Carthage had seemingly been sunk, was sacked by a handful of barbarians, who massacred the greatest part of the trembling inhabitants. From the island of Sicily, the Franks proceeded to the columns of Hercules, trusted themselves to the ocean, coasted round Spain and Gaul, and steering their triumphant course through the British channel, at length finished their surprising voyage, by landing in safety on the Batavian or Frisian shores. The example of their success, instructing their countrymen to conceive the advantages, and to despise the dangers, of the sea, pointed out to these enterprising spirits a new road to wealth and glory.

Revolt of Saturninus in the east. Notwithstanding the vigilance and activity of Probus, it was almost impossible that he could at once retain in obedience every part of his wide extended dominions. The barbarians, who broke their chains, had seized the favourable opportunity of a domestic war. When the emperor marched to the relief of Gaul, he devolved the command of the east on Saturninus. That general, a man of merit and experience, was driven into rebellion by the absence of his sovereign, the levity of the Alexandrian people, the pressing instances of his friends, and his own fears; but from the moment of his elevation, he never entertained a hope of empire, or even of life. "Alas!" he said, "the republic has lost a useful servant, and the rashness of an hour has destroyed the successes of many months. You know of what kind this empire is. He, "the misery of sovereign power; a sword is perpetually suspended over our head. We dread our very guards, we distrust our companions. The choice of an orator as of a repose is no longer in our disposition; nor is there any age, or character, or conduct, that can protect us from the censure of envy. In thus exalting me to the throne, you have doomed me to a life of curses, and to an untimely fate. The only consolation which remains is, the assurance that I shall not fall alone." But as the former part of his prediction was verified by the victory, so the latter was disappointed by the clemency, of Probus. That amiable prince attempted even to uncialize himself from the fury of the soldiers. He had more than once solicited the usurper himself, to place A.D. 283. some confidence in the mercy of a sovereign who so highly esteemed his character, that he had punished, as a malicious informer, the first who was guilty of his errors of mind.1 Saturninus might, perhaps, have embraced the generous offer, had he not been restrained by the obstinate distrust of his adherents. Their guilt was deeper, and their hopes more sanguine, than those of their experienced leader.

The revolt of Saturninus was scarcely extinguished in the east, before new troubles were excited in the west, by the Proculus in Gaul, rebellion of Bonosus and Proculus in Gaul. The most distinguished merit of those two officers, was their respective prowess, of the one in the combats of the Franks, of the other in the sea. 1 The vigour of them were destitute of courage and capacity, and both sustained, with honour, the August character which the fear of punishment had engaged them to assume, till they sunk at length beneath the superior genius of Probus. He used the victory with his accustomed moderation, and spared the fortunes as well as the lives of their innocent families.

The arms of Probus had now superseded all the foreign and domestic enemies. Triumph of the mists of the state. His mild but steady emperor Probus administration confirmed the re-establishment of the public tranquillity which was then left in the province of a hostile barbarian, a tyrant, or even a robber, to revive the memory of past disorders. It was time that the emperor should revisit Rome, and celebrate his own glory and the general happiness. The triumph due to the valour of Probus was conducted with a magnificence suitable to his fortune, and the people who had so lately admired the trophies of Aurelian, gazed with equal pleasure on those of his heroic successor.1 We cannot, on this occasion, forget the despicable conduct of four score gladiators, reserved with near six hundred others, for the inhuman sports of the amphitheatre. Disdaining to shed their blood for the amusement of the populace, they killed their keepers, broke from the place of their confinement, and filled the streets of Rome with blood and confusion. After an obstinate resistance, they were overpowered and cut in pieces by the regular forces; but they obtained at least an honourable death and the satisfaction of a just revenge.2

The military discipline which reigned in the camps of Probus, was less cruel than that of Aurelian, but it was equally rigid and exact. The latter had punished the irregularities of the soldiers with unrelenting severity, the former prevented them by employing the legions in constant and useful labours. When Probus commanded in Egypt, he executed many considerate works for the splendour and benefit of that rich country.

1 Vopiscus in Hist. August., p. 245, 246. The unfortunate orator had studied rhetoric at Carthage; and was therefore more probably a Numen (Zosim. 1. i. 193) than a Gaul, as Vopiscus calls him.
2 Zosim. 1. xii. p. 638.
3 Vopiscus in Hist. August., p. 245, 246.
4 Proculus, who was the native of Alenough on the Grecian coast, armed two thousand five hundred slaves. His riches were great, but they were required by robbery. It was afterwards a saying of his family, Nec latero, nec principi sibi placere. Vopiscus in Hist. August., p. 247.
5 Zosim. 1. i. 66.
6 Zosim. 1. i. 66.
7 Hist. August., p. 240.
8 Zosim. 1. i. 66.
of the Nile, so important to Rome itself, was improv- 
ed; and temples, bridges, porticoes, and palaces, were constructed by the hands of the soldiers, who acted by turns as architects, as engineers, and as husband- men.1 It was reported of Hannibal, that, in order to preserve his troops from the dangerous temptations of idleness, he obliged them to perform large plant- tions of olive trees along the coast of Africa.2 From a similar principle, Probus exercised his legions in covering, with rich vineyards, the hills of Gaul and Pannonia, and two considerable spots are described, which were entirely dog and planted by military la- bourers. One of these, known by the name of Mount Almo, was situated near Sirmium, the country where Probus was born, for which he ever retained a partial affection, and whose gratitude he endeavoured to secure, by converting into tillage a large and un- healthy tract of marshy ground. An army thus em- ployed, constituted perhaps the most useful, as well as the bravest, portion of Roman subjects.

His death.

But in the prosecution of a favourite scheme, the best of men, satisfied with the extent of their intentions, are subject to forget the bounds of moderation; nor did Probus himself sufficiently consider the patience and discretion of his fierce legionaries.3 The dangers of the military pro- fession seem only to be compensated by a life of plea- sure and idleness; but if the duties of the soldier are incessantly aggravated by the labours of the peasant, he will soon become impatient. Under the intolerable burden, they shake it off with indignation. The imprudence of Probus is said to have inflamed the discontent of his troops. More attentive to the interests of mankind than to those of the army, he expressed the vain hope, that, by the establishment of universal peace, he should soon abolish the necessity of standing armies and mercenary force.4 The ungoverned expression proved fatal to him. In one of the hottest days of summer, as he severely urged the unworthy labour of draining the marshes of Sirmium, the soldiers, im- patient of fatigue, on a sudden threw down their tools, grasped their arms, and broke out into a furious mutiny. The emperor, conscious of his danger, took refu- ge in a lofty tower, constructed for the purpose of surveying the progress of the work.5 The tower was A.D. 242. instantly forced, and a thousand swords were plunged at once into the bosom of the unfortunate Probus. The rage of the troops sub- sided as soon as it had been gratified. They then lamented their fatal rashness, forgot the severity of the emperor whom they had massacred, and hastened to perpetuate, by an honourable monument, the me- morial of his virtues and victories.

When the legions had indulged their election and character of Carus.

When the legions had indulged their grief and repentance for the death of Probus, their unanimous consent declared Carus, his pretorian prefect, the most deserving of the imperial throne. Every circumstance that relates to this prince appears of a mixed and doubtful nature. He gloried in the title of Roman citizen; and affected to compare the purity of his blood, with the foreign and even barbarous origin of the preceding emperors; yet the most inquisitive of his contemporaries, very far

1 Hist. August. p. 276.
2 Aurel. Victor in Frob. But the policy of Hannibal, unnoticed by any more ancient writer, is irreconcilable with the history of his life. He left Africa when he was nine years old, returned to it when he was forty-five, and immediately lost his army in the decisive battle of Zama. Livius, xxx. 47.
4 Julius became a severe, and indeed excessive, censure on the reign of Probus, who, as he thinks, almost deserved his fate.5 Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 241. He lavishes on this idle hope a large share of his invective.
6 Tacitus. It seems to have been a moveable tower, and capable of being moved with iron.7 Probus, etvere probus situs est: Victor omnium gentium Barba- ramus: victor eioman tyrannorum.
mained on the field of battle, and the number of captives amounted to twenty thousand. The old emperor, animated with the same flames and prospect of victory, pursued his march, in the midst of winter, through the countries of Thrace and Asia Minor, and at length, with his younger son Numerian, arrived on the confines of the Persians to meet the victorious Carus. The summit of a lofty mountain, he pointed out to his troops the opulence and luxury of the enemy whom they were about to invade.

A.D. 283.

The successor of Artaxerxes, Varanes, or Dahrahan, though he had subdued the kingdom of Armenia, was alarmed at the approach of the Romans, and endeavoured to retard their progress by a negotiation of peace. His ambassadors entered the camp about sunset, at the time when the troops were satisfying their hunger with a frugal repast. The Persians expressed their desire of being introduced to the presence of the Roman emperor. They were at length conducted to a soldier, who was seated on the grass. A piece of stale bacon and a few hard pease composed his supper. A coarse woollen garment of purple was the only covering that protected him from the fatal boundaries of the wind. The emperor conducted with the same disregard of courtly elegance. Carus, taking off a cap which he wore to conceal his baldness, assured the ambassadors, that, unless their master acknowledged the superiority of Rome, he would speedily render Persia as naked of trees, as his own head was destitute of hair. Notwithstanding some traces of art and preparation, we may discover in this scene the manners of Carus, and the severe simplicity which the martial princes, who succeeded Gallienus, had already restored in the Roman camps. The ministers of the great king trembled and retired. His victory and elevation so thickened his effect. He ravaged Mesopotamia, cut off its food, and, in pieces whatever opposed his passage, made himself master of the great cities of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, (which seemed to have surrendered without resistance,) and carried his victorious arms beyond the Tigris. He had seized the favourable moment for an invasion. The Persian councils were distracted by domestic factions, and the greater part of their forces were detained on the frontiers of India. Rome and the east received with transport the news of such important advantages. Flattery and hope painted, in the most blooming language of Asia, the conquest of Arabia, the subjection of Egypt, and a total deliverance from the inroads of the Scythian nations. But the third child of Carus was destined to extinguish the favourable prospects, and the hopes of the nation.

A.D. 283.

The reign of Carus was destined to expire in the Dec. 29, or mean of predictions. They were severely uttered before they were contradicted by his death; an event attended with such ambiguous circumstances, that it may be related in a letter from his own secretary to the prefect of the city. "Carus," says he, "our dearest emperor, was confined by sickness to his bed, when a furious tempest arose in the camp. The darkness which overspread the sky was more terrible than it would have been; it filled us with fear; and the incessant flashes of lightning seemed to prove that we knew the knowledge of all that passed in the general confusion. Immediately after the most violent claps of thunder, we heard a sudden cry, that the emperor was dead; and it soon appeared, that his chamberlain at a rage of grief, had set fire to the royal palace, a circumstance which gave rise to the report that Carus was killed by lightning. But, as far as we have been able to investigate the truth, his death was the natural effect of his disorder." 2

The vacancy of the throne was not produce disturbance. The by his two sons, who were named Carus and Numerian.

Carus was unanimously acknowledged as Roman emperors. The public expected that the successor of Carus would pursue his father's footsteps, and, without allowing the Persians to recover from their consternation, would advance sword in hand to the palaces of Susa and Ecbatana; 3 but the legions, however strong in numbers and discipline, were dismayed by the most abject superstition. Notwithstanding all the arts that were practised to disguise the manner of the late emperor's death, it was found impossible to remove the opinion of the multitude, and the power of opinion is irresistible. Places or persons struck with lightning were considered by the ancients with pious horror, as singularly devoted to the wrath of heaven. 4 An oracle was remembered, which marked the river Tigris as the boundary of the Roman empire. It was cowardly and terrified with the fate of Carus and with their own danger, called aloud on young Numerian to obey the will of the gods, and to lead them away from this inauspicious scene of war. The feeble emperor was unable to subdue their obstinate prejudice, and the Persians wondered at the unexpected retreat of a victorious army. 5

The intelligence of the mysterious fate of the late emperor was soon carried to the cities of Carus, from the frontiers of Persia to Rome; and the senate, as well as the provinces, congratulated the accession of the sons of Carus. These fortunate youths were strangers, however, to that consciousness of peculiar superiority, either of birth or of merit, which can alone render the possession of a throne easy, and as it was natural. Born and educated in a private station, the election of their father raised them at once to the rank of princes; and his death, which happened about sixteen months afterwards, left them the unexpected legacy of a vast empire. To sustain with temper this rapid elevation, an uncommon share of virtue and prudence was requisite; and Carus, the elder of the brothers, was more than commonly deficient in those qualities. In the lively character of the Gallic war, in the wrongs of the Senate, of Carinus, of the unfortunate youths, with whom he dealt, he most of himself, and was not disposed to flatter the emperor's vanity, nor was he less disposed to fill the emperor's heart with pride. He banished or put to death, the friends and counsellors whom his father had placed about him, to guide his inexperienced youth; and he persecuted with the meancst reverence his school-fellows and companions, who had not sufficiently respected the august majesty of the emperor. With the senators, Carus affected a lofty and regal demeanour, frequently declaring, that


he designed to distribute their estates among the populace of Rome. From the drags of that populace, he selected his favourites, and even his ministers. The treasures, and whatever was left in the imperial table, was filled with singers, dancers, prostitutes, and all the various retinue of vice and folly. One of his door-keepers 1 intrusted with the government of the city. In the room of the praetorian prefect, whom he put to death, Carinus substituted one of the ministers of his late pleasure, and the place, though filled with oracles, or even a more infamous, title to favour, was invested with the consulsip. A confidential secretary, who had acquired uncommon skill in the art of forgery, delivered the indolent emperor, with his own consent, from the intruding of his name.

When the emperor Carus undertook the Persian war, he was induced, by motives of affection as well as policy, to secure the fortunes of his family, by leaving in the hands of his eldest son the armies and provinces of the west. The intelligence which he so readily received of the conduct of Carinus, filled him with the utmost shame and regret: nor had he conceded his resolution of satisfying the republic by a severe act of justice, and of adopting, in the place of an unworthy son, the brave and virtuous Constantius, who at that time was governor of Dalmatia. 2 But the elevation of Constantius was public, and of a grandeur such as even the father's death had released Carinus from the control of fear or decency, he displayed to the Romans the extravagances of Elagabalus, aggravated by the cruelty of Domitian. 3

1 Cassellius. 2 This word, so humble in its origin, has by a singular fortune risen into the title of the first great office of state in the monarchies of Europe. See Cassanobon and Salmisius, ad Hist. Aug. xii. 38. 3 It was a cause of grief to Carus, that his son Numerian was still too young to assume the government of the western provinces, and that he would have to entrust him rather to his brother Carinus. (Vopisc. in Cass.) — G. The title of Cassanobon, which he wears, and the number of his victories, I do not recollect, nor does the statue, which was preserved at Augustus once exhibited thirty six. Dion Cassius, l. iv. p. 781. — Cassius, in Hist. Aug. p. 164, 165. We are not acquainted with the animals which he calls archeleontes, others argoleontes: both corrections are very necessary. — See Priscus, Porph. viii. 8. 4 Vopiscus in Hist. Aug. p. 254. He calls him Carus, but the surname of the emperor is not often confounded with his name. 5 See Calpurnius, Epod. vii. 42. We may observe, that the spectacles of Praetorius, the first, and that the part of the circus was seconded by the historian. 6 See Vopiscus in Hist. Aug. p. 253. He calls him Carus, but the surname of the emperor is not often confounded with his name. 7 The philosopher Montaigne (Doris, l. vii. 6.) gives a very just and lively view of Roman magnificence in these spectacles.

The only merit of the administration of Carinus that history could record, or poetry celebrate, was the uncommon splendour with which, in his own and his brother's name, he exhibited the Roman games of the theatre, the circus, and the amphitheatre. More than twenty years afterwards, when the wild Maze of Diocletian represented to the future emperor the fame and popularity of his magnificent predecessor, he acknowledged, that the reign of Carinus had indeed been a reign of pleasure. 2 But this vain prodigality, which the prudence of Diocletian might justly despise, was enjoyed with surprise and transports by the Roman people. The old idol of the citizens, recollecting the spectacles of former days, the triumphant pomp of Probus or Aurelian, and the secular games of the emperor Philip, acknowledged that they were all surpassed by the superior magnificence of Carinus. 3

3 Spectacles of Rome. The spectacles of Carinus may therefore be best illustrated by the observation of some particulars, which history has condescended to relate concerning those of his predecessors. If we confine ourselves solely to the hunting of wild beasts, however we may censure the vanity of the design or the cruelty of the execution, we are obliged to confess, that neither before nor since the time of the Romans, so much art and expense have ever been lavished for the amusement of the people. 1 By the order of Probus, a great quantity of large trees, torn up by the roots, were transplanted into the midst of the circus. The spacious and shady forest was immediately filled with a thousand ostriches, a thousand stags, a thousand falcons, a thousand deer, and a thousand wild boars; and all this variety of game was abandoned to the riotous impetuousness of the multitude. The tragedy of the succeeding day was spent in marvellous, and disserted with statistical number of lionesses, two hundred leopards, and three hundred bears. 7 The collection prepared by the young er Gordian for his triumph, and which his successor exhibited in the secular games, was less remarkable by the number than by the singularity of the animals. Twenty years afterwards, this display was again repeated, and the audience, the multitudes of spectators, the rare variety of the game, the astonishing strength with which nature has endowed the greater quadrupeds was admired in the rhinoceroses, the hippopotamus of the Nile, 4 and a majestick troop of thirty-two elephants. 8 While the populace gazed with stupid curiosity at the pile of thousand, the naturalists might observe the figure and properties of so many different species, transported from every part of the ancient world into the amphitheatre of Rome. But this accidental benefit, which science might derive from folly, is surely insufficient to justify such a wanton abuse of the public property, and the brutal multiplication of the savage of the torrid zone. The most ancient historians have praised, and the moderns are beheld with amazement, the wonder, and art, and expense with which the inhabitants of Madagascar.
his destined place without trouble or confusion. Nothing was omitted which, in any manner, could be subservient to the convenience and pleasure of the spectators. They were protected from the sun and rain by an ample canopy, occasionally drawn over their heads. The air was continually refreshed by the playing of fountains, and profusely impregnated by the grateful influence of the fragrant blossoms of the flowers that adorned the arena, or stage, was strewed with the finest sand, and successively assumed the most different forms. At one moment it seemed to rise out of the earth, like the garden of the Hesperides, and was afterwards broken into the rocks and caverns of Thrace. The subterranean channels were devoted or to the supply of water; and what had just before appeared a level plain, might be suddenly converted into a wide lake, covered with armed vessels, and replenished with the monsters of the deep. In the decoration of these scenes, the Roman emperors displayed their wealth and liberality; and we read on various occasions, that the whole furniture of the amphitheatre consisted either of silver, or of gold, or of amber. The poet who describes the games of Carinus, in the character of a shepherd, attracted to the capital by the fame of their magnificence, affirms, that the nets designed as a defence against the wild beasts, were of gold wire; that the porpoises were well gilded, and that the belt or circlet which divided the several ranks of spectators from each other, was studded with a precious Mosaic of beautiful stones.

A.D. 294. In the midst of this glittering pageant, the emperor Carinus, secure of his fortune, enjoyed the acclamations of the people, the flattery of his courtiers, and the homage of those, who, for want of a more essential merit, were reduced to celebrate the divine graces of his person. In the same hour, but at the distance of nine hundred miles from Rome, his brother expired; and a sudden revolution was produced in the hands of a stranger the sceptre of the house of Carus.

Return of Numen

The sons of Carus never saw each other after their father's death. The army from Persia, rangements which their new situation required, were probably deferred till the return of the younger brother to Rome, where a triumph was decreed to the young emperors, for the glorious success of the Persian war. It is uncertain whether they intended to divide between them the administration, or the provinces, of the empire, but it is very unlikely that their union would have proved of any long duration, considering this announcement to the people by the opposition of characters. In the most corrupt of times, Carinus was unworthy to live: Numerian deserved to reign in a happier period. His amiable manners and gentle virtues secured him, as soon as they became known, the regard and affections of the public. He possessed the elegant accomplishments of a poet and orator, which dignify as well as adorn the humblest and the most exalted station. His eloquence, however it was applauded by the senate, was formed not so much on the model of Cicero, as on that of the modern declaimers; but in an age very far from being desirous of orators, he was esteemed, for the pride of the曦s, the most celebrated of his contemporaries, and still remained the friend of his rivals; a circumstance which evinces either the goodness of his disposition, or the rarity of his genius. But the talents of Numerian were rather of the contemplative than of the active kind. When his father's elevation reluctantly forced him from the shade of retirement, neither his temper nor his pursuits had qualified him for the command of armies, and his constitution was destroyed by the Persian war; and he had contracted, from the heat of the climate, such a weakness in his eyes, as obliged him, in the course of a long retreat, to confine himself to the solitude and darkness of a tent or litter. The administration of all affairs, civil as well as military, therefore devolved on his brother, a man of such prudence, who to the power of his important office, added the honour of being father-in-law to Numerian. The imperial pavilion was strictly guarded by his most trusty adherents; and during many days, Aper delivered to the army the supposed mandates of their invisible sovereign.

It was not till eight months after the death of Numerian, that Carus, the Roman army, returning by slow marches from the banks of the Tigris, arrived on those of the Thracian Bosphorus. The legions halted at Chalecedon in Asia, while the eastern prisoners were transferred over to Hesirea, on the European side of the Propontis. But a report circulated through the camp, at first in secret whispers, and at length in loud clamours, of the emperor's death, and of the presumption of his ambitious minister, who still exercised the sovereign power in the name of a prince who was no more. The imprudence of the soldiers could not long support a state of suspense. With rude curiosity they broke into the imperial tent, and discovered only the corpse of Numerian. The gradual decline of his health might have induced them to believe that his death was natural; but the concealment of his death was interpreted as an evidence of guilt, and the measures which Aper had taken to secure his election, became the immediate occasion of his ruin. Yet, even in the transport of their rage and grief, the troops observed a regular proceeding, which proves how firmly discipline had been re-established by the martial successors of Gallienus. A general assembly of the army was appointed to be held at Chalecedon, whither Aper was transported in chains, as a prisoner and criminal. A vacant tribunal was erected in the midst of the camp, and the generals and tribunes formed a great military council. They soon A.D. 294. This election of the choice had fallen on Diocletian, com-mandant of the domestics or body-guards, who was the person who the most capable of revenging the fate of the late emperor. The future fortunes of the candidate depended on the chance or conduct of the present hour. Conscious that the station which he had filled, exposed him to some suspicions, Diocletian ascended the tribunal, and raising his eyes towards the sun, made a solemn profession of his own innocence, in the presence of that all-seeing deity. Then, assuming the tone of a sovereign and a judge, he declared that he should be obliged to hold the multi-ple, that their vote was a sacred and a sacred resolution, the result of the action of the tribunal. "This man," said he, "is the murderer of Numerian;" and, without giving him time to enter on a dangerous justification, drew

1 See Maffei, l. i. c. 5—12. He treats the very difficult subject with all possible clearness, and like an architect, from the façade of a building, describes the whole edifice. Calpurnius Scipio, Eclog. viii. 64, 73. These lines are curious, and the whole poem has been of infinite use to Maffei. Calpurnius, as well as Martial, 'see his first book,' was a poet; but when they de- scribed a subject of architecture, they were not content with the general idea, but evinced a preference for the grandeur of the poet, and to those of the Romans. Calpurnius Scipio, Eclog. xxxiii. 16, xxxiv. 11.

2 Italics em portant, en itta portant au.

3 Etruscan nature.

4 Etruscar nature.

5 Et Martia virtus et Apollini esse putavi, says Calpurnius; but John Michie, who had perhaps seen pictures of Carinus, describes his features as slender, and adds that the distance between his eyes, was so great a deal of trouble to perplex a very clear subject.

6 Neceuenstans (in the Cynegetcetes) seems to anticipate in his fancy 'but adjourned day.'
his sword, and buried it in the breast of the unfortunate prefect. A charge supported by such decisive proof, was admitted without contradiction, and the legions, with repeated ejaculations, acknowledged the justice and authority of the new emperor, Diocletian.2

Defeat and death. Before we enter upon the memorable reign of Carinus, we shall be proper to punish and dismiss the unworthy brother of Numri serus. Carinus possessed arms and treasures sufficient to support his legal title to the empire. But his personal virtues founded every advantage of birth and situation. The most faithful servants of the father despised the incapacity, and dreaded the cruel arrogance, of the son. The hearts of the people were engaged in favour of his rival, and even the senate was inclined to proclaim a nephew to a tyrant. The arts of Diocletian inflamed the general discontent; and the winter was employed in secret intrigues, and open preparations for a civil war. In the May, the forces of the east and of the west encountered each other in the plains of Margus, a small city of Mysia, in the neighbourhood of the Danube.3 The troops, so lately returned from the Persian war, had acquired their glory at the expense of health and numbers, nor were they in a condition to contend with the unexhausted strength of the legions of Europe. Their ranks were broken, and, for a moment, viewed with despair. The purple ceased to reign. But the advantage which Carinus had obtained by the valor of his soldiers, he quickly lost by the infidelity of his officers. A tribune, whose wife he had seduced, seized the opportunity of revenge, and by a single blow extinguished civil discord in the blood of the adulterer.4

CHAPTER XIII.

The reign of Diocletian and his three associates, Maximian, Galerius, and Constantius. — General re-establishment of order and tranquillity. — The Persian war, victory, and triumph. — The new form of administration. — Abdication and retirement of Diocletian and Maximian.

As the reign of Diocletian was more illustrious than that of any of his predecessors, so was his birth more abject and obscure. The strong claims of merit and of violence had frequently superseded the idea of purity of blood; but a distinct line of separation was hitherto preserved between the free and the servile part of mankind. The parents of Diocletian had been slaves in the house of Anulinus, a Roman senator; nor was he himself distinguished by any other name, than that derived from a small town in Dalmatia, from which his mother deduced her origin.5 It is, however, probable, that his father obtained the freedom of the family, and that he soon acquired an office of scribe, which was commonly exercised by persons of his condition.6 Favourable oracles, or rather the consciousness of superior merit, prompted his aspiring son to pursue the profession of arms and the hopes of fortune; and it would be extremely curious to observe the gradation of arts and accidents which enabled him in the end to fulfill those oracles, and to display that merit to the world. Diocletian was successively promoted to the government of Dalmatia, the province of the old Illyrians, and the important command of the guards of the palace. He distinguished his abilities in the Persian war; and, after the death of Numerian, the slave, by the confession and judgment of his rivals, was declared the most worthy of the imperial throne. The advantages of situation, the energy of his adversary, the zeal, and the fierceness of his colleague Maximian, has affected to cast suspicions on the personal courage of the emperor Diocletian.7 It would not be easy to persuade us of the cowardice of a soldier of fortune, who acquired and preserved the esteem of the legions, as well as the favour of so many warlike princes. Yet even calumny is sagacious enough to discover and to attack the most vulnerable part. The valor of Diocletian was never found inadequate to his duty, or to the occasion; but he appears not to have possessed the dashing and generous spirit of a hero, who dare danger and fame, disdains artifice, and boldly challenges the allegiance of his equals. His abilities were useful rather than splendid; a vigorous mind, improved by the experience and study of mankind; dexterity and application in business; a judicious mixture of liberality and severity: these virtues, in fact, found dissolution under the disguise of military frankness; steadiness to pursue his ends; flexibility to vary his means; and, above all, the great art of submitting his own passions, as well as those of others, to the interest of his ambition, and of colouring his ambition with the most splendid pretences of justice and public utility. Like Augustus, Diocletian may be considered as the founder of a new empire. Like the adopted son of Caesar, he was distinguished as a statesman rather than as a warrior; nor did either of those principles employ force, whenever their purpose could be effected by policy.

The victory of Diocletian was the more remarkable for its singular mildness. A victory, people accustomed to applaud the clemency of the conqueror, if the usual punishments of death, exile, and confiscation, were inflected, was a proof of temper and equity, beheld, with the most pleasing astonishment, a civil war, the flames of which were extinguished in the field of battle. Diocletian received into his confidence Aristobulus, the principal minister of the house of Carus, respected the lives, the honors, and the fortunes of the former emperors, and continued in their respective stations the greater number of the servants of Carinus.4 It is not improbable that motives of prudence might assist the humanity of the able Dahmatian; of these servants, many had purchased his favour by secret treachery; in others, he esteemed their grateful fidelity to an unfortunate master. The discerning judgment of Aurelian, of Probus, and of Carus, had filled the several departments of the state and army with officers of approved merit, whose removal would have injured the public service; Diocletian, therefore, confirmed these em- sor. Such a conduct, however, displayed to the Roman world the fairest prospect of the new reign, and the emperor affected to confirm this favourable prepossession, by declaring, that, among all the virtues of his predecessors, he was the most ambitious of imitat- ing the humane philosophy of Marcus Antoninus.8

1. Victory in Hist. August, p. 332. The reason why Diocletian killed Arret, (a wild horse,) was founded on a prophecy and a pan, as familiar as they are well known.

2. Entolus markus in his situation very accurately; it was between the Mons Aureus and Vininumuans. M. d'Arville Geographie Ancienne, pl. 101, fig. 1. 


4. Patroclus, l. 19, Victor in Epitome. The town seems to have been properly called Dacia, from fr. tribe of the Suliens (see Celf- rius, Geograph, Antiqua, tom. I. p. 293); and the original name of the fortunate slave, was probably Dacius; he first lengthened it to the Greekian harmony of Dacius; and at length to the Roman ma- ners of Dacianus. He likewise assumed the patronimic name of Viridius. 


6. Lauretius (or whoever was the author of the little treatise De Mortibus Ercutiorum) accuses Diocletian of indignity in two places, c. 7. 8. In chap. 9, he says of him, "erat in omni tumultu metios et infidelis." (see有更好的訳) 

7. In this enumerm, Aurelius Victor seems to convey a just, though indirect, censure of the cruelty of Constantius, and of the Fruit, that Aristobulus remained perfect of the city, and that he ended with Diocletian, the consuls which he had commenced with Carinus.

The first considerable action of his reign seemed to evince his sincerity as well as his moderation. After the example of Marcus, he gave himself a college of Caesars, and Marcus had discharged a debt of private gratitude, at the expense, indeed, of the happiness of the state. By associating a friend and a fellow-soldier to the labours of government, Diocletian, in a time of public danger, provided for the defence both of the east and of the west. Maximian was born a peasant, and in the territory of the Sabines. Ignorant of letters, careless of laws, the rusticity of his appearance and manners still betrayed in the most elevated fortune the meanness of his extraction. War was the only art which he professed. In a long course of service, he had distinguished himself on every front of the empire; and though his military talents were formed to obey rather than to command, though, perhaps, he never attained the skill of a consummate general, he was capable, by his valour, constancy, and experience, of executing the most arduous undertakings. Nor were the vices of the Greatian period more venal to his conduct. In his attacks, he showed the fury of a lion; in his retreat, the fearlessness of a bear. But with all the severity of his stern colleague, and enjoyed the comparison of a golden and an iron age, which was universally applied to their opposite maxims of government. Notwithstanding the difference of their characters, the two Caesars, though tamed, on the throne, that friendship which they had contracted in a private station. The haughty turbulent spirit of Maximian, so fatal afterwards to himself and to the public peace, was accustomed to respect the genius of Diocletian, and confessed the ascendant of reason over brutal violence. From a motive either of pride or superstition, the two emperors assumed the titles, the one of Jovius, the other of Herculeus. Whilst the motion of the world (such was the language of their vocal orators) was maintained by the all-seeing wisdom of Jupiter, the invincible arm of Hercules purged the earth from ignorance and vice. 

But even the omnipotence of Jovius and Herculeus was insufficient to sustain the weight of the public administration. The prudence of Diocletian discovered, that the empire, assailed on every side by the barbarians, required on every side the presence of a great army, and of an emperor. With this view, he resolved once more to divide his unwieldy power, and with the inferior title of Caesars, to confer on two generals of approved merit an equal share of the sovereign authority. Galerius, surmounting Armentarius, from his original profession of a simple soldier, enrolled himself in the territory of the Sabines. The next person in his government had acquired the denomination of Chlorus, and were the two persons invested with the second honours of the imperial purple. In describing the country, extraction, and manners of Herculeus, we have already delineated those of Galerius, who was often, and perhaps, not improperly, styled the younger Maximian. Though in many instances both of virtue and ability, he has appeared to have possessed a manifest superiority over the elder. The birth of Constantius was less obscure than that of his colleagues. Eutropius, his father, was one of the most considerable nobles of the province of Gaul, the territory of the Sabines. Although the youth of Constantius had been spent in arms, he was endowed with a mild and amiable disposition, and the popular voice had long since acknowledged him worthy of the rank which he at last attained. To strengthen the bonds of political, by those of domestic, union, each of the emperors assumed the character of a father to one of the Caesars, Diocletian to Galerius, and Maximian to Constantius; and each, obliging them to repudiate their former wives, bestowed his daughter in marriage on his adopted son. These four princes distributed among themselves the general extent of the Roman empire. The defence of Gaul, Spain, Britain, and the province of Dacia, was intrusted to Constantius; Gaul was stationed on the banks of the Rhine; the Danube, as the safeguard of the Illyrian provinces. Italy and Africa were considered as the department of Maximian; and for his peculiar portion, Diocletian reserved Thrace, Egypt, and the rich countries of Asia. Every one was sovereign within his own jurisdiction; but their united authority extended over the whole monarchly, and each of them was prepared to assist his colleagues with his counsels of presence. The Caesars, in their exalted rank, received the majesty of emperors, and the three younger princes irrevocably acknowledged, by their gratitude and obedience, the common parent of their fortunes. The suspicious jealousy of power found not any place among them; and the singular happiness of their union has been traced. A concert of motives, pure and just, was regulated and maintained by the skilful hand of the first artist.

This important measure was not carried into execution till about six years after the association of Maximian, and that interval of time had not been without some illustrations of its operation. But we have preferred, for the sake of perspicuity, first to describe the more perfect form of Diocletian's government, and afterwards to relate the actions of his reign, following rather the natural order of the events, than the dates of a very doubtful chronology.

The first exploit of Maximian, though it is mentioned in a few words by our State of theфанописи, it is only in the modern Greeks that Tllamnoud can discover his appellation of Chlorus. Any remarkable degree of patience seems inconsistent with the conduct of Maximian. He, however, appears to have been incapable of a deception, or of error, and he was perhaps too severe to the unhappy provincials, whom he might easily infer that Maximian was more desirous of being considered a soldier, than as a man of letters: and it is in this manner that we can often account for a custom or an action.

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Galerius married Valeria, the daughter of Diocletian; if we speak with strictness, Theodosia was the wife of Constantius, and the daughter only to the wife of Maximian. Spanheim, Dissert. i. 2. 2. 3. This division agrees with that of the four prefectures; yet there is some reason to doubt whether it was the province of Maximian. See Tllamnoud, tom. i. p. 317. 3. Fulmin in Caesar, p. 212. Spanheim's notes to the French translation, p. 122.

The general name of Bagaudae (in the signification of rebels) continued till the fifth century in Gaul. Some critics derive it from
eral insurrection; very similar to those, which in the fourteenth century successively afflicted both France and England.\(^a\) It should seem, that very many of those institutions, referred by an easy solution to the feudal system, are derived from the Céltic barbarians. When Caesar subdued the Gauls, that great nation was reduced to the condition of men; the clergy, the nobility, and the common people. The first governed by superstition, the second by arms, but the third and last was not of any weight or account in their public councils. It was very natural for these pious men, oppressed by these apprehensive of injuries, to invite the protection of some powerful chief, who acquired over their persons and property the most absolute right as, among the Greeks and Romans, a master exercised over his slaves.\(^b\) The greatest part of the nation was gradually reduced into a state of servitude; compelled to perpetual labour on the estates of the Gallic nobles, and confined to the soil, either by the real weight of fetters, or by the no less cruel and forcible restraints of the laws. During the long series of troubles which afflicted Gaul, from the reign of Gallicius to that of Diocletian, the condition of these peasants was peculiarly miserable; and they experienced at once the complicated tyranny of their masters, of the barbarians, of the soldiers, and of the officers of the revenue.\(^c\)

Their rebellion. Their patience was at last provoked. Gaul into despair. On every side they rose in multitudes, and sought to escape with resistless and irresistible fury. The ploughman became a foot-soldier, the shepherd mounted on horseback, the deserted villages and open towns were abandoned to the flames, and the ravages of the peasants equalled those of the fiercest barbarians.\(^d\) They asserted the natural rights of men, but they asserted those rights with the most savage cruelty. The Gallic nobles, justly dreading their revenge, either took refuge in the fortified cities, or fled from the wild scene of anarchy. The peasants reigned without control; and two of their most daring leaders had the folly and rashness to surn the imperial crowns.\(^e\) Their power soon expired at the approach of the legions. The strength of union and discipline obtained an easy victory over a licentious and divided multitude.\(^f\) To severe retaliation was inflicted on the peasants whose villages had been in part destroyed and their inhabitants dispersed. They were not supposed to believe their former leaders.\(^g\) Illyrians and Amandus, were christians, or to insinuate, that the rebellion, as it happened in the time of Luther, was occasioned by the abuse of those benevolent principles of Christianity, which inculcate the natural freedom of mankind.

A.D. 306. Maximian had no sooner recovered Gaul from the hands of the peasants, than he lost Brita in by the usurpation of Carausius. Ever since the rash but successful enterprise of the Franks under the reign of Probus, their daring countrymen had constructed squadrons of light belligerines, in which they incessantly ravaged the provinces adjacent to the ocean.\(^h\) To repel these desultory insurrections, it was found necessary to create a naval power; and the judicious measure was prosecuted with prudence and vigour. Gessoricum, or Boulogne, in the straits of the British channel, was chosen as the base for the new fleet; and the command of it was intrusted to Carausius, a Menapian of the meanest origin,\(^i\) but who had long signalized his skill as a pilot, and his valour as a soldier. The integrity of the new admiral corresponded not with his abilities. When the German pirates sailed from their own shores erected at their own expense, as they did, the natives of the island, that their work was without the consent of the people which they had acquired. The wealth of Carausius was, on this occasion, very justly considered as an evidence of his guilt; and Maximian had already given orders for his death. But the crafty Menapian foresaw and prevented the severity of the emperor. By his liberality he had attached to his fortunes the fleet which he commanded, and secured the barbarians in his interest. From the port of Boulogne he sailed over to Britain, persuaded the legion, and the auxiliaries which manned that island, to embrace his party; and boldly assuming, with the imperial purple, the title of Augustus, defied the justice and the arms of his injured sovereign.\(^j\)

When Britain was thus dismembered from the empire, its importance was reduced to a miserable nothingness, and its inhabitants represented as the Romans celebrated, and perhaps magnified, the extent of that noble island, provided on every side with convenient harbours; the temperature of the climate, and the fertility of the soil, alike adapted for the production of corn or of vines; the valuable minerals with which it is supplied, and the innumerable flocks, and its woods free from wild beasts or venomous serpents. Above all, they regretted the large amount of the revenue of Britain, whilst they confessed, that such a province well deserved to become the seat of its independent monarchy.\(^k\) During the space of seven years, it was Posts of Carausius by Carausius; and fortune con- tinued propitious to a rebellion supported with courage and ability. The British emperor defended the frontiers of his dominions against the Caledonians of the north,InvalidOperationException has occurred.

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empire of the sea, already assumed its natural and re- stationary state under the influence of the time. 2

A.D. 293.

By seizing the fleet of Boulogne, Carausius deprived his master of the means of pursuit and revenge. And then, when a vast expense of time and labour, a new armament was launched into the water, the Emperor was informed of the defection of the subject towns, which were easily bailed and defeated by the veteran sailors of the usurper. This disappointed effort was soon productive of a treaty of peace. Diocletian and his colleague, who justly dreaded the enterprising spirit of Carausius, resigned to him the sovereignty of Britain, and reluctantly admitted their pernicious example was reserved for the imperial honours. 3

But the adoption of the two Caesars restored new vigour to the Roman arms; and while the Rhine was guarded by the presence of Maximian, his brave associate Constantius assumed the conduct of the British war. His first enterprise was against the important place of Boulogne. A suspenseful move, raised across the entrance of the harbour, intercepted all hopes of relief.

A.D. 292.

The town surrendered after an obstinate defence; and a considerable part of the naval strength of Carausius fell into the hands of the besiegers. During the three years which Constantius continued the pursuit of this cautionary work of Britain, he secured the coast of Gaul, invaded the country of the Franks, and deprived the usurper of the assistance of those powerful allies.

A.D. 294.

Before the preparations were finished, death struck Constantius received the intelligence of the tyrant's death, and it was considered as a sure presage of the approaching victory. The servants of Carausius imitated the example of treason, which he had given. He was murdered by his first minister Allectus, and the assassin succeeded to his power and to his danger. But he possessed not equal abilities, energy, or devotion to the cause, was not able to secure the obedience of his subjects, or to govern with such vigilance, with anxiety to terror, the opposite shores of the continent, already filled with arms, with troops, and with vessels; for Constantius had very prudently divided his forces, that he might likewise divide the attention and resistance of the enemy. The attack was at length made by the principal squadron, which, under the command of the prefect Asclepiodatus, an officer of distinguished merit, had been assembled in the mouth of the Seine. So imperfect in those times was the art of navigation, that oarsmen had to bear the charge of the ship, and were required to set sail with a side-wind, and on a stormy day. The weather proved favourable to their enterprise. Under the cover of a thick fog, they escaped the fleet of Allectus, which had been stationed off the Isle of Wight to receive them, landed in safety on some part of the western coast, and convinced the Britons, that a superiority of naval strength will not always protect their country from a foreign invasion. Asclepiodatus had no sooner disembarked the imperial troops, than he set fire to his ships; and, as the expedition proved fortunate, his conduct was universally admired. The usurper had possession of his residence near London, to expect the formidable attack of Constantius, who commanded in person the fleet of Boulogne; but the descent of a new enemy required his immediate presence in the west. He performed this long march in so precipitate a manner, that he encountered the whole force of the prefect with a small body of harassed and disheartened troops. The engagement was soon terminated by the total defeat and death of Allectus; a single battle, as it has often happened, decided the fate of this great island; and when Constantius landed on the shores of Kent, he found them covered with obe- dience and acquiescence. His acquisitions were unanimous; and the virtues of the conqueror may induce us to believe, that they sincerely rejoiced in a revolution, which, after a separation of ten years, restored Britain to the body of the Roman empire.

Britain had now but domestic enemies to dread; the名义 of the emperor was respected, the public tranquility was safe; the soldiers and the adherents of the emperors preserved their fidelity, and the troops their discipline, the incursions of the naked savages of Scotland or Ireland could never materially affect the safety of the province. The peace of the continent, and the defence of the principal rivers which bounded the empire, were objects of far greater difficulty and importance. The policy of Diocletian, which inspired the councils of his associates, provided for the public tranquility, by encouraging a spirit of dissension among the barbarians, and by strengthening the fortifications of the Roman limit. In the east he fixed a line of camps from Egypt to the Persian dominions; for every province, he instituted an adequate number of stationary troops, commanded by their respective officers, and supplied with every kind of arms, from the new arsenals which he had formed at Antioch, Eunusa, and Damascus. 4 Nor was the preoccupation of the emperor less watchful against the well-known valour of the barbarians of Europe. From the mouth of the Rhine to that of the Danube, the ancient camps, towns, and citadels, were diligently re-established, and, in the most exposed places, new ones were skillfully constructed; the strictest vigilance was introduced among the garrisons of the frontier, and every precaution was taken to fortify the long chain of fortifications firm and impenetrable. 5

A barrier so respectable was seldom violated, and the barbarians often turned against each other their disappointed rage. The Goths, the Vandals, the Huns, the Gepidae, the Burgundians, the Alains, the Huns, the Ostrogoths, the Franks, and their numbers, and the variety of destructive hostilities, and whosoever, or who, their vengeance, they vanquished the enemies of Rome. The subjects of Diocletian enjoyed the bloody spectacle, and congratulated each other, that the mischiefs of civil war were now experienced only by the barbarians. 6

Notwithstanding the policy of Diocletian, it was impossible to maintain an equal and undisturbed tranquillity during a reign of twenty years, and along the frontier of many hundred miles. Sometimes the barbarians suspended their domestic animosities, and the relaxed vigilance of the garrisons sometimes gave a passage to their strength or dexterity. Whenever the provinces were invaded, Diocletian conducted himself with that calm dignity which he always affected or possessed; reserved his presence for such occasions as were worthy of his inter- ter, never exposed his person or reputation to any unnecessary danger, counted his success by every means that prudent counsel could suggest, and displayed, with ostentation, the consequences of his victory. In wars of a more difficult nature, and more doubtful event, he employed the rough valour of Maximian; and that faithful soldier was content to ascribe his own

3 With regard to the recovery of Britain, we obtain a few hints from Aurelius Victor and Eutropius. 7


5 Zosimus, i. p. 3. That partial historian seems to celebrate the vigilance of Diocletian, with a design of exposing the negligence of his successors and of his own times. "Si mundo vitam, et alium et coloremus cum ipsius, proximum vero Rheni et Istri et Euxini, quam hucusque, nullo hosti, nullius fortissimae partis, namque aliantur, obiit..." - D. Fairly, Hist. Rom., lib. iii. 16. Manervius illustrates the fact, by the example of almost all the nations of the world.

6 Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, and the medals, (Tax Anti.) imagine of this temporary reconciliation; though I will not presume (as Dr. Holder does, in Mithridate History of Carus, p. 29, c.) to insert the identical articles of the treaty.
victories to the wise counsels and auspicious influences of his benefactor. But after the adoption of the two Caesars, the emperors themselves, reduced by the long labors of an active life, devolved on their adopted sons the defence of the Danube and of the Rhine. The vigilant Galerius was never reduced to the necessity of vanquishing an army of barbarians on the Roman territory. The brave and active Constantius delivered Gaul from a very furious attack of the Alemanni; and its victory, the acquisition of Maximinian in the western parts of Africa; but it appears by the event, that the progress of his arms was rapid and decisive, that he vanquished the fiercest barbarians of Mauritania, and that he removed them from the mountains, whose inaccessible strength had inspired them with a lasting confidence and habituated them to a life of rapine and violence. Diocletian, on his side, opened the campaign in Egypt by the siege of Alexandria, Conduct of Dio- cut off the aqueducts which conveyed the waters of the Nile into every quarter of that influence of Egypt. From the Sarmatians and the Alemanni, the expedition of Julian was impeded by the sallies of the besieged multitude, he pushed his reiterated attacks with caution and vigour. After a siege of eight months, Alexandria, wasted by the sword and by fire, implored the clemency of the conqueror; but it experienced the full extent of his severity. The enemy thousands of the citizen perished in a prosaic slaughter, and there were few obnoxious persons in Egypt who escaped a sentence either of death, or at least of exile. The fate of Busiris and of Coptos was still more melancholy than that of Alex- indra; and these populous cities, which were distinguished by its antiquity, the latter engulfed by the passage of the Indian trade, were utterly destroyed by the arms and by the severe order of Diocletian. The character of the Egyptian nation, insensible to kindness, but extremely susceptible of fear, could alone justify this excessive rigour. The seditions of Alexandria and other cities, which were very considerable, their disposition was warlike, their weapons rude and inoffensive. Yet in the public disorders these barbarians, whom antiquity, shocked with the deformity of their figure, had almost excluded from the human species, presumed to rank themselves among the enemies of Rome. Such had been the unworthy allies of the Egyptians; and while the attention of the state was engaged in more serious wars, their vexatious inroads might again harass the repose of the province. With a view of opposing to the Barbarians, whom they had published in the wood, the Nobatae, or people of Nubia, to remove from their ancient habitations in the deserts of Libya, and resigned to them an extensive but unprotected territory above Syene and the cataracts of the Nile, with the stipulation, that they should ever respect and guard the frontier of the empire. The treaty long subsisted; and till the establishment of Christianity introduced stricter notions of religious worship, it was annually ratified by a solemn sacrifice in the isle of Elephantine, in which the Romans, as well as the barbarians, adored the same visible or invisible powers of the universe.

At the same time that Diocletian chastised the past crimes of the Egyptians, he provided for their future

1 After his defeat, Julian stabbed himself with a dagger, and immediately leaped into the flames. Victor in Epitome.

2 Tu fortissimam Mauretaniam populos instrumentorum jusque tantum spolium condiderunt, exquitatis, exquisitis, extorquiunt. Vett. vi. 9.

3 See the description of Alexandria, in Historia de Bel. Alexandr. c. 3.


5 Encom. in Chron. places their destruction several years sooner, and at a time when Egypt itself was in a state of rebellion against Julian. Strabo, l. xiv. p. 1,712. Pompious Melis, l. i. 4. His words are curious, "Intra a sudr laetis, vix illum magnum magnificum; Sic, Eparque, et Bene, et Natyr., et Ninpei." Ch. xii.

6 Ascribes insurce fortatione, et provocare armas Romanas.

7 See Fredericus de Bell. Pers. l. i. c. 19.
of the Roman Empire

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safety and happiness by many wise regulations, which were confirmed and enforced under the succeeding reigns. One very remarkable edict, which he published, instead of being condemned as the effect of inordinate ambition afterwards, was an act of prudence and humanity. He caused a diligent in-

He suppressed a quy to be made for all the ancient books of Alchemy. Books which treated of the admirable art of making gold and silver, and without pity committed them to the flames; apprehensive, as we are assured, lest the opinion of the philosophers should in-

spire them with confidence to rebel against the empire. But if Dioctetian had been convinced of the reality of that valuable art, far from extinguishing the memory, he would have converted the operation of it to the ben-

cfit of the public revenue. It is much more likely, that his good sense discovered to him the futility of these pretended, and that he was desirous of preserving the reason and fortunes of his subjects from the mischievous pursuit. It may be remarked, that

Novelty and pro These ancient books, so liberally ascribed of that art, ed to Pythagoras, to Solomon, or to Hermes, were the pious frauds of more recent adpts. In these monuments had appeared the abuse of chemistry. In that immense register, where Pliny has deposited the discoveries, the arts, and the errors of mankind, there is not the least mention of the transmutation of metals; and the persecution of Dio-

cletian is the first authentic event in the history of al-

chemy, that could discredit that vain science over the globe. Congenial to the avarice of the human heart, it was studied in China as in Europe, with equal eagerness, and with equal success. The darkness of the middle ages assured a favourable reception to every tale of wonder, and the revival of learning gave new vigour to those con-

gested more specious arts of deception. Philosophy, with the air of experience, has at length banished the study of alchemy; and the present age, however de-

sirous of riches, is content to seek them by the hum-

bler means of commerce and industry.

The Persian war was immediately followed by the Persian war. It was reserved for the reign of Dioctetian to vanquish that powerful nation, and to extort a confession from the successors of Artaxerxes, of the superior majesty of the Roman empire.

Tiridates of Armenia, who had observed under the reign of

Valerian, that Armenia was subdued by the perfidy and the arms of the Persians, and that, after the assassination of Chosroes, his son Tiridates, the infant heir of the monarchy, was saved by the fidelity of his friends, and educated under the protec-

tion of the emperor. Tiridates derived from his exile such advantages as he could never have obtained on the throne of Armenia; the early knowledge of ad-

versity, of mankind, and of the Roman discipline. He signalized his youth by deeds of valour, and displayed a matchless dexterity, as well as strength, in every martial exercise, and even in the humane contests of the Olympic games. Those qualities were more nobly exerted in the defence of his benefactor

Liciunus. That officer, in the sedition which occasioned the death of Probus, was exposed to the most imminent danger, and the enraged soldiers were forcing their way into his tent, when they were checked by the single arm of the Ar-

menian prince. The gratitude of Tiridates contributed still more to his elevation. For, on every station the friend and companion of Galerius, and the merit of Galerius, long before he was raised to the dignity of Caesar, had been known and esteemed by Dioctetian. In the third year of that emperor's reign, Tiridates was invested with the kingdom of Ar-

menia. The duration of the sovereignty of the Persian

was not less than thirty years.

When Tiridates appeared the most powerful prince in the world, he was received with this restoration to an unaffected transport of joy and loyalty, by the throne of Ar-

menia.

During twenty-six years, the country had experienced the real and imaginary hardships of a foreign yoke. The Persian monarchs adorned their new conquest with magnificent buildings; but these regiments had been the work of the people, and were abhorred as badges of State of the conquest. The apprehension of a revolt had inspired the most rigorous precautions; oppression had been aggravated by insult, and the consciousness of the public hatred had been productive of every mis-

fortune which it still more cruelly exposed. We have already remarked the intolertor spirit of the Ma-

gian religion. The statues of the deified kings of Ar-

menia, and the sacred images of the sun and moon, were broke in pieces by the zeal of the conqueror; and the perpetual fire of Ormuze was kindled and pres-

erved upon an altar which acknowledged the name of Bagavan. It was natural, that a people brought by so many injuries should rise in arms with zeal in the cause of their independence, their religion, and their hereditary sovereignty. The torrent bore down every obstacle, and the Persian garrisons retreated before its fury. The nobility of Armenia flew to the standard of Tiridates, all alleging their past merit, offering their future service, and soliciting from the new king those honours and rewards from which they had been excluded with disdain under the foreign government.

The command of the army was bestowed on Artavasdes, whose father had saved the infancy of Tiridates, and whose family had been mas-
sacrificed for that generous action. The brother of Arta-

vasdes obtained the government of a province. One of the first military dignities was conferred on the

was an ally whose

Story of Mango, fortune was to be remarkable to pass un-

noticed. His name was Mango, his origin was Scy-

thian, and the hand which acknowledged his authority, had encamped a very few years before on the skirts of the Chinese empire, at which time extended as

See the sixty-second and sixty-third books of Dion Cassius.

Moses of Chorene, Hist. Armen. I. c. 73. The statues which had been erected by Valarctes, who resided in Armenia about 130 years before Christ, and was the first king of the family of Aranes. (See Moses Hist. Armen. i. c. 74.) The derivation of the Artavads is mentioned by Justin (xlii. 3.) and by Ammianus Marcellinus (xiviii. 6.)

The Armenian nobility was numerous and powerful. Numerous many families which were descended under the reign of Valarctes, (I. c. 73.) and which still subsisted in his own time, are mentioned by Moses (Hist. Armen. ii. c. 27.)

She was named Chosroslachiana, and had not the as pavitas like other women. (Hist. Armen. I. c. 79.) I do not understand the expression.

(On nutulium signifies simply a large and widely opening mouth. See (Metam. 1073.) and (Met. 1075.)

The mouth of a large mouth was a common defect among the Armenians.

In the Armenian Library, I. c. 727, as well as in the Geographers, (p. 767.) Chius is called Zekiia, or Zemniac. It is characterized by
the production of silk, by the opulence of the natives, and by the love of the soldier, had attained a magnitude and uniformity not before known.

As the desert of Sogdiana. Having incurred the displeasure of his master, Mango, with his followers, retired to the banks of the Oxus, and implored the protection of Sapor. The emperor of China could not the less have desired to maintain the rights of sovereignty. The Persian monarch pleaded the laws of hospitality, and with some difficulty avoided a war, by the promise that he would banish Mango to the uttermost parts of the west; a punishment, as he described it, not less dreadful than death itself. Armenia was considered as an exiled and a large district, assigned to the Scevthian hordes, on which they might feed their flocks and herds, and remove their encampment from one place to another, according to the different seasons of the year. They were employed to repel the invasions of the Thibetan leaders, after weighing the obligations and injuries which he had received from the Persian monarch, resolved to abandon his party. The Armenian prince, who was well acquainted with the merit as well as power of Mango, treated him with distinguished respect; and, by admitting him into his confidence, acquired a brave and faithful servant, who contributed very effectually to his restoration. The Persians revered the enthralling power of Tiridates. He not only expelled the enemies of his family and country, and returned to the court of the emperors, but in the succession of his reign he carried his arms, or at least his incursions, into the heart of Assyria. The historian, who has preserved the name of Tiridates from oblivion, celebrates, with a degree of national enthusiasm, his personal prowess; and, in the spirit of eastern republicanism, describes him as the granary and the elephants that fell beneath his invincible arm. It is from other information that we discover the distinct state of the Persian monarchy, to which the king of Armenia was indebted for some of his advantages. The throne was divided by the ambition of the Sung and Harz; and Hormuz, after exerting without success the strength of his own party, had recourse to the dangerous assistance of the barbarians who inhabited the banks of the Caspian sea. The civil war was, however, soon terminated, either by a victory, or by a reconciliation; and the former was universally acknowledged. The king of Persia, directed his whole force against the foreign enemy. The contest then became too unequal; nor was the valour of the hero able to withstand the power of the monarch. Tiridates, a second time expelled from the throne of Armenia, once more took refuge in Sogdiana, and established his authority over the revolted province; and loudly complaining of the protection afforded by the Romans to rebels and fugitives, aspired to the conquest of the east.

Neither prudence nor honour could permit the emperors to forsake the cause of the Armenian king, and it was resolved to exert the force of the empire in the Persian war. Diocletian, with the calm dignity which he constantly assumed, fixed his own station in the city of Antioch, from whence he prepared and directed the military operations. The conduct of the legions was intrusted to the Marcellinus, or some other soldier of proven courage, who, for that important purpose, was removed from the banks of the Danube to those of the Euphrates. The armies soon encountered each other in the defeat of Galeplains of Mesopotamia, and two battles were fought with various and doubtful success; but the third determined the eternal decisive battle; and the Roman army received a total overthrow, which is attributed to the rashness of Galerius, who, with an inconsiderable body of troops, attacked the innumerable host of the Persians. But the consideration of the country that was the scene of action, has suggested another reason for his defeat. The same gendarme on which Galerius was vanquished, had been rendered memorable by the death of Crassus, and the slaughter of ten legions. It was a plain of more than sixty miles, which extended from the hills of Carthage to the Euphrates; a smooth and barren surface of sandy desert, without a hillock, without a tree, and without a spring of fresh water. The steady infantry of the Romans, fainting with heat and thirst, could neither hope for victory if they preserved their ranks, nor break their ranks without exposing themselves to the most terrible disaster. The Persians were not only wonderfully encompassed by the superior numbers, harassed by the rapid evolutions, and destroyed by the arrows of the barbarian cavalry. The king of Armenia had signalized his valour in the battle, and acquired personal glory by the public misfortune. He was pursued far as the Euphrates, and his head was wounded, and it appeared impossible for him to escape the victorious enemy. In this extremity Tiridates embraced the only refuge which he saw before him; he dismounted and plunged into the stream. His armour was heavy, the river very deep, and at those parts at least half a mile in breadth. The water was so strong and turbulent that he reached in safety the opposite bank. With regard to the Roman general, we are ignorant of the circumstances of his escape; but when he returned to Antioch, Diocletian received him, not his exception by the title of the emperor, but as a friend and colleague, with the indignation of an offended sovereignty. The most industrious of men, clothed in his purple, but humbled by the sense of his fault and misfortune, was obliged to follow the emperor's chariot above a mile on foot, and to exhibit before the whole court, the spectacle of a captive emperor, reduced to subjection.

As soon as Diocletian had indulged his private resentment, and asserted the majesty of supreme power, he yielded to the submissive entreaties of the Caesars, and permitted him to receive his own honour, as well as that of the Roman arms. In the room of the unhappy warlike powers of Asia, which had most probably served in the first expedition, a second army was drawn from the veterans and new levies of the Illyrian frontier, and a considerable body of Gothic auxiliaries were taken into the imperial pay. At the head of a chosen army of twenty-five thousand men, Galerius again passed the Euphrates.
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

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tes; but, instead of exposing his legions in the open plains of Mesopotamia, he advanced through the mountains of Armenia, where he found the inhabitants devoted to his cause, and the country as favourable to the operations of infantry, as it was inconvenient for the movements of the cavalry. Adversity had confirmed the spirit of the Armenians, elated by success, were become so negligent and remiss, that in the moment when they least expected it, they were surprised by the active conduct of Galerius, who, attended only by two horsemen, had with his own eyes secretly examined the state and position of the enemy. A surprise, especially in the night-time, was for the most part fatal to a Persian army. "Their horses were tied, and generally shackled, to prevent their running away; and if an alarm happened, a Persian had his housing to fix, his horse to bridle, and his croupelet to put on, before he could mount." On this occasion, the impetuous attack of the barbarymen spread disorder and dismay over the camp of the barbarians. A slight resistance was followed by a dreadful carnage, and, in the general confusion, the wounded monarch (for Narses commanded his armies in person) fled towards the deserts of Media. His sumptuous tents, and those of his satraps, afforded all that was required to furnish him with the means of retreat; it is mentioned, which proves the rustie but martial ignorance of the legions in the elegant superfluities of life. A bag of shining leather, filled with pearls, fell into the hands of a private soldier; he carefully preserved the bag, but he threw away its contents, judging that whatever was of use could not possibly be of value. The principal loss of his royal captive, Narses was of a much more affecting nature. Several of his wives, his sisters, and children, who had attended the army, were made captives in the defeat. But though the character of Galerius had in general very high respectability with that of Alexander, he imitated, after his victory, the amiable behaviour of the Macedonian towards the family of Darius. The wives and children of Narses were protected from violence and rapine, conveyed to a place of safety, and treated with every mark of respect and tenderness, that was due from a generous enemy to their age, their sex, and their royal dignity.

Negotiation for peace. While the city anxiously expected the decision of this great contest, the emperor Diocletian, having assembled in Syria a strong army of observation, displayed from a distance the resolution of the Romans, and made himself master of any future emergency of the war. On the intelligence of the victory, he descended to advance towards the frontier, with a view of moderating, by his presence and counsels, the pride of Galerius. The interview of the Roman princes at Nisibis, was accompanied with every expression of respect on one side, and of esteem on the other. It was in that city that they soon afterwards gave audience to the ambassador of the great king. The power, or at least the spirit, of Narses, had been broken by his last defeat; and he considered an immediate peace as the only means that could stop the progress of the arms. He immediately dispatched to the Roman emperor, a servant who possessed his favour and confidence, with a commission to negotiate a treaty, or rather to receive whatever conditions the conqueror should impose. Abarpharab opened the conference with an address of perpetual gratitude and submission, for the generous treatment of his family, and by soliciting the liberty of those illustrious captives. He celebrated the valour of Galerius, without degrading the reputation of Narses, and thought it no dishonour to address the monarchs at the head of their armies, over a monarch who had surpaied in glory all the princes of his race. Notwithstanding the justice of the Persian cause, he was empowered to submit the present differences to the decision of the emperors themselves; convinced as he was, that, in the midst of prosperity, they would not be unmindful of the vicissitudes of fortune. Abarpharab concluded his discourse in the style of western allegory, by observing that the Roman and Persian monarchies were the two eyes of the world, which would remain imperfect and mutilated if either of them should be put out.

"It well becomes the Persians," retorted Galerius, with a transport of fury, which seemed to convulse his whole frame, "it well becomes the Persians to expiate on the vicissitudes of fortune, and calmly to read us lectures on the virtues of moderation. Let them remember their own moderation towards the unhappy Valerian. They vanquished him by fraud, they treated him with indulgence, but it betrayed him till the last moment of his life in shameless captivity, and after his death they exposed his body to perpetual ignominy." Softening, however, his tone, Galerius intimated to the ambassador, that it had never been the practice of the Romans to trample on the captives of their enemies; in this occasion, they should consult their own dignity rather than the Persian merit. He dismissed Abarpharab with a hope, that Narses would soon be informed on what conditions he might obtain, from the clemency of the emperors, a lasting peace, and the restoration of his wife and children. In this conference we may discover the fierce passions of Galerius, as well as his deference to the superior wisdom and authority of Diocletian. The ambition of the former grasped at the conquest of the east, and had proposed to reduce Persia into the state of a province. The moderation of the latter, who adhered to Diocletian, the moderate policy of Augustus and the Antonines, embraced the favourable opportunity of terminating a successful war by an honourable and advantageous peace.

In pursuance of their promise, the emperors soon afterwards appointed Sico- rius Probus, one of their secretaries, to acquaint the Persian court with their final resolution. As the minister of peace, he was received with every mark of politeness and friendship; but under the pretence of allowing him the necessary repose after so long a journey, the audience of Probus was deferred from day to day; and he attended the slow motions of the king, till at length he was admitted to his presence, near the river Asprudus in Media. The secret motive of Narses in this delay, had been to collect such a military force as might enable him, though sincerely desirous of peace to conclude with the emperor, to assert his own dignity. Three persons only assisted at this important conference, the minister Abarpharab, the prefect of the guards, and an officer who had commanded on the Armenian frontier. The first condition proposed by the ambassador was not at present to be very intelligible nature; that the city of Nisibis might be established for the place of mutual exchange, or, as we should formerly have termed it, for the staple of trade, between the two empires. There is no difficulty in conceiving the intention of the Roman princes to impose

Aeolus Victor says (Aeolus Victor says) that the Persians were not in their own accounts, as in arms. Entrop. B. 21. But this respect and gratefulness of ex- ecution is very seldom found in their own accounts.

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prove their revenue by some restraints upon commerce; but as Nisibis was situated within their own dominions, and as they were masters both of the imports and exports, it should seem, that such restraints were the objects of an internal law, rather than of a foreign treaty. To render such modes effectual, some stipulations were entered into, on the side of the king of Persia, which appeared so very repugnant either to his interest or to his dignity, that Narses could not be persuaded to subscribe them. As this was the only article to which he refused his consent, it may not be consistent with his government to say that the emperor neither suffered the trade to flow in its natural channels, nor contented themselves with such restrictions, as it depended on their own authority to establish.

As soon as this difficulty was removed, the merchants of Rome, and of other nations, returned to the Aboras, or, as it is called by Xenophon, the Araxes, was fixed as the boundary between the two monarchies. That river, which rose near the Tigris, was increased a few miles below Nisibis, by the left or eastern stream of the Mygdonius, passed under the walls of Singara, and fell into the Euphrates at Circesium, a frontier town, which, by the care of Diocletian, was very strongly fortified. Mesopotamia, the object of so much regret to the emperor and the Persians, by this treaty, renounced all pretensions to that great province. II. They relinquished to the Romans five provinces beyond the Tigris. Their empire, formed by the union of the large and mountainous territory of Carduene, the ancient seat of the Carduicans, was thus confirmed and further extended to the heart of the despotic monarchies of Asia. The ten thousand Greeks traversed their country, after a painful march, or rather engagement, of seven days; and it is confessed by their leader, in his incompareable relation of the retreat, that they suffered more from the arrows of the Carduicans, than from the

Chap. XIII.

Armenians. Their empire, was not so much disposed of as their safety. They were not only deprived of their country, but of the rights of citizenship, and of the privileges of Roman subjects.

The Decline and Fall.
rivers, mountains, and provinces, were carried before the imperial car. The images of the captive wives, the sisters, and the children of the great king, afforded a new and grateful spectacle to the vanity of the people, who, without regard to the fact that they were to have required of the monarch to withdraw the seat of government to Rome only to Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, in extent or populousness.}
cessors of Augustus exercised the power of dictating whatever laws their wisdom or caprice might suggest; by these laws they unified the Roman provinces. The model of ancient freedom was preserved in its deliberations and decrees; and wise princes, who respected the prejudices of the Roman people, were in some measure obliged to assume the language and behaviour suitable to the general and first magistrates. In the eleven provinces, the procurators, who resided in the provinces, they displayed the dignity of monarchs; and when they fixed their residence at a distance from the capital, they for ever laid aside the dissimulation which Augustus had recommended to his successors. In the exercise of the legislative and executive powers, there was an evident connexion with their ministers, instead of consulting the great council of the nation. The name of the senate was mentioned with honour till the last period of the empire; the vanity of its members was still furthered by honorary distinctions; but the assembly which had so long been the source, and so long the instrument, of power, was respectfully suffered to sink into oblivion. The senate of Rome, losing all connexion with the imperial court and the actual constitution, was left a venerable but useless monument of antiquity on the Capitoline hill.

6. The proconsuls and praetors, and the first magistrates in general, were placed in the senatorial order, the franchise, laid aside the sight of the senate and of their ancient capital, they easily forgot the origin and nature of their legal power. The civil offices of consul, of proconsul, of censors, and of tribune, by the union of which it had been formed, betrayed to the people its republican character. What was done from the moment a passion was laid aside; and if they still distinguished their high station by the appellation of emperor, or imperator, that word was understood in a new and more dignified sense, and no longer denoted the general of the Roman armies, but the imperial dignity, the sovereign of the Roman world. The distinction of emperors at first being a military nature, was associated with another of a more servile kind. The epithet of Divi, or lord, in its primitive signification, was expressive, not of the authority of a prince over his subjects, or of a commander over his soldiers, but of the despotic power of a master over his domestic slaves. Viewing it in that odious light, it had been rejected with abhorrence by the first Caesars. Their resistance insensibly became more feeble, and the name less odious: till at length the style of our lord and emperor was not only bestowed by a benefactor, but was regularly admitted into the laws and public documents. Such imitations of the sentiment were sufficient to elevate and satisfy the most excessive vanity; and if the successors of Diocletian still defined the title of king, it seems to have been the effect not so much of their moderation as of their delicacy. Whenever the Latin tongue was in use, (and it was the language of government throughout the empire,) the imperial title, as it was peculiar to themselves, conveyed a more respectable idea than the name of king, which they must have shared with a hundred barbarian chieftains; or which, at the best, they could derive only from Romulus or from Tarsus. But the sentiments of the east were very different from those of the west. From the earliest period of history, the sovereigns of Asia had been celebrated in the Greek language by the title of basileus, or king; and since it was considered as the first distinction among men, it was soon employed by the servile provincials of the east, in their humble addresses to the Roman throne. Even the attributes, or at least the tithias, of the Divinitas, were usurped by Diocletian and Maximian, who transmitted them to a succession of Christian emperors. Such extravagant compliments, however, soon lose their impiety by losing their meaning; and when the ear is once accustomed to the sound, they are heard with indifference, as vague, though excessive, professions of respect.

From the time of Augustus to that of Diocletian, the Roman princes conversed, names the ducum, in a familiar manner among their Roman citizens, and introduced the same applause to senators and magistrates. Their principal distinction was the imperial or military robe of purple; whilst the senatorial garment was marked by a broad, and the equestrian by a narrow, band or stripe of the same honourable colour. The title, or rather the policy, of Diocletian, engaged that artful prince to introduce the strictly magnificence of the court of Persia. He ventured to assume the diadem, an ornament detested by the Romans as the odious ensign of royalty, and the use of which had been considered as the most disgraceful of the madness of Cæsars; it was no more than a supplementary, or at least a second, attribute to the emperor’s head. The sumptuous robes of Diocletian and his successors were of silk and gold; and it is remarked with indignation, that even their shoes were studded with the most precious gems. The access to their sacred person was every day rendered more difficult, but in the end the memorable epoch in The ann. xii. said:—The avenue of the palace was strictly guarded by the various schools, as they began to be called, of domestic officers. The interior apartments were intrusted to the jealous vigilance of the empress; the increase of whose numbers and influence was the most infallible symptom of the feebleness of the prince. No subject was at length admitted to the imperial presence, he was obliged, whatever might be his rank, to fall prostrate on the ground, and to adore, according to the eastern fashion, the divinity of his lord and master. The same person, who, in the course of private as well as public life, had formed a just estimate both of himself and of mankind: nor is it easy to conceive, that in substituting the manners of Persia to those of Rome, he was seriously actuated by so mean a principle as that of vanity. He flattened himself, that his people might subordinate the imagination of the multitude; that the monarch would be less exposed to the rude licence of

6 Synesius de Regeon, Edit. Petar. p. 15. I am indebted for this quotation to the Abbe de Bietiere.

6 See Vendale de Conscellsatione, p. 334, &c. It was customary for the emperors to mention (in the preamble of their laws) the sacred majesty, divine oracles, &c. According to Tittmann, Gregory of Nazianzus complains most bitterly of the profanation, especially when it was practiced by an Athenian emperor.

7 In the time of the republic, says Heerwegh, when the consuls, the praetors, and even the magistrates, appeared in public to attend the duties of their office, their dignity was announced both by the magnificence of their dress and by the immunities which belonged to the person of the legislator. But this dignity was attributed to the person, and not to the man. The consul attended in the Comitia by the whole senate, the praetors, the equites, the ephors, the archons, and the apontars, and the heralds, upon entering his own mansion, was served only by his freedmen and slaves. The first emperors went no further: Tiburtus for his own personal attendance had but a moderate number of slaves, and some freedmen. (Tellmann, Ann. iv. 7.) But as the forms of republicanism, after one another, vanished, the insignia of the empire added more and more to surround the person of the emperor, and to subdue the imagination of the multitude; that the monarch would be less exposed to the rude licence of lettered men.
The people and the soldiers, as his person was secluded from the public view; and that habits of submission would insensibly be productive of sentiments of veneration towards the individual. But in this respect, as in others, the state maintained by Diocletian, and that of Constantine, was unlike the conception of an absolute monarchy. It was true that the Roman nobility affected by Augustus, the state maintained by the other emperors, even in its most arbitrary representation; but it must be confessed, that of the two comedies, the former was of a much more liberal and unmanly character than the latter. It was the aim of the one to disguise, and the object of the other to display, the unbounded power which the emperors possessed over the Roman world.

Ostentation was the first principle of administration, two new systems of administration were introduced by Diocletian, Augustus, and two Caesars. The second division. He divided the empire, the provinces, and every branch of the civil as well as military administration. He multiplied the number of courts and provincial administration, and rendered its operations less rapid but more secure. Whatever advantages and whatever defects might attend these innovations, they must be ascribed to a very great degree to the first inventor; but as the new frame of policy was gradually improved and completed by his successors, it will be more satisfactory to delay the consideration of it till the season of its full maturity and perfection.1 Reserving, therefore, for the reign of Constantine a more exact picture of the new empire, we shall content ourselves with describing the principal and decisive outline, as it was traced by Constantine and his successors. In the exercise of the supreme power; and as he was convinced that the abilities of a single man were inadequate to the public defence, he considered the joint administration of four princes not as a temporary expedient, but as a fundamental law of the constitution. It was his intention, that the two elder princes should be distinguished by the use of the title of Augusti; that, as affection or esteem might direct their choice, they should regularly call to their assistance two subordinate colleagues; and that the Caesars, rising in their turn to the first rank, should supply an uninterrupted succession of emperors. The empire was divided into four parts. The east and Italy were the most honourable, the Danube and the Rhine the most laborious, stations. The former claimed the presence of the Augusti, the latter were intrusted to the administration of the Caesars. The strength of the empire was hereby multiplied, for the four partners of sovereignty, and the despair of successively vanquishing four formidable rivals, might intimidate the ambition of an aspiring general. In their civil government, the emperors were supposed to exercise the undivided power of the monarch, and the authority by which they were invested was received in all the provinces, as promulgated by their mutual councils and authority. Notwithstanding these precautions, the political union of the Roman world was gradually dissolved, and a principle of division was introduced which in the course of a few years, occasioned the perpetual separation of the eastern and western empires.

The system of Diocletian was accompanied with another very material disadvantage, which cannot even at present be totally overlooked; a more expensive establishment, and consequently an increase of taxes, and the oppression of the people. Instead of a modest family of slaves and freedmen, such as had contented the simple greatness of Augustus and Trajan, three or four magnificent courts were established in the various parts of the empire, and as many Romish Kings contended with each other and with the Persian monarch for the superiority of pomp and luxury. The number of ministers, of magistrates, of officers, and of servants, who filled the different departments of the state, was multiplied beyond the example of former times; and (if we may borrow the warm expression of a contemporary) "when the proportion of those who received exceeded the proportion of those who were endowed with power, the provinces were depressed by the weight of tributaries acting with the period of the extinction of the empire, it would be easy to deduce an uninterrupted series of clamours and complaints. According to his religion and situation, each writer chooses either Diocletian, or Constantine, or Valens, or Theodosius, for the object of his invectives; but in both, they uniformly agree in censuring the reign after the extinction of the empire, and particularly the land-tax and capitatio, as the intolerable and increasing grievance of their own times. From such a concurrence, an impartial historian, who is obliged to extract truth from satire, as well as from panegyric, will be inclined to approve the opinion of those whom they accuse, and to ascribe their exactions much less to their personal vices, than to the uniform system of their administration. The emperor Diocletian was indeed the author of that system; but during his reign, the growing evil was confined within the bounds of modesty, whenever that did not yield to the reproach of establishing pernicious precedents, rather than of exercising actual oppression.2 It may be added, that his revenues were managed with prudent economy; and that after all the current expenses were discharged, there still remained in the imperial treasury a considerable fund, covered by the judicious liberality or for any emergency of the state.

It was in the twenty-first year of his reign that Diocletian executed his memorable resuscitatio imperii; an action more naturally to have been expected from the elder of the two Antonines, than from a prince who had never practised the lessons of philosophy either in the attainment or in the use of supreme power. Diocletian acquired the glory of giving to the world the first example of a resignation,3 which has not been very frequently imitated by succeeding monarchs. The parallel of Charles the fifth. Charles the fifth, however, will naturally offer itself to our mind, not only since the eloquence of a modern historian has rendered that name so familiar to an English reader, but from the very striking resemblance between the characters of the two emperors, whose political abilities were superior to their military genius, and whose sanguine virtues were much less the effect of nature than of art. The abdication of Charles appears to have been hastened by the vicissitudes of fortune; and the disappointment of his favourite schemes urged him to relinquish a power which he had obtained by the most virtuous means. It is true that the reign of Diocletian had flowed with a tide of uninterrupted success; nor was it till after he had vanquished all his enemies, and accomplished all his designs, that he seems to have entertained any serious thoughts of resigning the empire. Neither Charles nor Diocletian were arrived at a very advanced period of life; since the one was only fifty-five, and the other no more than fifty-nine, years of age; but the active life of those princes, their wars and journeys, the cares of royalty, and their application to business, had already impaired their constitution, and brought on the infirmities of a premature old age.4 Notwithstanding the severity of a very cold and rainy winter, Diocletian left Italy soon after the ceremony of his triumph, and began his progress towards the east, round

1 The innovations introduced by Diocletian, are chiefly deduced, 1st, from some very strong passages in Lactantius; and, 2dly, from the new and various offices, which, in the Theodosian code, appear exactly exhibited in the beginning of the reign of Constantine.

2 Lactantius, de mort. m. c. xxiv.; Inde Rex magnus est: vase nune illorum temporum modesta tolerabilia, in perennem processit. Aureli, Victor, who has treated the subject of Diocletian, has good reason to observe, that the emperor, in giving up the empire, did not absolve his companions from the obligations of the imperial dignity, as was intended by him. 3 Schol. consuistam, post consuistam Romanum imperium, qui ex tanto res velle aflatum ad private rata statum civilissimum remercet. 4 The particulars of the journey and illness are taken from Lactantius, (c. 17,) who may sometimes be admitted as an evidence of public facts, though very seldom of private anecdotes.
the circuit of the Illyrian provinces. From the in- 

clemency of the weather, and the fatigue of the journey, 

he suffered a relapse of his illness, though he used easy matches, and was generally carried in a close 

 litter, his disorder, before he arrived at Nicomedia, about 
 the end of summer, was become very serious and 
 alarming. During the whole winter he was confined to 

his palace: his danger inspired a general and unaf- 
fected consternation; but the people could only judge 

of the various alterations of his health from the joy 
 or consternation which they discovered in the coun-

tenance and behaviour of his attendants. The rumour 

of his death was for some time universally believed, 
 and it was supposed to be caused with a view to pre-

vent the troubles that might have happened during 
 the absence of the Caesar Galerius. At length, how-

ever, on the first of March, Diocletian once more ap-

peared in public, but so pale and emaciated, that he 
 could scarcely have been recognised by those to whom 

he was most intimate. His prudence was to put an end to the painful strug-
 gle, which he had sustained during more than a year, 
 between the care of his health and that of his dignity. 

The former required indulgence and relaxation, the lat-
 ter compelled him to direct, from the bed of sickness, 

the business of the government. A great camp was 

brought off to pass the remainder of his days in honourable repose, to 
 place his glory beyond the reach of fortune, and to 
 relinquish the theatre of the world to his younger and 

more active associates. 

The ceremony of his abdication was performed in a 

sumptuous manner, but without much expense; the three months from Nicomedia. 

The emperor ascended a lofty throne, and in a speech, 
 full of reason and dignity, declared his intention, both 

unto the people and to the soldiers who were assembled 
 on this extraordinary occasion. As soon as he had 
drew from the gazing multitude; and 

traversing the city in a covered chariot, proceeded,ler 
without delay, to the favourite retirement which he had 

chosen in his native country of Dalmatia. On the 

Compliance of the same day, which was the first of May, 

Maximian, as it had been previously concerted, made his resignation of the imperial dignity at Milan. Even in the splendour of the Roman tri-
 umph, Diocletian had meditated his design, of abdi-
cating the government. As he wished to secure the obedi-
ence of the most powerful of his associates, he exacted 

from each a general assurance that he would submit his actions to 

the authority of his benefactor, or a particular promise that he would descend from the throne, whenever 

he should receive the advice and the example. This en-
gagement, though it was confirmed by the solemnity of 

the ceremony, and by the beauty of the altar of the Capitoline Jupiter, 

which had been covered with a fleecy restraint on the fierce tem-
 per of Maximian, whose passion was the love of 
 power, and who neither desired present tranquility nor 

future reputation. But he yielded, however reluctantly, to the ascendant which his wiser colleague had 

acquired over him, and retired, immediately after his 

abdication, to a villa in Lucania, where it was almost 
 impossible that such an impotent spirit could find any 

lasting tranquility. 

The so-called abdication of Diocletian, who, from servile ori-
 gin, had raised himself to the throne, and 

passed the nine last years of his life in a 

 private condition. Reason had dictated, and content 
 seems to have accompanied, his retreat, in which he 
 enjoyed for a long time the respect of those princes 

who had resigned the possession of the world. It is 
 seldom that minds, long exercised in human 

affairs, have formed any habits of conversing with them-

selves, and in the loss of power they principally re-

greg the want of occupation. The amusements of let-
 ters and of devotion, which afford so many resources in solitude, were incapable of fixing the attention of 

Diocletian; but he had at least assembled a court, which 

devoted by a taste for the most innocent as well as 

natural pleasures, and his leisure hours were suffi-

ciently employed in building, planting, and garden-

ing. His answer to Maximian is deservedly cele-

brated. He was solicited by that resi, his philosophy, 

less old, of that of the government, and the imperial purple. 

He rejected the temptation with a smile of pity, calmly observing, that if he could show Maximian the cabbages which he had planted with his own hands at Salona, he should no longer urge to relinquish the enjoyment of 

happiness for the pursuit of power. In his conver-
sations with his friends, he frequently acknowledg-
ed, that of all arts, the most difficult was the art of 

regaining: and he expressed himself on that favourite topic with a degree of warmth which could be the 

result only of experience was that "is it the interest of four or five 

ministers to combine together to deceive their sove-
 reign! Secluded from mankind by his exalted dignity, 
the truth is concealed from his knowledge; he can see only with their eyes, he hears nothing but their 

rhetorical discourses. He confided his private 

affairs above the enemies, and the most important offices upon vice and weakness, and disgraces the 

most virtuous and deserving among his subjects. 

By such infamous arts," added Diocletian, "the best 

and wisest princes are sold to the venal corruption of 

their courtiers." A just estimate of greatness, and 

the assurance of immortal fame, improved our rela-

tions for the pleasures of retirement; but the Roman em- 

peror had filled too important a character in the world, to 

enjoy without alloy the comforts and security of a 

private condition. It was impossible that he could 

remain ignorant of the troubles which afflicted the 

empire after his abdication. It was impossible that 

he could be indifferent to their consequences. Fear, 

sorrow, and discontent, sometimes pursued him into 

the solitude of Salona. His tenderness, or at least his 

pride, was deeply wounded by the misfortunes of 

his friends. If he was indignant with Maximian, he 

were embittered by some affronts, which Lici-

nius and Constantine might have spared the father of 

so many emperors, and the first author of their own 

fortune. A report, though of a very 

and death, that 

At our time, an 

doubtful nature, has reached our times, A.D. 303, 

of Salona, a 

principal city of his native province of Dalmatia, was near two 

hundred Roman miles (according to the measurement of the public highways) from Aquileia and the 

conflines of Italy, and about two hundred and seventy 

from Sirmium, the usual residence of the emperors 

whenever they visited the Illyrian frontier. A miserable 

village still preserves the name of Salona; but 

1 Eusebius pays him a very fine compliment: "At enim divinitus Domini est, qui pulchritudinem et perpetuum quod non perit."
2 Victors. "At enim divinitus Domini est, qui pulchritudinem et perpetuum quod non perit."
3 "At enim divinitus Domini est, qui pulchritudinem et perpetuum quod non perit."
4 "At enim divinitus Domini est, qui pulchritudinem et perpetuum quod non perit."
5 "At enim divinitus Domini est, qui pulchritudinem et perpetuum quod non perit."
6 "At enim divinitus Domini est, qui pulchritudinem et perpetuum quod non perit."
7 "At enim divinitus Domini est, qui pulchritudinem et perpetuum quod non perit."
8 "At enim divinitus Domini est, qui pulchritudinem et perpetuum quod non perit."
so late as the sixteenth century, the remains of a theatre, and a confused prospect of broken arches and marble columns, continued to attest the ancient splendour. About six or seven miles from the city, Diocletian constructed a magnificent palace, and we may infer, from the greatness of the work, how long he had meditated his design of abdicating the empire. The choice of a spot, which united all that could contribute to the magnificence of the palace, was fixed on the spot which was not restricted by the partiality of a native. "The soil was dry and fertile, the air is pure and wholesome, and though extremely hot during the summer months, this country seldom feels those sultry and noxious winds, to which the coasts of Istria and some parts of Italy are exposed. The town of Ston, which is less than four miles from this spot, is said to have been inhabited by Diocletian, and his palace is still used as a seat of government. Towards the west lies the fertile shore that stretches along the Adriatic, in which a number of small islands are scattered in such a manner, as to give this part of the coast the appearance of a great lake. On the north side lies the bay, which led to the ancient city of Solin; and the country beyond it, appearing in sight, forms a proper contrast to that more extensive prospect of water, which the Adriatic presents both to the south and to the east. Towards the north, the view is terminated by high and irregular mountains, situated at a proper distance, and, in many places, covered with various woods and forests."

Of Diocletian's palace. Though Constantine, from a very obdurate prejudice, affects to mention the palace of Diocletian with contempt, yet one of their successors, who could only see it in a neglected and mutilated state, celebrates its magnificence in terms of the highest admiration. It covered an extent of ground consisting of between nine and ten English acres. The form was quadrangular, flanked with sixteen towers. Two of the sides were near six hundred, and the other two near seven hundred, feet in length. The whole was constructed of a beautiful marble, and the existence of the quarries of Trau, or Tragutum, and very little inferior to marble itself. Four streets, intersecting each other at right angles, divided the several parts of this great edifice, and the approach to the principal apartment was from a very stately entrance, which is still defended by a great gateway. The palace was terminated by a peristyleum of granite columns, on one side of which we discover the square temple of Asclepius, on the other the octagon temple of Jupiter. The latter of those deities Diocletian revered as the patron of his fortunes, the former as the protector of his subjects. After the death of Diocletian, the precepts of Vitruvius, the several parts of the building, the baths, bed-chamber, the atriurn, the basilica, and the Cyzicene, Cistamian, and Egyptian halls have been described with some degree of precision, or at least of probability. Their forms were various, their proportions just; but they were all attended with two imperfections, very reprobate to our modern notions of taste and convenience. These stately rooms had neither windows nor chimneys. They were lighted from the top, (for the building seems to have consisted of no more than one story,) and they received their heat by the help of pipes that were conveyed along the walls. The range of principlapal apartments was protected towards the south-west by a portico five hundred and seventeen feet long. Such magnitude has formed a very noble and delightful walk, when the beauties of painting and sculpture were added to those of the prospect. Had this magnificent edifice remained in a solitary country, it would have been exposed to the ravages of time; but it might, perhaps, have escaped the Svieb, if Diocletian had been satisfied with that of Spalatro, which is afterwards, the provincial town of Spalatro, have grown out of its ruins. The Golden Gate now opens into the market-place. St. John the Baptist has usurped the honours of Asclepius; and the temple of Jupiter, under the protection of the Virgin, is to itself. This is the case for this account of Diocletian's palace we are principally indebted to an ingenious artist of our own time and country, whom a very liberal curiosity carried into the heart of Dalmatia. But there is room to suspect, that the elegance of his designs and engraving has somewhat flatted the objects which it was their purpose to represent. We are informed Decline of the by a more recent and very judicious trav- norseller, that the awful ruins of Spalatro are not less expressive of the decline of the arts than of the greatness of the Roman empire in the time of Diocletian. If such was indeed the state of architecture, was not nature left to the advantage of art? And had experienced a still more sensible decay. The practice of architecture is directed by a few general and even mechanical rules. But sculpture, and, above all, painting, propose to themselves the imitation not only of the forms of nature, but of the characters and passions of the human soul. In those sublime arts, the dexterity of the hand is of little avail, unless it is animated by fancy, and guided by the most correct taste and observation.

It is almost unnecessary to remark, that the civil distractions of the empire, the loss of the licence of the soldiers, the turmoils of the barbarians, and the progress of despotism, had proved very unfavourable to genius, and even to learning. The succession of Illyrian princes restored the empire, without restoring the sciences. Their military education was not calculated to inspire them with the love of letters; and even the mind of Diocletian, however active and copious in business, was totally uniformed by study or speculation. The professions of law and physic are of such common use and certain profit, that they will always secure a sufficient number of practitioners, endowed with a reasonable degree of science, and the price of all the arts, excepting the polite, is determined by the market of the ages; yet, the present state of learning is such, that the students in those two faculties appeal to any celebrated masters who have flourished within that period. The voice of poetry was silent. History was reduced to dry and confused abridgments, alike destitute of amusement and instruction. A haggard and neglected elegance was still received in the paid service of the emperors, who encouraged not any arts except those which contributed to the gratification of their pride, or the defence of their power. The declading edge of learning and of the new Platonic mankind is marked, however, by the 114th.
rise and rapid progress of the new Platonists. The school of Alexandria silenced those of Athens; and the next generation, which followed, were the scholars of the more fashionable teachers, who recommended their system by the novelty of their method, and the austerity of their manners. Several of these masters, Ammonius, Plotinus, Amelius, and Porphyry,1 were men of profound thought and intense application; but by mixing with the most celebrated philosophers of the time, and even with the arts of Diocletian,2 instead of imitating their eastern pride and magnificence, Constantius preserved the modesty of a Roman prince. He declared, with unaffected sincerity, that his most valued treasure was his character, and that, whenever the dignity of the throne, or the danger of the state, required any extraordinary supply, he could depend with confidence on their gratitude and liberality.3 The provincials of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, sensible of his worth, and of their own happiness, restored with all the declivity of the health of the emperor Constantius, and the tender age of his numerous family, the issue of his second marriage with the daughter of Maximian.

The stern temper of Galerius was cast in a very different mould; and while his emperors were conscious of the effect of the sudden condescension to solicit their affections. His fame in arms and above all, the success of the Persian war, had elated his haughty mind, which was naturally impotent of a superior, or even of an equal. If it were possible to rely on the partial testimony of an invidious writer, we might ascribe the ambition of Diocletian to the menaces of Galerius, and relate the particulars of a private conversation between the two princes, in which the former discovered as much pusillanimity as the latter displayed ingratitude and arrogance.4 But the obscure anecdotes are sufficiently refuted by an impartial view of the conduct of Diocletian. Whatever might otherwise have been his intentions, if he had apprehended any danger from the violence of Galerius, his good sense would have instructed him to prevent the ignominious contest; and as he had held the sceptre with glory, he would have resigned it without disgrace.

After the elevation of Constantius and The two Caesars, Galerius to the rank of Augusti, two new Caesars were required to supply their place, and to complete the system of the imperial government. The empire was well contented with withdrawing himself from the world; he considered Galerius, who had married his daughter, as the firmest support of his family and of the empire; and he consented, without reluctance, that his successor should assume the merit as well as the envy of the important nomination. It was fixed without consulting the interest or inclination of the princes of the west. Each of them had a son who was arrived at the age of manhood, and who might have been deemed the most na-

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1. Porphyry died about the time of Diocletian's abdication. The life of this master, which has come down to us, is the most complete idea of the genius of the sect, and the manners of its professors. Two very curious pieces are inserted in Ptolemaeus, Bibliotheca Græca, tom. iv. p. 87-142.

2. De Ménestrez (Considerations sur la Grondure et la Déda-

3. The provinces of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, sensible of his worth, and of their own happiness, restored with all the declivity of the health of the emperor Constantius, and the tender age of his numerous family, the issue of his second marriage with the daughter of Maximian.

4. His ecce modo amabilis, sed etiam venerabilis Galliae fact: præ-
tural candidates for the vacant honor. But the impotent resentment of Maximian was no longer to be disregarded; and the moderate Constantius, though he might desire to see Diocletian, was not apprehensive of the calamities, of civil war. The two persons whom Galerius promoted to the rank of Caesar, were much better suited to serve the views of his ambition; and their principal recommendation seems to have consisted in the want of merit or personal consequence. The first of these was Diocletian, whom he afterwards called, Maximian, whose mother was the sister of Galerius. The unexperienced youth still betrayed by his manners and language his rustic education, when, to his own astonishment, as well as that of the world, he was invested by Galerius with the purple, exalted to the rank of Caesar, invested with the sestertius command of Egypt and Syria. At the same time, Severus, a faithful servant, addicted to pleasure, but not incapable of business, was sent to Milan, to receive, from the reluctant hands of Maximian, the Cæsarian ornaments, and the possession of Italy and Africa. According to the forms of the constitution, Severus acknowledged the supremacy of the western emperor; but he was absolutely devoted to the commands of his benefactor Galerius, who, reserving to himself the intermediate countries from the confines of Italy to those of Syria, firmly established his power over that portion of the empire by whom, by representing the full evidence, that the approaching death of Constantius would leave him sole master of the Roman world, we are assured that he had arranged in his mind a long succession of future princes, and that he meditated his own retreat from public life, after he should have accomplished a glorious and triumphant career. 

But within less than eighteen months, Ambition of Galeriusiping down by two revolutions,

the ambitious schemes of Galerius. The hope of uniting the western provinces to his empire were disappointed by the elevation of Vitalian in Italy and Africa were lost by the successful revolt of Maxentius.

I. The fame of Constantine has rendered posterity attentive to the most minute circumstances of his life and actions. The place of his birth, as well as the conditions of his mother Helena, have been the subject not only of disputation, but of dispute. Notwithstanding the recent tradition, which assigns for her father a British king, we are obliged to confess, that Helena was the daughter of an innkeeper; but, at the same time, we may defend the legality of her marriage, as much as we respect her as the wife of Constantius. The first Constantius was most probably born at Naissus, in Dacia; and it

But the impression of the journey was reluctantly granted, and whatever Galerius may have taken to intercept a return, the consequences of which he, with so much reason, apprehended, they were effectually disappointed by the incredible diligence of Constantine. Leaving the palace of Nicomedica in the night, he travelled post through Bithynia, Thrace, Daucia, Panonia, Italy, and Gaul, and amidst the joyful acclamations of the people, reached the port of Boulogne, in the very moment when his father was preparing to embark for Britain.

The British expedition, and an easy conquest over the barbarians of Caledonia, were the last exploits of the reign of Constantine the Great. Diocletian died the imperial palace of York, fifteen months after he had received the title of Augustus, and almost fourteen years and a half after he had been promoted to the rank of Cæsar. His death was immediately succeeded by the elevation of Constantine. The ideas of inheritance and succession are so very

It is not surprising, that in a family and province distinguished only by the profession of arms, the youth of the more ambitious might be disposed to improve his mind by the acquisition of knowledge. He was about eighteen years of age when his father was promoted to the rank of Cæsar; but that fortunate event was attended with his mother’s divorce; and the splendor of an imperial alliance rekindled the sanguinary spirit of the whole house. In the event of Constantius’ death and marriage, instead of following Constantius to the west, he remained in the service of Diocletian, signaled his valor in the wars of Egypt and Persia, and gradually rose to the honourable station of a tribune of the first order. The figure of Constantine was tall and majestic; his looks dexterous in all his exercises, his mind firm, and his affable deportment. In his conduct, the active spirit of truth was tempered by habitual prudence; and while his mind was engrossed by ambition, he appeared cold and insensible to the allusions of pleasure. The favour of the people and soldiers, who had named him as a worthy candidate for the rank of Cæsar, served only to exasperate the jealousy of Galerius; and though prudence might restrain him from exercising any open violence, an absolute monarch is seldom at a loss how to execute a sure and secret revenge. Every hour increased the danger of Constantine, and the anxiety of his father, who, by repeatedly expressing his desire of embracing his son. For some time the policy of Galerius supplied him with delays and excuses, but it was impossible long to refuse so natural a request of his associate, without maintaining his refusal by arms. The permission of the journey was reluctantly granted, and whatever Galerius may have taken to intercept a return, the consequences of which he, with so much reason, apprehended, they were effectually disappointed by the incredible diligence of Constantine. Leaving the palace of Nicomedica in the night, he travelled post through Bithynia, Thrace, Daucia, Panonia, Italy, and Gaul, and amidst the joyful acclamations of the people, reached the port of Boulogne, in the very moment when his father was preparing to embark for Britain.

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familiar, that the generality of mankind consider them as founded, not only in reason, but in nature itself. Ordered by his father Constantius, he left Britain, and the national troops were reinforced by a numerous body of Alæmanni, who obeyed the orders of Croesus, one of their hereditary chieftains. The opinion of their own importance, and the assurance that Britain, Gaul, and Spain would acquiesce in their nomination, actuated them primarily to the legions by the adherents of Constantine. The soldiers were asked, whether they could hesitate a moment between the honour of placing at their head the worthy son of their beloved emperor, and the ignominy of tamely expecting the arrival of some obscure stranger, on whom might please the sovereign of Asia to bestow the armies and provinces of the west! It was insinuated to them, that gratitude and liberality held a distinguished place among the virtues of Constantine; nor did that artful prince show himself to the troops, till he had Williamson to submit himself with the principles of Augustus and emperor. The throne was the object of his desires; and had he been less actuated by ambition, it was his own only means of safety. He was well acquainted with the character and sentiments of Galerius, and sufficiently apprised, that if he wished to live he must yield. The deponent and even obstinate resistance which he chose to adopt, was conceived to justify his usurpation; nor did he yield to the acclamations of the army, till he had provided the proper materials for the letter, which he immediately despatched to the emperor of the east. Constantine, in his feelings wounded beyond measure, with his father's death, modestly asserted his natural claim to the succession, and respectfully lamented, that the affectionate violence of his troops had not permitted him to solicit the imperial purple in the regular and constitutional manner. The first emotions of Galerius were those of surprise, disappointment, and rage; and as he could seldom restrain his passions, he loudly threatened, that he would commit to the flames both the letter and the messenger. But his resentment insensibly subsided; and when he recollected the danger of the change of war, he weighed the character and extent of his adversary, he consented to embrace the honourable accommodation which the prudence of Constantine had left open to him. Without either condescending or ratifying the choice of the British army, Galerius accepted the son of his deceased colleague, as the sovereign of the provinces beyond the Alps; but he gave him only the title of Caesar, and the fourth rank among the Roman princes, whilst he conferred the vacant place of Augustus on his favourite Severus. The apparent harmony of the empire was still preserved, till Constantine, who already possessed the substance, expected, without impatience, an opportunity of obtaining the honours, of supreme power.

The choice of Constantine, by his dying father, which is warranted by reason, and instanced by Eumenius, seems to be confirmed by the most unexceptionable authority, the concursus evidence of Cassiodorus Senecinaeus, of Pagi, of Cassius, of Tacitus, of Constantius, of Theodorus, of Constantius, of Eune- mius (viii. 8.), of Eusebius (cit. supra), and of Jilo (Oration 8.), with the addition, and that of Justin (Hist. Rom. i. c. 27.); of Julian (Oration 8.), and of the other evidences of Tacitus, of Constantius, of Eutropius, of Anastasia the Cæsar Raisanius, and Eutropius the cont. Nepos (iii. 7.), of the three brothers Donatus, Julianus Constantius, and Ambianthus, of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

The children of Constantine by his first wife were six in number, three of whom gave rise to a meaner extraction of the son of Helena. But Con-

stantius was in the thirty-second year of his age, in the full vigour both of mind and body, at the time when the eldest of his brethren could not possibly be more than thirteen years old. His claim of superior merit had been allowed and ratified by the dying emperor. In his last moments, Constantius bequeathed to his eldest son the care of the safety as well as greatness of the family; conjuring him to be himself not to enter upon the business of a father with regard to the children of Theodoria. Their liberal education, advantageous marriages, the secure dignity of their lives, and the first honours of the state with which they were invested, attest the fraternal affection of Constantius. In their dispositions and grateful disposition, they submitted without reluctance to the superiority of his genius and fortune.

The ambitious spirit of Galerius, the discontents of the Roman provinces, before the unexpected loss of Donatus, Italy wounded his pride as well as power in a still more sensible part. The long absence of the emperors had filled Rome with discontent and indignation; and the people gradually discovered, that the preference given to Nicomedia and Milan, was not to be attributed to the taste of Hipponianus, but to the permanent form of government which he had instituted. It was in vain that, a few months after his abdication, his successors dedicated, under his name, those magnificent baths, whose ruins still supply the ground as well as the materials for so many churches and commodious edifices; and the absence of those armaments and luxuries which had been the imperious objects of Galerius, and very strict and rigorous inquisition into the property of his subjects, for the purpose of a general taxation, both on their lands and on their persons. A very minute survey appears to have been taken of their real estates; and whenever there was the slightest suspicion of concealment, torture was very freely employed to obtain a sincere declaration of their personal wealth.

The privileges which had exalted Italy above the rank of the provinces, were no longer regarded: and the officers of the revenue already began to number the Roman province among the subject states. The emperor, who had been so long satiated with the enjoyment of absolute authority, was impatient that the laws of the empire should be the measures of his pleasure and fortune. Even when the spirit of freedom had been utterly extinguished, the tamest subjects have sometimes ventured to resist an unprecedented invasion of their property; but on this occasion the injury was aggravated by the insult, and the sense of private interest was quickened by that of national honour. The conquest of Macedonia, as we have already observed, had delivered the Roman people from the weight of personal taxes. Though they had experienced every form of despotism, they had now enjoyed that exemption near five hundred years; nor could they patiently brook the insolence of an Illyrian peasant, who, from his distant residence in Asia, presumed to number Rome among the tributary cities of his empire. The
rising fury of the people was encouraged by the authority, or at least the conivance, of the senate; and the fickle remains of the pretorian guards, who had reason to apprehend their own dissolution, embraced so honourable a pretence, and declared their readiness to join the service of the oppressed country. It was the wish, and it soon became the hope, of every citizen, that after expelling from Italy their foreign tyrants, they should elect a prince who, by the place of his residence, and by his maxims of government, might once more deserve the title of Roman emperor. Towards this end, as well as for the reputation of Maximus, determined in his favour the popular enthusiasm.

Maxentius was the son of the emperor Maximian, and he had married the daughter of Galerius. His birth and alliance seemed to offer him the fairest promise of succeeding to the empire; but his vices and incapacity procured him the same exclusion from the dignity of Caesar, which Constantine had desired by a dangerous superiority of merit. The policy of Galerius preferred such associates, as would never undertake to dispute the rights of their benefactor. An obscure stranger was therefore raised to the throne of Italy, and the son of the late emperor of the west was left to enjoy the luxury of a private fortune in a villa a few miles distant from the capital. The gloomy passions of his son were concealed, and his romping girls excited but slight envy on the news of Constantine’s success; but the hopes of Maxentius revived with the public discontent, and he was easily persuaded to unite his personal injury and pretensions with the cause of the Roman people. Two pretorian tribunes and a comissary of provisions undertook the management of the conspiracy; and as every order of men was actuated by the same spirit, the immediate event was neither doubtful nor difficult. The prefect of the city, and a few magistrates, who maintained their fidelity to Severus, were massacred by the guards; and Maxentius, invested with the imperial ornaments, was acknowledged by the applauding senate and people as the protector of the Roman freedom and dignity. It is uncertain whether Maxentius was previously acquainted with the conspiracy; but as soon as the hopes of Messalline standard of revolution was erected at Philippi, having professed a resolution from his retirement where the authority of Diocletian had condemned him to pass a life of melancholy solitude, and concealed his returning ambition under the disguise of paternal tenderness. At the request of his son and of the senate, he condescended to re-assume the purple. His假装 dignity, his experience, and his fame in arms, added strength as well as reputation to the party of Maxentius.7

Defeat and death According to the advice, or rather the orders, of his colleague, the emperor Severus immediately hastened to Rome, in the full confidence, that, by his unexpected celebrity, he should easily suppress the tumult of an unruly populace, commanded by a licentious youth. But he found on his arrival the gates of the city shut against him, the walls filled with men and arms, an experienced general at the head of the rebels, and his own troops without spirit or cohesion. A large body of Moors deserted to the enemy, allured by the promise of a large donation; and, if it be true that they had been levied by Maxentius in his African war, preferring the natural feelings of gratitude to the artificial ties of allegiance. Anulius, the pretorian prefect, declared fidelity to Maxentius in favour of the emperor, who was the most considerable part of the troops, accustomed to obey his commands. Rome, according to the expression of an orator, recalled her armies; and the unfortunate Severus, destitute of friends and of counsel, retired, or rather fled, with precipitation to Ravenna. There he met with the service of the prefert Prefet of Ravenna. The fortifications of Ravenna were able to resist the attempts, and the morasses that surrounded the town were sufficient to prevent the approach, of the Italian army. The sea, which Severus commanded with a powerful fleet, secured him an inextinguishable supply of provisions from his African provinces. The legions, which, on the return of spring, would advance under the assistance from Illyricum and the east, Maximin, who conducted the siege in person, was soon convinced that he might waste his time and his army in the fruitless enterprise, and that he had nothing to hope either from force or famine. With an art more suitable to the character of Diocletian than to his own, he directed his attack, not so much against the walls of Ravenna, as against the mind of Severus. The treachery which he had experienced, disposed that unhappy prince to distrust the most sincere of his friends and adherents. The emissaries of Maximin easily persuaded him of the eventuality that a conspiracy was formed to betray the town, and prevailed upon his fears not to expose himself to the discretion of an irritated conqueror, but to accept the faith of an honourable capitulation. He was at first received with humanity, and treated with respect. Maximin conducted the capitulation and granted all the assurances that he had secured his life by the resignation of the purple. But Severus could only obtain an easy death and an imperial funeral. When the sentence was signified to him, the man who, three months before, had ordered the execution of his son, was prepared to go to his destruction. But he had been constructed for the family of Gallienus.8

Though the characters of Constantine and Maxentius had very little affinity with each other, their situation and interest were the same; and prudence seemed to require that they should unite their forces against the common enemy. Notwithstanding the superiority of his age and dignity, the indefatigable Maximin passed the Alps, and resorted to Italy, where he had anticipated that the war would be conducted. He arrived at Carnuntum with great solemnity, and was received by the army with all the martial addresses of the ancients, that of opening his veins; and as soon as he expired, his body was carried to the sepulchre which had been constructed for the family of Gallienus.9

The importance of the occasion called Galerius invaded the presence and abilities of Galerius. At the head of a powerful army collected from the two empires, the east and the west, he entered Italy, and prepared to revenge the death of Severus, and to chastise the rebellious Romans; or, as he expressed his intentions, in the furious language of a barbarian, to extirpate the senate, and to destroy the people by the sword. But the skill of Maximin had conceived a prudent system...
of defence. The invader found every place hostile, fortified, and inaccessible; and though he forced his way as far as Narni, within sixty miles of Rome, his dominion in Italy was confined to the narrow limits of his camp. Sensible of the increasing difficulties of his enterprise, the naught Galerius made the first advances towards a reconciliation, and despatched two of his most considerable officers to tempt the Ro-

man princes by the offer of a conference, and the de-

claring to have no further quarrel with the emperor. The offers of Galerius were rejected with firmness, his per-

fidious friendship refused with contempt, and it was not long before he discovered, that, unless he provided for his safety by a timely retreat, he had some rea-

son to apprehend the fate of Severus. The wealth, which the Romans defended against his rapacious tyranny, they freely contributed for his destruction. The name of Maximian, the popular arts of his son, the secret distribution of large sums, and the promise of still more liberal rewards, checked the ardour, and cor-

rupted the fidelity, of the Illyrian legions; and when Galerius at length gave the signal of the retreat, it was with some difficulty that he could prevail on his veterans not to desert a banner which had so often failed them in victory and honor. A contemporary writer assigns two other causes for the failure of the expedition; but they are both of such a nature, that a cautious historian will scarcely venture to adopt them. We are told that Galerius, who had formed a very imperfect notion of the greatness of Rome by the cities of the east, with which he was acquainted, had found his forces inadequate to the siege of that im-

mense capital. But the extent of a city serves only to render it more accessible to the enemy; Rome had long since been accustomed to submit on the approach of a conqueror, nor could the temporary enthusiasm of the legions have long contended against the disci-

pline and valour of the legions. We are likewise in-

formed, that the legions themselves were struck with horror and remorse, and that those pious sons of the republic refused to violate the sanctity of their vener-

able parent. But when we remember, that with such a pros-

perous ease, in the more ancient civil wars, the zeal of party, and the habits of military obedience, had converted the native citizens of Rome into her most implacable enemies, we shall be inclined to distrust this extreme delicacy of strangers and barbarians, who had never beheld Italy till they entered it in a hostile manner. Had they not been restrained by motives of a more interest nature, they would probably have answer-

ed Galerius in the words of Caesar's veterans: "If our general wishes to lead us to the banks of the Tiber, we are prepared to trace out his wall. Whosoever walls he has determined to level with the ground, our hands are ready to work the engines; nor shall we hesitate, should the name of the devoted city be Rome itself." These are indeed the expressions of a poet; but of a poet who has been distinguished, and even eulogised, for his strict adherence to the truth of his-

ory.3

His retreat. The legions of Galerius exhibit a very melancholy proof of their disposition, by the ravages which they committed in their ret-

reat. They murdered, they ravaged, they plundered, they drove away the flocks and herds of the Italians; they burnt the villages through which they passed, and they evaded to destroy the country which it had not been in their power to subdue. During the whole of the retreat, they never exercised the narrow limits of their camp. Sensible of the increasing difficulties of his enterprise, the naught Galerius made the first advances towards a reconciliation, and despatched two of his most considerable officers to tempt the Ro-

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vice. But it was impossible that minds like those of Maximian and his son could long possess in harmony an undivided power. Maxentius considered himself as the legal sovereign of Italy, elected by the Roman senate and people; nor would he endure the control of the father, who arrogantly declared, that by his name and authority, he had placed himself with the sanction of the throne. The cause was solemnly pleaded before the pretorian guards, and those troops, who dreaded the severity of the old emperor, exposed the party of Maxentius. The life and freedom of Maximian were however respected, and he retired from Italy into Illyricum, affecting to famine it was invested, and secretly contriving new mischiefs. But Galerius, who was well acquainted with his character, soon obliged him to leave his dominions, and the last refuge of the disappointed Maximian was the court of his son-in-law Constantine. He was received with respect by that artful prince, and with the appearance of filial tenderness by the empress Fausta. That he might remove every suspicion, he resigned the imperial purple a second time, professing himself at length convinced of the vanity of greatness and ambition. Had he persevered in this resolution, he might have ended his life with honor, and his power extinguished; but he, however, with comfort and reputation. But the near prospect of a throne brought back to his remembrance the state from whence he was fallen, and he resolved, by a desperate effort, either to reign or to perish. An incursion of the Franks had summoned Constantine with a part of his army, to the banks of the Rhine; the remainder of the troops were stationed in the southern provinces of Gaul, which lay exposed to the enterprises of the Italian emperor, and a considerable treasure was deposited in the city of Arles. Maximian either craftily invented, or hastily crediting, a vain report of the death of Constantine. Without hesitating he descended the throne, seized the treasure, and scattering it with his accustomed profusion among the soldiers, endeavoured to awake in their minds the memory of his ancient dignity and exploits. Before he could establish his authority, or finish the negociation which he appears to have entered into with his son Maxentius, the celerity of Constantine defeated all his hopes. On the first news of his perjury and ingratitude, that prince returned by rapid marches from the Rhine to the Saone, embarked on the last-mentioned river at Chatons, and at Lyons trusted himself to the rapidity of the Rhone, arrived at the gates of Arles, where Galerius came to meet him, and counselled him to drive Maximian to resist, and which scarcely permitted him to take refuge in the neighbouring city of Marseilles. The narrow neck of land which joined that place to the continent was fortified against the besiegers, whilst the sea was open, either for the escape of Maximian, or for the succours of Maxentius, if the latter should choose to disguise his invasion of Gaul, under the honourable pretence of defending a distressed, or as he might allege, an injured father. Apprehensive of the fatal consequences of delay, Constantine gave orders for an immediate assault; but the scaling-ladders were forestalled by a wise counsellor, and the besiegers of Massel- lies might have sustained as long a siege as it formerly did against the arms of Cesar, if the garrison, conscious either of their fault or of their danger, had not purchased their pardon by delivering up the city and person of Maximian. A secret but irrevocable sentence of death was pronounced against the usurper, he obtained only the same favour which he had indulged to Severus, and it was published to the world, that, oppressed by the remorse of his repeated crimes, he struggled and expired, and dumb and speechless, with his: father in the throne. The cause was solemnly pleaded before the pretorian guards, and those troops, who dreaded the severity of the old emperor, exposed the party of Maxentius. The life and freedom of Maximian were however respected, and he retired from Italy into Illyricum, affecting to famine it was invested, and secretly contriving new mischiefs. But Galerius, who was well acquainted with his character, soon obliged him to leave his dominions, and the last refuge of the disappointed Maximian was the court of his son-in-law Constantine. He was received with respect by that artful prince, and with the appearance of filial tenderness by the empress Fausta. 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Death of Galerius
A.D. 311. May.

The last years of Galerius were less shameful and unfortunate; and though he had filled with more glory the subordinate station of Cæsar than the superior rank of Augustus, he preserved, till the moment of his death, the first place among the princes of the Roman empire. He had reached the height of his power, and, years, and wisely relinquishing his views of universal empire, he devoted the remainder of his life to the enjoyment of pleasure, and to the execution of some works of public utility, among which we may distinguish the discharging into the Danube the superfluous waters of the Rhine by a new channel, and the laying open the immense forests that encompassed an operation very suitable to a monarch, since it gave an extensive country to the agriculture of his Pannonian subjects. His death was occasioned by a very painful and lingering disorder. His body, swelled by an intermitten course of life to an unwieldy corpulence, was covered with warts; and the arrows of the vanquishers, those insects who have given their name to a most loathsome disease, but as Galerius had offered a very zealous and powerful party among his subjects, his sufferings, instead of exciting their compassion, have been celebrated as the visible effects of divine justice. He had no sooner expired in his palace of Nicomedia, than the two emperors who were indebted for their table dukedom purple to his favour, began to collect their shared between forces, with the intention either of dis- Maximian and Licinius. Galerius.

The chair of the emperor was divided; but those authors relate them, and give credit to them. Aurelius Victor says, speaking of Maximian: Cunque specie officiis, dolos compositos, Constantianum generum tandem aperese, jure absque, sed ignoto, parum interempto, umbris de Constantine, qui ante se sunt, et qui futuros, bede Fausta protesserat est (Maximi) dolo composito, sed vix que, quia a filo est eleemosyna, at Constantianum genero juncturer, modest tamen Constantianum reperta occasione interfecte, poenas detestatim exultat. (Italiens vol. i. book. x. p. 661.) (Anon. gen. 27.)

But that lake was situated on the Upper Ems, not far from the mouth of Nornen, where the river Rhia (a name which the wife of Galerius gave to the drained country) and unalterably thus borne from the Rhine to the Danube. (Securus in p. 4.9.) I should therefore suspect that Victor has confounded the lake Petus with the Voltaire marshes; or, as they are now called, lake Sevan. It is situated in the lazurian mountain, and its extent is not less than 12 Hungarian miles (about 70 English) in length, and twice as much in breadth. See Severus in Ch. 13. (Italiens C. P. 25.) and (Aurelius Victor, l. viii. c. 16.) describe the symptoms and progress of his disorder with singular accuracy and great perspicuity. An agreesent.

If any like the late Dr. Jolin, Remarks on Ecclesiastical His- torv, v. 28. would be ready to deliberate on the depths of the persecutors, I would recommend to their persual an admirable passage of Grotius, (Hist. i. vii. p. 322.) concerning the last Illustri of Philip II. of Spain.
cian Bosphorus formed their mutual boundary, and the banks of those narrow seas, which flowed in the midst of the Roman world, were covered with soldiers, with arms, and with fortifications. The deaths of Maximian and of Galerius reduced the number of emperors to four. The sense of their true interest soon connected Licinius and Constantius. The choice between Licinius and Maxentius, and their unhappy subjects, expected, with terror, the bloody consequences of their inevitable dissensions, which were no longer restrained by the fear or the respect which they had entertained for Galerius.  


The many crimes and misfortunes, occasioned by the passions of the Roman princes, there is some pleasure in discovering a single action which may be ascribed to their virtue. In the sixth year of his reign, Constantine visited the city of Autun, and generously bestowed the arrears of tribute, reducing at the same time the proportion of their assessment from twenty-five to eighteen thousand heads, subject to the real and personal capitation. Yet even this indulgence affords the most unquestionable proof of the public mercy. This tax was so extremely oppressive, either in the mode of effecting it, or whilst the revenue was increased by extortion, it was diminished by despair: a considerable part of the territory of Autun was left uncultivated; and great numbers of the provincials rather chose to live as exiles and outlaws, than to support the weight of civil society. It is clear that the beautiful senator was reduced, by a partial act of liberality, one among the many evils which he had caused by his general maxims of administration. But even those maxims were less the effect of choice than of necessity. And if we except the death of Maximian, the reign of Constantine in Gaul, and the former part of the reign of Constantine in the provinces of Africa. 

Maxentius. From the whole course of his reign, Constantine might view with request the conduct of Maxentius with abhorrence, and that of the Roman cities with contempt; for we have no reason to presume that he would have taken up arms to punish the one, or to relieve the other. But the tyrant of Italy rashly ventured to provoke a formidable enemy, whose ambition had been hitherto restrained by considerations of prudence, rather than by principles of justice. After the death of Maximian, his titles, according to the
The enterprise was as full of danger and ill success now as it had been before. Constantine had made the most formidable preparations; his armies were augmented by the accession of the Illyrians, who were led by their prince Zosimus, and by the inhabitants of the whole monarchy of the west, who had already prepared a very considerable force to invade the Gallic provinces on the side of Rhaetia; and though he could not expect any assistance from Lnicinus, he was flattered with the hope that the legion of Illyricum, allured by his promises, would desert the standard of that prince, and unanimously declare themselves his soldiers and subjects. Constantine no longer hesitated. He had deliberated with caution, he acted with vigour. He gave a private audience to the ambassadors, who, in the name of the senate and people, conjured him to desist from that mad purpose; and he hesitated not in regard to the timid remonstrances of his council, he resolved to prevent the enemy, and to carry the war into the heart of Italy.

Preparations. The enterprise was as full of danger and as of glory; and the unsuccessful event of two former invasions was sufficient to inspire the most serious apprehensions. The veteran troops who revered the name of Maximian, had embraced in both those wars the party of his son, and were now restrained by a sense of honour, as well as of interest, from entertaining an idea of a second descent. Maxentius, who considered the first defence of his throne, had increased them to their ancient establishment; and they composed, including the rest of the Italians who were enlisted into his service, a formidable body of fourscore thousand men. Forty thousand Moors and Carthaginians had been raised since the reduction of Africa. Even Sicily furnished its proportion of troops; and the armies of Maxentius amounted to one hundred and seventy thousand foot, and eighteen thousand horse. The wealth of Italy supplied the expenses of the war; and the adjacent provinces were exhausted, to form immense magazines of corn and every other kind of provision.

The whole force of Constantine consisted of ninety thousand foot and eight thousand horse; and as the defence of the Rhine required an extraordinary attention during the absence of the emperor, it was not in his power to employ above half his troops in the Italian expedition, unless he sacrificed the public safety to his private quarrel. At the head of about forty thousand soldiers, he marched to encounter an enemy whose numbers were at least four times superior to his own. But the armies of Rome, placed at a secure distance from danger, were enervated by indulgence and luxury. Habitud to the baths and theatres of Rome, they took the field with reluctance, and were chiefly composed of veterans who had almost forgiven, or of new levies who had never acquired, the use of arms, and the practice of war. The hardy legions of Gaul had long defended the territories of the empire against the barbarians of the north; and in the performance of that laborious service, their valour was exercised, and their discipline confirmed. There appeared the same difference between the leaders as between the armies. Caprice or flattery had tempted Maxentius with the hopes of conquest; but these aspiring hopes soon gave way to the habits of plea- sure for a soldier and a prince. The intrepid mind of Constantine had been trained from his earliest youth to war, to action, and to military command.

When Hannibal marched from Gaul Constantine passed into Italy, he was obliged, first to discover the Alps, and then to open, a way over mountains and through savage nations, that had never yielded a passage to a regular army. The Alps were then guarded by nature, they are now fortified by art. Citadels constructed with no less skill than labour and expense, command every avenue into the plain, and on that side the问卷 Italian princes inaccessible to the enemies of the king of Sardinia. But in the immediate period, the generals, who have attempted the passage, have seldom experienced any difficulty or resistance. In the age of Constantine, the peasants of the mountains were civilized and obedient subjects; the country was plentifully stocked with provisions, and the stupendous highways, which the Romans had carried over the Alps, opened several communications between Gaul and Italy. Constantine preferred the road of the Cottian Alps, or, as it is now called, of mount Cenis, and led his troops with such active diligence, that he descended into the plain of Piedmont before the court of Maxentius had received any certain intelligence of his departure from the banks of the Rhine. The city of Susa, however, is situated at the foot of mount Cenis, was surrounded with walls, and provided with a garrison sufficiently numerous to check the progress of an invader; but the impatience of Constantine's troops disdained the tedious forms of a siege. The same day that they appeared before Susa, they applied fire to the gates, and ladders to the walls; and mounting to the assault amidst a shower of stones and arrows, they entered the place sword in hand, and cut in pieces the greatest part of the garrison. The city was abandoned; and the troops of Constantine, and the remains of Susa preserved from total destruction. About forty miles from thence, a more severe contest awaited him. A Battle of Turin, numerous army of Italians was assembled under the lieutenants of Maxentius, in the plains of Turin. Its principal strength consisted in a species of heavy cavalry, which the Romans, since the decline of their discipline, had borrowed from the nations of the east. The horses, as well as the men, were clothed in complete armour, the joints of which were artfully adapted to the motions of their bodies. The aspect of this cavalry was formidable, their weight almost irresistible; and as, on this occasion, their generals had drawn them up in a compact column or wedge, with a sharp point, and with spreading flanks, they flattened themselves that they should easily break and

The three principal passages of the Alps between Gaul and Italy, were mount Cenis, mount Galva, and mount Genovez. Tradition, and a resemblance of names, (alpes flavum) has assigned the first of these for the march of Hannibal. (Panegyr. de Consta. 1. iv. p. 6.) The Alps, mount Cenis, and Mount Galva, have led him mount Genovez. But notwithstanding the authority of an express passage, and of express reconnaissance, these mountain passages are not at present known, nor any one attempting a crossing, that manner by M. Grosley. Observations sur l'Italie, tom. i. p. 342.

La Brunette near Susa, Divonne, Exilles, Femantellis, Oumi, &c.

1. See Ammian. Marcell. x. 10. His description of the roads over the Alps is clear, lively, and accurate.
trample down the army of Constantine. They might, perhaps, have concluded their design; but not their ever-vexed adversary embraced the same method of defence, which in similar circumstances had been practised by Aurelian. The skilful evolutions of Constantine divided and baffled this massy column of cavalry. The troops of Maxentius fled in confusion towards the gates of the city. The genera of the vanquished, and, with them, very few escaped the sword of the victorious pursuers. By this important service, Turin deserved to experience the clemency and even favour of the conqueror. He made his entry into the imperial palace of Milan, and almost all the cities of Italy between the Alps and the Po were either taken or put only to fire and the pillage of the party, but embraced with zeal the party, of Constantine. 8

Siege and battle. From Milan to Rome, the Banian of Verona, and Flaminian highways offered an easy march of about four hundred miles; but though Constantine was impatient to encounter the tyrant, he prudently directed his operations against another army of Italians, who, by their strength and position, might either oppose his progress, or in case of a misfortune, might intercept his retreat. Rufius Pompeianus, a general distinguished by his valour and ability, had under his command the city of Verona, and all the territories of the province of Venetia. As soon as he was informed that Constantine was advancing towards him, he detached a large body of cavalry, which was defeated in an engagement near Brescia, and pursued by the Gallic legions as far as the gates of Verona. The rapid progress of the emperor, the difficulties of the siege of Verona, immediately presented themselves to the sagacious mind of Constantine. 1 The city was accessible only by a narrow peninsula towards the west, as the other three sides were surrounded by the Adige, a rapid river which embarrassed the city of Verona. The besiegers derived an inexhaustible supply of men and provisions. It was not without great difficulty, and after several fruitless attempts, that Constantine found means to pass the river at some distance above the city, and in a place where the torrent was less violent. He then encompassed Verona with strong lines, pressed his attacks with prudent vigour, and repelled a desperate sally of Pompeianus. That intrepid general, when he had used every means of defence that the strength of the place or that of the garrison could afford, softly escaped from Verona, anxious not for his own safety but for the public safety. With indefatigable diligence he soon collected an army sufficient either to meet Constantine in the field, or to attack him if he obstinately remained within his lines. The emperor, attentive to the motions, and informed of the approach, of so formidable an enemy, left a part of his legions to continue the operations of the siege, whilst, at the head of those troops on whose valour and fidelity he more particularly depended, he advanced in person to engage the general of Maxentius. The army of Gaul was drawn up in two lines, according to the usual practice of war; but their experienced leader perceived that the numbers of the Italians far exceeded his own, suddenly changed his position, and, reducing the second, extended the front of his first line to a just proportion with that of the enemy. Such evolutions, which only veteran troops can execute without confusion in a moment of danger, commonly prove decisive; but as this engagement began towards the close of the day, and was contested with great obstinacy during the whole night, there was less room for the conduct of the generals than for the courage of the soldiers. The return of light displayed the victory of Constantine, and a field of carnage covered with many thousands of the vanquished Italians. Their general, Pompeianus, was found among the slain; Verona immediately surrendered at discretion, and the garrison was made prisoners of war. 9 When the officers of the victorious army congratulated their master on this signal advantage, he addressed them, with some respectful complaints, of such a nature, however, as the jealous monarchs will listen to without displeasure. They represented to Constantine, that, not contented with performing all the duties of a commander, he had exposed his own person with an example of a martial spirit and of the highest fortitude; and they conjured him for the future to pay more regard to the preservation of a life, in which the safety of Rome and of the empire was involved. 9

While Constantine signified his conduct and conduct and value in the field, the state and fortunes of Maxentius. 10

1 Venetia. They waged chains for so great a multitude of captives; and the whole council was at a loss; but the sagacious conqueror imagined the happy expedient of converting into fountains the swords of the vanquished. See Panegyr. Vet. ix. 11, 12

2 Panegyr. Vet. ix. 10


4 The Mosquis Malefici has made it extremely probable that Constantine did not desert them, but engaged in a battle with the legions of Secundus in which the memorable era of the invasions was dated from his conquest of the city of Verona. See Panegyr. Vet. xi. 16. Lactantius de M. P. R. 44

5 Histoire des Romains ou essai sur l'Empire. The vanquished prince because of course the enemy of Rome.
The celerity of Constantine's march has been compared to the rapid conquest of Italy by the first of the Caesars; nor is the flattering parallel repugnant to the truth of history. By no more than a single day's march the whole army encircled the city of Verona and the final decision of the war. Constantine had always apprehended that the tyrant would consult the dictates of fear, and perhaps of prudence; and that, instead of risking his last hopes in a general engagement, he would retreat and take refuge within the walls of Rome. His ample magazines secured him against the danger of famine; and as the situation of Constantine admitted not of delay, he might have been reduced to the sad necessity of destroying with fire and sword the imperial city, the noblest reward of his victory, and the last chance of falling with the race of Roman emperors. His actual conduct of the war and the spirit of his letters show him to be a contemporaneous writer. He is a most distinguished adherent of Maxentius must have expected to share his fate, as they had shared his prosperity and its crimes; but when the Roman people loudly demanded a greater number of victors, the conqueror resisted, with firmness and humanity, those servile clamours, which were dictated by avarice as well as by resentment. Informers were punished and discouraged; the innocent, who had suffered under the late tyranny, were recalled from exile, and restored to their estates. A general act of oblivion quieted the minds, and settled the property of the people, both in Italy and in Africa. The first order of the conqueror, on his returning to Rome with his presence, he recapitulated his own services and exploits in a modest oration, asserted that illustrious order of his sincere regard, and promised to re-establish its ancient dignity and privileges. The grateful senate repaid these unmeaning professions by a large annual grant of public revenue to the conqueror, with power to bestow; and without presuming to ratify the authority of Constantine, they passed a decree to assign him the first rank among the three Augusti, who governed the Roman world. Games and festivals were instituted to preserve the fame of his victory, and several edicts, raised at the expense of Maxentius, were dedicated to the honour of his successful rival. The triumphal arch of Constantine still remains a melancholy proof of the decline of the arts, and a singular testimony of the meanest vanity. As it was not possible to find in the capital of the empire a sculptor who was capable of adorning that public monument, the arch of Trajan, without any respect either for his memory or for the rules of propriety, was stripped of its most elegant figures. The difference of persons and orders, of actions and characters, was totally disregarded. The Parthian captives who were near the triumphal arch received their arms beyond the Euphrates; and curious antiquarians can still discover the head of Trajan on the trophies of Constantine. The new ornaments which it was necessary to introduce between the vacancies of ancient sculpture, are executed in the rudest and most unskilful manner that the art has produced.

The final abolition of the pretorian and conduct of guards was a measure of prudence as well as of revenge. Those haughty troops, whose numbers and privileges had been restored, and even augmented, by Maxentius, were for ever suppressed by Constantine. Their fortified camp was destroyed, and the few pretorians who had escaped the fury of the sword, were dispersed among the legions, and banished to the frontiers of the empire, where they

1 See Panegy. Vet. ix. x. 17. The former of these orators undertakes the task of collecting from Africa and the islands. And yet, if there is any truth in the story recorded by Eusebius, (in Vit. Constantii, l. c. 60.) the imperial garrison is mentioned only to show that Constantine entered the city of Rome, "in the midst of the battle between the two armies," and "with his own hands" seized the conqueror.


3 A very idle rumor soon prevails, that Maxentius, who had not the least apprehension of being attacked, had a very artful scheme to destroy the army of the pretorian, but that the wooden beams were too loosely joined together to support any of the necessary parts of the building. A similar conduct of Constantine, unfortunately broke down under the weight of the flying houses. M. de Tilleul, Hist. des Emper. carm. tom. iv. part. i. p. 57.

4 Excepta laurae. Panegy. Vet. x. 17. The speeches of Zosimus and Suidas ought to prevail over the silence of Laurens, Nazarius, and the anonymous but contemporary orator, who composed the third Panegyric.

5 Suidas, I. B. B., 70. 79, and the two Panegyres, the former of which was pronounced a few months afterwards, afford the clearest notion of this great battle. Laurens, Eusebius, and even the Epitomes supply several useful hints.

6 Zosimus, the enemy of Constantine, allows (l. B. p. 87) that only a few of the friends of Maxentius were put to death; but we may infer the expression of Nazarius, (Panegy. Vet. x. 6.) Omnipotens Deus qui balibat cum arma passes. The former, says the other orator (Panegy. Vet. ix. 20. 55.) contents himself with observing, that Constantine, when he entered Rome, did not imitate the savage manner of his predecessor.

7 See the two Panegyres, and the laws of this and the ensuing year, in the Augustana. Panegy. Vet. ix. 20. Laurens de M. P. d. 41. Maximus, who was confessedly the eldest Caesars, claimed, with some show of reason, the first rank among the Augustans.

might be serviceable without again becoming dangerous. By suppressing the troops which were usually stationed in Rome, Constantine gave the fatal blow to the dignity of the senate and people, and the discipline, capital but wise exceptions. His eminence, his protection, the insults or neglect of its distant master. We may observe, that in this last effort to preserve their expiring freedom, the Romans, from the apprehension of a tribute, had raised Maxentius to the throne. He exacted that tribute from the senate under the free gift, and with the protection of Constantine. He vanquished the tyrant, and converted the free gift into a perpetual tax. The senators, according to the declaration which was required of their property, were divided into several classes. The most opulent paid annually eight pounds of gold, the next class paid four, the last two, and those whose poverty might have claimed an exemption, were assessed however at seven pieces of gold. Besides the regular members of the senate, their sons, their descendants, and even their relations, enjoyed the same privileges as the holders the heavy burthens of the senatorial order; nor will it longer excite our surprise, that Constantine should be attentive to increase the number of persons who were included under so useful a description. After the defeat of Maxentius, the victorious emperor passed no more than two months in Rome, where he visited两次 during the remainder of his life, to celebrate the solemn festivals of the tenth and of the twentieth years of his reign. Constantine was almost perpetually in motion to exercise the legions, or to inspect the state of the provinces. Tyes, Milan, Aquileia, Stratum, Nicomedia, and other places, were the actual residence, of his residence, for he founded a new Rome on the confines of Europe and Asia.

His alliance with Licinius. A.D. 313. March.

Before Constantine marched into Italy, he had secured the friendship, or at least the neutrality, of Licinius, the Illyrian emperor. He had promised his sister Constantia in marriage to that prince: but the celebration of the nuptials was deferred till after the conclusion of the war, and the interview of the two conquerors at Milan, which was appointed for that purpose, appeared to cement the union of their families and interests. In the midst of these festivities, they were suddenly obliged to take leave of each other. An inroad of the Franks summoned Constantine to the Rhine, and the hostile approach of the sovereign of Asia demanded the immediate presence of the emperor. Maxentius had been the second of Constantine's liberators, was now discouraged by his fate, he resolved to try the fortune of a civil war. He moved out of Syria, towards the frontiers of Bithynia, in the depth of winter. The season was severe and tempestuous; great numbers of men as well as horses perished in the snow; and as the roads were broken by incessant rains, he was obliged to leave behind him a considerable part of the heavy baggage, which was unable to follow the rapidity of his forces.

1 Provinciae legiones as subsidia factionum apromptis quam aedificiis Roma, nabulata penisit: singul armis alipra unum illum inimicitia, Aurelius Victor. Zosimus (I. ii. p. 95) mentions this fact as an historian, but it is very piously celebrated in the ninth Passyrie.

2 Ex omnibus provinciis optimrum urbem causae legiones; sunt legiones esti consideratae. Caesarius in Paeor. vet. x. 35. The word pimprratior might almost swear, for a time. Concerning the imperial tax, see Zosimus, l. ii. p. 151, the second title of the sixth book of the Thucydides Codex, and Commentaries, and Memoriales of the Acropolis of the Inscriptions. tom. xvii. p. 206.

3 From the Thucydides Codex, we may now begin to trace the monarchies of the world, and the dates of the battles of the day by which their place and time have been frequently altered by the carelessness of transcribers.

4 Zosimus (I. ii. p. 95) observes, that he heard the war the sister of Constantine had been betrothed to Licinius. According to the younger Victor, Dicetian was invited to the nuptials; but having ventured to plied his axe and infirmities, he received a letter filed with reproaches for his supposed partiality to the cause of Maximinus and Maximin.

5 Zosimus mentions the defeat and death of Maximin as ordinary events; but Laetanius exultates on them, (de M. P. c. 45 & 50, as exciting him to the memorable interposition of heaven. Licinius at that time was one of the protectors of the church.

6 Laetanius de M. P. c. 50. Aurelius Victor touches on the different conduct of Licinius, and of Constantine, in the use of victory.
of a real mother. After the death of Galerius, her ample possessions provoked the aversion, and her personal attractions excited the desires, of his successor Maximin. He had a wife still alive, but divorce was permitted by the Roman law, and the fierce passions of the tyrant demanded an immediate gratification. The answer of Valeria was such as became the daughter of a prince, and must forbid her to be thought mean; but she dressed at a time when the ashes of her husband and his benefactor were still warm; and while the sorrows of her mind were still expressed by her mourning garments. She ventured to declare, that she could place very little confidence in the professions of a man, whose cruel inconstancy was capable of repudiating a faithful and affectionate wife. On this impulse, the love of Maximin was converted into fury, and as witnesses and judges were always at his disposal, it was easy for him to cover his fury with an appearance of legal proceedings, and to assault the repulsed and miserable woman. Her estates were confiscated, her emoluments and domesticus devoted to the most inhuman tortures, and several innocent and respectable matrons, who were honoured with her friendship, suffered death, on a false accusation of adultery. The emperor himself, together with her mother Pliska, was condemned to exile; and as they were ignominiously hurried from place to place before they were confined to a sequestered village in the deserts of Syria, they exposed their shame and distress to the provinces of the east, which, during thirty years, had respected their august dignity. Dio- clian, who afterwards took the most signal efforts to alleviate the misfortunes of his daughter, has recorded that he expected for the imperial purple, which he had conferred upon Maximin, he entreated that Valeria might be permitted to share his retirement of Salona, and to close the eyes of her afflicted father. He entreated, but as he could no longer threaten, his prayers were received with coldness and disdain; and the pride of Maximin was gratified, in treating Diocletian as a suppliant, and his daughter as a criminal. The death of Maximin seemed to assure the empress of a favourable alteration to their fortune. The public disorder relaxed the vigilance of their guard, and they easily found means to escape from the place of their exile, and to repair, though with some precaution, and in disguise, to the court of Licinius. His behaviour, in the first days of his reign, and in the honourable reception which he gave to young Candidinus, inspired Valeria with a secret satisfaction, both on her own account, and on that of her adopted son. But these grateful prospects were soon succeeded by horror and astonishment; and the bloody executions which stained the palace of Nicomedia, sufficiently convinced her, that the throne of Maximin was filled by a tyrant more inhuman than himself. Valeria consoled her sad and hasty flight by all con- companied by her mother Pliska, they wandered above fifteen months through the provinces, concealed in

The sensual appetites of Maximin were gratified at the expense of his children; and he who forced away wives and virgins, examined their naked charms with anxious curiosity, lest any part of them should escape his insatiable curiosity. Cypreas and disdain were considered as treason, and the obstinate fair one was condemned to be drowned. A custom was gradually introduced, by which every person should marry a wife without the permission of the emperor, and then issue in omnia nuptias nugatorio postscript. Licinius, immediately after his election, to exalt the name of a new Bacchus, showed his adoration of the deus M. P. c. 51. He relates the misfortunes of the innocent wife and daughter of Diocletian with the measure of their sufferings. See his history, c. 51. The curious reader, who consults the Valesian Fragment, p. 713, will perhaps excuse me of giving a bold and licentious paraphrase; but if he considers it with attention, he will acknowledge that my interpretation is probable and consistent. But if the situation of Maon, or, as it is now called, Labyth, in Carniola, (D’Anville Geographie Ancienne, tom. i. p. 187.) may suggest a conjecture, as well as the island of the Jutun Alp, that important territory becomes a natural object of dispute between the sovereigns of Italy and of Illyricum. But the situation of this island (which was preserved in the obscure ruins of Svevia,) was situated about fifty miles from Citium, the capital of Illyricum, and about one hundred from Taurinum, or Bul-
Battle of Châlons. Inconceivable forces which in this impor-

tant contest two most powerful mo-

tions, when brought into the field, it may be inferred,

that the one was suddenly provoked, and that the other was unexpectedly surprised. The emperor of the west had only twenty thousand, and the sovereigns of the east no more than fifty and thirty thousand, men. The inferiority of numbers was, however, counter-

pointed by the advantage of the ground. Constantine had taken post in a defile about half a mile in breadth,

between a steep hill and a deep morass, and in that situation he steadily expected and repulsed the first attack of the enemy. He pursued his success, and advanced in the plain. The veteran army of Illyricum, rallied under the standard of a leader who had been trained to arms in the school of Probus and Diocletian. The missile weapons on both sides were soon exhaust-

ed; the two armies, with equal valor, rushed to a clo-

ser engagement of swords and spears, and the doubtful contest had already lasted from the dawn of the day to a late hour of the evening, when the right wing, which Constantine led in person, made a vigorous and deci-

sive charge. The judicious retreat of Licinius saved the remainder of his troops from a total defeat; but when he computed his loss, while still determined to maintain the advantage of the ground, he thought it unsafe to pass the night in the presence of an active and vigorous enemy. Abandoning his camp and magazines, he marched away with secrecy and dilligence at the head of the greatest part of his cavalry, and was soon re-

newed by another army of a powerful kind. His diligence preserved his wife, his son, and his treasures, which he had deposited at Sirmium. Licinius passed through that city, and breaking down the bridge on the Sava hastened to collect a new army in Dacia and Thrace. In his flight he bestowed the precious title of Caesar on Valens, his general of the Illyrian Forces.

The plain of Mardia in Thrace was the theatre of a second battle no less ob-

stinate and bloody than the former. The troops on both sides displayed the same valour and discipline; and the victory was once more decided by the superior abilities of Constantine, who directed a body of five thousand men to gain an advantageous height, from whence, during the heat of the action, they attacked the rear of the enemy, and made a very considerable slaughter. The troops of Licinius, however, presented in the face of the enemy a formidable appearance, and their approach of night put an end to the combat, and secured their retreat towards the mountains of Macedonia.

The loss of two battles, and of his bravest vet-

erans, reduced the fierce spirit of Licinius to sue for peace. His ambassador Mistrinius was admitted to the imperial presence with great circumspection; yet he was put on the com-

mon topics of moderation and humanity, which are so familiar to the eloquence of the vanquished; represent-

ed, in the most insinuating language, that the event of the war was still doubtful, whilst its inevitable calamities were alike pernicious to both the contending parties; and declared, that he was authorized to pro-

pose a lasting and honourable peace in the name of the two emperors his masters. Constantine received the mention of Valens with indignation and contempt.

It was not for such a purpose," he sternly replied, "that we have advanced from the shores of the western ocean in an uninterrupted course of combats and victories, that, after rejecting an ungrateful kinsman, we should accept for our colleague a contemptible slave. The abdication of Valens is the first article of

the treaty."

It was necessary to accept this humiliating condition, and the unhappy Valens, after a reign of a few days, was deprived of the purple and of his life. As soon as this obstacle was removed, the tranquility of the Roman world was easily restored. The successive defeats of Licinius had ruined his forces, but they had dissolved his counsels. Their extremity, and the efforts of des-pair are sometimes formidable; and the good sense of Constantine preferred a great and certain advantage to a third trial of the chance of arms. He (Treaty of peace, December 318) consented to leave his rival, or, as he his friends, and his brother, in the possession of Thrace, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt; but the provinces of Pannonia, Dalmutian, Dacia, Macedonia, and Greece, were yielded to the western empire, and the dominions of Constantine now extended from the confines of Cædigna to the extremity of Pelopon-

nesus. The provinces of Probus and Diocletian had been added by the transfer of the provinces of Thrace.

The reconciliation of Constantine and Licinius, though it was intimidated by imitations of Constantine's re-

sentment and jealousy, by the remon-

strance of the Senate, and the bribe of the Senate, and the bribe of seven hundred and thirty thousand solidi, A.D. 315—233. was not long maintained. The emperor of the east comprehended furtur-er]<enumeration>

of future dangers, maintained, however, above eight years, the tranquility of the Roman world. As a very regular series of the imperial laws commen-

ses about this period, it would not be difficult to transcribe the civil regulations which employed the leisure of Constantine. But the most important of his institutions are intimately connected with the new system of policy and religion, which was not perfectly established till the last and peaceful years of his reign. There are many of his laws, which, as far as they con-

cern the rights and property of individuals, and the practice of the bar, are more properly referred to the private than to the public jurisprudence of the empire; and he published many edicts of so local and tempo-

rary a nature, that they would ill deserve the notice of a general history. Two laws, however, may be selected from those which have stood the one for the singular importance for its singularity; the former for its remarkable bene-

vocation, the latter for its excessive severity. 1. The horrid practice, so familiar to the ancients, of exposing or murdering their new-born infants, was become every day more frequent in the provinces, and especially in Italy. It was first of discussion, and was principally occasioned by the intolerable burden of taxes, and by the vexations as well as cruel prosecu-

tions of the officers of the revenue against their insolvent debtors. The less opulent or less industrious part of mankind, instead of rejoicing in an increase of family, deemed it an act of paternal tenderness to re-

lease their children from the impending miseries of a life which they themselves were unable to support. The humanity of Constantine, moved, perhaps, by some recent and extraordinary instances of despair, en-
gaged him to address an edict to all the cities of Italy, and afterwards of Africa, directing immediate and sufficient provision to be made for the subsistence of those who should produce before the magistrates the children whom their own poverty would not allow them to educate. But the promise was too liberal, and the provision too vague, to effect any general or permanent benefit. The law, though it may merit some praise, served rather to divide the people than to unite them. It is true that it remains an authentic monument to contradict and confound those valorous orators, who were too well satisfied with their own situation to discover either vice or misery under the government of a generous sovereign. 2. The laws of Constantine against rapes were dictated by a similar spirit to his edict against the weak sex. In the year 289, he had added his consent, by a promise, to every new law admitted into the barbarous code of Justinian. If the descriptions of that crime was applied not only to the brutal violence which compelled, but even to the gentle seduction which might persuade, an unmarried woman, under the age of twenty-five, to leave the house of her parents, 1 the successful ravisher was punished with death; and as if simple death was inadequate to the enormity of his guilt, he was either burnt alive, or torn in pieces by wild beasts in the amphitheatre. The virgin's declaration, that she had been carried away with her own consent, instead of saving her lover, exposed her to the same penalty. The discretion of the parents was intrusted to the parents of the guilty or unfortunate maid; and if the sentiments of nature prevailed on them to dissemble the injury, and to repair by a subsequent marriage the honour of their family, they were themselves punished by exile and confiscation. The slaves, whose master was exposed to the consequences of having been accessory to the rape or seduction, were burnt alive, or put to death by the ingenuous torture of pouring down their throats a quantity of melted lead. As the crime was of a public kind, the accusation was permitted even to strangers. The commencement of the suit was supposed to demand no delay; and the consequences of the sentence were extended to the innocent offspring of such an irregular union. But whenever the offense inspires lesser horror than the punishment, the rigour of penal law is obliged to give way to the common feelings of mankind. The most odious parts of this edict was softened or repeated in various forms. The crimes of the public interest were very frequently alleviated, by partial acts of mercy, the stern temper of his general institutions. Such, indeed, was the singular humour of that emperor, who showed himself as indulgent, and even remiss, in the execution of his laws, as he was severe, and even cruel, in the enacting them. It is scarcely possible to observe a more decisive symptom of weakness, either in the character of the prince, or in the constitution of the government. 3

The civil administration was some time interrupted by the military defence of the empire. 4 The emperor, though the most amiable character, who had received with the title of Caesar the command of the Rhine, distinguished his conduct, as well as valour, in several victories over the Franks and Alamanni; and taught the barbarians of that frontier to dread the eldest son of Constantine, and the grand-son of Constantius. 5 The emperor himself had assumed the more difficult and important province of the Danube. The Goths, who in the time of Claudius and Aurelian had felt the weight of the Roman arms, respected the power of the empire, even in the midst of its intestine divisions. But the strength of that warlike nation was so increased by the union of the two tribes that a single generation was sufficient to cause it to become the terror of the empire. A new generation had arisen, who no longer remembered the misfortunes of ancient days: the Sar- matians of the lake Medois followed the Gothic standard either as subjects or as allies, and their united force was poured upon the countries of Illyricum Cam- ponia, Marcus, and Benonjia appear to have been the scenes of several memorable sieges and battles; 6 and though Constantine encountered a very obstinate resistance, he prevailed at length in the contest, and the Goths were compelled to purchase an ignominious re- treat, by restoring the booty and prisoners which they had carried off, and by paying the indemnity prescribed by the indignation of the emperor. He resolved to class- tise as well as to repulse the insolent barbarians who had dared to invade the territories of Rome. At the head of his legions he passed the Danube, after re- pairing the bridge which had been constructed by Trajan, penetrated into the strongest recesses of Dacia, and when he had inflicted a severe revenge, con- secended to give peace to the suppliant Goths, on con- dition that, as often as they were required, they should supply his armies with a body of forty thousand sol- diers. 7 Exploits like these were no doubt honourable to Constantius, and gained for him the praise of his time; but it may surely be questioned, whether they can justify the ex- aggerated assertion of Eusebius, that all Scythia, as far as the extremity of the north, divided as it was into so many names and nations of the most various and savage manners, had been added by his victorious arms to the Roman empire. 8

1 His son very expressly assigns the true reason of the repeal, "Ne sub specie strictrae judicii aliquem in ulteriora criminis dilatio neretur." Cod. Theod. tom. iii. p. 183.
2 Eusebius (Hist. eccl. i. 31.) chooses to affirm, that in the reign of this emperor, the sword of justice hung idle in the hands of the magistrates. Eusebius himself (l. i. c. 29, 34.) and the Theod. Cod. x. 6, 3, have expressed himself more explicitly, without the necessity of coming to the want either of atrocious criminals or of penal laws.
3 Narrarius in Paternas, Vet. n. 12. The victory of Constantiue the Alemanni is expressed on some medals.
4 Now Old Buda, in Hungary. Kastoth and Bidduin, or the city of Belgrad, was the seat of government.
5 See Zuassin, l. ii. p. 93, 94, though the narrative of that hist- orian is neither accurate nor complete. The emperor was not suffi- ciently educated, and his maxims were not sufficiently expressed, to be understood by his subjects. (See Huguelet, Essai historique sur les finances romaines, p. 35.)
6 It is related (Cod. Theod. tom. ii. c. 27. c. 2.) that the emperor always ministered to the interests of his province. He was the first who introduced the cry of "Ne enrico alicui in ulteriora criminis dilatio neretur." Cod. Theod. tom. iii. p. 183.
7 See Zuassin, l. ii. p. 93, 94, though the narrative of that hist- orian is neither accurate nor complete. The emperor was not suffi- ciently educated, and his maxims were not sufficiently expressed, to be understood by his subjects. (See Huguelet, Essai historique sur les finances romaines, p. 35.)
8 In the Caesars of Julian, (p. 229, Commentaire de Spanheim, p. 252.) Constantine boasts, that he had recovered the province (Dacia) which Trajan had subdued. But it is insinuated by Solinus, that they were like the gardens of Adonis, which fade and wither almost the moment they appear.
9 Jornsander, in the edict of Theodosian, says that it is not certain whether we may entirely depend on his authority. Such an alliance has a very recent origin, and is entirely suited to the times of the beginning of the fourth century.
10 Eusebius in Vit. Constant. i. c. 8. This passage, however,
In this exalted state of glory it was impossible that Constantine should any longer endure a partner in the empire. Confiding in the superlative rapid military success he had obtained, without any previous injury, to exert them for the destruction of Licinius, whose advanced age and unpopular vices seemed to offer a very easy conquest. But the old emperor, awakened by the approaching danger, determined to transfer the command of his army to his son, as well as to the ablest generals of his enemies. Calling forth that spirit and those abilities by which he had deserved the friendship of Galerius and the imperial purple, he prepared himself for the contest, collected the forces of the east, and soon filled the plains of Hadrianople with his troops, and the straits of the Hellespont with his fleet. The army consisted of one hundred and fifty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse; and as the cavalry was driven, for the most part, from Phrygia and Cappadocia, we may conceive a more favourable opinion of the beauty of the horses, than of the courage and dexterity of the riders. The fleet consisted of three hundred and fifty galleys of three ranks of oars. An hundred and thirty of these were furnished by Egypt, and the adjacent coast of Africa. An hundred and ten sailed from the ports of Phœnicia and the island of Cyprus; and the maritime provinces of Thrace, Bithynia, and Caria, were likewise obliged to provide an hundred and ten galleys. The troops of Constantine were ordered to rendezvous at Thessalonica; they amounted to above an hundred and twenty thousand horse and foot. Their emperor was satisfied with their martial appearance, and his army contained many soldiers, though fewer men, than that of his eastern competitor. The legions of Constantine were levied in the warlike provinces of Europe; action had confirmed their discipline, victory had elevated their hopes, and there were among them a great number of veteran troops, after fifteen glorious campaigns under the same leader, prepared themselves to deserve an honourable dismissal by a last effort of their valor. But the naval preparations of Constantine were in every respect much inferior to those of Licinius. The maritime cities of Greece sent their respective quotas of men and vessels to the celebrated harbour of Piræus, and their united forces consisted of no more than two hundred small vessels: a very feeble armament, if it is compared with those formidable fleets which were equipped and maintained by the republic of Athens during the Peloponnesian war. Since Italy and the provinces of Gaul and Britain were traversed, or at least frightened by the troops of Licinius, those naval establishments of Misenum and Ravenna had been gradually neglected; and as the shipping and mariners of the empire were supported by commerce rather than by war, it was natural that they should the most abound in the industrious provinces of Egypt and Asia. It is only surprising that the eastern emperor, who possessed so great a superiority at sea, should have neglected the opportunity of carrying an offensive war into the centre of his rival's dominions.

Battle of Hadrianople. Instead of ENTERING SUCH AN ACTIVE resolution, which might have changed the whole face of the war, the prudent Licinius expected the approach of his rival in a camp near Hadrianople, which he had fortified with an anxious care that betrayed his apprehension of the event. Constantine directed his march from Thessalonica towards that part of Thrace, till he found he could not dispute the banks of the broad and rapid stream of the Hebrus, and discovered the numerous army of Licinius, which filled the steep ascent of the hill, from the river to the city of Hadrianople. Many days were spent in doubtful and distant skirmishes; but at length the obstacles of the passage and the attack were removed. In this place we might relate a wonderful exploit of Constantine, which, though it can scarcely be paralleled in poetry or romance, is celebrated, not by a venal orator devoted to his fortune, but by an historian, the partial enemy of his name. We are assured that the valiant emperor threw himself into the river Hebrus, accompanied only by twelve horsemen, and that by the effort or terror of his invincible arm, he broke, slaughtered, and put to flight a host of an hundred and fifty thousand men. The credulity of Zosimus prevailed over his passion for Truth, that among the events of the memorable battle of Hadrianople, he seems to have selected and embellished, not the most important, but the most marvellous. The valour and danger of Constantine are attested by a slight wound which he received in the thigh, but it may be discovered in many fragments preserved by Marcianus and Cassianus, that the victory was obtained no less by the conduct of the general than by the courage of the hero; that a body of five thousand archers marched round to occupy a thick wood in the rear of the enemy, whose attention was diverted by the destruction of a bridge, and that Licinius, perplexed by so many surprizing events, was reluctantly drawn from his advantageous post to combat on equal ground in the plain. The contest was no longer equal. His confused multitude of new levies was easily vanquished by the disciplined, well-regular army of Constantine, and the provisions which the latter had remained to the mountians, surrendered themselves next day to the discretion of the conqueror, and his rival, who equal strength to the field, confined himself within the walls of Byzantium.

The siege of Byzantium, which was immediately undertaken by Constantine, was attended with great labour and uncertainty. In the late civil wars, the fortifications of the capital were so much neglected that it was no wonder that it was so easily taken. Of the 1514.) The naval commanders of Constantine were summoned to his camp, and received his positive orders to force the passage of the Hellespont, as the fleet of Licinius, instead of seeking and destroying their feeble enemy, continued inactive in those narrow straits where its superiority of numbers was of little use or advantage. Crispus, the emperor's eldest son, was intrusted with the execution of this daring enterprise, which he performed with so much courage and success, that he deserved the esteem, and most probably excited the jealousy, of his father. The engagement lasted two days, and in the evening of the first, the contending fleets, after a considerable and unusual loss, retired into their respective harbours of Europe and Asia. The second day about noon a strong south wind sprang up, which carried the vessels of Crispus with difficulty out of the strait.

is taken from a general declaration on the greatness of Constantine, and not from any particular account of the Gothic war.


Battle of Hadrianople. Instead of undertaking such an active resolution, which might have changed the whole face of the war, the prudent Licinius expected the approach of his rival in a camp near Hadrianople, which he had fortified with an anxious care that betrayed his apprehension of the event. Constantine directed his march from Thessalonica towards that part of Thrace, till he found he could not dispute the banks of the broad and rapid stream of the Hebrus, and discovered the numerous army of Licinius, which filled the steep ascent of the hill, from the river to the city of Hadrianople. Many days were spent in doubtful and distant skirmishes; but at length the obstacles of the passage and the attack were removed. In this place we might relate a wonderful exploit of Constantine, which, though it can scarcely be paralleled in poetry or romance, is celebrated, not by a venal orator devoted to his fortune, but by an historian, the partial enemy of his name. We are assured that the valiant emperor threw himself into the river Hebrus, accompanied only by twelve horsemen, and that by the effort or terror of his invincible arm, he broke, slaughtered, and put to flight a host of an hundred and fifty thousand men. The credulity of Zosimus prevailed over his passion for Truth, that among the events of the memorable battle of Hadrianople, he seems to have selected and embellished, not the most important, but the most marvellous. The valour and danger of Constantine are attested by a slight wound which he received in the thigh, but it may be discovered in many fragments preserved by Marcianus and Cassianus, that the victory was obtained no less by the conduct of the general than by the courage of the hero; that a body of five thousand archers marched round to occupy a thick wood in the rear of the enemy, whose attention was diverted by the destruction of a bridge, and that Licinius, perplexed by so many surprizing events, was reluctantly drawn from his advantageous post to combat on equal ground in the plain. The contest was no longer equal. His confused multitude of new levies was easily vanquished by the disciplined, well-regular army of Constantine, and the provisions which the latter had remained to the mountians, surrendered themselves next day to the discretion of the conqueror, and his rival, who equal strength to the field, confined himself within the walls of Byzantium.

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against the enemy, and as the casual advantage was improved by his skilful intrepidity, he soon obtained a complete victory. An hundred and thirty vessels were destroyed, their crews were killed, and Amandus, the admiral of the Asiatic fleet, escaped with the utmost difficulty to the shores of Chalcedon. As soon as the Hellespont was open, a plentiful conveyance of provisions flowed into the camp of Constantine, who had already advanced the operations of the siege. He constructed artificial mounds, of earth of an equal height with the ramparts of Byzantium. The lofty towers which were erected on that foundation, galled the besieged with large stones and darts from the military engines, and the battering rams had shaken the walls in several places. If Licinius persisted much longer in that hazardous enterprise he was involved in the ruin, of the place. Before he was surrounded he prudently removed his person and treasures to Chalcedon in Asia; and as he was always desirous of associating companions to the hopes and dangers of his fortune, he now bestowed the title of Caesar on Martinianus, who exercised one of the most important offices of the empire.

The battle of Chrysolus. Such were still the resources, and such the abilities, of Licinius, that, after so many successive defeats, he collected in Bithynia a new army of fifty or sixty thousand men, while the activity of the emperor was employed in marching against Byzantium. The vigilant emperor did not however neglect the last struggles of his antagonist. A considerable part of his victorious army was transported over the Bosphorus in small vessels, and the decisive engagement was fought soon after their landing on the heights of Chrysopolis, or, as it is now called, of Scutari. The troops of Licinius, though they were lately raised, ill armed, and worse disciplined, made head against their conquerors with fruitless but desperate valor, till a total defeat, and the slaughter of five and twenty thousand men irretrievably determined the fate of the day. The emperor retired to his camp, rather with the view of gaining some time for negotiation, than with the hope of any effectual defence. Constantia, his wife and the sister of Constantine, interceded with her brother in favour of her husband, and obtained from his policy rather than from his compassion, a solemn promise, confirmed by an oath, that after the sacrifice of Martinianus, and the resignation of the purple, Licinius himself should be permitted to pass the remainder of his life in peace and affluence. The behaviour of Constantia, and her relation to the lingering particulars of that suspension of hostilities, which recalled the name of a virtuous matron, who was the sister of Augustus, and the wife of Antony. But the temper of mankind was altered, and it was no longer esteemed infamous for a Roman to survive his honour and independence. Licinius solicited and accepted the pardon of his offences, bade himself and his purple at the feet of his lord and master, was raised from the ground with insulting pity, was admitted the same day to the imperial banquet, and soon afterwards was sent away to Thessalonica, which had been chosen for the place of his confinement. His confinement was soon terminated by death, and it is doubtful whether a tumult of the soldiers, or a decree of the senate, was suggested as a motive for his execution. According to the rules of tyranny, he was accused of forming a conspiracy, and of holding a treasonable correspondence with the barbarians; but as he was never convicted, either by his own conduct, or by any legal evidence, we may perhaps be allowed, from his weakness, to presume his innocence. The memory of his crimes, branded with infamy, his statues were thrown down, and, by a hasty edict, of such mischievous tendency that it was almost immediately corrected, all his laws, and all the judicial proceedings of his reign, were at once abolished. By this victory of Constantine, the Roman world was again united under the authority of one emperor, thirty-seven years after A.D. 324, Diocletian had divided his power and provinces with his associate Maxianus.

The successive steps of the elevation of Constantine, from his first assuming the purple at York, to the re-establishment of the empire under his name, have been related with some minuteness and precision, not only as the events are in themselves both interesting and important, but still more, as they contributed to the decline of the empire by the expense of blood and treasure, and by the perpetual increase, as well of the taxes, as of the military establishment. The foundation of Constantinople, and the establishment of the Christian religion, were the immediate and memorable consequences of this revolution.

CHAPTER XV.

The progress of the christian religion, and the sentiments, manners, numbers, and condition, of the primitive christians.

A candid but rational inquiry into the importance of progress and establishment of Christian the inquiry, may be considered as a very essential part of the history of the Roman empire. While that great body was invaded by open violence, or undermined by slow decay, a pure and humble religion gently insinuated itself into the minds of men; and as models and historians, in the nations of Europe, the most distinguished portion of human kind in arts and learning as well as in arms. By the industry and zeal of the Europeans, it has been widely diffused to the most distant shores of Asia and Africa; and by the means of their colonies has been firmly established from Canada to Chili, in a world unknown to the ancients.

But this inquiry, however useful of its difficulties, is attended with two peculiar difficulties. The scanty and suspicious materials of ecclesiastical history seldom enable us to dispel the dark cloud that hangs over the first age of the church. The great law of impartiality too often obliges us to receive the imperfections of the uninspired teachers and believers of the gospel; and, to a careless observer, their faults may seem to cast a shade on the faith which they professed. But the scandal of the pious christian, and the faltering triumph of the infidel, should cease as soon as they recollect not only by whom, but likewise to whom, the divine revelation was given. The theologiyan may indulge the pleasing task of describing religion as she descended from heaven, arrayed in her native purity. A more melancholy duty is imposed on the historian. He must discover the

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[Notes and references are not transcribed into the plain text representation.]
impossible mixture of error and corruption, which she
contracted in a long residence upon earth, among a
weak and degenerate race of beings.

The Decline. And Fall. Chap. XV.

Five causes of the growth of Christianity and
the triumph of the Christian religion: faith obtained so remarkable a victory over the established religions of the earth. To this inquiry, an obvious but satisfactory answer may be
returned; that it was owing to the convincing evidence
of the doctrine itself, and to the mingling provi
dence on the part of the Author. But, seldom
read, it is true, from the Jewish religion, but purified from the narrow
and unseel spirit, which, instead of inviting, had
terred the Gentiles from embracing the law of Moses.

II. The doctrine of a future life, improved by every
circumstance which could give weight or efficacy to that important truth. III. The miraculous
powers ascribed to the primitive church. IV. The
pure and austere morals of the christians. V. The
union and discipline of the christian republic, which
gradually formed an independent and increasing state in the midst of the Roman empire.

We have already described the re
Creta. Zeal of ligious harmony of the ancient world, the
Jews, and the facility with which the most
different and even hostile nations embraced, or at
least respected, each other's superstitions.* A single
people refused to join in the common intercourse of mankind. The Jews, who, under the Assyrian and
Persian monarchies, had languished for many ages
the most despised portion of their slaves,35 emerged
from the most deplorable situations; and as they multiplied to a surprising degree in the east, and afterwards in the west, they soon excited the
curiosity and wonder of other nations.46 The
sullen obstinacy with which they maintained their peculiar rites and unseasonable manners, seemed to mark them out as a distinct species of human beings. And, who faintly disguised, their implacable hatred to the
rest of human-kind,47 Neither the violence of Anti
ochus, nor the arts of Herod, nor the example of the circumjacent nations, could ever persuade the Jews to associate with the institutions of Moses the elegant
mythology of the Greeks,48 According to their
faith, in the days of universal toleration, the Romans protected a super
stition which they despised.49 The polity Augustus
condescended to give orders, that sacrifices should be offered for his prosperity in the temple of Jerusalem;50 while his provinces in the land of Abraham, which should have paid the same homage to the
sacred capitol, would have been an object of abhorrence to himself and to his brethren. But the modulation
of the conquerors was insufficient to appease the jealous
prejudices of their subjects, who, were alarmed by the sight of a foreign paganism, which
necessarily introduced themselves in a Roman,

* This facility did not always prevent that intolerance which
so often inheres in the spirit of religion whenever it is clothed
with power. To separate ecclesiastic from civil authority appears to
be the only means of preserving at once religion and toleration, but
this idea is very modern. Passion blending itself with opinion,
often rendered the passions prejudice or persecution, to a degree,
that it is true, from the Jewish religion, but purified from the narrow
and unseel spirit, which, instead of inviting, had
terred the Gentiles from embracing the law of Moses.

1. The Persians—Cambyses, the conqueror of Egypt, condemned
the magistrates of Memphis to death, because they had rendered
divine honours to Apollo; he came to the conclusion, that the
people might be dragged through the streets, struck him with his dagger, commanded the priests to be
beheaded, and ordered the towns of Egypt, who should be
celebrating the feast of Apollo, should be put to the sword, and he burnt all the statues of their gods.
Not content with this intolerable
reign, Cambyses ordered his satraps to
burn the temple where Jupiter delivered his oracles. (See Herod.
ii, c. iii, p. 282; Plutarch, vii, 2, 21, 24, 25, 29.) Xenes,
during his invasion into Greece, acted on the
same principle. (See Strabo, liv, xiv, p. 941.)

3. The Egyptians.—They believed themselves polluted
when ever they drank from the same cup, or drank at the same table
with a man of a belief different from their own. "Whoever had
disguised himself as one who had
killed a sacred animal, was punished with death, but if
any one had killed, even unintentionally, a cat or an ass, he
could not be convicted of the crime, as it was considered
disgraceful and cruelty treated, often without waiting trial judgment had been pronounced upon him. In a town when their king,
Ptolemy, was not yet as the declared friend of the Roman people,
and when he paid his court with all possible care to strangers
coming from Italy, a Roman having killed a cat, the people rushed
at his house, and nettled the entrees of the nobles, whom the king
turned them to, nor the terror of the Roman name, were sufficiently
powerful to save this man from punishment, although he had undone
himself, (Plutarch, vii, 283.)

4. The Jews, in their 15th sator, describes a bloody battle
which took place between the inhabitants of Omyi and Tentyra, on
account of religion. A little family quarrel, says Herodotus,
was sufficient to carry on warfare, and to

destroy the inhabitants, the remaining only five men of the
population yet alive, with life.

Aretid adligu Ombi et Tentyra, summus utriqve
Inde furor vulgo, quod turbam vicencum
Olim acerbo, et deinde crepidis multiplicauit
Enoe desce prorsus cohort.

Satis, iv, xix, c. 25.

3dly. The Greeks.—"We need not mention here, says the Atha
book, the virtues of Peloponnesus, and their severity against
aliens, the Ephesians pursuing Herodotus as an incomparable
worm, or the Greeks armed against each other by religious zeal, in
the war of the Amphictyonic. Neither do we speak of the frightful

50 Illyric. The Greeks.—"We need not mention here, says the Atha
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vience. The mad attempt of Caligula to place his own statue in the temple of Jerusalem, was defeated by the unanimous resolution of a people who dreaded death much less than such an idolatrous profanation. Their attachment to the law of Moses was equal to their detestation of foreign religions. The current of zeal and devotion, as it was contracted into a narrow channel, ran with strong, undivided strength, and sometimes with the fury, of a torrent.

Its gradual increase appeared so odious or so ridiculous to the ancient world, assumes a more awful character, since providence has designed to reveal to us the mystery hidden beneath the veil, by the development and even scrupulous attachment to the Mosaic religion, so conspicuous among the Jews who lived under the second temple, becomes still more surprising, if it is compared with the stubborn incredulity of their forefathers. When the law was given in thunder from mount Sinai; when the tidings of the ocean and the rivers were suspended for the convenience of the Israelites; and when temporal rewards and punishments were the immediate consequences of their piety or disobedience, they perpetually relapsed into rebellion against the visible majesty of their Divine King, and continued in the sanctuary of Jehovah, and imitated every fantastic ceremony that was practised in the tents of the Arabs, or in the cities of Phœnicia.

As the protection of Heaven was deservedly withdrawn from the ungrateful race, their faith acquired a proportionate degree of vigour and purity. The contemporaries of Moses and Joshua had beheld with careless indifference the most amazing miracles. Under the pressure of every calamity, the belief of those miracles has preserved the Jews of a later period from the universal contagion of idolatry; and in contradiction to every known principle of the human mind, that singular people, whose Prophet had died, but whose religion was not yet assent to the traditions of their remote ancestors, than to the evidence of their own senses.

Their religion was admirably fitted for defence, but it was never designed for conquest, and it seems probable that the number of proselytes was never much superior to that of apostates. The divine promises were originally made, and the distinguishing rite of circumcision was enjoined, to a single family. When the posterity of Abraham had multiplied like the sands of the sea, the Deity, from whose mouth these promises were originally pronounced, declared himself the proper and as it were the national God of Israel; and with the most jealous care separated his favourite people from the rest of mankind. The conquest of the land of Canaan was accompanied with so many wonderful and with so many bloody circumstances, that the victorious Jews were left in a state of irreconcilable hostility with all their neighbours. They had been commanded to extirpate some of the most idolatrous tribes, and the execution of the Divine will had seldom been retarded by the weakness of humanity. But the other nations they were forbidden to contract any alliances or alliances, and the prohibition of receiving them into the congregation, which in some cases was perpetual, almost always extended to the third, to the seventh, or even to the tenth generation. The obligation of preaching to the Gentiles the faith of Moses, had never been inculcated as a precept of the law, nor were the Jews inclined to impose it on themselves as a voluntary duty.

In the admission of new citizens, that unsocial people was actuated by the selfish vanity of the Greeks, rather than by the generous policy of Rome. The descendants of Abraham were flattered by the opinion, that they alone were the heirs of the covenant, and they were apprehensive of diminishing the prejudice, by dispensing with the humility of the strangers of the earth. A larger acquaintance with mankind, extended their knowledge without correcting their prejudices; and whenever the God of Israel acquired any new votaries, he was much more indebted to the inconstant humour of polytheism than to the active zeal of his own missionaries. The religion of Moses seems to be instituted for a particular country as well as for a single nation; and if a strict obedience had been paid to the order, that every male, three times in the year, should present himself before the Lord Jehovah, it would have been impossible that the Jews could ever have contracted with the narrow limits of the promised land. That obstacle was indeed removed by the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem; but the most considerable part of the Jewish religion was involved in its destruction; and the pagans, who had long wondered at the strange report of an empty sanctuary, were at a loss to discover what could be the object, or what could be the instruments, of a worship which was destitute of temples and of altars, of priests and of sacrifices. Yet even in their fallen state, the Jews, still asserting their lofty and exclusive privileges, shunned, instead of courting, the society of strangers. They still insisted with the same arrogant partisanship as to which it was in their power to practise. Their peculiar distinctions of days, of meats, and a variety of trivial though burdensome observances, were so many objects of disgust and aversion for the other nations, to whose habits and prejudices they were diametrically opposite. The violent and even dangerous rite of circumcision was alone capable of repelling a willing proselyte from the door of the synagogue.

Under these circumstances, Christianity, more liberal in its offer itself to the world, armed with the strength of the Mosaic law, and delivered from the weight of its own traditions and of that necessary condition of religion, and the unity of God, was as carefully in calculated in the new as in the ancient system; and whatever was now revealed to mankind concerning the nature and designs of the Supreme Being, was fitted to increase their reverence for that mysterious doctrine. The divine authority of Moses and the prophets was admitted, and even established, as the firmest basis of Christianity. From the beginning of the world, an uninterrupted series of predictions had announced and prepared the long expected coming of the Messiah, who, in compliance with the gross apprehensions of the Jews, had been represented in the remotest parts of the character of a king and conqueror, than under that of a prophet, a martyr, and the Son of God. By his expiatory sacrifice, the imperfect sacrifices of the temple were at once consummated and abolished. The cer-
monial law, which consisted only of types and figures, was succeeded by a pure and spiritual worship, equally adapted to the state of man and to every condition of mankind; and to the initiation of blood, was substituted a more harmless initiation of water. The promise of divine favour, instead of being partially confided to the posterity of Abraham, was universally proposed to the freeman and the slave, to the Greek and to the barbarian, to the Jew and to the Gentile. Every privilege that could raise the proselyte from earth to heaven, that could exalt his devotion, secure his happiness, or even gratify that secret pride, which, under the semblance of devotion, insinuates itself into the human heart, was still reserved for the members of the Christian church, but at the same time all manumission was permitted, and even solicited, to accept the glorious distinction, which was not only proffered as a favour, but imposed as an obligation. It became the most sacred duty of a new convert to diffuse among his friends and relations the inestimable blessing which he had received, and to warn them against a refusal which would be severely punished as a criminal disobedience to the will of a beneficent but all-powerful Deity.

Obstinate and reason of the believing Jews. The enfranchisement of the church from the bonds of the synagogue, was a work however of some time and of some difficulty. The Jewish converts to Jesus in the character of the Messiah foretold by their ancient oracles, respected him as a prophetic teacher of virtue and religion; but they obstinately adhered to the ceremonies of their ancestors, and were desirous of instructing, in their own name, the Gentiles, who continually augmented the number of believers. These Judaizing Christians seemed to have argued with some degree of plausibility from the divine origin of the Mosaic law, and from the immutable perfections of its great Author. They affirmed, that if the Being, who is the same in every age, had designed eternally sacred rites which had served to distinguish his chosen people, the repeal of them would have been no less clear and solemn than their first promulgation: that, instead of those frequent declarations, which either suppose or assert the perpetuity of the Mosaic religion, it is the plain and evident doctrine of the sacred law itself, that the dispensation of God to his people, is the philosophy and wisdom of the Gentiles. The Jewish religion was understood to be a scheme intended to last only till the coming of the Messiah, who should instruct mankind in a more perfect mode of faith and of worship; that the Messiah himself, and his disciples who conversed with him on earth, instead of authorizing by their example the most immutable observances of the Mosaic law, which would have been published to the world the abolition of those useless and obsolete ceremonies, without suffering Christianity to remain during so many years obscurly confounded among the sects of the Jewish church. Arguments like these appear to have been used in the defence of the expiring cause of the Mosaic law; but the industry of our learned divines has abundantly explained the ambiguous language of the Old Testament, and the ambiguous conduct of the apostolic teachers. It was proper gradually to unfold the system of the gospel, and to pronounce, with the utmost cautious and tenderness, a sentence of condemnation so repugnant to the inclination and prejudices of the believing Jews.

The history of the church of Jerusalem. The first fifteen bishops of Jerusalem were all circumcised Jews; and the congrega-

tion over which they presided, united the law of Moses with the doctrine of Christ.1 It was natural that the primitive church should thus be composed, since they had not lived more than forty days after the death of Christ, and was governed almost as many years under the immediate inspection of his apostle, should be received as the standard of orthodoxy.2 The distant churches very frequently appealed to the authority of their venerable parent, and the belief of the church which had been delivered to them, to correct their own errors; and to settle the points which stood in the way of their admission to the communion of the whole church. But when numerous and opulent societies were established in the great cities of the empire, in Antioch, Alexandria, Ephesus, Corinth, and Rome, the reverence which Jerusalem had inspired to the whole Christian colonies sensibly diminished. The Jewish converts, or, as they were afterwards called, the Nazarenes, had laid the foundations of the church, soon found themselves overwhelmed by the increasing multitudes, that from all the various religions of polytheism enlisted under the banner of Christ: and the Gentiles, who, with the approbation of their peculiar apostle, had received in the same alliance of faith, were often admitted by their own practice, to a connexion with their impious countrymen, whose misfortunes were attributed by the pagans to the contempt, and more justly ascribed by the christians to the wrath, of the Supreme Deity. The Nazarenes retired from the ruins of Jerusalem to the little town of Pella beyond the Jordan, where that ancient church languished and perished above sixty years in solitude and obscurity.3 They still enjoyed the comfort of making frequent and devout visits to the Holy City, and the hope of being one day restored to those seats which both nature and religion taught them to love as much as to reverence. But at length refused to their more scrupulous brethren the same toleration which at first they had humbly solicited for their own practice. The ruin of the temple, of the city, and of the public religion of the Jews, was severely felt by the Nazarenes; as in their manners, they were more attached to the city, than were the adherents of Hadrian, the desperate fanaticism of the Jews filled up the measure of their calamities; and the Romans, exasperated by their repeated rebellions, exercised the rights of victory with unusual rigour. The emperor founded, under the name of Alia Ceptipola, a new city on mount Zion, to which he gave the privileges of a colony; and denouncing the severest penalties against any of the Jewish people who should dare to approach its precincts, he fixed a vigilant garrison of a Roman cohort to execute the execution of his orders. The Nazarenes had only one means of surviving, by flying from the danger; the force of truth was on this occasion assisted by the influence of temporal advantages. They elected Marcus for their bishop, a prelate of the race of the Gentiles, and most probably a native either of Italy or of some of the Latin provinces.4 At his persuasion, the most considerable part of the congregation renounced the Mosaic law, in the practice of which they had persevered above a century. By this sacrifice of their habits and prejudices, they purchased a free admission into the colony of Hadrian, and more firmly cemented their union with the catholic church.5

1 Fené omnes Christiani Deum sub legibus observatione credentium. 
2 See Euseb. Hist. Ecclesiast. i. i. v. x. c. 5. Mosheim de Religio Christiana ante Constantium Magnum, p. 133. In this masterly performance which I shall often have occasion to quote, he enters more fully into the state of the primitive church, than an attempt of doing in his General History.
3 Euseb. Hist. Ecclesiast. i. i. v. x. c. 5. De Clere, Hist. Ecclesiast. p. 655. During this occasional absence, the bishop and church of Pella still retained the titular title of the Roman pontiff. In the same yearanus Ceilius, a freedman, resided seventy years at Avignon; and the patriarchs of Alexandria have been in possession of their ecclesiastical dignity above fifteen hundred years. The ecclesiastical writer, in his History of the Jews (in Latin), (M. S. in Morast, Traditores, p. 10.)—G. 
4 Don Cassius, l. i. c. 5. L. L. p. 665. 
5 Euseb. Hist. Ecclesiast. i. iii. c. 5. Mosheim (p. 327, &c.) has drawn out a very distinct representation of the circumstances and motives of this revolution.
The Ebionites. When the name and honours of the church of Jerusalem had been restored to mount Zion; the crimes of heresy and imposture were imputed to the obdurate remnant of the Nazarenes, which refused to accompany their Latin bishop. They still preserved their former habitation of Pella, spread themselves into the villages adjacent to Damascus, and formed an inconsiderable church in the city of Beroea, or, as it is now called, of Aleppo, in Syria. This name was derived from the contemptuous epithet of Ebianites. 1 In a few years after the return of the church of Jerusalem, it became a matter of doubt and controversy, whether they, or rather cyprians, who were called Mesianites, were worthy of the Messiah, but who still continued to observe the law of Moses, could possibly hope for salvation. 2 The humane temper of Justin Martyr inclined him to answer this question in the affirmative; and though he expressed himself with the most guarded distinction, he ventured to determine in favour of such an imperfect Christian, if he be content to practise the Mosaic ceremonies, without pretending to assert their general use or necessity. 3 But when Justin was pressed to declare the sentiment of the church, he confessed that there were very many among the orthodox christians, who not only denounced such as observed the Mosaic ceremonies as dead to the hope of salvation; but who declined any intercourse with them in the common offices of friendship, hospitality, and social life. 4 The more rigorous opinion prevailed, as it was natural to expect, over the milder; and an eternal bar of separation was fixed between the disciples of Moses and those of Christ. The unfortunate Ebianites, rejected from one religion as apostates, and from the other as heretics, found themselves compelled to assume a more decided character; and though some traces of that obsolete sect may be discovered as late as the fourth century, they insensibly melted away either into the church or the synagogue. 5

While the orthodox church preserved a just medium between excessive veneration and ridicule, and the law of Moses, the various heretics deviated into equal but opposite extremes of error and extravagance. From the acknowledged truth of the Jewish religion, the Ebionites had concluded that it could never be abolished. From its supposed imperfections the Gnostics have hastily inferred that it never existed in the time of the Deity. These were some objections against the authority of Moses and the prophets, which too readily present themselves to the sceptical mind; though they can only be derived from our ignorance of remote antiquity, and from our incapacity to form an adequate judgment of the divine economy. These objections were unfounded, and just as much so, though in vain science of the Gnostics. 6 As those heretics were, for the most part, averse to the pleasures of sense, they morosely arranged the polygamy of the patriarchs, the gallantries of David, and the sergiole of Solomon. The conquest of the land of Canaan, and the extinction of the suspecting natives, they were at a loss how to reconcile with the common notions of humanity and justice. But when they recollected the sanguinary list of murders, of executions, and of massacres, which stain almost every page of the Jewish annals, they acknowledged that the barbarians of Palestine had executed these horrid crimes against the Almighty, as they had ever shown to their friends or countrymen. 7 Passing from the sectaries of the law to the law itself, they asserted that it was impossible that a religion which consisted only of bloody sacrifices and trifling ceremonies, and whose rewards as well as punishments were all of a carnal and temporal nature, should inspire the love of virtue or restrain the impiety of passion. The Mosaic account of the creation and fall of man was treated with profane derision by the Gnostics, who would not listen with patience to the reproof of the Deity after six days' labour; to the rib of Adam, the garden of Eden, the trees of life and of knowledge, the speaking serpent, the forbidden fruit, and the condemnation pronounced against human kind for the venial offence of their first progenitors. 8 The God of Israel was impiously represented by the Gnostics, as a being liable to passion and to error, capricious in his favour, implacable in his resentment, malicious and jealous in his judgments, as well as partial, and his partial providence to a single people, and to this transitory life. In such a character they could discover none of the features of the wise and omnipotent Father of the universe. 9 They allowed that the religion of the Jews was somewhat less criminal than the idolatry of the Gentiles; but it was not to the credit of Justin, that the Christ whom they adored as the first and brightest emanation of the Deity, appeared upon earth to rescue mankind from their various errors, and to reveal a new system of truth and perfection. The most learned of the fathers, by a very singular concession, have impartially admitted the sophistry of the Gnostic theology. Acknowledging that the literal sense is repugnant; but as we are assured (Socrates, i. 19. Sozomen, ii. 21. Lucian, the Satirist, v. 13.) that there is no objection so effectual against the authority of Holy Scripture as the doctrine of the divinity of Moses, which has been the foundation of the systems of the Ebionites, and the pretexts of the Gnostics in the most ancient and contemptuous ages of the Christian church, it is reasonable to believe, that they respected the sabbath, and distinguished the forbidden meats. They were seated on both sides of the Red Sea. Circumcision had been practised by the most ancient Ebionites, from motives of health and cleanliness, which seem to be explained in the Researches Philosophiques sur les Americains, tom. ii. p. 117.

Episte. 2. — Bazarolle, Histoire du Manicheisme, l. i. c. 3, has stated their objections, particularly those of Faustinus, the adversary of Augustin, and ascribed their most obscure mysteries to the age between the second and third centuries. The most ancient and contemptuous authors of the Ebionites have asserted, that the doctrine of the resurrection of Jesus was presented to them through the medium of Justin Martyr with the Jews of Antioch. The conference between them was held at Ephesus, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, and about twenty years after the return of the church of Jerusalem. The prolix and accurate account of Tilletian, Memores Ecclesiastique, tom. ii. p. 518, and of Dr. Burnet, Apologetica Christiana, v. 4, c. 7, has discussed the first chapters of Genesis with too much wit and freedom.

4. Apuleius fides obtinus, minisculae in promptu: adversus omnem carne illustratur gentis. Thu. 8. — Bazarolle, Histoire du Manicheisme, l. i. c. 3, has stated their objections, particularly those of Faustinus, the adversary of Augustin, and ascribed their most obscure mysteries to the age between the second and third centuries. The most ancient and contemptuous authors of the Ebionites have asserted, that the doctrine of the resurrection of Jesus was presented to them through the medium of Justin Martyr with the Jews of Antioch. The conference between them was held at Ephesus, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, and about twenty years after the return of the church of Jerusalem. The prolix and accurate account of Tilletian, Memores Ecclesiastique, tom. ii. p. 518, and of Dr. Burnet, Apologetica Christiana, v. 4, c. 7, has discussed the first chapters of Genesis with too much wit and freedom.

5. Of all the systems of Christianity, that of Alabinus is the only one which still adheres to the Mosaic rites. (Gordiani's Church History, 1. ii. c. 14. Lib. 4. c. 3. Ed. Berol.) The breach of the queen Candace might suggest some suspicion that the church of Jerusalem was the real church of the twelve apostles, and that the church of Alexandria was that of the Gentiles. In the most ancient and contemptuous ages of the Christian church, it is reasonable to believe, that they respected the sabbath, and distinguished the forbidden meats. They were seated on both sides of the Red Sea. Circumcision had been practised by the most ancient Ebionites, from motives of health and cleanliness, which seem to be explained in the Researches Philosophiques sur les Americains, tom. ii. p. 117.

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wont to every principle of faith as well as reason, they deemed themselves secure and invulnerable behind the ample veil of allegory, which they carefully spread over every tender part of the Mosaic dispensation.  

It has been remarked with more ingenuity than truth, that the virgin purity of the church was never violated by schism or heresy; the controversies were of about one hundred years after the death of Christ.  

We may observe with much more propriety, that, during that period, the disciples of the Messiah were indulged in a freer latitude both of faith and practice, than has ever been allowed in succeeding ages. As their faith, the result of the divine inspiration, was perfectly pure, and the spiritual authority of the prevailing party was exercised with increasing severity, many of its most respectable adherents, who were called upon to renounce, were provoked to assert, their private opinions, to pursue the consequences of their mistaken principles, and, in rebellion against the unity of the church. The Gnostics were distinguished as the most polite, the most learned, and the most wealthy of the christian name, and that general appellation, which expressed a superiority of knowledge, was rather assimilated to or ironically bestowed by the envy of their adversaries. They were almost without exception of the race of the Gentiles, and their principal founders seem to have been natives of Syria or Egypt, where the warmth of the climate disposed both the mind and the body to indulgence in speculations. They were blended with the faith of Christ many sublime but obscure tenets, which they derived from oriental philosophy, and even from the religion of Zoroaster, confessing the eternity of matter, the existence of two principles, and the mysterious hierarchy of the invisible world, as they launched themselves into that vast abyss, they delivered themselves to the guidance of a disordered imagination; and as the paths of error are various and infinite, the Gnostics were imperceptibly divided into more than fifty particular sects, of whom the most celebrated appear to have been the Basilidians, the Valentinians, the Meionianites, and, in a still later period, the Manicheans. Each of these sects could boast of its bishops and congregations, of its doctors and martyrs, and, instead of the four gospels adopted by the church, the heretics produced a multitude of books, which they called the books of Christ and of his disciples, was adapted to their respective tenets. The success of the Gnostics was

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Chap. XV.

The Decline and Fall

The demons commenced a war that might subsist between the orthodox, the Ebionites, and the Gnostics, concerning the gods of antiquity, the divinity or the obligation of the Mosaic law, they were all equally animated by the same exclusive zeal, and by the same abhorrence for idolatry which had driven the ancient Greeks into that peculiar and distressing production of the human mind, the sects, which had been degraded from the rank of angels, and cast down into the infernal pit, were still permitted to roam upon earth, to torment the bodies, and to seduce the minds, of sinful men. The demons soon discovered and abused the natural propensity of the human heart towards devotion, and, unfeelingly withdrawing the adoration of mankind from their Creator, they usurped the place and honours of the Supreme Deity. By the success of their malicious contrivances, they at once gratified their own vanity and revenge, and obtained the only comfort of which they were yet susceptible, the hope of involving the human species in the participation of their guilt and misery. It was confessed, or at least it was imagined, that they had distributed among themselves the most important characters of polytheism, one demon assuming the titles and attributes of Jupiter, another of Germanus, a third of Venus, and a fourth perhaps of Apollo; and that, by the advantage of their long experience and aerial nature, they were enabled to execute with sufficient skill and dexterity, the parts which they had undertaken. They lurked in the temples, substituted for actual sacrifices, invented, pronounced oracles, and were frequently allowed to perform miracles.

The Christians, who, by the interposition of angel spirits, could so readily explain every preternatural appearance, were disposed and even devoted, especially at a moment when, perhaps, he had not the Gospels in his hands, being then in prison? (See Pearson's Vindict, Ignatius, etc.) c, c. 9, p. 50. In vol. ii. Patr. Apostol. ed. Coteler et alii,

172.)—Indeed, the phrases of Mark, of Philo, of Josephus, and of the other antient writers, are multiplied the number of sects which opposed the unity of the church.

1. Epist. i. c. 15. 2. Somm. i. c. 32. See in Bayle, in the article of Martian, a curious detail of a dispute on that subject. I should seem that some of the Gnostics (the Basilidians) declined, and even of martyrdom. The preserves of martyrdom were signalized and abhorrent. See Mosheim, p. 359.

2. The very remarkable passage of Origen (Ficcin, ad Lorenz.)

That indefatigable writer, who had consumed his life in the study of the scriptures, relics for their authenticity on the inspired authority of Moses, if the most respectable writers could receive with the present gospels, many parts of which (particularly in the resurrection of our Saviour) he disdained, and as it was always deigned, polished against their favourite tenets. It is therefore somewhat singular that Ignatius (Epist. ad Phryg. Patri. Apostol. thuc. ii. p. 31.) should choose to employ a vague and doubtful tradition, instead of quoting the certain testimony of the evangelists.

The same writer, however, happily explained this singularitv. 'The first Christians remembered many of the words of Jesus Christ, which were not contained in our Gospel books, and were even written. Therefore could not saint Ignatius who had lived with the apostles or their disciples, repeat in other words, that which St. Luke

3. Petrus (Apolog. e. 26.) alleges the confession of the demons themselves as often as they were tormented by the christian exorcists.
sions to admit the most extravagant fictions of the pagan mythology. But the belief of the christian was accustomed to view the gods of the pagans, with respect to the national worship he considered as a direct homage yielded to the demon, and as an act of rebellion against the majesty of God.

In consequence of this opinion, it was the first and desperate duty of a christian to renounce the worship of the pagan deities. The religion of the nations was not merely a speculative doctrine professed in the schools or preached in the temples. The innumerable deities and rites of polytheism were closely interwoven with every circumstance of business or pleasure, of public or of private life; and it seemed impossible that a man could live without, at the same time, renouncing the commerce of mankind, and all the offices and amusements of society. The important transactions of peace and war were prepared or concluded by solemn sacrifices, in which the magistrate, the senator, and the soldier, were obliged to preside or to participate. The public spectacles were an essential part of the cheerful devotion of the pagans, and the gods were supposed to accept, as the most grateful offering, the games that the prince and people celebrated in honour of their peculiar festivals.

The christian, who with piety renounced the homage of these deities, found himself encompassed with infernal snares in every convivial entertainment, as often as his friends, invoking the hospitable deities, poured out libations to each other's happiness. When the bride, struggling with well-adapted reluctance, was forced in hymnical pomp over the threshold of her new habitation, or when the sad procession of the dead slowly moved towards the funeral pile; the christian, on these interesting occasions, was compelled to desert the persons who were the dearest to him, rather than contract the guilt inherent to those infamous ceremonies.

Every art and every trade that was in the least concerned in the framing or adorning of idols was polluted by the stain of idolatry; a severe sentence, since it devoted to eternal misery the far greater part of the community, which is employed in the exercise of liberal or mechanick professions. If we cast our eyes over the numerous representations of the gods that adorn the temples, we shall see that the immediate representations of the gods, and the holy instruments of their worship, the elegant forms and agreeable fictions consecrated by the imagination of the Greeks, were introduced as the richest ornaments of the houses, the dress, and the furniture of the pagans. Even the arts of music and painting, of eloquence and poetry, flowed from the same impure origin. In the style of the fathers, Apollo and the Muses, Bacchus and Minerva, Mercury and Virgil were the most eminent of his benefactors; and the beautiful mythology which pervades and animates the compositions of their genius, is destined to celebrate the glory of the demons. Even the common language of Greece and Rome abounded with familiar but impious allusions; he who violated the precepts of piety, and often of virtue, Some of the most sacred festivals in the Roman ritual were destined to salute the new calends of January with vows of public and private felicity, to indulge the pious remembrance of the dead and living, to ascertain the inviolable bounds of property, to hail, on the return of spring, the genial powers of fecundity, to perpetuate the two memorable eras of Rome, the foundation of the city, and that of the republic, and to restore, during the human licence of the Saturnalia, the primitive equality of mankind. Some idea may be conceived of the abhorrence of the free worship of the Christians towards such ceremonies, by the scrupulous delicacy which they display in an impalpable alarming occasion. On days of festivity, it was the custom of the ancients to adorn their doors with lamps and with branches of laurel, and to crown their heads with a garland of flowers. This innocent and elegant practice might perhaps have been tolerated for the sake of our religion; but it most unfairly happened that the doors were under the protection of the household gods, that the laurel was sacred to the lover of Daphne, and that garlands of flowers, though frequently worn as a symbol either of joy or mourning, had been dedicated in their first origin to the service of superstition. The trembling christians, who were persuaded in this instance to comply with the fashion of their country, and the commands of the magistrate, laboured under the most gloomy apprehensions, from the reproaches of their own conscience, the censures of the church, and the denunciations of divine vengeance.

Such was the anxious diligence which was required to guard the chastity of the gospel from the infectious breath of idolatry. The superstitious observances of public or private rites were carelessly practised, from education and habit, by the followers of the established religion. But as

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1 Tertullian has written a most severe treatise against idolatry, to caution brethren against the horrid danger of introducing that cult. *De Corrapt. oirum, et quantai. satanae, * De Corona Marii, c. 10. 2 Tertullianus, De Spectaculis. This severe reformer shows no mercy against the worship of Mithras, the God of the Zoroastrians. The dress of the actors particularly offends him. By the rise of the bull's bushy, they insensibly add a cubit to their stature, c. 51. 3 The ancient practical of concealing the entertainment with libations, may be found in every classic. Suetonius and Saccius, in their last moments, made a noble application of this custom. Postquam stagnat calidis aquis intimus, repertorium propius servorum, addita voces, ut ore laminae facile quondam Laurusere, ut magna aperiatur, in manum gestatur. (Armen. de coronii militis. Tertullian, c. 166. 1. 43.) It is thought by the ancients that the simplicity of the actors was the paratus sut. For instance, the Tertullianists profess that they were engaged in the errors of the Montanists. *Sev. Euseb. de Aetol. Tertull., p. 53. Labranth. *Rumin. vol. ii part ii. p. 592. 5 Tertullianus, De Spectaculis, c. 17. 6 Tertullian has written an exprimt the name two emperors, Sevems and Cavaletta; he speaks only of two emperors and of a long peace which the church has enjoyed. It is certain that Tertullian became a Montanist about the year 200; his work, De Corona militis, appears to have been written as early as may be, about the year 192 before the apostle was written after the author became a Montanist. *See Mondon, Decret. Hist. letter p. 52, 93. —G.}
often as they occurred, they afforded the christians an opportunity of declaring and confirming their zealous opposition. by these frequent protestations their attachment to the faith was continually fortified, and in proportion as they combated with the more arduous and success in the holy war, which they had undertaken against the empire of the demons.

II. The writings of Cicero\(^1\) represent the most lively colours the igno-

\1. The Decline and Fall, chap. xiv. 27.)

\2. For a criticism on this subject see the Appendix to the 'Letters from

\3. See Cicero pro Client., c. 61. Cæsar, sc. Sallust, de Bell. Cæ-


\5. See Varro, de ling. Lat. ii. 2. 4.

\6. In particular, the first book of the Tuscanian Questions, and the treatise De Nescie, and the Romanon Scipio, contain, in the most beautiful language, everything that Greek philosophy, or Roman good sense, could possibly suggest on such a subject.

\7. See the pre-existence of human souls, so far at least as that this doctrine is compatible with religion, was adopted by many of the Greek and Latin fathers. See Beausire, Hist. du Mascleines, l. vi. 4.

\8. We shall here describe the subject with all the delicacy which can be employed in treating of the most abstruse and spiritual of all the sciences, which pertain to the universe. A doctrine thus established beyond the senses and the experience of mankind, might serve to amuse the leisure of a speculative mind: or, in the silence of solitude, it might sometimes impart a ray of comfort to despising virtue; but the first impression which had been received in the schools, was soon obliterated by the commerce and business of active life. We are sufficiently acquainted with the eminent persons who flourished in the age of Cicero, and of the first Caesars, with their names and quality, to be assured that their conduct in this way was regulated by any serious conviction of the rewards or punishments of a future state. At the bar and in the senate of Rome the ablest orators were not apprehensive of giving offence to their hearers, by exposing that doctrine as an idle and extravagant opinion, which was rejected with contempt by every man of a liberal education and understanding.

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it is darkly insinuated by the prophets, and during the long period which elapsed between the Egyptian and the Babylonian scriptures, the hopes as well as fears of the Jews were left at the mercy of the narrow compass of the present life. After Cyrus had permitted the exiled nation to return into the promised land, and after Ezra had restored the ancient records of their religion, two celebrated sects, the Sadducees and the Pharisees, insensibly rose at Jerusalem. The former, selected from the more opulent and distinguished ranks of society, were strictly attached to the literal sense of the Mosaic law, and they piously rejected the immortality of the soul, as an opinion that received no countenance from the divine book, which they revered as the only rule of their faith. To the Sadducees the religious comforts of this world were of no consideration, and they accepted, under the name of traditions, several speculative tenets from the philosophy or religion of the eastern nations. The doctrines of fate or predestination, of angels and spirits, and of a future state of rewards and punishments, were in the number of these new articles of belief; and as the Pharisees, by the austerity of their manners, had drawn into their party the body of the Jewish people, the immortality of the soul became the prevailing sentiment of the synagogue, under the reign of the Asmonaean princes and pontiffs. The temper of the Jews was incapable of being changed, but their modes of belief and sentiment might as well as might the satisfaction of a polytheist; and as soon as they admitted the idea of a future state, they embraced it with the zeal which has always formed the characteristic of the nation. Their zeal, however, added nothing to its evidence, or even probability; and as the definitions of immortality, which had been dictated by nature, approved by reason, and received by superstition, should obtain the sanction of divine truth from the authority and example of Christ.

When the promise of eternal happiness was no longer propounded to mankind on condition of adopting the faith, and of observing the precepts of the gospel, it is no wonder that so advantageous an offer should have been accepted by great numbers of every religion, of every rank, and of every province in the Roman empire. The ancient Chris-

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This page contains a continuation of the discussion on the immortality of the soul, followed by a section about the promise of eternal happiness being no longer conditional. The text then shifts to discuss the reception of Christianity by various groups and the promise of eternal happiness being a universal offer. The page concludes with a reference to the ancient Christians recognizing the greatness of the Messiah, and his role in bringing salvation to all nations.

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4 This expectation was contemporaneous by the twenty-fourth chapter of St. Matthew, and by the first epistle of St. Paul to the Thessalonians. The term immortality has been defined as diocheia by the Roman text, and in this sense by the Vulgate, and of necessity by the Latin translators of the gospels. The word in the Greek text signifies the same thing as in the Latin version. [Note some modern theologians explain it without seeing it in either an allegory or an impious view.] They say that Jesus Christ after having commenced the work of redemption, and after the commencement of his second coming, and of the signs which were to precede it, but that those deeds which he said this event was near, were deceived concerning the meaning of two words—an error which still exists in our versions of the Gospel, according to Matthew chap. 24. v. 23, and 31. In the 29th verse we read, "Immediately after the tribulation of those days, the sun shall be darkened, &c. The Greek word, αναμισθήσεται, signifies here suddenly, at once, and not immediately, so that it designates only the sudden appearance of the signs which Jesus foretold, and not the duration of the interval which would separate them from the days of tribulation of whom he just spoke. The 34th verse is, "Verily I say unto you, that this generation shall not pass away, till all these things be fulfilled." This is the succession or fulness of my disciples; he speaks of a class of men, and not of one generation. The true meaning of this, according to the horrid, is, "Verily I say unto you, the race of men (which you commence) shall not pass till all these things be fulfilled." That is, the succession of centuries should not cease before his coming. (See the Commentary of M. Paulus upon the New Testament. Edition of 1822, vol. ii. p. 432-433.)

5 See Burnet's Sacred Theory, part ii. c. 5. This tradition may be traced as before the commencement of the Christian era, and is found in the first century, and who seems to have been half a Jew.

6 The primitive Church of Antioch computed almost 1000 men in the creation of the new world and in the birth of Christ. Africans, Lycians, and the Greek church, have reduced that number to 6000 and 60000, and Europe, and the world, and which was universally admitted during the primitive parts of the church; and of the Hebrew text has determined the modern, as well as the former, to prefer a period of about 6000 years; though, in the study of papyri, they have often laid themselves straitened by those narrow limits.
imagism. A fealty consisting only of pure and
spiritual pleasure would have appeared too refined for
its inhabitants, who were still supposed to possess
their human nature and senses. A garden of Eden,
with the conditions of a perfect life, was no longer suited to the advanced state of society which
prevailed under the Roman empire. A city was there-
fore erected of gold and precious stones, and a super-
natural plenty of corn and wine was bestowed on the
adjacent territory; in the free enjoyment of which
spiritual bliss, the pious and benignant people was never to be restrained by any jealous laws of
exclusive property.\footnote{7} The assurance of such a mil-
lenium was carefully inculcated by a succession of
fathers from Justin Martyr\footnote{8} and Irenaeus, who con-
versed with the immediate disciples of the apostle,
down to Constancius, who was preceptor to the son of
Constantine.\footnote{9} Though it might not be universally re-
ceived, it appears to have been the reigning sentiment of the orthodox believers; and it seems so well adapt-
ed to the desires and apprehensions of mankind, that
it must have contributed in a very considerable degree
to the progress of the christian faith. But when the
edifice of the church was almost completed, the tem-
porary support was laid aside. The doctrine of Christ's
reign upon earth was at first treated as a profound al-
legory, was considered by degrees as a doubtful and
useless system; and was at length rejected as the leg-
surd invention of heresy and fanaticism. A mysteri-
ous prophecy, which still forms a part of the sacred
book, but which was thought to favour the exploded
sentiment, has very narrowly escaped the proscription
of the church.

Contribution of Tertullian.\footnote{10} Whilst the happiness and glory of a
Roman and of the temporal reign were promised to the
world, the disciples of Christ, the most dreadful
calamities were denounced against an unbelieving
world. The edification of the new Jerusalem was to
advance in steps with the destruction of the mystic
Babylon; and as long as the emperors who
reigned before Constantine persisted in the profession
of idolatry, the epitaph of Babylon was applied to the
city and to the empire of Rome.\footnote{11} A regular series
was prepared of all the moral and physical evils which
could afflict a flourishing nation; intestine discord, and the
invasion of the fiercest barbarians from the unknown
regions of the north; pestilence and famine, comets
and eclipses, earthquakes and inundations.\footnote{12} All
these were only so many premonitory and alarming signs
of the great catastrophe of Rome, when the country of the
Scipios and Caesars should be consumed by a flame
from heaven, and the city of the seven hills, with her
palaces, her temples, and her tribunal, be buried in a
vast lake of fire and brimstone. It
might, however, afford some consolation to Roman
vanity, that the period of their empire would be that
of the world itself; which, as it had once perished by
the element of water, was destined to experience a
second destruction from the element of fire.

In the opinion of a general conflagration, the faith
of the christian was very happily coincided with the tradition
of the east, and the philosophy of the Stoics, and the
analogical of nature; and even the country, which, from
religious motives, had been chosen for the origin and
principal seat of the propagation of the christian
faith, was best adapted for that purpose by natural and physical
causes; by its deep caverns, beds of sulphur, and
numerous volcanoes, of which those of Aetna, of Ven-
usius, and of Lipari, exhibit a very imperfect
representation. The calmest and most intrepid seer might
not refuse to acknowledge, that the destruction of the
present system of the world by fire, was in itself ex-
tremely probable.

The christian, who founded his
belief much less on the fallacious arguments of reason
than on the authority of tradition and the interpreta-
tion of scripture, expected it with terror and confidence.
Yet it was only a dream, 

The pagans de-
mistened with a singular delusion, as to regard or
their ignorance or disbelief of the di-
vinity truth, seems to offend the reason and the humanity of the
the present age.\footnote{16} But the primitive church, whose
faith was of a much firmer consistence, delivered over,
without hesitation, to eternal torture, the far greater
part of the inhabitants of the earth. The
faith might perhaps be indulged in favour of Socrates, or some
other sages of antiquity, who had consulted the light of
reason before that of the gospel had arisen.\footnote{15} But
it was unaniiously affirmed, that those who, since the
birth or the death of Christ, had obstinately persisted in
the worship of the demons, neither desired nor could
expect a pardon from the irritated justice of the
Deity. These rigid sentiments, which had been un-
known to the ancient world, appeared to have infused a
spirit of bitterness into a system of love and har-
mony, which, in the reign of blood and truth, had
fre-
quently torn asunder by the difference of religious
faith; and the christians, who in this world found
themselves oppressed by the power of the pagans,
were sometimes reduced by relentment and spiritual
pride to delight in the prospect of their triumph.\footnote{9}

You are fond of spectacles,\footnote{10} exhales the stern Tertulli-

\footnote{10} the testament of Justin, of his own faith and that of his orthodox
brethren, in the doctrine of a millennium, delivered in the eleventh
and twelfth sermon (Dialog, cum Tryphon. l. i. p. 157. 17. Edit. Benedict.)
\footnote{9} in the beginning of this important passage there is anything like an
inconsistency, we may impute it as we think proper to ourselves or to
our readers.
\footnote{8} lapsus Bibliothecae Eclesiasticae, tom. i. p. 223. tom. ii. p. 366.
and though the latter of these learned divines is not altogether candid on this
casion.
\footnote{7} in the council of Laodicea, about the year 360; the Apocalypse
was tacitly excluded from the sacred canon, by the same churches of
Asia to which it was addressed; and we may learn from the complaint
of Sabinos Severus, that their sentence had been ratified by the
greater number of christians of his time. From what causes then is the
Apocalypse at present so generally received by the Greek, the Roman
and the ancient churches? These are among cases assigned.
\footnote{16} in the council of Trent, to fix the seal of their infallibility on all the
works of the sacred canon, contained in the Latin Vulgate, in the number of
which the Apocalypse was fortunately included. (Tr. Pasto, Lettris, de
Concilio Tridentino, l. i. 2.)
\footnote{15} the advantage of turning those mysti-
cal views of the Apocalypse into the light of a
discourse on the character of the
church and the Apocatastatis. A just apprehension, that the grammarians
might be impervious to the most important, and the ancient
learned authors, the council of Trent to fix the seal of their
infallibility on all the
works of the sacred canon, contained in the Latin Vulgate, in the number of
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works of the sacred canon, contained in the Latin Vulgate, in the number of
which the Apocalypse was fortunately included. (Tr. Pasto, Lettris, de
Concilio Tridentino, l. i. 2.)
Theophillus, Dr. the bastard of Minos, but of Christ; so many tragedians more tune-able in the expression of their own sufferings; so many dancers—!
But the humanity of the reader will persuade him to read the rest of this infinite description, which the zealous African purges in a long variety of affected and unfeeling witticisms.

Were often convicted by their father the primitive Christians of a temper so more suitable to the meekness and charity of their profession, that he who felt no sincere compassion for the danger of their friends and countrymen, and who exerted the most benevolent zeal to save them from the impending destruction. The careless polytheist, assailed by new and unexpected terrors, against which neither his priests nor his philosophers could afford him any certain protection, was very frequently tormented and reduced to extremities of mental torture.

His fears might assist the progress of his faith and reason; and if he could once persuade himself to suspect that the christian religion might possibly be true, it became an easy task to convince him that it was the safest and most prudent party that he could join. III.

The supernatural gifts, which even in this life were ascribed to the Christians above the rest of mankind, must have contributed to their own con- fort, and very frequently to the conviction of infidels. Besides the occasional prodigies, which might sometimes be effected by the immediate interposition of the Deity when he suspended the laws of nature for the service of religion, the Christian church, from the time of the apostles and their first disciples, has claimed an uninterrupted succession of miracles, and most extraordinary visions, and of prophecies, the power of expelling diseases, of healing the sick, and of raising the dead. The knowledge of foreign languages was frequently communicated to the contemporaries of Irenaeus, though Irenaeus himself was left to struggle with the difficulties of a barbarous dialect, whilst he preached the gospel to the natives of Gaul.
The divine inspiration, whether it was conveyed in the form of a wakening or of a sleeping vision, is described as a favour very liberally bestowed on all ranks of the faithful, on women as on elders, on boys as well as upon men. Sometimes the several severities were so entirely prepared by a course of prayer, of fasting, and of vigils, to receive the extraordinary impulsion, they were transported out of their senses, and delivered in ecstasy what was inspired, being mere organs of the Holy Spirit, just as a pipe or flute is of him who blows into it.

We may add, that the design of these visions was, for the most part, either to disclose the future history, or to guide the present administration, of the church. The expulsion of the demons from the bodies of those unhallowed persons who were induced by the present is of a nature more suited to the patient was relieved by the power or skill of the exorcist, and the vanquished demon was heard to confess, that he was one of the fabled gods of antiquity, who had impiously usurped the adoration of mankind. But the miraculous cure of diseases of the most inveterate or even preternatural kind, can no longer occasion any surprise, when we recollect, that in the days of Irenaeus, about the end of the second century, the resurrection of the dead was very far from being esteemed an uncommon event; that the miracle was frequently performed on necessary occasions, by great fasting and the joint supplication of the church of the place, and that the person who received restoration to life lived afterwards among them many years. At such a period, when faith could boast of so many wonderful victories over death, it seems difficult to account for the scepticism of those philosophers, who still rejected and derided the doctrine of the resurrection.

A noble Galatian has resisted on this important question the whole controversy, and promised Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, that if he could be gratified with the sight of a single person who had been actually raised from the dead, he would immediately embrace the christian religion. It is somewhat remarkable, that the first protest of the first eastern church, however anxious for the conversion of his friend, thought proper to decline this fair and reasonable challenge.

The miracles of the primitive church Their truth con- after obtaining the sanction of ages, trolled. Our perplexity in not call upon him to interpose his pre- defining the mi- nute judgment in this nice and import- 

ant controversy; but he ought not to dissemble the difficulty of adopting such a theory as may reconcile the interest of religion with that of reason, of making a proper application of that theory, and of defining with precision the limits of that happy period exempt from error and from deceit, to which we might be disposed to extend the gift of supernatural powers. From the first of the fathers to the last of the popes, a suc-
cession of bishops, of saints, of martyrs, and of miracles is continued without intermission, and the progress of superstition was so gradual and almost imperceptible, that we know not in what particular link we should break the chain of tradition. Every age bears testimony to the wonderful events by which it was distinguished, and its testimony appears no less weighty and no less certain than that of the preceding ages; and still we are insensibly led on to accuse our own inconsistency, if, in the eighth or in the tenth century we deny to the venerable Bede, or to the holy Bernard, the same degree of confidence which, in the second century, we had so liberally granted to Justin or to Irenæus. In the name of many miracles appreciated by their apparent use and propriety, every age had unbelievers to convince, heretics to confute, and idolatrous nations to convert; and sufficient motives might always be produced to justify the interposition of heaven. And yet, since every friend to revulsion is persuaded of the reality, and every reasonable man is convinced of the cessation, of miraculous powers, it is evident that there must have been some period in which they were either suddenly or gradually withdrawn from the Christian church. Whatever cecal benefit to the cause of truth, and to the safety of the apostles, the conversion of the Roman empire, or the extinction of the Arián heresy, the insensibility of the Christians who lived at that time will equally afford a just matter of surprise. They still supported their pretensions after they had lost their power. Credulity to this end was the vice of faith; it permitted to assume the language of inspiration, and the effects of accident or contrivance were ascribed to supernatural causes. The recent experience of genuine miracles should have instructed the Christian world in the ways of Providence, and habitualled their eye (if we may use the expression) to the style of the divine artist. Should the most skilful painter of modern Italy presume to decorate his feeble imitations with the name of Raphael or of Correggio, the insolent fraud would be soon discovered, and indignantly resisted.

Use of the primitive miracles of the miracles of the primitive church since the time of the apostles, this unresisting softness of temper, so conspicuous among the believers of the second and third centuries, proved of some accidental benefit to the cause of truth and religion. In modern times, a latent and even involuntary scepticism adheres to the most pious dispositions. Their admission of supernatural truths is much less an active consent than a cold and passive acquiescence. Accustomed long since to observe and to respect the invariable dispositions of heaven, our recent situation is not sufficiently prepared to sustain the visible action of the Deity. But, in the first ages of Christianity, the situation of mankind was extremely different. The most curious, or the most credulous, among the pagans, were often persuaded to enter into a society, which asserted an actual claim to miraculous powers. The primitive Christians perpetually trod on mystic ground, and their minds were exercised by the habits of believing the most extraordinary events. They, or they fancied, that on every side they were incessantly and by daily example involved by visible witnesses, instructed by prophecy, and surprisingly delivered from danger, sickness, and from death itself, by the supplications of the church. The real or imaginary prodigies, of which they so frequently conceived themselves to be the objects, the instruments, or the spectators, very happily dispensed them to adopt with the same ease, but with far greater justice, the authentic wonders of the evangelic history; and thus miracles that exceeded not the measure of their own experience, inspired them with the most lively assurance of mysteries which were acknowledged to surpass the limits of their understanding. It is their deep impression on the heart of the purest genius, which the world can celebrate under the name of faith; a state of mind described as the surest pledge of the Divine favour and of future felicity, and recommended as the first or perhaps the only merit of a christian. According to the most rigid sectarians, the miracles may be equally practised by infidels, are destitute of any value or efficacy in the work of our justification.

But the primitive Christian demonstrated his faith by his virtues, and it was very justly supposed that the divine Virtues of the persuasion, which enlightened or sub-duced the understanding, must, at the same time, purify the heart, and direct the actions, of the believer. The first apologists of Christianity who justify the innocence of their brethren, and the writers of a latter period who celebrate the sanctity of their ancestors, did not display in the death of the apostles, the reformation of manners which was introduced into the world by the preaching of the gospel. As it is my intention to remark only such human causes as were permitted to second the influence of revelation, I shall slightly mention two motives which might naturally render the life of the Christian more sacred, and more austere than those of their pagan contemporaries, or their degenerate successors; repentance for their past sins, and the laudable desire of supporting the reputation of the society in which they were engaged.

It is a very ancient reproach, said of their predecessors, by the ignorance or the malice of their contemporaries, or their degenerate successors; repentance for their past sins, and the laudable desire of supporting the reputation of the society in which they were engaged. The friends of Christianity may acknowledge, without a blush, that many of the most eminent saints had before their baptism the most abominable vices. The first period in which the world had followed, though in an imperfect manner, the dictates of benevolence and propriety, derive such a calm satisfaction from the opinion of their own rectitude, as rendered them much less susceptible of the sudden emotions of shame, of grief, and of terror, which have given birth to so many wonderful conversions. After the example of their divine Master, the missionaries of the gospel disdained not the society of men, and especially of women, oppressed by the consciousness, and very often by the effects, of their vices. As they emerged from sin and superstition to the glorious hope of immortality, they resolved to devote themselves to a life, not only of virtue but of penitence. The desire of perfection became the ruling passion of their soul; and it is well known, that while reason embraces a cold mediocrity, our passions, our virtues, or our vices, as it were, with the space which lies between the most opposite extremes.

When the new converts had been rolled in the number of the faithful, and their reputation were admitted to the sacraments of the church, they found themselves restrained from relapsing into their old vices. Their situation was not at all natural, but of a very innocent and respectable nature. Any particular society that has departed from the
great body of the nation, or the religion to which it belonged, immediately becomes the object of universal as well as particular regard. In proportion as the smallness of its numbers, the character of the society may be affected by the virtue and vices of the persons who compose it; and every member is engaged to watch with the utmost vigilance over his own behaviour, and over that of his brethren, since, as the subject is a part of the common disgrace, he may hope to enjoy a share of the common reputation. When the Christians of Bithynia were brought before the tribunal of the younger Pliny, they assured the proconsul, that, far from being engaged in any unlawful conspiracy, they were bound by a solemn obligation to abstain from the commission of those crimes which disturb the private or public peace of society, from theft, robbery, adultery, perjury, and fraud. Near a century afterwards, Tertullian, with an honest pride, could boast, that very few Christians had suffered by the hand of the executioner, except on account of their religion. Their serious and virtuous life, adverse to the gay luxury of the age, inured them to chastity, temperance, economy, and all the sober and domestic virtues. As the greater number were of some trade or profession, it was incumbent on them, by the strictest integrity and the fairest dealing, and by the most vigilant and the most decided aversion to all the products of the vice which the profane are too apt to conceive against the appearances of sanctity. The contempt of the world exercised them in the habits of humility, meekness, and patience. The more they were persecuted, the more closely they adhered to each other. Their mutual charity and unsparing confidence has been remarked by all writers, and was often abused by perfidious friends.

Morbidity of the fathers. It is a very honourable circumstance, for the morals of the primitive Christians, that even their faults, or rather errors, were derived from an excess of virtue. The bishops and doctors of that age, in their treatises, and the public authoritv might influence, the professions, the principles, and even the practice, of their contemporaries, had studied the scriptures with less skill than devotion, and they often received, in the most literal sense, those rigid precepts and those severe apatosts to which the prudence of succeeding commentators has applied a looser and more figurative mode of interpretation. Ambitious to exalt the perfection of the gospel above the wisdom of philosophy, the zealous fathers have carried the duties of self-mortification, of purity and of patience, to a height which it is scarcely possible to attain, and much less to preserve, in our present state of weakness and corruption. A doctrine so extraordinary and so sublime must inevitably command the veneration of the people; but it was ill calculated to obtain the suffrage of those worldly philosophers, who, in the conduct of this transitory life, consult only the feelings of nature and the interest of society.

Principles of human nature. There are two very natural propensities of human nature, which we may distinguish in the most virtuous and liberal dispositions, the love of pleasure and the desire of knowledge. The former is improved by action and learning, improved by the charms of social intercourse, and corrected by a just regard to economy, to health, and to reputation, it is productive of the greatest part of the happiness of private life. The love of action is a principle of a much stronger and more durable nature. It often leads to anger, to ambition, and to revenge; but when it is guided by the sense of propriety and benevolence, it becomes the parent of every virtue. The character of those who, with equal abilities, a family, a state, or an empire, may be indebted for their safety and prosperity to the undaunted courage of a single man. To the love of pleasure we may therefore ascribe most of the agreeable, to the love of action we may attribute most of the useful and respectable, qualifications. The character in which both the one and the other should be united and harmonized, would seem to constitute the most perfect idea of human nature. The insensible and inactive disposition, which should be supposed alike destitute of both, would be rejected, by the community, as utterly incapable of procuring any happiness to the individual, or any public benefit to the world. But it was not in this world that the primitive Christians were desirous of making themselves either agreeable or useful.

The acquisition of knowledge, the exercise of our reason or fancy, and the cheerful flow of unguarded conversation, may employ the leisure of a liberal mind. Such amusements, however, were rejected with abhorrence, or admitted with the utmost caution, by the severity of the fathers, who despised all knowledge that was not useful to salvation, and who considered all levity of discourse as a criminal abuse of the gift of speech. In our present state of existence, the body is so inseparrably connected with the soul, that it seems to be our interest to taste, with innocence and moderation, the enjoyments of which that faithful companion has supplied to mankind. The reason of our devout predecessors: vainly aspiring to imitate the perfection of angels, they disdained, or affected to disdain, every earthly and corporeal delight. Some of our senses indeed are necessary for our preservation, others for our subsistence, and others to gratify our curiosity; but it was impossible to reject the use of them. The first sensation of pleasure was marked as the first moment of their abuse. The unfeeling candidate for heaven was instructed, not only to resist the grosser allurements of the taste or smell, but even to shut his ears against the profane harmony of sounds, and to view with indifference the most finished productions of human art. Gay apparel, magnificent houses, and elegant furniture, were supposed to unite the double guilt of pride and of sensuality: a simple and mortified appearance was more suitable to the christian who was desirous of avoiding the suspicion of the world. A garment of white hair, garments of any colour except white, instruments of music, vases of gold or silver, downy pillows, (as Jacob reposed his head on a stone,) white bread, foreign wines, public salutations, the use of warm baths, and the practice of shaving the beard, which, according to the expression of Tertullian, is a lie against our own faces, and an impious attempt to improve the word and to correct the manners of the Christians. Cæsar, which was introduced among the rich and the polite, the observation of these singular laws was left, as it would be at present, to the few who were ambitious of superior sanctity. But it is always easy, as well as agreeable, for the inferior ranks of mankind to claim a merit from the imitation of those great and brave spirits, whose example has told beyond their reach. The virtue of the primitive Christians, like that of the first Romans, was very frequently guarded by poverty and ignorance.

2 Plin. Epist. x. 97.
3 Tertullian, Apol. c. 41. He adds, however, with some degree of hesitation, "Ant si adiut, jam non christianus." 
4 The primitive Christians, whose life and death Lucian has left us so entertaining an arroga itself, for a long time, on the cedulous simplicity of the Christians. 
5 See a very judicious treatise of Barbeau on la Morale des Peres Vol. I. 2.
The chaste severity of the fathers, in their concerning marriage, which was related to the commerce of the
riage and death of two sexes, flowed from the same principle;
ple; their abhorrence of every enjoyment which might gratify the sensual, and degrade the spiritual, nature of man. It was their favourite opinion, that if Adam had preserved his obedience to the Cre-
a, he would have lived for ever in the state of unsullied purity, and that some harmless mode of vegetation might have peopled paradise with a race of innocent and immortal beings. The use of marriage was permitted only to his fallen posterity, as a necessary expedient to continue the human species, and as a restraint he would have imposed on the natural licentiousness of desire. The hesitation of the orthodox casuists on this interesting subject, betrays the perplexity of men, unwilling to approve an institution, which they were compelled to tolerate. The enumeration of the very whimsical laws, which they most circumstance-
iously imposed on the marriage-bed, would force a smile from the young, and a blush from the fair. It was their unanimous sentiment, that a first marriage was adequate to all the purposes of nature and of society. The sensual connexion was refined into a resemblance of the marriage of Christ and his church, and a pronouncement to be indissoluble either by divorce or by death. The practice of second nuptials was branded with the name of a legal adultery; and the persons who were guilty of so scandalous an offence against christian purity, were soon excluded from the honours, and driven from the circle of the church. But even this doctrine was impugned as a crime, and marriage was tolerated as a defect, it was consistent with the same principles to consider a state of celibacy as the nearest approach to the divine perfection. It was with the utmost diffi-
culty that ancient Rome could support the institution of six vestals; but the primitive church was filled with a great number of persons of either sex, who had de-
veloped themselves to the profession of perpetual chastity. A few of these, among whom we may reckon the learned Origen, judged it the most prudent to dis-
note the temptation. Nature was innocent and some were invincible against the assaults of the flesh. Dis-
aining an ignominious flight, the virgins of the warm climate of Africa encountered the enemy in the closest engagement; they permitted priests and deacons to stick their swords into their bodies, and gloried amidst the flames in their unsullied purity. But even this was sometimes vil-
dicated her rights, and this new species of martyrdom served only to introduce a new scandal into the church. Among the christian ascetics, however, (a name which they soon acquired from their painful exercise,) many of the most zealous among them, were probably more successful. The loss of sensual pleasure was supplied and compensated by spiritual pride. Even the multi-
tude of pagans were inclined to estimate the merit of the sacrifice by its apparent difficulty; and it was in the praise of these chaste spouses of Christ that the fathers have poured forth the troubled stream of their

The christians were not less averse to their aversion to the business than to the pleasures of the business of the world. The defence of our persons and our property, the wars and government, were under the direction of the patron doctrine which enjoined an unlimited forgiveness of past injuries, and commanded them to invite the repetition of fresh insults. Their simplicity was offended by the use of oaths, by the pomp of mag-
ificacy, and by the active contention of public life, which was thought to be unworthy of christians. It was unlawful on any occasion to shed the blood of our fellow-creatures, either by the sword of justice, or by that of war; even though their criminal or hostile at-
tempts should threaten the peace and safety of the whole community. It was acknowledged, that, un-
der a less perfect law, the powers of the Jewish con-
stitution had been exercised, with the approbation of heaven, by inspired prophets and by anointed kings. The christians felt and confessed, that such institutions might be necessary for the present system of the world, and that they had no desire to abstrain from the ex-
guinary occupations; but it was impossible that the christians, without renouncing a more sacred duty, could assume the character of soldiers, of magistrates, or of princes. This indolent or even criminal disre-
tained to the duties of their profession, was so contemptuous of the pagans, who very frequently asked, What must be the fate of the empire, attacked on every side by the barbarians, if all mankind should adopt the pusillanimous sentiments of the new sect? To this insolting question the christian apologists re-
turned obscure and ambiguous answers, as they were

1 Dupin (Bibliothèque Ecclesiastique, tom. i. p. 155,) gives a particular account of the dialogue of the ten virgins, as it was composed by Orosius, deedit Romanis. The practice is certainly very old. The prayer of Josephus for example is not to be less tolerated than the pagan governors. But while they inculcated the maxims of passive obedience, they refused to take any active part in the civil administration or the military defence of the empire. Some indulgence might per-
haps be allowed to those persons who, before their con-
duction, were in the army. It was probably least strict in the case of the auxiliaries, who were exempt from

1 Tertullian, Apol. c. 21. De Idolatria, c. 17, 18. Origen con-

data (in Celsus, c. 3. § 127, 128.)

1 Tertullian (de Corona Milio, c. 11,) suggests to them the expe-
dient of deserting; a counsel, which, if it had been generally adopted, was not very proper to conciliate the favour of the emperors towards the christian sect.

Tertullian does not suggest to the soldiers the expediency of deserting, he tells them that they ought to be continually upon their guard that they might do nothing during their service's to guilty of cowardly compliance, or openly to renounce the

(Tertullian, c. 11.)

as he can judge from the mutilated representation of Origen, (l. v. p. 22,) his adversary, Celsus, had urged his objection to this great objection. 

1 [There is nothing in the refusals of the early christians to take part in the public service which ought to aberate us. They assert the natu-
ral consequence of the contradiction which existed between their principles, the laws, and action of the pagan world. As christians they could not enter the service of the king; they must bow himself, always assembled in a temple or in some consecrated place where they were in danger before taking their meal, and burst incense upon the altar.

As christians they were implored just at feasts and banquets, which were always terminated by laticiae, &c. In fine, since the divini-
tures and the innumerable rites of polytheism were closely connected

Their sentiments concern-
unwilling to reveal the secret cause of their security; the expectation that, before the conversion of mankind was accomplished, war, government, the Roman empire, and the world itself, would be no more. It may be observed, that, in this instance likewise, the situation of the first Christians coincided very happily with their religious scruples, and that their aversion to an active interference of the state in religious matters was the cause of the abandonment of the state, than to exclude them from the honours, of the state and army.

The Fifth Cause. The Christians active in the government of the state, and in the direction of the church.

V. But the human character, however it may be exalted or depressed by a temporary enthusiasm, will return by degrees to its natural level, and will resume those passions that seem the most adapted to its present condition. The primitive Christians were dead to the business and pleasures of the world; but their love of action, which could never be entirely extinguished, soon revived, and found a new occupation in the government of the church. A separate society, which attacked the established religion of the empire, was obliged to adopt some form of internal policy, and to appoint a sufficient number of ministers, intrusted not only with the spiritual functions, but even with the temporal direction, of the church. The power and jurisdicton, therefore, respecting its honour, its aggrandizement, were productive, even in the most pious minds, of a spirit of patriotism, such as the first of the Romans had felt for the republic, and sometimes, of a similar indifference, in the use of whatever means might probably conduct to so desirable an end. The ambition of raising themselves or their friends to the honours and offices of the church, was disguised by the laudable intention of devoting to the public benefit, the power and consideration, which, for that purpose only, it became their duty to solicit. In the exercise of their functions, they were frequently called upon to bear the name, and to maintain the sanction, of the ancient faction, to oppose the designs of pernicious brethren, to stigmatize their characters with desired infamy, and to expel them from the bosom of a society, whose peace and happiness they had attempted to disturb. The ecclesiastical governors of the Christians were taught to unite the wisdom of the serpent with the innocency of the dove; but as the former was refined, so the latter was insensibly corrupted, by the habits of government. In the church as well as in the world, the persons who were placed in any public station rendered themselves considerable by their eloquence and finesse, and the ability of their dexterity in business; and while they concealed from others, and perhaps from themselves the secret motives of their conduct, they too frequently relapsed into all the turbulent passions of active life, which were tainted with an additional degree of bitterness and obstinacy from the infusion of spiritual zeal.

Its primitive free character. The government of the church has always been the subject, as well as the prize, of religious contention. The hostile disputants of Rome, of Paris, and of Oxford, and of Geneva, have alike struggled to reduce the primitive and apostolic manners of the church to the form of the civil society. The few who have pursued this inquiry with more candour and impartiality, are of opinion,* that the apostles declined the office of legislation, and rather chose to endure some partial scandals and divisions, than to

withevil the details of public or private life, the Christians could not participate in these different interests or passions, according to their principles, guilty of impurity. It was therefore less an effect of their doctrine, than a consequence of the situation, that they absolved themselves from public business. Wherever their situation prevented them from activity, they manifested as much activity as the pagans. Pro-ince, they were not without some interest, e. g. in the efforts made for the reunion after the schism in England, has strenuously maintained the divinity of bishops. But the Ca- lvinistic presbyteries were impassioned of a superior; and the Roman pontiff was exalted as equal.

* For the prophets of the primitive church, see Mosheim, Discourses at Basle, Ercild, p. 122, 125. (See the epistles of St. Paul, and of Clemens, to the Corinthians.

[The first established ministers in the church, were ecclesiastics, perhaps even of the Apostles,]—e. g. verses 1-7 they were entrusted with the distribution of alms; of course even engaged in this employment. After deacons came elders or priests [Diepo] appointed to preserve order and decorum in the community, and to act in every where in its name. Bishops were appointed to watch over the spiritual instruction of believers. The apostles themselves ordained many bishops. Tertullian, in his Apology, book i. c. 15, 21. In the East, among the Christians of Syria, and many fathers of the second and third centuries, establish this beyond a doubt. That equality of rank which prevailed among these different orders of ministers, did not prevent the same distinct even at the first. Eventually they became much more so. See Flacce, and Athanasian Creed, canons 12, 13. (See Pizack, op. cit. p. 24.—Geschichte der christlichen kirchlichen Verfassung.—G.]

1 Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity. 1. viii. See Jerome, and Eusebius, 85. (In the Benedictine edition, 101.) and the elaborate apology of Blondel, pro sancta. (See also Lactanz., and Jeron.)—16. See Pizack, op. cit. p. 24.—Geschichte der christlich kirchlichen Verfassung.]

2 In the history of the christian hierarchy, I have, for the most part, followed the learned and candid Mosheim.
to have been introduced before the end of the first century, 1 were so numerous, and so important for the future good of the church, as well as for the present peace of christianity, that it was adopted without delay by all the societies which were already scattered over the empire, had acquired in a very early period the sanction of antiquity, 2 and is still revered by the most powerful churches, by the adherence of the western primitives, even as a divine establishment. 3 It is needless to observe, that the pious and humble presbyters, who were first dignified with the episcopal title, could not possess, and would probably have rejected, the power and pomp which now exercised the tira of the Roman provinces. Episcopacy as an denomination may define, in a few words, the narrow limits of their original jurisdiction, which was chiefly of a spiritual, though in some instances of a temporal nature. 4 It consisted in the administration of the sacraments and discipline of the church, the superintendency of religious ceremonies, which imperceptibly increased in number and variety, the consecration of ecclesiastical ministers, to whom the bishop assigned their respective functions, the management of the public fund, and the determination of all such differences as the faithful feared to bring under the tribunal of an idolatrous judge. These powers, during a short period, were exercised according to the advice of the presbyteral college, and with the consent and approbation of the assembly of Christians. The primitive bishops were considered only as the first of their order, as stewards of their church, and as a free person of the church. 5

Furthermore, such was the mild and equal constitutions by which the Christians were governed more than an hundred years after the death of the Apostles. Every society formed within itself a separate and independent republic; and although the most distant of these little states maintained a mutual as well as friendly intercourse of letters and deputation, the Christian world was not yet connected by any supreme authority or legislative assembly. As the numbers of the faithful were gradually multiplied, they discovered the advantages that might result from the union of their interest and their power. Towards the end of the second century, the churches of Greece and Asia adopted the useful institutions of provincial synods, and they may justly be supposed to have borrowed the model of a representative council from the celebrated examples of their own country, the Amphictyons, the Achaeian league, or the assemblies of the Ionian cities. It was soon established as a custom and as a law, that the bishops of the independent churches should meet in the capital of the province at the stated periods of spring and autumn. Their decisions were not always uniform, but they were esteemed by the most ancient and distinguished presbyters, and moderated by the presence of a listening multitude. 6 Their decrees, which were styled canons, regulated every important controversy of faith and discipline; and it was natural to believe that a liberal effusion of the Holy Spirit would be poured upon them, and directed by an oracle of the people. They were not imposed, but recommended by the voice of the people. The institution of synods was so well suited to private ambition, and to public interest, that in the space of a few years it was received throughout the whole empire. A regular correspondence was established between the provincial councils, which mutually communicated and approved their respective proceedings; and the catholic church soon assumed the form, and acquired the strength, of a great federative republic. 7 As the legislative authority of the province was partly exercised by the bishops, the number of councils was increased by the use of councils, the bishops obtained by their alliance a much larger share of executive and arbitrary power; and as soon as they were connected by a sense of their common interest, they were enabled to attack, with united vigour, the original rights of the civil Power. 

Provincial Synods. 8

Thus the union and power of the church was represented by a national office, of which every bishop enjoyed an equal and undivided portion. 9 Princes and magistrates, it was often repeated, might boast an earthly claim to a transitory dominion: it was the episcopal authority alone which was derived from the Deity, and extended itself over this and over another world. The bishops were the vicereges of Christ, the successors of the apostles, and the mystic substitutes of the high priest of the Mosaic law. Their exclusive privilege of conferring the sacerdotal character, invaded the freedom both of clergy and of laymen; and the independence of the administration of the church, they still consulted the judgment of the presbyters, or the inclination of the people, they most carefully inculated the merit of such a voluntary condescension. The bishops acknowledged the supremacy of the churches which administered the assembled in the government of their peculiar diocese, each of them from his flock the same implicit obedience as if that favourite metaphor had been literally just, and as if the shepherd had been of a more exalted nature than that of his sheep. This obedience, however, was not imposed without some efforts on one side, and some resistance on the other. The democratical part of the constitution was, in many places, very warmly supported by the zealous or interested opposition of the inferior clergy. But their patriotism received the ignominious

1 See the Introduction to the Apocalypse. Bishops, under the name of angels, were already instituted in the seven cities of Asia. And yet the epistle of Clement (which is probably of as ancient a date) does not lead us to discover any traces of episcopacy either at Corinth or Rome.

2 Nulla ecclesia sine episcopo, has been a fact as well as a maxim since the time of Tertullian and Trenrique.

3 After we have passed the difficulties of the first century, we find the episcopal government universally established, till it was interrupted by the revolutionary crimes of the Sibyls and German reformers. See Mosheim in the first and second centuries. Ignatius ad Smyrnos, c. 3. &c. is of foxtail of the episcopal dignity. Le Clerc, in his Intro. to the new Testament, vol. ii. 265. very clearly shows his bias in favour of Mosheim, with a more critical judgment, (p. 161) excepts the purity even of the smaller episcopacy.

4 None of the ancient synods consults Tertullian, Exhort. ad Cas- titat, c. 7. As the human heart is still the same, several of the observations on this sense of Chrysostom. (Essays, vol. ii. p. 76. quarto edit.) may be applied even to real inspiration.

5 Shortly or not the first means which independent churches took to improve a closer union. Bishops were formed at first by the annexing of many small churches in the country, with a church of a city. Peter and Paul consecrated their subdeacons or deacons or even a smaller church, gave rise to the metropolitan or archiepiscopal see. Bishopric was formed at the beginning of the second century; before this period the Christians had not established a sufficient number of churches in the country to render such an as- sembly necessary to the wants of the church. It was not till we discover the first traces of the metropolitan constitution. From this period, we may compute the existence of six hundred years. The first two centuries, we have not the first synods. History gives us cer- tain information of synods held towards the close of the second cen- tury, or about the time of Constantine; but we have no authentic account of the differences which existed between the Latin churches, and the churches of Asia, respecting the time of the celebration of the Pas- tory, or (Easter). But these synods were not subjected to any regu- lar form, or to any stated time of meeting. This regularity was es- tablished by the provincial synods, which were formed by the union of the bishops of a district who were subject to a metropolitan. —

6 Acta Concil. Carthag. apud Cypr. Epist. Edit. Felt. p. 138. This council was held in the year 138, and was composed of eighty bishops, and met at Carthage. Mauritania, Numidia, and Africa; some presbyters and deacons assem- bled at the assembly; presents plene maxima parte.

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eous epithets of faction and schism; and the episcopal cause was indebt ed for its rapid progress to the labours of many active prelates, who, like Cyprian of Carthage, and Pope Ambrose, the most illustrious statesman with the Christian virtues which seem adapted to the character of a saint and martyr.

The same causes which at first had the metropolitan destroyed the equality of the presby- clergymen, introduced among the bishops a pre-eminence of rank, and from hence a superiority of jurisdiction. As often as in the spring and autumn they met in provincial synod, the difference of personal merit and reputation was very sensibly felt among the members of the assembly, and the multitude was gov erned by the wisdom and eloquence of the few. But the latter, while they hurried on with other regular and less invincible distinction; the office of perpetual presidents in the councils of each province, was conferred on the bishops of the principal city, and these aspirin prelates, who soon acquired the lofty titles of metropolitans and primates, secretly prepared themselves to usurp over their episcopal brethren the same authority which the bishops had so lately assumed above the college of presbyters. Nor was it long before an emulation of pre-eminence and power prevailed among the metropolitans themselves, each of them affecting to display, in the most pompous tones, his pretensions to the very title of the city over which he presided; the numbers and opulence of the christians, who were subject to their pastoral care; the saints and martyrs who had arisen among them, and the purity with which they prescribed the truth of the faith, as it had been transmitted through a series of orthodox bishops from the apostle or the apostolic disciple, to whom the foundation of their church was ascribed. From every cause either of a civil or of an ecclesiastical nature, it was easy to foresee that Rome must enjoy the respect, and would soon claim the obedience, of the provinces. Ambition of the sort seemed to be the natural birth of a just Roman pontiff, a proportion to the capital of the empire, and the Roman church was the greatest, the most numerous, and, in regard to the west, the most ancient of all the christian establishments, many of which had received their religion from the pious labours of the man of God, who in the midst of the utmost boast of Antioch, of Ephesus, or of Corinth, the banks of the Tyber were supposed to have been honoured with the preaching and martyrdom of the two most eminent among the apostles; and the bishops of Rome very prudently claimed the inheritance of the very title of the apostle Peter, which was attributed to the person or to the office of St. Peter.”

The bishops of Italy and of the provinces were disposed to allow them a primary of order and association (such was their very accurate expression) in the christian aristocracy. But the power of a monarch was repre-

4 If Novatius, Felicissimus, &c. whom the bishop of Carthage expelled from his church, and from Africa, were not the most detestable monsters of wickedness, the zeal of Cyprian must occasionally have prevailed over his veracity. For a very just account of these obscure quacks, see Mosheim, p. 267—319.

5 Mosheim, p. 329, 357. Dupin, Antique Eccles. Disciplin, p. 19, 59. On this subject, see the able dissertation, hoc junctorum aetatis, on the bishops’ right of pre-eminence, as it was held by the apostolic churches.

6 The journey of St. Peter in Rome is mentioned by most of the ancients, (see Eusebius, ii. 55) maintained by all the catholics, allowed by some protestants, (see Pearson and Dodwell de Success. Eccles. Romana) and has been vigorously attacked by Symænus, (Miscellanea Sacra. iii. 3.) According to Father Hardouin, the monks of the thirteenth century, who composed the Anecd. represented St. Peter’s most of the papal power to the person of St. Peter. His authority was derived from the privilege of a secret association, to the number of the clergy, the latter from the devout apprehensions of the faithful.

1. The community of goods, which had so agreeably amused the imagination of Plato, and which subsisted in some degree among the austere sect of the Esseniasts, was bestowed on the apostles by the power of the supremacy of the church. The fervour of the first proselytes prompted them to sell those worldly possessions, which they despised, to lay the price of them at the feet of the apostles, and to content themselves with receiving an equal share out of the general distribution. The progress of the christian religion relaxed and gradually abolished this generous institution, which, in hands less pure than those of the apostles, would too soon have been corrupted and abused by the returning selfishness of human nature; and the converts who embraced the new religion were permitted to retain the possession of their patrimony, to receive legacies and inheritances, and to increase their separate property by all the lawful means of trade and industry. Instead of an abso-

2 See the apocryphal epistle from Firmilianus, bishop of Cezarea, to Stephen, bishop of Antioch, (Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. ii. 25.) and the many other writings of Cyprian. Mosheim, p. 329—378. He is regarded as a man of very ungrammatical and barbarous language in Greek, Latin, Italian, &c. and totally unintelligible in our Teutonic languages.

This allusion is exact in the Syriac Chaldæan, and it was in that language which Jesus Christ made it. (Gospel, according to Matthew, chap. ii. 14.) Cyprian, however, has radically misunderstood the words, and has attributed the sense of foundation to virtue. (Eusebius. Lib. ii.)

3 Tertullian, lib. iii. 2. Tertullian de Prescriptio, c. 26. and Cyprian. Epist. 27, 31, 71. Le Clerc (Hist. Ecles. i. 234) and Mosheim (p. 248, 278) labour in the interpretation of these passages. But the homoeopathic style of the latter oftes appears favourable to the pretensions of Rome.
lute sacrifice, a moderate proportion was accepted by the ministers of the gospel; and in their weekly or monthly assemblies, every believer, according to the exegyony of their profession, and the measure of his wealth and piety, presented his voluntary offering for the use of the common fund. Nothing, however inconsiderable, was refused: but it was diligently inculcated, that in the article of tithes, the Mosaic law was still of divine obligation; and that since the Jews, under a less part, in discipline, had not been required to pay a tenth part of all that they possessed, it would become the disciples of Christ to distinguish themselves by a superior degree of liberality; and to acquire some merit by resigning a superfluous treasure, which must so soon be annihilated with the world itself. It is almost unnecessary to observe, that the revenue of each particular church, which was of so uncertain and fluctuating a nature, must have varied with the poverty or the opulence of the faithful, as they were dispersed in obscure villages, or collected in the great cities of the empire. In the time of the emperor Decius, it was the opinion of the magistrates, that the christians of Rome were possessed of very considerable wealth; that vessels of gold and silver were used in their religious worship, and that many among their proselytes had sold their houses and lands to increase the public riches of the sect; at the expense, indeed, of their unfortunate children, who found themselves beggars, because their parents had been saints. We should listen with distrust to the suspicions of strangers and enemies: on this occasion, however, they receive a very serious and probable colour from the two following circumstances, the only ones that have reached our knowledge, which define any precise sums, or convey any distinct idea. Almost at the same period, the bishop of Carthage, from a society less opulent than that of Rome, collected an hundred thousand sesterces, or a thousand gold and fifty thousand silver, on a sudden call of charity to redeem the brethren of Numidia, who had been carried away captives by the barbarians of the desert. About an hundred years before the reign of Decius, the Roman church had received, in a single donation, the sum of two hundred thousand sesterces from a stranger of Pontus, who proposed to fix his residence in the capital. These oblations, for the most part, were made in money; nor was the society of christians either desirous or capable of acquiring, to any considerable degree, the encumbrance of property. It has been observed, that several laws, which were enacted with the same design as our statutes of mortmain, that no real estates should be given or bequeathed to any corporate body, without either a special privilege or a particular dispensation from the emperor or from the senate: who were seldom disposed to grant them in favour of a sect, at first the object of their contempt, and at last of their fears and jealousy. A transaction however is related under the reign of Alexander Severus, which discourses that the restraint was sometimes eluded or suspended, and that the christians were permitted to claim and to possess lands within the limits of Rome itself. The progress of Christianity, and the civil confusion of the empire, contributed to relax the severity of the laws, and before the close of the third century many considerable estates were bestowed on the opulent churches of Rome, Milan, Carthage, Antioch, Alexandria, and other great cities of the empire. The bishop was the natural steward of the church: the public stock was in his trust to his care without account or control; the presbyters were confined to their spiritual functions, and the more dependent order of deacons was solely employed in the management and distribution of the ecclesiastical revenue. If we may give credit to the vehement declamations of Cyprian, there were too many among his African brethren, who, in the execution of their charge, violated every precept, not only of charity, but of every act of charity. Some of these unfaithful stewards the riches of the church were lavished in sensual pleasures, by others they were perverted to the purposes of private gain, of fraudulent purchases, and of rapacious usury. But as long as the contributions of the christian people were free and unconstrained, the abuse of their confidence could not be very frequent, and the general use to which their liberality was applied, reflected honour on the religious society. A decent portion was reserved for the maintenance of the bishop and his clergy; a sufficient sum was allotted for the expenses of the public religious services, of their vestments; those are, they were called, constituted a very pleasing part. The whole remainder was the sacred property of the poor. According to the discretion of the bishop, it was distributed to support widows and orphans, the lame, the sick, and the aged of the community; to comfort strangers and pilgrims, and to alleviate the misfortunes of prisoners and captives, more especially when their sufferings had been occasioned by their firm attachment to the cause of religion. A generous intercourse of charity united the most distant provinces of the empire; and it was generally provvident and pious, that the provinces were chiefly assisted by the alms of their more opulent brethren. Such an institution, which paid less regard to the merit than to the distress of the object, very materially contributed to the progress of Christianity. The poor were not ascetized by a sense of humanity, while they derided the doctrines, acknowledged the benevolence, of the new sect. The prospect of immediate relief and of future protection allured into its hospitable bosom many of those unhappy persons whom the neglect of the world would have abandoned to the miseries of want, of sickness, and of old age. There is some reason to believe, that great numbers of infants, who, according to the inhuman practice of the times, had been exposed by their parents, were frequently rescued from death, baptized, educated, and

1 Justin Martyr, Apologie, Major, c. 89. Tertullian, Apologie, c. 59.
2 Inimicus ad litteris, I. c. 27, 34. Oecumen in Num. Hom. ii. Cyprian de Unitat. Eccles. Constit. Apostol. i. c. 34, 35, with the notes of Commentaries. The Constitutions introduce this divine precept, by declaring that priests are as much above kings, as the soul is above the body. Among the tithable articles, they enumerate corn, wine, oil, and wool. On this interesting subject, consult Frédéric's History of Tithes, and Fra Paolo dell Materie Beneficarum; two works of a very different character.
3 The same opinion which prevailed about the year one thousand, was productive of the same effects. Most of the donations expressed in the form of tithes, or of a portion of the produce of land. See Mosheim's General History of the Church, vol. i. p. 47.
4 In summum cura est gratibus (Ut sermo testatur loquax.)
5 Fundus venedit, Senatorium militia, Addicta avorum praeda. Frituli sub accessionibus, Successor eximie gemit, Sanctus aegae parenstis. Hac occurruntur abstis Eiusdem in anguis, Aquilae paterni creditur Nudare dulces liberis.
6 Prudent. De exq. test.; Hymn. 2.
7 The subsequent conduct of the deacon Laurence only proves how great was the wealth of this sect; a wealth undeniably very considerable; but Fra Palla (c. 3.) appears to exaggerate, when he supposes, that the successors of Commodus were unable to purchase the christians by their own avowal, or that of their praiseworthy prefects.
8 Tertullian. Epistol. 62.
9 Tertullian de Prebutione, c. 20.
mained by the piety of the christians, and at the expense of the public treasure. Thus
Excommun. 11. It is the undoubted right of every nation, society to exclude from its communion and benefits such among its members as reject or violate those regulations which have been established by general consent. In the exercise of this power, the church, whether from choice or necessity, by direct sentence against scandalous sinners, and particularly those who were guilty of murder, of fraud, or of incontinence; against the authors, or the followers, of any heretical opinions which had been condemned by the judgment of the episcopal order; and against those unhappy persons who, whether they had or had not concurred in that condemnation, had polluted themselves after their baptism by any act of idolatrous worship. The consequences of excommunication were of a temporal as well as a spiritual nature. The christian against whom it was pronounced, was deprived of any part in the obligations of the faithfull. The ties both of religious and of private friendship were dissolved: he found himself a profane object of abhorrence to the persons whom he had the most esteemed, or by whom he had been the most tenderly beloved; and as far as an expulsion from a respectable society could impress on his character a mark of infamy, it was equally a just punishment inflicted by the general sense of mankind. The situation of these unfortunate exiles was in itself very painful and melancholy; but, as it usually happens, their apprehensions far exceeded their sufferings. The benefits of the christian communion were those of eternal life, nor could they erase from their minds the awful opinion, that to those ecclesiastical governors by whom they were condemned, the Deity had committed the keys of hell and of paradise. The heretics, indeed, who might be supported by the consciousness of their intentions, and by the flattering hope that they alone had discovered the true path, were not necessitated to cleave the world, or to separate assemblies, those comforts, temporal as well as spiritual, which they no longer derived from the great society of christians. But almost all those who had reluctantly yielded to the power of vice or idolatry, were sensible of their fallen condition, and anxiously desirous of being restored to the benefits of the christian communion.

With regard to the treatment of these penitents, two opposite opinions, the one of justice, the other of mercy, divided the primitive church. The more rigid and inelastic casuists refused them for ever, and without exception, the christian communion, in which they had disgraced or deserted, and leaving them to the remorse of a guilty conscience, indulged them only with a faint ray of hope, that the contrition of their life and death might possibly be accepted by the Supreme Being. A milder sentiment was embraced in practice as well as in theory, by the purest and most respectable of the christian churches. The gates of reconciliation and of heaven were seldom shut against the returning penitent; but a severe and solemn form of discipline was instituted, which, while it served to expiate his crime, might powerfully deter the spectators from the same indiscipline. As a public confession, accompanied by putting on sackcloth, the penitent lay prostrate at the door of the assembly, imploring with tears the pardon of his offences, and soliciting the prayers of the faithful. If the fault was of a very heinous nature, whole years of penance were esteemed an inadequate satisfaction to the divine justice; and it was always by slow and painful gradations that the sinner, the heretic, or the apostate, was re-admitted into the bosom of the church. A sentence of perpetual excommunication was, however, reserved for some crimes of an extraordinary magnitude, and particularly for the inexcusable recidivism of those persons who had already experienced and abused the clemency of their ecclesiastical superiors. According to the circumstances or the number of the guilty, the exercise of the christian discipline was varied by the discretion of the bishops. The councils of Ancyra and Bilberis were held about the same time, the one in Galatia, the other in Spain; and the bishops of the latter, perhaps in revenge of that union so extant, seem to breathe a very different spirit. The Galatian, who after his baptism had repeatedly sacrificed to idols, might obtain his pardon by a penance of seven years; and if he had seduced others to imitate his example, only three years more were added to the term of his exile. But the unhappy Spaniard, who had committed the same offence, was deprived of the hope of reconciliation, even in the article of death; and his idolatry was placed at the head of a list of seventeen other crimes, against which a sentence no less terrible was pronounced. Among these we may distinguish the crime of attempting the excommunication of a bishop, a presbyter, or even a deacon.

The well-tempered mixture of liberty and rigour, the judicious dispensation of rewards and punishments, according to the maxims of policy as well as justice, constituted the dossus strength of the church. The bishops, whose paternal care extended itself to the government of both worlds, were sensible of the importance of these prerogatives, and covering their ambition with the fair pretence of the love of order, they were jealous of any rival in the exercise of a discipline which did not consist, like that of Ancyra, in which had enlisted themselves under the banner of the cross, and whose numbers every day became more considerable. From the imperious declarations of Cyprian, we should naturally conclude, that the doctrines of excommunication and penance formed the most essential part of religion; and that it was much less dangerous for the disciples of Christ to neglect the observance of the moral duties, than to despise the censures and authority of their bishops. Sometimes we might imagine that we were listening to the voice of Moses, when he commanded the earth to open, and swallow the iniquitous people of rebellion, which had refused obedience to the priesthood of Aaron; and we should sometimes suppose that we heard a Roman consil asserting the majesty of the republic, and declaring his inflexible resolution to enforce the rigour of the laws. If such irregularities are suffered with impunity, (it is thus that the bishop of Carthage chides the lenity of his colleague,) if such irregularities are suffered, there is an end of episcopal vigour; an end of the sublime and divine power of governing the church, an end of christianity itself." Cyprian had renounced those temporal honours, which it is plainly impossible he could have maintained by the acquisition of such absolute command over the sciences and understanding of a congregation, however obscure or despised by the world, is more truly grateful.
to the pride of the human heart, than the possession of the most despotic power, imposed by arms and conquest on a reluctant people.

Recapitulation. In the course of this important, though perhaps tedious, inquiry, I have attempted to display the secondary causes which so efficaciously assisted the truth of the Christian religion. If in various ages we have observed many splendid, sacred or profane, official ornaments, any accidental circumstances, or any mixture of error and passion, it cannot appear surprising that mankind should be the most sensibly affected by such motives as were suited to their imperfect nature. But the aid of those interests, excepting the zeal, the immediate expectation of another world, the claim of miracles, the practice of rigid virtue, and the constitution of the primitive church, that Christianity spread itself with so much success in the Roman empire.

To the first of these the Christians were indebted for their invincible valour, which dedicated to vanquish with the enemy whom they were resolved to vanquish. The three succeeding causes supplied their valour with the most formable arms. The last of these causes united their courage, directed their arms, and gave their efforts that irresistible weight, which even small numbers of well-armed and resolute individuals have so often possessed over an undisguised multitude, ignorant of the subject, and careless of the event of the war. In the various religions of polytheism, some wandering fanatics of their own country, Egypt and Syria, who addressed themselves to the curious superstitions of the populace, were perhaps the order of priests that derived their whole support and credit from their sacerdotal profession, and were very deeply affected by a personal concern for the safety or prosperity of their tutelar deities. The ministers of polytheism, both in Rome and in the provinces, were, for the most part, men of a noble birth, and of an affluent fortune, who received as an honourable distinction the care of a celebrated temple, or of a public sacrifice, exhibited, very frequently at their own expense, the sacred games, and with cold indifference performed the annual rites, according to the laws and fashion of their country. As they were engaged in the ordinary occupations of life, their zeal and devotion were seldom animated by a sense of interest, or by the habits of an ecclesiastical character. Confined to their respective temples and cities, they remained without any connexion of discipline or government; and whilst they acknowledged the supreme jurisdiction of the senate, of the college of pontiffs, and of the emperor, those civil magistrates contented themselves with the easy task of maintaining, in peace and security, the peace of religion, worsted in mankind, who have already seen how various, how loose, and how uncertain were the religious sentiments of polytheists. They were abandoned, almost without control, to the natural workings of a superstitious fancy. The accidental circumstances of their life and situation determined the object as well as the degree of their devotion; and as long as their adoration was successfully prostituted to a thousand deities, it was scarcely possible that their hearts could be susceptible of a very sincere or lively passion for any of them.

When Christianity appeared in the pagan world, even these faint and imperfect religious feelings had lost much of their influence. The evidence of the pagan world, however strong, and the arguments of those interested in the new religion, were insufficient to produce a favourable impression. It had already obtained an easy

m improvement over the folly of paganism; and when Tertullian or Lactantius employ their labours in exposing its falsehood and extravagance, they are obliged to transcribe the eloquence of Cicero or the wit of Lucian. The contagion of these sceptical writings had been diffused far beyond the number of their readers. The fashion of incredulity was communicated from the philosopher to the philosopher, and from the noble to the plebeian, and from the master to the menial slave who waited at his table, and who eagerly listened to the freedom of his conversation. On public occasions the philosophic sort of mankind affected to look for truth and evidence in the miraculous discoveries of their country; but their secret contempt penetrated through the thin and awkward disguise, and even the people, when they discovered that their deities were rejected and derided by those whose rank or understanding they were accustomed to reverence, were filled with doubts and apprehensions concerning the truth of those doctrines, to which they had yielded the most implicit belief. The decline of ancient prejudice exposed a very numerous portion of human kind to the danger of a painful and comfortless situation. A state of scepticism and suspense may amuse a few inquisitive individuals, and even force the minds of the philosophical superficial to turn to the multitude, that if they are forcibly awakened, they still regret the loss of their pleasing vision. Their love of the marvellous and supernatural, their curiosity with regard to future events, and their strong propensity for the visible and the popular, were the principal causes which favoured the establishment of polytheism. So urgent on the vulgar is the necessity of believing, that the fall of any system of philosophy will most probably be succeeded by the introduction of some other mode of superstition. Some deities of a more recent and fashionable cast might soon have occupied the deserted temples of Jupiter and Apollo, if, in the decisive moment, the wisdom of Providence had not interposed a genuine revelation, fitted to inspire the most rational esteem and conviction, whilst, at the same time, it was adorned with all that could attract the curiosity, the wonder, and the veneration of the people. In their actual disposition, as many were almost disengaged from their artificial prejudices, but equally susceptible and desirous of a devout attachment; an object much less reserved, and therefore more easily taken possession of, had it been introduced by force into their minds, without the objection or opposition of the sacred authority. The true object of the Christian was not to impose this profession on the Roman empire, but to affect it with a respect and cordiality, to which Christianity was not unfitted; but to support it with a strength and security, which the vainest flattery could not seduce it to abandon. It has been observed, with truth as well as propriety, that the conquests of peace and union of the Roman empire.

n "This immensity was not so great as Gibbon seems to believe. A great portion of these givers were converted at once, and were baptized in two days. (Acts of Apost. chap. v. 39-40.) They formed the first Christian church." [Gibbon, History of the Decline and Fall, chap. xv. p. 78.]"}

The means by which the apostles were disposed to believe what the fathers almost unanimously assert, that St. Matthew composed a Hebrew MS. as near the Gospel, as the Greek was the Latin, is unknown, however, dangerous to reject their testimony. [Gibbon, History of the Decline and Fall, chap. xv. p. 78.] There are strong reasons to confirm this testimony. [Ibid.]

o Pope, who was contemporary with the apostle John, says positively that Matthew wrote the discourses of Jesus Christ in Hebrew, and that each
be applied to the less numerous party. To these domestic testimonies we may add the confession, the complaints, and the apprehensions of the gentiles themselves. From the writings of Lucian, a philosopher who had studied mankind, and who describes the manners of the gentiles, we learn, that, under the reign of Commodus, his native country of Pontus was filled with Epicureans and Christians.1 Within fourscore years after the death of Christ,2 the humane Pliny laments the magnitude of the evil which he vainly attempted to eradicate. In his resolutions to put an end to a disease of the country. There is the strongest reason to believe, that before the reign of Diocletian and Constantine, the faith of Christ had been preached in every province, of the frontiers the colonies are very extensive, a district whole real or imaginary acquisitions which lay beyond the frontiers of the Roman empire.

The rich provinces that extend from the Euphrates to the Ionian sea, were the principal theatre on which the apostle of the Gentiles displayed his zeal and piety. The seed of the gospel, which he had scattered in a fertile soil, were diligently cultivated by his disciples; and it would seem that, during the two first centuries, the most considerable body of Christians was contained within those limits. Among the societies which were instituted by the first missionaries, Antioch is more illustrious than those of Damascus, of Beroa and Aleppo, and of Antioch. The prophetic introduction of the Apocalypse has described and immortalized the seven churches of Asia; Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamus, Thyatira,3 Sardes, Laodicea, and Philadelphia; and their colonies were soon diffused over that populous country. In a very early period, the islands of Cyprus and Crete, the provinces of Thrace and Macedonia, gave a favourable reception to the new religion; and christian republics were soon founded in the cities of Corinth, of Sparta, and of Athens.4 The antiquity of the Church in Asia profited for us an allowed a sufficient space of time for their increase and multiplication, and even the swarms of Gnostics and heretics serve to display the flourishing condition of the orthodox church, since the appellation of heretics has always one interpreted it as he could. This Hebrew was the Syro-chaldaic dialect, then in use at Jerusalem; Ogiien, St. Ireneus, Eusebius, St. Jerome, and St. Epiphanius, confirm this account. Jesus Christ himself preached in Syro-chaldaic. This is proved by many words which he used, and which the evangelists have carefully translated. St. Paul, when narrating the Jews, made use of the same language. (Acts of the Apostles, chap. 20, v. 2.—chap. 17, v. 4.—chap. 26, v. 14.) The opinions of some critics are of little avail against incontrovertible testimony, besides, their principal objection is, that St. Matthew quotes from the Greek version, whereas, according to them, verses are the septuagint; but they are not correct, for of the ten quotations which are founded upon the septuagint, are seven are quoted from the Hebrew text, and the other three do not differ from it; besides, these last are not literal citations. St. Jerome says positively concerning an account of this passage, which he had in the library at Cæsarea, that the citations were made in Hebrew. (in Cœstal). More numerous are the answers others Michaelis, especially, has made against this question. The Greek version appears to have been made in the time of St. Mark, to whom St. Jerome and St. Augustine affirm, perhaps even by one of them. —6)

Under the reigns of Nero and Domitian, in the cities of Asia, from the death of St. Paul, to the commencement of the Apostles, Nov. Testament, and Dr. Lardner's fair and extensive collection. vol. i. x.

The Alighinni (Epiphanius de Hieros, 61.) disputed the genuineness of the Apocalypse, because the church of Thyatira was not yet established. He quotes the words of a little more, explaining himself from the difficulty by ingeniously supposing, that St. John wrote in the spirit of the ancients, and then he pointed out the churches of Asia and Greek. That of Athens seems to have been the capital of the east flourishing. vol. i. x.


described the characteristic of the Synagogue, this church, the Synagogue, John 2. 23.) point out many churches in Asia and Greece. That of Athens seems to have been the capital of the east flourishing.
THE DECLINE AND FALL. 

Chap. XV.

memories. The austere life of the Essenes, their facts and communications, the community of goods, the love of ordination, their zeal for martyrdom, and the warmth though not the purity of their faith, already offered a very lively image of the primitive discipline. 1 It was in the school of Alexandria that the christian theology appears to have assumed a regular and scientific form; and this rapidly most advanced, the most modest hermits and unsuccessful proselytizers of Jews and of Greeks, sufficiently important to attract the notice of that inquisitive prince. 2 But the progress of Christianity was for a long time confined within the limits of a single city, which was itself a foreign colony, and till the close of the second century, the Christian sect was restricted to a small band of Jews and to a smaller band of Egyptians, conscripted into the churches by the apostles of Jesus Christ and his disciples. The first three bishops were consecrated by the hands of Demetrius, and the number was increased to twenty by his successor Heracles. 3 The body of the natives, a people distinguished by a sullen indestructibility of temper, 4 entertained the new doctrine with coldness and reluctance; and even in the time of Origen, it was rare to meet with an Egyptian who had surmounted his early prejudices in favour of the sacred animals of his country. 5 As soon, indeed, as Christianity ascended the throne, the zeal of those landlords was kindled by the prevailing impulsion; the cities were filled with bishops, and the deserts of Thebais swarmed with hermits.

In Rome.

A perpetual stream of strangers and provincials flowed into the capacious bosom of Rome. Whatever was strange or odious, whether their sects or suspected their hopes, the obscurity of that immense capital, to elude the vigilance of the law. In such a variety of confusions of nations, every teacher, either of truth or of falsehood, every founder, whether of a virtuous or criminal association, might easily multiply his disciples or accomplices. The city of Rome, at the beginning of the persecution of Nero, were represented by Tertullian as already amounting to a very great multitude, and the language of that great historian is almost similar to the style employed by Livy, when he relates the introduction and the suppression of the riots of Eneas. After the burst of the first wave of terror, the the confusion of the senate, it was likewise apprehended that a very great multitude, as it were another people, had been initiated into those abhorred mysteries. A more careful inquiry soon demonstrated, that the offenders did not exceed several thousands; a number indeed astonishingly great when considered as the object of public justice. 6 It is with the same candid allowance that we should interpret the vague expressions of Tertullian, and in a former instance of Pliny, when they exaggerate the crowds of deluded fanatics who had forsaken the established worship of the gods. The church of Rome was undoubtedly the first and most populous of the empire; and we are possessed of an authentic record which attests the state of religion in that city about the middle of the third century, and after a peace of thirty-eight years. The clergy, at that time, consisted of a bishop, forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, and many sub-deacons, forty-two acolytes, and fifty readers, exorcists, and porters. The number of widows, of the infirm, and of the poor, who were maintained by the oblations of the faithful, amounted to fifteen hundred. 7 From reason, as well as from the analogy of Antioch, we may venture to estimate the Christians of Rome at about fifty thousand. The populousness of that great capital cannot perhaps be exactly ascertained; but the most moderate computations, even when restricted to the cities flushed among them the language, the sentiments, and the manners of Rome. In this more important circumstance, Africa, as well as Gaul, was gradually fashioned to the imitation of the capital. Yet notwithstanding the many favourable occasions which might invite the Roman missionaries to visit the Latin provinces, it was late before they passed either the sea or the Alps; nor can we discover in those great countries any assured traces, either of faith or of persecution that ascend higher than the reign of the Antonines. The slow progress of the gospel in the cold climate of Gaul, was doubtless due to the severe climate that prevented the splendour and importance of their religious societies, which during the course of the third century were animated by the zeal of Tertullian, directed by the abilities of Cyprian, and adored by the eloquence of Laetantius. But if, on the contrary, we turn our eyes towards the countries of the south, we find that in the time of Marcus Antoninus, the see of Lyons and of Vienne; and even as late as the reign of Decius, we are assured, that in a few cities only, Arles, Narbonne, Toulouse, Limoges, Clermont, Tours, and Paris, some scattered churches were supported by the devotion of a small number of christians. 8 Silence is indeed very consistent with devotion, but as it is seldom compatible with zeal, we may perceive and lament the languid state of christianity in those provinces which had exchanged the Celtic for the Latin tongue, since they did not multiply with the speed of the three first centuries, give birth to a single ecclesiastical writer. From Gaul, which claimed a just pre-eminence of learning and authority over all the countries on this side of the Alps, the light of the gospel was morefainently reflected on the remote provinces of Spain and Britain; and if we may credit the vehement assertions of Tertullian, they had already received the first rays of the faith, when he addressed his apology to the magistrates of the emperor Severus. 9 But the obscure

1. Basnage, Histoire des Juifs, l. 2, c. 20—23, has examined with the most critical accuracy, the curious tradition of Philo, which describes the Therapeutae. By proving that it was composed as early as the time of Augustus, Basnage has demonstrated, in spite of Eusebius, that the origin of the sect is not that of the present, but of the Therapeutes were neither christian nor monks. It still remains probable that they changed their name, preserved their manner of life, adopted some new articles of faith, and gradually became the fathers of the Egyptian Anachoretes.

2. Smith, Thirnian, in the Augustan History, p. 245.

3. For the succession of Alexandrian bishops, consult Renaudot's Histoire de l'Eglise, 2 vols., and the bishopric of the present patriarch of Alexandria, (Annal., tom. i. p. 304, Verr. Pococ.) and its internal evidence would seem to afford a sufficient answer to all the objections which Bishop Pearson has made in his Vindicia Ignatae.

4. Ammian, Marcellin, xxii. 16.

5. Fort, bei, d. xix. 40.

6. Ingenis multitudo is the expression of Tertullian, xv. 44.

7. A. xvi. 17. Nothing coincided the horror and consternation of the senate, on the discovery of the Barachusian, whose depravity is described, and perhaps exaggerated, by Livy.

8. Eusebius, i. vi. c. 43. The Latin translator (M. de Velosio) has thought proper to reduce the number of presbyters to forty-four.

9. This proportion of the presbyters and of the poor, to the rest of the people, was exactly fixed by Josephus, in the account of the Barachusian (Ant. 168), and approved by Sjoyce. (Vol. ii. p. 131.) They were both written about A.D. 160, by those members of the Jewish rabbinical college (see Selden's Vindicia; i. 360, note), who were the inhabitants of that time. The first martyrdom of Augustin, Africa was the last of the provinces which received the gospel. Tertullian, Mem. Ecclesiast., tom. i. p. 734.

10. Tertullian to Carinus, 27. 40. With regard to Africa, see Tertullian ad Scapulam, c. 3. It is implied that those priests and martyrs were recorded by Dr. Sinessa Buenin (p. 34.) One of the adversaries of Apollinianus seems to have been a christian, as is proved by the post partum.

11. Rara in aliquibus Christianis ecclesiis, panorum Christianorum devotiones, resurrectum. Acta Sincera, p. 149, Gregory of Tours, l. i. c. 148. The see of Nimes, in the beginning of the fourth century, the extensive dioceses of Rome, of Milan, of St. John, of Colges, are noted by Sires, who has been very recently found. See Memoria de Tertullian, tom. vi. part i. p. 43, 411.

12. The date of Tertullian's Apology is fixed, in a dissertation of Moschius, to the year 168.
and imperfect origin of the western churches of Europe has been so negligently recorded, that if we were to recall
the solemn charge of the Emperor Theodosius, to supply the silence of antiquity by those legends which arive or superstition long afterwards dictated to the monks in the lazy gloom of their convents.8 Of these holy romances, that of the apostle St. James can alone, by its single extravagance, deserve to be mentioned. From any of them, we can learn but little of the facts of entanglement, he was transformed into a valorous knight, who charged at the head of the Spanish chivalry in their battles against the Moors. The greatest historians have celebrated his exploits; the miraculous shrine of Compostella displayed his power; and the sword of a man of war. The emperor, says Eusebius, was sufficient to remove every objection of profane criticism.

Beyond the limits of the Roman empire was not confined to the Roman empire; and according to the primitive fathers, who interpret facts by prophecy, the new religion, within a century after the death of its divine author, had already visited every part of the Globe. "There exists not," says Justin Martyr, "a people, whether Greek or barbarian, or any other race of men, by whatsoever appellation or manners they may be distinguished, who has not been visited by their grace. It was either they dwelt under tents, or wander about in covered wagons, among whom prayers are not offered up in the name of a crucified Jesus to the Father and Creator of all things." But this splendid exaggeration, which even at present it would be extremely difficult to reconcile with the real state of mankind, can be considered only as the rash sally of a devout but careless writer, the measure of whose belief was regulated by that of his wishes. But neither the belief nor the wishes of the fathers, can alter the truth of history. It will still remain an undeniable fact, that the barbarians of Scythia and Germany, who afterwards converted the Roman nation, did not penetrate into the darkness of paganism; and that even the conversion of Iberia, of Armenia, or of Ethiopia, was not attempted with any degree of success till the sceptre was in the hands of an orthodox emperor.9 Before that time, the various accidents of war and commerce might indeed diffuse an imperfect knowledge of the Gospel among the barbarians of Caledonia, and among the borderers of the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates.10 Beyond the last-mentioned river, Edessa was distinguished by a firm and early adherence to the faith.11 From Edessa the principles of Christianity penetrated into Syria; and the various cities which obeyed the successors of Antarexas; but they do not appear to have made any deep impression on the minds of the Persians, whose religious system, by the labours of a well-disciplined order of priests, had been constructed with much more art and solidity than the uncertain mythology of Greece and Rome.12 From these and other considerations, it is evident, that the progress of Christianity, in the first ages, may perhaps seem probable, that the number of its proselytes has been excessively magnified by fear on the one side, and by devotion on the other. According to the improbable testimony of Tertullian,13 the proportion of the faithful was very inconsiderable, when compared with the multitude of an unbelieving world; but, as we are left without any distinct information, it is impossible to determine, and it is difficult even to conjecture, the real numbers of the primitive Christians. The most favourable calculation, however, that can be deduced from the evidence of Antioch and of Rome, will not permit us to imagine that more than a twentieth part of the subjects of the empire had enlisted themselves under the banner of the cross before the important conversion of Constantine. But their habits of faith, of zeal, and of union, seemed to multiply their numbers; and the same causes which contributed to their future increase, served to render their actual strength more apparent and more formidable.

Such is the constitution of civil society. Whether the first thing, that whilst a few persons are distinct, the others are not absolutely unknown, and ignorance, the body of the people is condemned to obscurity, ignorance, and poverty. The Christian religion, which addressed itself to the whole human race, must consequently collect a far greater number of proselytes from the lower than from the superiors ranks of life. This innocent and natural circumstance has been improved into a very audacious imputation, which seems to be less strenuously denied by the apologists, than it is urged by the adversaries, of the faith; that the new sect of Christians was almost entirely composed of the dregs of the populace, of peasants and mechanics, of hose and women, of beggars and slaves, the last of whom might sometimes introduce the missionaries into the rich and noble families to which they belonged. These obscure teachers (such was the charge of malice and infidelity) are as little known in public as they are loquacious and dialectical in private. Whilst they cautiously avoid the dangerous encounter of philosophers, they mingle with the rude and illiterate crowd, and insinuate themselves into those minds, whom their age, their sex, or their education, has the best disposed to receive the impression of superstitious terrors.

This union of faults, though not some exceptions, were devoid of a faint resemblance, betray, in some degree, its character. It is disguised by its dark colouring and distorted features, the pencil of an enemy. As the humble faith of Christ diffused itself through the world, it was embraced by several persons who derived some consequence from the advantages of nature or fortune. Aristides, who presented an eloquent apology to the emperor Hadrian, was an Athenian philosopher. Justin Martyr had sought divine knowledge in the schools of Zeno, of Aristode, of Pythagoras, and of Plato, before he fortunately was accused by the old man, or rather the ancient god, and turned into the priest of the Jewish prophets. Clement of Alexandria had acquired much various reading in the Greek, and the Latin, language. Julius Africanus and Origen possessed a very considerable share of the

8 In the fifteenth century, there were few who had either inclination or courage to question, whether Joseph of Arimathea founded the monastery of Glastonbury, and whether Dionysius the Areopagite preferred the residence of Paris to that of Athens.
10 Justin Martyr, Dialog. cum Tryphon, p. 341. Enmusa adv. Hæres. l. i. c. 10. Tertullian ad Jud. c. 7. See Mosheim, p. 303.
11 See the fourth century of Mosheim's History of the Church. Many, though very confused circumstances, that relate to the conversion of Iberia and Armenia, may be found in Mosse of Chorone, l. i. c. 70.
12 According to Tertullian, the christian faith had penetrated into parts of Britain inaccessible to the Roman arms. About a century before the time of Pliny, is calculated the period of the first settlement of Britain, and the extreme old age, with one of the foreign missionaries, and the dispute is still undecided by the Earle Language. See Mr. Murphy's Dissertation on the Antiquity of Orkney, p. 10.略有.
13 The Greek, who ravished Asia in the reign of Galienus, carried with him, in the midst of the barbarous races, and became missionaries. See Tillemon, Memoires Eclesiast. tom. iv. p. 242.
14 The legend of Abgarus, fabulous as it is, affords a decisive proof, that many years before Eusebius wrote his history, the greatest part of Persia had been reduced to the knowledge of Christianity. His rivals, the citizens of Ctesiphon, adhered, on the contrary, to the cause of paganism, as late as the first century.
learning of their times; and although the style of Cyprian is very different from that of Laetanius, we might almost discover that both those writers had been acolytes of Cicero. It was at this period that Christian philosophy was at length introduced among the christians, but it was not always productive of the most salutary affects; knowledge was as often the parent of heresy as of devotion, and the description which was designed for the followers of Arteno, may, with equal propriety be applied to the various sects which resisted the successors of the apostles. "They press to alter the holy scriptures, to abandon the ancient rule of faith, and to form their opinions according to the subtile precepts of logie. The science of the church is neglected for the study of geometry, and the reason is prostituted to the various sects as well as measuring the earth. Euclid is perpetually in their hands. Aristotle and Theophrastus are the objects of their admiration; and they express an uncommon reverence for the works of Galen. Their errors are derived from the abuse of the arts and sciences of the infidel, and they corrupt the simplicity of the gospel by the refinements of human reason."

with regard to rank and fortune, the advantages of birth and fortune were always separated from the profession of Christianity. Sulpicius Severus was an ex-officer of the imperial guard of Play, and he soon discovered, that a great number of persons of every order of men in Bithynia had deserted the religion of their ancestors. His unsuppressed testimony may, in this instance, obtain more credit than the bold challenge of Tertullian, who addressed himself to the reason, no less to the humanity of the prosconsul of Africa, by assuring him, that if he persists in his cruel intentions, he must destinate Cartilage; and that he will find among the guilty many persons of his own rank, senators and matrons of noblest extraction, and the friends of his most illustrious title. It appears, however, that about forty years afterwards the emperor Valerian was persuaded of the truth of this assertion, since in one of his rescripts he evidently supposes, that senators, Roman knights, and ladies of quality, were engaged in the christian sect. The church still continued to increase its outward splendor as it lost its internal purity; and in the reign of Diocletian, the palace, the courts of justice, and even the army, concealed a multitude of christians, who endeavored to reconcile the interests of the present with those of the Mosaic.

And yet these exceptions are either too few in number, or too recent in time, to entirely remove the imputation of ignorance and obscurity which has been so arrogantly cast on the first proselytes of Christianity. Instead of employing in our defense the fictions of later ages, it will be more prudent to convert the occasion of scandal into a subject of edification. Our serious thoughts will suggest to us, that the apostles themselves were chosen by providence among the fishermen of Galilee, and that the lower we depress the temporal condition of the first christians, the more reason we shall find to admire their merit and success. It is impossible that we can supercede the stupendous fact, that the kingdom of heaven was promised to the poor in spirit, and that the minds afflicted by calamity and the contempt of mankind, cheerfully listen to the divine promise of future happiness; while, on the contrary, the fortunate are satisfied with the possession of this world, and the wiser in doubt about the next. This is the reason why we do not dispute their vain superiority of reason and knowledge.

We stand in need of such reflections to confer upon us the loss of some illustrious men of childish characters, which in our eyes the first and regenerate may have been thought fit to overlook or reject the perfection of the Christian system. Their language or their silence equally discover their contempt for the growing sect, which in their time had diffused itself over the Roman empire. Those among whom we confesse to mention the names of Justin Martyr, of Origen, of Euripides, of Cyprian, of Severus, of Cyprian, of Severus, of Dionysius, of the Moralia of Seneca, of the elder and the younger Pliny, of Tacitus, of Plutarch, of Galen, of the slave Epictetus, and of the emperor Marcus Antoninus, adm or the age in which they flourished, and exalt the dignity of human nature. They filled with glory their respective stations, either in active or contemplative life; their excellent understandings were improved by study; philosophy had purified their minds from the prejudices of the popular superstition; and their days were spent in the pursuit of truth and the practice of virtue. Yet all these sages were too much disposed to rise above the mass of men, to overlook or reject the perfection of the Christian system. Their language or their silence equally discover their contempt for the growing sect, which in their time had diffused itself over the Roman empire.

It is at least doubtful whether any of their neglect of this sect, if continued, would have prevented the sect itself, which the primitive christians repeatedly published in behalf of themselves and of their religion, but it is much to be lamented that such a cause was not defended by able advocates. They expose with superfluous wit and eloquence the extravagance of polytheism. They must confound by distracting the innocence and sufferings of their injured brethren. But when they would demonstrate the divine origin of Christianity, they insist much more strongly on the predictions which announced, then on the miracles which were confirmed, the appearance of Christ. Their favourite argument might serve to edify a christian or to convert a Jew, since both the one and the other acknowledge the authority of these prophecies, and both are obliged, with devout reverence, to search for their sense and their accomplishment. But this mode of persuasion loses much of its weight and influence, when it is addressed to those who neither understand nor respect the Mosaic dispensation and the prophetic style. In the unskilful hands of Justin and of the succeeding apologists, the sublime meaning of the Hebrew oracles evaporates in distant synonyms, affect-
ed conceits, and cold allegories; and even their authenti-
city was rendered suspicious to an unlightened Gentile, by the mixture of pious forgeries, which, un-
der the names of Orpheus, Hermes, and the Sibyls,
were avowed on both as of capital value with the
theological inspiration of the Church. The adoption of fraud
and sophistry in the defence of revelation, too often
reminisces us of the invidious conduct of those poets,
who load their invaluable heroes with a useless
weight of cumbersome and brittle armour.

How shall we explain the supine
intention of the pagan and philosophic
world, to those evidences which were presented
by the hand of Omnipotence, not to their reason,
but to their senses? During the age of Christ, of his apo-
estes, and of their first disciples, the doctrine which
they professed was innumerable prodigies.
The lame walked, the blind saw, the sick
were healed, the dead were raised, demons were expelled,
and the laws of nature were frequently suspended for
the benefit of the church. But the sages of Greece and
Rome turned aside from the awful spec-
tacle, and pursuing the ordinary occupa-
tions of life, left unobserved the
secret of any of these miraculous
phenomena. The Christian Sibyl had
with the rays of jealousy and
the sun appeared pale and without splendour. This sea-
son of obscurity, which cannot surely be compared
with the preternatural darkness of the Passion, had
been already celebrated by most of the poets and
historians of that memorable age.

CHAPTER XVI.

The conduct of the Roman government towards the chris-
tians, from the reign of Nero to that of Constantine.

If we seriously consider the purity of Christianity per-
the Christian religion, the sanctity of its seers by the
moral precepts, and the innocent as well
Roman emperors,
as austere lives of the greater number of those who
were quieted among the people of those who
first ages embraced the faith of the gospel, we
should naturally suppose, that so benevolent a doc-
tor would have been refreshed with due reverence,
even by the unbelieving world; that the learned and the
polite, however they might deride the miracles,
would have esteemed the virtues of the new sect;
and that the magistrates, instead of persecuting, would
have protected an order of men who yielded the most
powerful arguments to the active cares of war and government.
If, on the other hand, we recollect the universal toleration
of polytheism, as it was invariably maintained by
the faith of the people, the incredulity of philosophers,
and the policy of the Roman senate and emperors, we
must conclude that these Christians had committed,
what new provocation could exasperate the mild indifference of antiquity, and what new
motives could urge the Roman princes, who beheld
without concern a thousand forms of religion subsist-
ing in peace under their gentle sway, to inflict a severe
punishment on any of their partisans, who had
chosen for themselves a singular but an inoffensive
mode of faith and worship.

The religious policy of the ancient world seems to
have assumed a more stern and intolerant character, to
oppose the progress of Christianity. About fourscore
years after the death of Christ, his innocent disciples
were punished with death by the sentence of a pro-
cess of the most amiable and philosophic character,
and according to the laws of an emperor distinguished
by the wisdom and justice of his general adminis-
tration. The apologists who were repeatedly addressed
to the successors of Trajan are filled with the most
pathetic complaints, that the Christians who obeyed the
dictates, and solicited the liberty, of conscience,
were alone, among all the subjects of the Roman empire,
excepted from the common benefits of their aus-
picious government. The deaths of a few eminent
martyrs have been recorded with care; and from the
time that Christianity was invested with the supreme
government of the church have been no less
diligently employed in displaying the cruelty, than in
imitating the conduct, of their pagan adversaries.
To enumerate (if it be possible) the names of the
defenders of the faith, would be a task of
interest from an undigested mass of fiction and
error, and to relate, in a clear and rational manner, the
causes, the extent, the duration, and the most important
circumstances, of the persecutions to which the

chassis notes upon the New Testament, vol. i. p. 290. Paulus,


5 Virgilio, Georg. i. 238. Tibullus, 1. i. 35. and 41. Ovid, Metamorph. xi. 750. Lycor. Phars. 1. 579. The life of these

6 Plutarch, Antiquitates, xiv. 9. Fluturac in Caesar, p. 417. Appian, Bell. Civ. i. 4. Dion Cassius, lxxii. p. 431. Julius Obsequens, c. 126. His little tribute is an ab-
tact of Livy's prodigies.
first christians were exposed, is the design of the present chapter.  

Inquiry into their motives. The sectaries of a persecuted religion, depressed by fear, amused with resentment, and perhaps heated with enthusiasm, are seldom in a proper temper of mind calmly to investigate, or cautiously to appreciate, the motives of their enemies, which often escape the impartial and discerning eye of those who are placed at a secure distance from the flames of persecution. A reason has been assigned for the conduct of the emperors towards the primitive christians, which may appear the more specious and probable, as it is drawn from the acknowledged genius of the times. The prince of the world was already beginning his religious concord of the world was principally supported by the implicit assent and reverence which the nations of antiquity expressed for their respective traditions and ceremonies. It might therefore be expected, that they would unite with indignation against any sect of people which should separate itself from the communion of mankind, and claiming the exclusive possession of divine knowledge, should disdain every form of worship, except its own, as impious and idolatrous. The rights of toleration were held by mutual indulgence: they were justly forfeited by a refusal of this boon. An appeal was made to every circumstance that could exasperate the minds of the conquerors, and authorize religious persecution by the most specious arguments of political justice and the public safety. From the reign of Nero to that of Antoninus Pius, the Jews discovered a fierce impatience of the dominion of Rome, which repeatedly broke out in the most furious massacres and insurrections. Humanity is shocked at the recital of the horrid cruelties which they committed in the cities of Egypt, of Cyrene, and of Cyr., where they dwelt in treacherous friendship with the unsuspecting natives, and were tempted to applaud the severe retaliation which was exercised by the arms of the legions against a race of fanatics, whose dire and cruel superstition seemed to render them the implacable enemies not only of the Roman government, but of mankind. The Jews was supported by the opinion, that it was unlawful for them to pay taxes to an idolatrous master; and by the flattering promise which they derived from their ancient perfidy, that conquering mankind would be destined to break their fetters, and to invest the favours of heaven with the empire of the earth. It was by announcing himself as their long-expected deliverer, and by calling on all the descendants of Abraham to assemble, under the sign of largesse, the chosen people. The Jews, who had for two years the power of the emperor Hadrian.  

Notwithstanding these repeated pro-Toleration of the vocations, the resentment of the Roman emperors towards the sects whose singleness of heart were their uninterrupted continuance beyond the period of war and danger. By the general indulgence of polytheism, and by the mild temper of Antoninus Pius, the Jews were restored to their ancient privileges, and once more obtained the permission of circumscribing their children, with the easy restraint, that they should never confer on any foreign proselyte that distinguishing mark of the Hebrew race. 5 The numerous remains of that people, though they were still excluded from the precincts of Jerusalem, were permitted to form and to maintain considerable establishments both in Italy and in the provinces, to enjoy the payment of annual municipal honours, and to obtain at the same time an exemption from the burdensome and expensive offices of society. The moderation or the contempt of the Romans gave a legal sanction to the form of ecclesiastical polity which was instituted on the confiscated sect. The patriarch, who had fixed his residence at Tiberias, was empowered to appoint his subordinate ministers and apostles, to exercise a domestic jurisdiction, and to receive from his dispersed brethren an annual contribution. 6 New synagogues were frequently erected at the expense of the emperor, the sabbaths, the fasts, and the festivals, which were either commanded by the Mosaic law, or enjoined by the traditions of the Rabbis, were celebrated in the most solemn and public manner. 7 Such gentle treatment insensibly assuaged the stern temper of the Jews. Awakened from their dream of prophecy and conquest, they assumed the behaviour of peaceable and industrious subjects. Their irreconcilable hatred of mankind, instead of flaming out in acts of blood and violence, evaporated in less dangerous gratifications. They embraced every opportunity of overreachting the idolaters in trade, and they denounced a war of imprecations against the haughty kingdom of Edom. 8 Since the Jews, who rejected with a horribleness the deities adored by their neighbours and by their fellow-subjects, were loved, however, by the free exercise of their religion, the disciples of Christ to those severities from which the posterity of Abraham was exempt. The difference between them is simple and obvious; but, according to the sentiments of antiquity, it was of the highest importance. The Jews were a nation; the christians were a sect; and if it was natural for every community to respect the sacred institutions of their neighbours, it was incumbent on them to persevere in those of their own. 9  

1 [The history of the first ages of Christianity is found only in the Acts of the Apostles, and if we would speak of the persecutions which the first christians suffered, we must have recourse to the account given by Luke. These persecutions at that time, rather than now, are considered as unimportant, and to a small extent of country, interested only the persecuted, and by them only were remembered. Gibbon in tracing the persecutions no further back than to the time of Nero, has entirely omitted them, and except in this period, the history of the things which is given by St. Luke. The only means of justifying this omission was to question the authenticity of the Acts of the Apostles; for, if they are authentic, they must necessarily be considered as antitype of their circumstances, and a few words whose authority is more firmly established than that of the Acts of the Apostles. (See Lardner's Credibility of the Gospel's History, part ii.) It is then without sufficient motives that Gibbon has preserved such an entire silence, respecting the accounts given by St. Luke, and this omission is not, perhaps, inconsiderable. -G. 2 (1) In Cyrene they massacred 200,000 Greeks; in Cyrene 400,000; in Egypt a very great multitude. Many of these unhappy victims were then in the city, who, according to a precedent established by David and which had been granted the sanction of his example. The victorious Jews devoured the flesh, licked up the blood, and twisted the entrails like a girdle round the city. (2) See Cassius, I. iv. 4 (3) Many commentators, among others Reinsius in his notes upon Dio Cassius, I. iv. 4. 1-15. 15. (4) Many references to Andromache in his letters upon Dio Cassius, I. iv. 4. 1-15. 15. According to this historian, the hatred of the Jews against the Jews was so much increased by this historian to exasperate the enmity which the Jews committed against the Jews. (Dion Cass. loc. cit. xvi. 1146, 1-12. 16.) (5) See for the general customs of the Jews, as we may learn from Dion (loc. cit. xvi. 1146, 1-12) that in Hadrian's war 200,000 Jews were cut off by the sword, besides an infinite number which perished by famine, by disease, and by fire. 6 For the sect of the Zealots, see Barrangé, Histoire des Juifs, t. iv. c. 17, for the characters of the Messiah, according to the Rabbis, l. v. c. 12, c. 13, for the actions of Baruch, l. v. c. 12. 7 It is to Modestinus, a Roman lawyer, (i. vi. regular,) that we are indebted for this correct knowledge of the state of the sect in the time of Antoninus Pius, who is treated by Cassius ad Hist. August. p. 27. 8 See Séguin, Histoire des Juifs, t. ii. c. 2, 3. The office of a patriarch was supposed by Theodosius the younger. 9 We need only mention the Parrim, or deliverance of the Jews from the rage of human, which, till the reign of Theodosius, was celebrated with insolent triumph and riotous intemperance. Bar- rangé, Histoire des Juifs, t. ii. c. 2. 10 According to the false Josephus, Teosaph, the grandson of Diao, conducted into Italy the army of Abuses, king of Carthage. Another谣言, which I am informed are propagated by many Christians of Spain, to prove the existence of a parcel of cowards, with the dominions of Romula. For these, or for other reasons of equal weight, the name of Edom was applied by the Jews to the Roman empire.
ancestors. The voice of oracles, the precepts of philosophers, and the authority of the laws, unanimously enforced the migration. By the pretended claims of superior sanctity, the Jews might provoke the polytheists to consider them as an odious and impure race. By disclaiming the intercourse of other nations, they might deserve their contempt. The laws of Moses might be for the most part frivolous: they had been revised during many ages by a large society, his followers were justified by the example of mankind; and it was universally acknowledged, that they had a right to practise what it would have been criminal in them to neglect. But this principle, which protected the Jews, whose synagogue, it may be said, afforded any favor to their primitive church. By embracing the faith of the gospel, the christians incurred the supposed guilt of an unnatural and unpardonable offence. They dissolved the sacred ties of custom and education, violated the religious institutions of their country, and presumptuously despised whatever their fathers had believed as true, or had revered as sacred. Nor was this apostasy (if we may use the expression) merely of a partial or local kind; since the pious deserter who withdrew himself from the temples of Egypt or Syria, would equally disdain to seek an asylum in those of Athens or Carthage. The practice of their superstitions of his family, his city, and his province. The whole body of christians unanimously refused to hold any communion with the gods of Rome, of the empire, and of mankind. It was in vain that the oppressed believer asserted the inalienable rights of conscience and private judgment. Though his situation might excite the pity, his arguments could never reach the understanding, either of the philosophic or of the believing part of the pagan world. To their apprehensions, it was no less a matter of surprise, that any individuals should entertain scruples against complying with the laws of a nation, of which they had conceived a sudden abhorrence to the manners, the dress, or the language, of their native country.

Christianity ac- cused of atheism, and mistook by the people and philosophers. Malice and prejudice concerned in representing the christians as a society of atheists, who, by the most daring attack on the religious constitution of the empire, had merited the severest animadversion of the civil magistrate. They had separated themselves (they could not bear to be subject to an institution which was received in any part of the globe by the various temper of polytheism; but it was not altogether so evident what deity, or what form of worship, they had substituted to the gods and temples of antiquity. The pure and sublime idea which they entertained of the Supreme Being escaped the gross conception of the pagan multitude, who were at a loss to discover a spiritual and solitary God, that was neither represented under any corporeal figure or visible symbol, nor was adored with the accustomed pomp of libations and festivals, of altars and sacrifices. The sacrifice of God was the first property of the Christian. Being escaped the gross conceptions of men, they were induced by reason or by vanity to reserve for themselves and their chosen disciples the privilege of this philosophical devotion. They were

far from admitting the prejudices of mankind as the standard of truth, but they considered them as flowing from the original disposition of human nature; and they supposed that any particular mode of faith and worship which presumed to disclaim the assistance of the senses, would, in proportion as it receded from superstition, find itself incapable of restraining the vagaries and the fond imaginations of the new sects. The author of a celebrated dialogue, which has been attributed to Lucian, whilst he affects to treat the mysterious subject of the Trinity in a style of ridicule and contempt, betrays his own ignorance of the weakness of human reason, and of the inscrutable nature of the divine perfections.1

It might appear less surprising, that the founder of christianity should not only be revered by his disciples as a sage and a prophet, but that he should be adored as a God. The polytheists were disposed to adopt every article of faith, which seemed to offer any resemblance, however distant or imperfect, with the popular or popular myths and the legends of Hercules, and of Asclepius, had, in some measure, prepared their imagination for the appearance of the Son of God under a human form.2 But they were astonished that the christians should abandon the temples of those ancient heroes, who, in the infancy of the world, had invented arts, institutions, laws, and vanquished the tyrants or monsters who infested the earth; in order to choose for the exclusive object of their religious worship, an obscure teacher, who, in a recent age, and among a barbarous people, had fallen a sacrifice either to the malice of his own countrymen, or to the jealousy of the Roman government. The Pagans multitude, reserving their gratitude for temporal benefits alone, rejected the inestimable present of life and immortality, which was offered to mankind by Jesus of Nazareth. His mild constancy in the midst of cruel and voluntary sufferings, his universal benevolence, and the sublime simplicity of his actions and character, were insufficient, in the opinion of those carnal men, to compensate for the want of fame, of empire, and of success; and whilst they refused to acknowledge his stupendous triumph over the powers of darkness and of the grave, they misrepresented, or are turned to the Suprême Being. Being escaped the gross conceptions of the pagan multitude, who were at a loss to discover a spiritual and solitary God, that was neither represented under any corporeal figure or visible symbol, nor was adored with the accustomed pomp of libations and festivals, of altars and sacrifices. The sacrifice of God was the first property of the Christian. Being escaped the gross conceptions of men, they were induced by reason or by vanity to reserve for themselves and their chosen disciples the privilege of this philosophical devotion. They were

1 From the arguments of Cicero, as they are represented and related by Origine, (l. v. p. 247—259) we may clearly discover the distinction that was made between the Jewish people and the Christian sect. See Origine, l. v. p. 248—250. We cannot give an inexact description of the popular sentiments, with regard to the devotedness of the Hebrews. See Origine, l. v. p. 250—252.
2 Nor was there any part of the Christian doctrine which is related by Origine, (l. v. p. 250—252,) to have raised a storm of invidious invective in the Jews, who had once a temple, a temple, after the destruction of Jerusalem. Origen, l. v. p. 248—250. But the readers of the sacred books of the New Testament, will consider the Jewish as the most respectable of all the sects.
jects; and that the privileges of private corporations, though formed for the most harmless or beneficial purposes, were bestowed with a very sparing hand. The religious assemblies of the Christians, who had assumed to themselves from the public the privileges and approbation of a much less innocent nature, they were illegal in their principle, and in their consequences might become dangerous; nor were the emperors conscious that they violated the laws of justice, for when the peace of society, they prohibited those secret and sometimes nocturnal meetings. The pious conduct of the Christians made their conduct, or perhaps their designs, appear in a much more serious and criminal light; and the Roman princes, who might perhaps have suffered themselves to be disarmed by a ready submission, deeming their honour concerned in the execution of their commands, sometimes attempted, by rigorous punishments, to subdue this independent spirit, which boldly acknowledged an authority superior to that of the magistrate. The extent and duration of this spiritual conspiracy seemed to render it every day more deserving of his animadversion. We have already seen that the active and pious princes of the ancient Christians had insensibly diffused them through every province and almost every city of the empire. The new converts seemed to renounce their family and country, that they might connect themselves in an indissoluble chain with the august community of the faithful society, which every where assumed a different character from the rest of mankind. Their gloomy and austere aspect, their abhorrence of the common business and pleasures of life, and their frequent predictions of impending calamities, inspired the pagans with the apprehension of some danger, which would arise from the new sect, the more alarming as it was the more obscure. "Whatever," says Pliny, "may be the principle of their conduct, their inflexible obstinacy appeared deserving of punishment." Their manners and customs, the judgments of Christ and his apostles, the officers of religion were at first dictated by fear and necessity; but they were continued from choice. By imitating the awful severity which reigned in the Eleusinian mysteries, the Christians had flattered themselves that they should render their sacred institutions more respectable by the calm of pagans. It is a common theme of the pagans, as it often happens to the operations of subtle policy, deceived their wishes and their expectations. It was concluded, that they only concealed what they would have blushed to disclose. Their mistaken design occulted the grand design. It was impossible for suspicious credulity to believe, the horrind tales which described the Christians as the most wicked of human kind, who practised in their dark recesses every abomination that a depraved fancy could suggest, and who solicited the favour of their unknown God by the sacrifice of every moral virtue. There were many who pretended to confess or to relate the ceremonies of this abhorred society. It was asserted, "that a new-born infant, entirely covered over with flour, was presented, like some mystic symbol of initiation, to the knife of the prostrate, who unknowingly inflicted a mortal wound on the innocent victim of his error; that as soon as the cruel deed was perpetrated, the sectaries drank up the blood, greedily tore asunder the quivering members, and pledged themselves to eternal secrecy, by a mutual consciousness of guilt. It was as confidently affirmed, that the grandeur of the nobility, appointed to support a licentious entertainment, in which intemperance served as a provocative to brutal lust; till, at the appointed moment, the lights were suddenly extinguished, shame was banished, nature was forgotten; and, as accident might direct, the darkness of the night was polluted by the lascivious embraces of sisters and brothers, of sons and of mothers." The perusal of the ancient apologetic writings was sufficient to remove even the slightest suspicion from the mind of a candid adversary. The Christians, with the intrepidity of innocence, appeal from the voice of the unlearned to the equity of the magistrates. They acknowledge, that if any proof can be produced of the crimes which calumny has imputed to them, they are worthy of the most severe punishment. They provoke the punishment, and they challenge the proof. At the same time they aimed at a large, with a zeal that propriety, that the charge is not less devoid of probability, than it is destitute of evidence; they ask, whether any one can seriously believe that the pure and holy precepts of the gospel, which so frequently restrain the use of the most unlawful crimes, and which are represented as more atrocious and abominable crimes: that a large society should resolve to disannihilate itself in the eyes of its own members; and that a great number of persons of either sex, and every age and character, insensible to the fear of death or infamy, should consent to violate those principles which the natural conscience has implanted most deeply in their minds. Nothing, it should seem, could weaken the force or destroy the effect of so unanswerable a justification, unless it were the injudicious conduct of the apologists themselves, who betrayed the common cause of religion, to gratify their devout hatred. They had not discerned a difference between the sometimes faintly insinuated, and sometimes boldly asserted, that the same bloody sacrifices, and the same inestimable festivals, which were so falsely ascribed to the orthodox believers, were in reality celebrated by the Manichæans, by the Corporations, and even by several sects of pagans, of whom the charge standing they might deviate into the paths of heresy, were still actuated by the sentiments of men, and still governed by the precepts of Christianity. Accusations of a similar kind were retorted upon the church, and the sect of Christians were eagerly desired by the public to sever their connexion, and it was confessed on all sides, that the most scandalous licentiousness of manners prevailed among great numbers of those who affected the name of Christians. A pagan magistrate, who possessed neither leisure nor abilities to discern the almost imperceptible line which divides the orthodox faith from heretical depravity, might easily have imagined that their mutual animosity had extinguished the discovery of their common guilt. It was fortunate for the repose of the

The emperor Trajan refused to incorporate a company of 150 firefighters, for the use of the city of Nocera. He disliked all associations. See Plin. Epist. x. 58, 59.

The provincial Pliny had published a general edict against unchristian sects, with the avowed presence of the senate of Agrippa: but it was impossible for them to execute the public edict. See Plin. Epist. x. 97.

As the prophets of the antichrist, approaching confiscation, were provoked those pagans whom they did not convert, they were mentioned with caution and reserve, not as enemies, but as Menaceas were exposed for disclosing too freely the dangerous secret. See Mommsen, p. 52.

Deo enim adhibita, quodnamque est ad quodfateretur, sicut (seu praeiecta in Pomer.) perspicuum verum et indicibilia obstinatis non deprehendatur.

or at least for the reputation, of the first christians, that
the magistrates sometimes proceeded with more tem-
per and moderation than is usually consistent with re-
ligious zeal, and that they reported, as the impartial
result of their judicial inquiry, that the sectaries, who
had been detected in the established worship, appeared to them
sincere in their professions of future ages, would have
serve that honourable office, if she con-
descended to plead the cause of tyrants, or to justify
the maxims of persecution. It must, however, be
acknowledged, that the conduct of the emperors who
appeared the least favourable to the primitive church, is by no means so criminal as that of modern sone
reigns, who have employed the arm of violence and
terror against the religious opinions of any part of
their subjects. From their reflections, or even from
their own feelings, a Charles V. or a Louis XIV.
might have acquired a just knowledge of the rights of con-
science, of the obligation of faith, and of the
inocence of error. But the princes and magistrates of
ancient Rome were strangers to those principles which
inspired and authorized the inflexible obstinacy of the christians in the cause of truth, nor could they them-
selves discover in their own breasts any motive which
would enable them to act in a contrary manner. If the
people and society, it is true, were a natural, submission to the sacred institutions of their country. The same reason which contributes to
alleviate the guilt, must have tended to abate the
rigour of their persecutions. As they were actuated,
not by the furious zeal of bigots, but by the temper-
ate policy of legislators, they must have been more
relaxed, and humanity must frequently have suspend-
ed, the execution of those laws, which they enacted
against the humble and obscure followers of Christ.
From the general view of their character and motives
we might naturally conclude: I. That a considerable
time elapsed before they considered the new sectaries
as an object deserving of the attention of government.
II. That in the conviction of any of their subjects
who were accused of so very singular a crime, they proceeded with caution and reluctance. III. That the
law was more moderate in the use of punishments; and
IV. That the affair of the Church enjoyed a new interval
of peace and tranquillity. Notwithstanding the care-
less indulgence which the most copious and the most
minute of the pagan writers have written to the affairs
of the christians, it may still be in our power to con-
firm it by other evidence extant, the by the evi-
dence of authentic facts.

They neglected I. By the wise dispensation of Pro-
the christians on vidence, a mysterious veil was cast over
a sect of Jews; the infancy of the church, which, till
the faith of the christians was matured, and their
numbers were multiplied, served to protect them not only
from the malice but even from the knowledge of the
pagan world. The slow and gradual abolition of the
Mosaic ceremonies afforded a safe and innocent dis-
guise to the more early proselytes of the gospel. As
they were far the greater part of the race of Abraham,
the general tenor of legislation by the priests often has a
remission, offered up their devotions in the temple of
Jerusalem till its final destruction, and received both
the law and the prophets as the genuine inspirations of the
duty. The gentle converts, who by a spiritual
adoption had been associated to the hope of Israel,
was gradually submitted under the superinten-
dence of Jews, and as the polytheist paid less regard
to articles of faith than to the external worship, the
new sect, which carefully concealed, or faintly an-
ounced, its future greatness and ambition, was per-
mitted to shelter itself under the general toleration
which was granted to an ancient and celebrated people
in the Roman empire. It was gradually accosted by Jews themselves, animated with an anti-christian zeal and a more jealous faith, perceived the gradual separa-
tion of their Nazarene brethren from the doctrine of the
synagogue; and they would gladly have extinguish-
ed the dangerous heresy in the blood of its adherents.
But the Apostle of the Gentiles had already dissipated
their malice; and though they might sometimes exert the
licentious privilege of sedition, they no longer possess-
ed the administration of criminal justice; nor do they
find it easy to infuse into the calm breast of a Roman
magistrate the rancour of their own zeal and preju-
dices. The provincial governors declared themselves
ready to listen to any accusation that might affect the
public safety; but as soon as they were informed, that
it was a question not of facts but of words, a dispute
relating only to the interpretation of the Jewish laws
and prophecies, they deemed it unworthy of the majesty
of Rome seriously to discuss the obscure differ-
ences which might arise among a barbarous and super-
stitious people. The innocence of the first christians
was protected by ignorance and contempt; and the
tribunal of the pagan magistrate often proved their
most assured refuge against the fury of the syn-
agogue. They were of the same age, the same race,
the same language; they possessed the same tradi-
tions of a too credulous antiquity, we might re-
late the distant peregrinations, the wonderful achieve-
ments, and the various deaths of the twelve apostles;
but a more accurate inquiry will induce us to doubt,
whether any of those persons who had been witnesses
of the miracles of Christ were still living in the limits of Palestine, to seal with their blood the truth of
their testimony. From the ordinary term of human
life, it may very naturally be presumed that most of
them were deceased before the discontent of the
Jews broke out into that furious war, which was ter-
iminated only by the ruin of Jerusalem. During a long
period, from the death of Christ to that memorable
rebellion, we cannot discover any traces of Roman
intolerance, unless they are to be found in the sudden,
the transient, but the cruel persecution, which was excercised by Shaul, and against the last, thirty-five years after the former, and only two
years before the latter, of those great events. The
character of the philosophic historian, to whom we
are principally indebted for the knowledge of this sin-
gular transaction, would alone be sufficient to recom-
mand to every detector of evidence extant, the by the evi-
dence of authentic facts.

In the tenth year of the reign of Nerva.

The fire of Rome,
the capital of the empire was afflicted
by a fire which raged beyond the
Nero.

[This assertion appears to me too positive, inasmuch as Gibbon
finds no proof whatever of it, although the opposite opinion has
strong proof in its favour. The travels of Saint Paul, in Pamphylia,
in Pisidia, in Macedonia, and to Rome, his death, the journeys of
St. Peter, &c. have been examined with great care by Dr. Beaux, in
his very elaborate work, entitled The life of the first century, the
first volume, part ii. See also Lardner's Credibility of the Gospel
history, part 1, chap. xvi. &c.]

In the time of Tertullian and Clemens of Alexandria, the glory
of martyrdom was confounded with that of princes.

1 Tertullian (Apologet. c. 57) expatiates on the fair and honourable
honour of Pity, with much reason, and some declamation.

2 In the various compilation of the Augustan History, (a part of
which was composed by the priest himself) there are many
lines which relate to the christians; nor has the diligence of
Xenopyrus, who has collected them under the title

3 An obscure passage of Suetonius (in Claud. c. 22) may seem to
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which Rome was divided, four only subsisted entire, three were levelled with the ground, and the remaining seven, which had experienced the fury of the flames, displayed a melancholy prospect of ruin and desolation. The vigilance of government appears not to have neglected any of the precautions which might have secured the safety of so dear a treasure.

The most generous policy, however, could not prevent the disappearance of the streets and the construction of private houses; and as it usually happens, in an age of prosperity, the confabulation of Rome, in the course of a few years, produced a new city, more regular and more beautiful in arrangement, than the ancient one, which had before occupied their situation.

The imperial gardens were thrown open to the distressed multitude, temporary buildings were erected for their accommodation, and a plentiful supply of corn and provisions was distributed at a very moderate price. The most generous policy, however, could not prevent the disappearance of the streets and the construction of private houses; and as it usually happens, in an age of prosperity, the confabulation of Rome, in the course of a few years, produced a new city, more regular and more beautiful in arrangement, than the ancient one, which had before occupied their situation.

The gardens of Nero, however, destined for the pleasure of his friends, which was accompanied with a horse-race, and honoured with the presence of the emperor, who mingled with the populace in the dress and attitude of a charioteer. The guilt of the Christians deserved indeed the most exemplary punishment, but the public sentiment was never so far removed from its opinion that those unhappy wrecks were sacrificed, not so much to the public welfare, as to the cruelty of a jealous tyrant. Those who survey with a curious eye the revolutions of mankind, may observe, that the gardens and circus of Nero on the Vatican, which were polluted with the blood of the first martyrs, have been rendered still more famous, by the triumph and by the abuse of the persecuted religion. On the same spot, a temple, which far surpasses the ancient glories of the capitol, has since been erected by the Christian pontiffs, who, deriving their claim of universal dominion from the builders of Galilee, have succeeded to the throne of the Caesars, given laws to the barbarian conquerors of Rome, and extended their spiritual jurisdiction from the coast of the Baltic to the shores of the Pacific ocean.

It would be impossible to estimate the value of this account of Nero and Christianity. It is the only authentic history of the persecution of the Christians, and the integrity of this celebrated passage of Tacitus. The Christians, by some former, is confirmed by the diligent and accurate Suetonius, who mentions the punishment which Nero inflicted on the Christians, a sect of men who had embraced a new and criminal proposition. The latter may be proved by the consent of the most ancient manuscripts; by the inimitable character of the style of Tacitus; by his reputation, which guarded his text from the interpolations of pious fraud; and by the purport of his narration, which accursed the first Christians of a name which they were seized to the discoveries of so many miracles, and that they possessed any miraculous or even magical powers above the rest of mankind. Notwithstanding it is probable that Tacitus was born some years after the fire of Rome, he could derive only from reading and conversation the knowledge of an event which happened during his infancy. Before Nero took himself to the public, he calmly waited till his genius had attained its full maturity, and he was more than forty years of age, when a grateful regard for the memory of the virtuous Agrippa, exalted him to the most early of those historical compositions which will delight and instruct the most distant posterity. After making a trial of his strength in the life of Agrippa and the description of Germany, he conceived, Tacit. Anot., v. 44.


Sueton, in Nerone, c. 16. The epitaph of Caligula, which some sagacious commentators have translated magical, is considered by the more rational Moehrens and synonymous to the existent of Tacitus. The passage concerning Jesus Christ, which was inserted into the text of Josephus, between the time of Origen and that of Eusebius, may furnish an example of no vulgar forgery. The second and fourth books of this work are dedicated to the history of the chimerical, miracles, and resurrection of Jesus, are distinctly related. Josephus acknowledges that he was the Messiah, and beseeches us to suppose that any doubt can still remain concerning this celebrated passage, the reader may examine the pointed objections of Le Fevre, (Hervorm, Joseph, p. 197—232) and the masterly reply of the Bibliotheca Ancienci et Moderna, (vol. iii. p. 348.) Tacitus, in his work on the bishop of Gloucester. (Divine Legation, vol. iii. p. 26.) But it will be seen that he does not unite very happily with the rest of the sentence, James Gravemius has preferred the reading of conjunctly, which is authorized by the valuable Ms. of Florence.
and at length executed, a more arduous work; the history of Rome, in thirty books, from the fall of Nero to the accession of Nerva. The administration of Nerva, of which Tacitus had occupied himself, as well as that of the four immediate successors of Augustus. To collect, to dispose, and to adorn a series of fourscore years, in an immortal work, every sentence of which is pregnant with the deepest observations and the most lively images, was an undertaking sufficient to exercise the faculties of the most ancient and the greatest part of his life. In the last years of the reign of Trajan, whilst the victorious monarch extended the power of Rome beyond its ancient limits, the historian was describing, in the second and fourth books of his annals, the tyranny of Tiberius; and the emperor Hadrian must have succeeded to the throne, before Tacitus, in the regular prosecution of his work, could relate the rise of the capital and the cruelty of Nero towards the unfortunate Christians. At the distance of sixty years, it was the duty of the annalist to adopt the narra- tives of contemporaries; but it was natural for him to conclude with a short account of his description of the origin, the progress, and the character of the sect, not so much according to the knowledge or prejudices of the age of Nero, as according to those of the time of Hadrian. 3. Tacitus very frequently trusts to the curiosity or reflection of his readers to supply those intermediate circumstances and ideas, which in his exten- siveness of dates, he has not thought proper to sup- press. We may therefore presume to imagine some probable cause which could direct the cruelty of Nero against the Christians of Rome, whose obscurity, as well as innocence, should have shielded them from his indignation, and even from his notice. 4. The Jews, who were numerous in the capital, and oppressed in their own country, were a much fitter object for the suspicions of the emperor and of the people: nor did it seem likely that a vanquished nation, who already discovered their abhorrence of the Roman joke, might have ventured to come to terms of gratifying their implacable revenge. But the Jews were very powerful advocates in the palace, and even in the heart of the tyrant; his wife and mistress, the beautiful Poppea, and a favourite player of the race of Abraham, who had already employed their intercession in the affairs of his family. It is supposed to have been necessary to offer some other victims, and it might easily be suggested that, although the genuine followers of Moses were innocent of the fire of Rome, there had arisen among them a new and pernicious sect of Galilans, which was capable of the most horrid crimes. Under the appellation of Galilans, two distinctions of men were confounded, the most opposite to each other in their manners and principles: the disciples who had espoused the faith of Jesus of Na- zareth, and the zealots who had followed the standard of Judas the Gaulotine. 1 The former were the friends, the latter the enemies, of human kind; and the only resemblance between them consisted in the same in- flexible constancy, which, in the defence of their principles, was often directed against the interests of mankind. The followers of Judas, who impelled their country- men into rebellion, were soon buried under the ruins of Jerusalem; whilst those of Jesus, known by the more celebrated name of Christians, diffused themselves over the Roman empire. How natural was it for Tacitus, in the history of Hadrian, to relate, as a main fact in the history of the Christians, that they suffered the guilt and the sufferings which, he might, with far greater truth and justice, have attributed to a sect whose odious memory was almost extinguished! 4 Whatever opinion may be entertained of this con- jecture, (for it is no more than a conjecture,) it is evi- dent, that the events relating to the Galilans and the persecution were confined to the walls of Rome; 5 that the religious tenets of the Galilans, or Christians, were never made a subject of punishment, or even of in- quiry; and that, as the idea of their sufferings was, for a long time, connected with the idea of cruelty and in- justice, the moderation of succeeding princes inclined them to spare a sect, oppressed by a tyrant, whose rage had been usually directed against virtue and innocence.

It is somewhat remarkable, that the Oppression of the flames of war consumed almost at the same time the temple of Jerusalem and the heart of Rome. The capitol of Rome, 3 and the temple of the same name, 4 were ancient monuments of the same age. It is a part of the history of Rome, that the temple of Nerva alone was the theatre of their revolt, their efforts, their opinions, their wars, and their chaste- ment. (Rassamge, Hist. of the Jews, vol. i. p. 691.) Besides the name Christians had been given a long time before at Rome, to the disciples of Jesus. And Tacitus names it too positively, and gives the etymology of the word too clearly to leave room for suspicion that there was any mistake on his part.—6

1 This assertion is far from being evident. Supeclitus Severus speaks of the edict published by Nero against the Christians, posterior to the burning of Rome. Post erum, datis utique religio vetera- hater palatium editis proposita christianorum esse non fortebat (hook it, chap. 27.)

2 We see Wodwell, Panчат. Part. I. xiii. The Spanish Inquisition in Gruter, p. 257. No. 9, is a manifest and acknowledged forgery, permitted by that noted impostor, Cervantes, in Apollo, to suffer the pride and prejudices of the Spaniards. See Ferrers, Histoire de l'Espagne, p. 452. Seville.

3 The capitol was burnt during the civil war between Vitellius and Vespasian, the 18th of December, A.D. 69. On the tenth of this month, thereby the hands of the Jews themselves, rather than by those of the Romans.

4 The new temple of Jupiter, which was dedicated to Vespasian by the hands of the Galilans, was afterwards built on the site of the temple of Nerva, and the temple of Jupiter, portraits by that noted impostor, Cervantes, in Apollo, to suffer the pride and prejudices of the Spaniards. See Ferrers, Histoire de l'Espagne, p. 452. Seville.

5 The temple of Nerva, of which mention is made in the inscription, and which was erected in the name of Vespasian and Titus, had been dedicated to Jupiter, Jupiter, c. 5. Plutarch in Topica, l. p. 250 Ed. Bryan. The ancient temple was 12,000 talents (above the million and a half.) It was dedicated to Vespasian and Titus, who reigned forty years, with 569 of his most devoted followers. When the latter reign had ended a breach, they turned their swords against their wives.
clining party among the christians still adhered to the law of Moses, their efforts to disseminate their Jewish origin were detected by the decisive test of circumcision. The Roman emperor Trajan, therefore, betakes himself to a second inquisition into the difference of their religious tenets. Among the christians, who were brought before the tribunal of the emperor, or, as it seems more probable, before that of the procurator of Judea, two persons are said to have appeared, distinguished by their extraction, which was said to be among the greatest monarchs. These were the surnames of St. Jude the apostle, who himself was the brother of Jesus Christ. Their natural pretensions to the throne of David might perhaps attract the respect of the people, and excite the jealousy of the Emperor; but they were neither obscure nor capable of disturbing the peace of the Roman empire. They frankly confessed their royal origin, and their near relation to the Messiah; but they disclaimed any temporary views, and confessed that his kingdom, which they devoutly expected, was purely of a spiritual and angelic nature. When they were examined concerning their fortune and occupation, they showed their hands hardened with daily labour, and declared that they derived their whole subsistence from the cultivation of a field of about ten acres; from which he extent a field of about twenty-four English acres, and of the value of nine thousand drachmas, or three hundred pounds sterling. The grandsons of St. Jude were dismissed with compassion and contempt.

But although the obscurity of the Messianic period,

The answer of Trajan, to which the Trajan and his christians of the succeeding age have frequently appealed, discovers as much of a design for justice and humanity as could restrain, he reconciled with his mistaken notions of religious policy. Instead of displaying the implacable zeal of

a Burtonius (in Domitian. c. 12) had seen an old man of ninety publicly examined before the procurator's tribunal. This is what Martial calls, Mentula tribunita damnata.

b This appellation was at first understood in the most obvious sense; and it was supposed, that the brethren of Jesus were the legal issue of Joseph and of Mary. A devout respect for the virginity of the mother of God, suggested to the Gentiles, and afterwards to the orthodox Greeks, the expedient of bestowing a second wife on Joseph. The Latin (from the time of Jerome) improved on this idea, by a very inexact notion of the simplicity and justice of the Jewish laws: a notion which is found in and by various other examples, that the names of Flavia Sabina, the elder was soon convicted of treasonable intentions, and the younger, who bore the name of Flavia Clemens, was indebted for his safety to his want of courage and ability. The emperor, for a long time, distinguished so harmless a kinsman by his favour and protection, bestowed on him his own niece Domitilla, adopted the children of that marriage to the hope of the succession, and invested their father with the honours of the consulsip. But he had scarcely finished the term of his annual magistracy, when the Senate was so alarmed and was at the utmost extreme. Domitilla was banished to a desolate island on the coast of Campania; and sentence either of death or of confiscation was pronounced against a great number of persons who were involved in the same accusation. The guilt imputed to their charge was that of atheism and Jewish manners; a singular association of ideas, which cannot with any propriety be applied except to the christians, as they were obscurely and improperly designated by the surnames of their founder and of his brethren. This suspicion was given by the writers of that period. On the strength of so probable an interpretation, and too eagerly admitting the suspicions of a tyrant as an evidence of their honourable crime, the church has placed both Clemens and Domitilla among its first martyrs, and has branded with the name of the second persecution. But this persecution (if it deserves that epithet) was of no long duration. A few months after the death of Clemens, and the banishment of Domitilla, Stephan, a freedman belonging to the latter, who had enjoyed his favour, but who had not so far embraced the faith of his mistress, assassinated the emperor in his palace. The memory of Domitian was condemned by the senate; his acts were rescinded; his exiles recalled; and under the gentle administration of Nerva, while the innocent were restored to their rank and places, even the most guilty either obtained pardon or escaped punishment.

c Dion, L. i. vii. p. 1129. If the Brutius Proserpin, from whom it is probable that he collected this account, was the correspondent of Pliny, (Epist. v. 3.) we may consider him as a contemporary writer.

d Suet. in Domit. ch. 17. Philostratus in Vit. Apollon. l. vii. 25. 26. plin. Epist. x. 97. the learned Mosheim expresses himself (p. 150. 151.) with the highest approbation of Pliny's moderate and candid temper. Notwithstanding Dr. Lardner's suspicions, (see Jewish and Heathen Testimonies, vol. ii. p. 46.) I am unable to discover any aversion in his mind to the proceedings of the tribunal.

e Plin. Epist. x. 9. He pleaded his first cause A. D. 81; the year after the death of his brother, he lost his life.

f Plin. Epist. x. 99. Territulian (Apolog. c. 5.) considers this recitation as a relaxation of the ancient penal laws, &c. quis Trajanus ex
an inquisitor, anxious to discover the most minute particles of heresy, and exulting in the number of his victims, the emperor expresses much more solicitude to protect the security of the innocent, than to prevent the punishment of the guilty. The Senate make no attempt on the security of any general plan; but he lays down two salutary rules, which often afforded relief and support to the distressed Christians. Though he directs the magistrates to punish such persons as are legally convicted, he prohibits them, with a very humane inconsistency, from punishing any persons on suspicion of being criminals. Nor was the magistrate allowed to proceed on every kind of information. Anonymous charges the emperor rejects, as too repugnant to the equity of his government; and he strictly requires, for the conviction of those to whom the guilt ofChristianity is imputed, that the minds of the accusers and the victims of the Christians should be respected. It was not among a licentious and exasperated populace, that the forms of legal proceedings could be observed; it was not in an amphitheatre, stained with the blood of wild beasts and gladiators, that the voice of compassion could be heard. The impatient clamours of the multitude denounced the Christians as the enemies of gods and men, doomed them to the severest tortures, and venturing to accuse by name some of the most distinguished of the new sectaries, required with irresistible vehemence that they should be instantly apprehended and cast to the lions. The provincial magistrates and the judges who presided in the public spectacles were usually inclined to gratify the inclinations, and to appease the rage of the people, by the sacrifice of a few obnoxious victims. But the wisdom of the emperors protected the church from the danger of these tumultuous clamours and irregular accusations. They accused their enemies, which was treated with the most vigilant jealousy from the eye of the profane. If they succeeded in their prosecution, they were exposed to the resentment of a considerable and active party, to the censure of the more liberal portion of mankind, and to the ignominy which, in every age, has been the punishment of an informer. If, on the contrary, they failed in their proofs, they incurred the severe and perhaps capital penalty, which, according to a law published by the emperor Hadrian, was inflicted on those who falsely attributed to their fellow-citizens the crime of Christianity. The violence of personal or superstitious animosity might sometimes prevail over the most natural apprehensions of disgrace and danger; but it cannot surely be imagined, that accusations of such unprofitable appearances were either lightly or frequently undertaken by the pagan subjects of the Roman empire.

Popular clamours. The expedition which was employed to elude the prudence of the laws, afforded a sufficient proof how effectually they disappointed the miscellaneous designs of private malice or superstitions zeal. In a large and tumultuous assembly the restraints of law are naturally less felt than in the situation of individuals. The two extremes of society, the magnates and the democrats, are deprived of the greatest part of their influence. The pious christian, as he was desirous to obtain, or to escape, the glory of martyrdom, expected, either with impatience or with terror, the stated returns of the public games and festivals. On those occasions, the procession of the victors, the triumphs, the trophies, were usually collected in the circus or the theatre, where every circumstance of the place, as well as of the ceremony, contributed to kindle their dazlement, and to extinguish their humanity. Whilst the numerous spectators, crowned with garlands, perfumed with incense, paraded with the blood of victims, and surrounded with the altars and statues of their tutelar deities, resigned themselves to the enjoyment of pleasures, which they considered as an essential part of their religious worship; they recollected, that the christians alone abhorred the gods of mankind, and by their absence and melancholy on these solemn festivals, seemed to insult or to lament the public felicity. If the empire had been afflicted by any recent calamity, by a plague, a famine, or an unsuccessful war; if the Tyber had, or the Nile had not risen beyond its banks; if the earth had shaken, or if the tempestuous order of the seasons had been interrupted, the superstitious pagans were convinced, that the crimes and the impurity of the christians, who were spared by the excessive lenity of the government, were the result of the cruelty of fixing any general plan; but he lays down two salutary rules, which often afforded relief and support to the distressed Christians. Though he directs the magistrates to punish such persons as are legally convicted, he prohibits them, with a very humane inconsistency, from punishing any persons on suspicion of being criminals. Nor was the magistrate allowed to proceed on every kind of information. Anonymous charges the emperor rejects, as too repugnant to the equity of his government; and he strictly requires, for the conviction of those to whom the guilt of Christianity is imputed, that the minds of the accusers and the victims of the Christians should be respected. It was not among a licentious and exasperated populace, that the forms of legal proceedings could be observed; it was not in an amphitheatre, stained with the blood of wild beasts and gladiators, that the voice of compassion could be heard. The impatient clamours of the multitude denounced the Christians as the enemies of gods and men, doomed them to the severest tortures, and venturing to accuse by name some of the most distinguished of the new sectaries, required with irresistible vehemence that they should be instantly apprehended and cast to the lions. The provincial magistrates and the judges who presided in the public spectacles were usually inclined to gratify the inclinations, and to appease the rage of the people, by the sacrifice of a few obnoxious victims. But the wisdom of the emperors protected the church from the danger of these tumultuous clamours and irregular accusations. They accused their enemies, which was treated with the most vigilant jealousy from the eye of the profane. If they succeeded in their prosecution, they were exposed to the resentment of a considerable and active party, to the censure of the more liberal portion of mankind, and to the ignominy which, in every age, has been the punishment of an informer. If, on the contrary, they failed in their proofs, they incurred the severe and perhaps capital penalty, which, according to a law published by the emperor Hadrian, was inflicted on those who falsely attributed to their fellow-citizens the crime of Christianity. The violence of personal or superstitious animosity might sometimes prevail over the most natural apprehensions of disgrace and danger; but it cannot surely be imagined, that accusations of such unprofitable appearances were either lightly or frequently undertaken by the pagan subjects of the Roman empire.

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oued to seduce those whom they were unable to van- 
quish, and that by their orders the most brutal vio-
ence was offered to those whom they found it impos-
sible to seduce. It is related, that at the tribunals, 
where were prepared to despire death, were sometimes 
condemned to a more severe trial, and called upon to 

determine whether they set a higher value on their re-
ligion or on their chastity. The youths to whose licen-
sious disorder they were abandoned, received a solemn 
exhortation from the judge, to exert their moral and 
most strenuous efforts to maintain the honour of Venus 
against the impious virgin who refused to burn in-
cur on her altars. Their violence, however, was 
commonly disappointed, and the seasonable interpo-
sition of the magistrates prevented the execution of 
their threats against the virgins. The powerful inter-
souses of Christ from the dishonour even of an in-
voluntary defeat. We should not indeed neglect to 
remark, that the more ancient as well as authentic 
memorials of the church, are seldom polluted with 
these extravagant and indecent fictions. 

Humanity of the 
Roman magis-
trates. 

The total disregard to truth and pro-
bability in the representation of these 
primitive martyrology was occasioned by 
a very natural mistake. The ecclesiastical writers 
of the fourth and fifth centuries ascribed to the 
magistrates of Rome the same degree of implacable and 
unrelenting justice, that we find in the histories 
of the heroes or the idolaters of their own times. It is 
not improbable that some of those persons who were 
raised to the dignities of the empire, might have 
imbibed the prejudices of the populace, and that 
the cruel disposition of others might occasionally be stim-
ulated by motives of aversion or personal resent-
ment. 

But it is certain, and we may appeal to 
the grateful confessions of the first christians, that the 
greatest part of those magistrates who exercised in the 
provinces the authority of the emperor, or of the sen-
ate, during the persecution, were far from exercising their


power, or from being in the least 
related to the excesses of punishment. It is known 
that everywhere, where the church persecuted the 
Christians, the justice was the same as that which 
could be found in the other nations. The judges 
were men of learning and of reputation, and 
were not themselves susceptible of the new superstition. 

Contenting themselves, for the most part, 
with the milder chastisements of imprisonment 
and exile, or slavery in the mines, they left the 
victims of their justice some reason to hope, that a 
prosperous event, the accession, the marriage, or the 

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Example of Cy-

gipsy bishop of

Carthage.

During the same period of persecu-
tion, the zealous, the eloquent, the am-
bitious Cyprian governed the church,
not only of Carthage, but even of Africa. He pos-
seased every quality which could engage the re-
vence of the faithful, or provoke the suspicions and
resentments of his enemies. As well as his station
seemed to mark out that holy pre-
late as the most distinguished object of envy and
danger. The experience, however, of the life of
Cyprian, is sufficient to prove, that our fancy ex-
aggerated the pernicious situation of a christian
bishop; and that the dread so naturally connected
with this office was less imminent than those which temporal ambition is
always prepared to encounter in the pursuit of hon-
ours. Four Roman emperors, with their families,
their favourites, and their adherents, perished by the
sword in the space of ten years, during which the
bishop of Carthage guided by his authority and elo-
quence the councils of the African church. It was
only in the third year of his administration, that he
had reason, during a few months, to apprehend the
severe edicts of Decius, the vigour of the magis-
trate, and the clamours of the multitude, who loudly
demanded, in the presence of the imminent
danger and should be thrown to the lions. Pru-
dence suggested the necessity of a tem-
porary retreat, and the voice of prudence was obeyed.
He withdrew himself into one obscure solitude, from
whence he could maintain a constant correspond-
ence with the clergy of Africa. Carthage was again con-
quering itself till the tempest was past, he preserved
his life, without relinquishing either his power or his
reputation. His extreme caution did not however escape the
censure of the more rigid christians who lamented,
or the reproaches of his personal enemies who insult-
ed, and were allowed to participate in the persis-
taneous and criminal desertion of the most sacred duty.
The propriety of reserving himself for the future ex-
igencies of the church, the example of several holy
bishops, and the divine admonitions which, as he de-
clares himself, he frequently received in visions and
revelations, were the reasons alleged in his justification.
But his best advice may be found in the cheerful res-
olution, with which, about eight years afterwards, he
suffered death in the cause of religion. The authentic
history of his martyrdom has been recorded with un-
usual candour and impartiality. A short abstract there-
fore of those most important events which strike
the clearest information of the spirit, and of the forms
of the Roman persecutions.

A.D. 257.

When Valerian was consul for the
his banishment, third, and Gallienus for the fourth
time; Paterinus, proconsul of Africa, summoned Cy-
rian to appear in his private council-chamber. His
makes particular mention of the principal martyrs only, and that he
remains in general, that the type of the pagans against the christians
gave to Alexandria the apperance of a city taken by assault. Finally
we remark that Orosius wrote before the persecution of the Emperor
Decius (c. 6.)

$ The letters of Cyprian exhibit a very curious and original pic-
ture of the times. See in the letters, ch. i. 18, 19, 20, 21; i. 21, 22, 23, 50,
and ii. 2, 4; the letter by Tlemunt, Monnens Ecclesiastiques, toms.
iv, part i. pp. 76-150.

2 On the other hand, it has not exaggerated the perilous situation of a chris-
tian bishop, since Gibson himself says, "the mines of Numidia con-
tained (at the same time) nine bishops, with a proportionate number of
martyrs and of the faithful of their diocese. Finally he refers to St.
Caesarius, op. cit. 76-79."

3 The bishops have not been the objects of the enmity of Rome to the
bishop of Carthage (Cyprian, Epist. v. 2.), Pontius labours with the
precaution and diligence to justify his master against the perni-
siveness of the insinuations. See in the letters, ch. i. 17, 18, 19, 20,
e. 50. and Memones de Tlemunt, toms. iv, part ii. pp. 65-90.

4 See also in the same, his litany, op. cit. 69.

5 We have an original life of Cyprian by the Jesuit Pontius, the
companion of his exile, and the spectator of his death; and we like-
whenever possible, present the life of the bishop in a candid point of
view. The facts of his life are two relations consistent with each other, and with probability;
and with other accounts remarkable, they are both annulled by any
miraculous circumstances.

6 There were, and the emperor which he had just received, that
those who had abandoned the
cyriotic religion should immediately return to the practice of the ceremonies of their ancestors.
Cyprian replied without hesitation, that he was a christian and a bishop, devoted to the worship of the true and
only God, as confirmed by Deitritus, the supreme bishop of the
Greeks, and dedicated to the public usefulness of the two emperors,
his lawful sovereigns. With modest confidence he pleaded the privilege of a citizen, in refusing to give
any answer to so many invidious and indeed illegal ques-
tions which the proconsul had proposed. A sentence of banishment was pronounced against
Cyprian's disobedience; and he was conducted without
delay to Curabis, a free and maritime city of Cyprotas-
nia, in a pleasant situation, a fertile territory, and at the
distance of about forty miles from Carthage. The
exiled bishop enjoyed the conveniences of life and the
considerations of virtue. His reputation was diffused
over Africa and Italy; an account of his behaviour
was published for the edification of the christian
world; and his solitude was frequently interrupted by
the letters, the visits, and the congratulations of the
faithful. On the arrival of a new proconsul in the
province, the bishop escaped from Curabis at
some time to wear a still more favourable aspect.
He was recalled from banishment; and though not yet
permitted to return to Carthage, his own gardens in
the neighbourhood of the capital were assigned for the
place of his residence.

7 After length of time, about one year, 8 Cyprian was first apprehended, Gale-
rius Maximus, proconsul of Africa, received the im-
perial warrant for the execution of the christian teachers.
The bishop of Carthage was sensible that he should be
single out for one of the first victims; and the frailty of his nature
overawed him, as he retired from flight, the danger and the honour of martyrdom;
but soon recovering that fortitude which his character
required, he returned to his gardens, and patiently
expected the ministers of death. Two officers of rank,
who were intrusted with that commission, placed Cy-
rian between them in a chariot; and as the proconsul
was not then at leisure, they conducted him, not to a
prison, but to a private house in Carthage; which be-
longed to one of them. An elegant supper was
provided for the entertainment of the bishop, and his
christian friends were permitted for the last time to
enjoy his society in the midst of all the splendour of the
multitude of the faithful, anxious and alarmed at the
approaching fate of their spiritual father. In the mor-

8 It should seem that these were circular orders, sent at the same
time to all the governors. Dyonysius (ap. Euseb. l. vii. c. 11) relates the
history of the war banishment from Alexandria almost in the
same manner. But as he escaped and survived the persecution, we
must account him either more or less fortunate than Cyprian.

9 See Plin. Hist. Nat. v. 3. Celsius, Geograph. Amb. part iii. p. 98, Shaw's Travels, p. 95; and for the adjacent country,
which is terminated by Cape Bon, or the promontory of Mercury.

10 Marc.Afric. Conam. tom. i. p. 194. There are the remains of an
aqueduct near Carthage, or Curabis, at present altered into Curthas;
and Dr. Shaw reads an inscription, which styles it City Colonia
Felicia. The deacon Pontius (in Vit. Cyprian. c. 12.) calls it " Apri-
opus et competenter locum hancius pro voluntate secreto et
etiam unipulchro apud locum habere qui legum et justitiam Del.

11 Upon his conversion, he had sold those gardens for the benefit of the
poor. "Tout le mal que j'avais fait, dit Cyprian, a mes
some christian friend) restored them to Cyprian. See Pontius, c. 12.

12 When Cyprian, a twelve-year-old, was sent into exile, he was charg
that he should not write the death of the next day, after having
it necessary to explain that word, as signifying a year. Pontius, c. 12.

13 This was the reason why the bishop was not permitted to return to Car-
riage to excite himself for a time. It was threatened that he should be
taken to Ulisc, and he was required to remain at Carthage, that he might
prevent martyrdom. However, the saint was not to be
serve to confirm and instruct those whom he had guided during his
chiefs life. It is through the intermediary of his companions and
letters of his letters: "Cum perlatum ad nos intres frater carissimn, fumens
Cesareo miserrimi, qui Cyprian percuterat, consolatio ecliisipi-
num persuasit illum, quod interea transierat. Sii interea per-
veniam causae consensu exquisit conversus episcopo in civitate ad
Philius, letter to Cyprian, a Hier.

14 The verses prepossess present confessionis caritatis. (Ep. 61, p. 262.)

15 Pontius (c. 15.) acknowledges that Cyprian, with whom he
ing he appeared before the tribunal of the proconsul, who, after informing himself of the name and situation of Cyprian, commanded him to offer sacrifice, and pressed him to reflect on the consequences of his disobedience. The refusal of Cyprian was firm and decisive; and the magistrate, when he had taken the opinion, promptly pronounced the Christian who had denied his faith an impostor, and ordered that sentence of death. It was conceived in the following words: "That Thascius Cyprianus should be immediately beheaded, as the enemy of the gods of Rome, and as the chief and ringleader of a criminal association, which he had seduced into the impious resistance against the laws of the most holy emperors, Valerian and Gallicius." The manner of his execution was the mildest and least painful that could be inflicted on a person convicted of any capital offence; nor was the use of torture admitted to obtain from the bishop of Carthage either the recantation of his principles, or the discovery of his accomplices.

As soon as the sentence was proclaimed, a general cry of " We will die with him," arose at once among the listening multitude of Christians who waited before the palace gates. The generosity of their zeal, the indulgence of their sufferings, neither serviceable to Cyprian nor dangerous to themselves. He was led away under a guard of tribunes and centurions, without resistance and without insult, to the place of his execution, a spacious and level plain near which many, already filled with great numbers of spectators. His faithful followers and brethren were permitted to accompany his holy bishop. They assisted him in laying aside his upper garment, spread linch on the ground to catch the precious relics of his blood, and received his orders to bestow five and twenty pieces of gold on the executioner. The martyr then covered his face with his hands, and at one blow his head was separated from his body. His corpse remained during some hours exposed to the curiosity of the gentiles: but in the night it was removed, and transported in a triumphal procession, and with a splendid illumination, to the burial-place of the Christians. The funeral of Cyprian was publicly celebrated without receiving any interruption from the Roman magistrates; and those among the faithful, who had performed the last offices to his person and his remains, were exempt from the interdict of inquiry or of punishment. It is remarkable, that in so great a multitude of bishops in the province of Africa, Cyprian was the first who was esteemed worthy to obtain the crown of martyrdom."

It was in the character of Cyprian, either as a martyr, or to live an apostolic life, but on that choice depended the alternative of honour or infamy. We could suppose that the bishop of Carthage had employed the profession of the Christian faith only as the instrument of his aversion or ambition, it was still incumbent on him to support the character which he had assumed; and, if he possessed the smallest degree of manly fortitude, rather to expose himself to the most cruel tortures, than by a single act to exchange the reputation of a whole life, for the abhorrence of his christian brethren, and the contempt of the gentile world. The sincere conviction of the truth of those doctrines which he professed, the crown of martyrdom must have appeared to him as an object of desire rather than of terror. It is not easy to extract any distinct ideas from the vague though eloquent description of the admirable conduct of Cyprian in his imprisonment. The immortal glory and happiness which they confidently promised to those who were so fortunate as to shed their blood in the cause of religion. They inculcated with becoming diligence, that the fire of martyrdom supplied every defect and expiated every sin; that the souls of the most pious females courted to pass through a slow and painful purification, the triumphant sufferers entered into the immediate fruition of eternal bliss, where, in the society of the patriarchs, the apostles, and the prophets, they reigned with Christ, and acted as his assessors in the universal administration of the world. But the demonstration of respect, when compared with the ardent gratitude and devotion which the primitive church expressed towards the victorious champions of the faith. The annual commemoration of their virtues and sufferings was observed as a sacred ceremony, and the fifth letter of Cyprian was addressed to his brethren, who had publicly confessed their religious principles, those who (as it very frequently happened) had been dismissioned from the tribunal or the prisons of the pagan magistrates, obtained such honours as were justly due to their imperfect martyrdom, and their general resolution. The most pious females courted the permission of inquiring kisses on the fetters which they had worn, and on the wounds which they had received. Their persons were esteemed holy, their decisions were admitted with deference, and they were too oftentimes invested by their spiritual pride in the most magnificent manners, the pre-eminance which their zeal and incorruption had acquired. Distinctions like these, whilst they display the exalted merit, betray the inconsiderable number of those who suffered, and of those who died, for the profession of Christianity.

The number of Cyprian's followers had been much augmented by the example of the first age will more readily censures than ad-
mire, but can more easily admire than imitate, the fervour of the first christians, who, according to the lively expression of Sulpicius Severson, desired martyrdom with more eagerness than his own contemporaries solicited a bishop. The epistles which Ignatius composed as he was carried in chains through the city, show the sentiments the most repugnant to the ordinary feelings of human nature, yet earnestly beseeches the Romans, that when he should be exposed in the amphitheatre, they would not, by their kind but unseasonable intercession, deprive him of the crown of glory; and he declares his resolution to provoke, whatever torment shall be employed as the instruments of his death. Some stories are related of the courage of martyrs, who actually performed what Ignatius had intended; who exasperated the fury of the lions, pressed the executioner to hasten his office, cheerfully leaped into the fires which were kindled to consume them, and discovered a sensation of joy and pleasure in the midst of the most exquisite tortures. Several examples have been preserved of a zeal implacable of those restraint which the emperors had provided for the security of the church. The christians sometimes supplied by their voluntary losses of life, the persons who were to settle the public service of paganism, and rushing in crowds round the tribunal of the magistrates, called upon them to pronounce and to inflict the sentence of the law. The behaviour of the christians was too remarkable to escape the notice of the ancient philosophers; but it is too astonishing, unless the less than admiration than astonishment. Incapable of conceiving the motives which sometimes transported the fortitude beyond the bounds of prudence or reason, they treated such an eagerness to die as the strange result of obstinate despair, of stupid insensibility, or of superstition. In the epistle to the Philippians, he exclaimed the proconsul to the christians of Asia: "Unhappy men! if you are thus weary of your lives, is it so difficult for you to find ropes and precipices?" He was extremely cautious (as it is observed by a learned and pious historian) of punishing men who had found no accusers but themselves, the imperial laws not having made any provision for so unexpected a case: condemning therefore a few, as a warning to their brethren, he dismissed the multitude with indignation and contempt. Notwithstanding this real or affected disdain, the intrepid constancy of the faithful was profounder, and in those minds where nature or grace had disposed for the easy reception of religious truth. On these melancholy occasions, there were many among the gentiles who pitied, who adored, and who were converted. The generous enthusiasm was communicated from the sufferer to the spectators; and the blood of martyrs, according to a well-known observation, became the seed of the church.

Gradual relaxation. But although devotion had raised, and eloquence continued to inflame, this fever of the mind, it insensibly gave way to the more natural hopes and fears of the human heart, to the love of life, the apprehension of pain, and the horror of dissolution. The more prudent rulers of the church found themselves obliged to restrain the indiscriminate ardour of their followers, and to curst a constancy which too often abandoned them in the hour of trial. As the lives of the faithful became less mortified and austere, they were even, day by day, less employed in the service of Christ, instead of distinguishing themselves by voluntary deeds of heroism, frequently deserted their post, and felt in confusion before the enemy whom it was their duty to resist. There were three methods, however, of completing the heathen system. There were those who abstained from all the public offices of the church, and tended with an equal degree of guilt: the first indeed was generally allowed to be innocent; the second was of a doubtful, or at least of a venial, nature; but the third implied a direct and criminal apostasy from the christian faith.

1. A modern inquisitor would have Three methods with surprise, that whenever an information of martyred nation was given to a Roman magistrate, tyrannum, of any person within his jurisdiction who had embraced the sect of the christians, the charge was communicated to the party accused, and that a convenient time was allowed to settle his affairs, and to prepare an answer to the crime which was imputed to him. If the entertained any doubt of his own constancy, such a delay afforded him an opportunity of preserving his life and honour by flight, of withdrawing himself into some obscure retreat or some distant province, and to have his less than the advantage of peace and security. A measure so consonant to reason was soon authorized by the advice and example of the most holy prelates; and seems to have been conduced by few, except by the Montanists, who deviated into heresy by their the strict and obstinate adherence to the rigor of ancient discipline. III. The provincial governors, whose zeal was less prevalent than their avarice, had countenanced the practice of selling certificates, (or libels as they were called,) which attested, that the persons therein mentioned had complied with the laws, and sacrificed to the Roman deities. By producing these false declarations, the epistle of Cyprian and unchristian martyrs were enabled to silence the malice of an inquirer, and to reconcile in some measure the safety with their religion. A slight penance 1 atomized 2


The eleventh chapter of the iv. book of the Hist. Ecclesiast. of Eusebius, treats principally of the martyrdom of St. Polycarp, and mentions other instances of the instance to the respect paid to death. It is that of a Pergaman named Quintus, who, frightened at the sight of the ferocious beasts and the tortures, renounced his faith. This example is quoted against the heathen in the sixteenth chapter of Eusebius furnishes much stronger proof of their courage, than of their timidity. 

5 In the second apology of Justin, there is a particular and very curious instance of this legal delay. The name indulgence was granted to accused christians in the persecution of Decius: and Cy- prian (de Lapis) expressly mentions the "Dies negansius presti- tutus."

The examples which the historian has taken from Justin Martyr, and from St. Cyprian, are particular instances, and prove nothing as to the method which was generally pursued towards the accused. On the contrary, it is evident according to the same Apology of St. Justin, that the accusation was founded by any temporal motives. Demosthenes, himself a christain, being present at the unjust sentence given by the judge Urbicus against a christain, demanded of him why he had persisted in a man who was neither an adulterer nor a thief, nor guilty of any other crime than that of confessing himself to be a christian. Urbicus answered only these words, "You also—you seem to be a christian." "Yes, doubtless," replied Lucius. "The judge commands me to put you to death; but if your 1time was not sentenced to be whipped. Justin Martyr, Apol. sec. p. 90. ed. Bened. 1712.) Here then are three examples where no delay occurred—when the penalties were created—where the punishment of the orthodox was intolerable, and the Christians were regarded as the cause. The words of St. Cyprian are also very particular, and say simply that a day was fixed upon which the christians were to observe their _sabbath_; and that those who did not observe, were not condemned. [G]

G Tertullian considers flight from persecution as an imperfect, but very criminal, apostasy, as an impious attempt to elude the will of God, &c. &c. He has written a treatise on this subject (see vol. 238—341.) Edit, et si fuit, quod ratione et virtute ad finalem etiam eluculentissimam est, quod de commodo christiani, que est magnissimo et maxime innocenti, declamation. It is, however, somewhat remote and unlikely, that a man of this order should write a book dedicated to the most incoherent declamation. It is, however, somewhat remote and unlikely, that a man of this order should write a book dedicated to the
for this profane dissimulation. 1 III. In every persecution there were great numbers of unholy Christians, who publicly disowned or denounced the faith which they had professed; and who confirmed the sincerity of their abjuration, by the legal acts of burning incense or of offering sacrifices. Some of these apostates had yielded on the first moment or after exhortation of the magistrate, whilst the persuasion of others could be subdued by the length and repetition of tortures. The afflicted countenances of some betrayed their inward remorse, while others advanced with confidence and alacrity to the altars of the gods. But the disgrace and infamy which attended them was not less than the present danger. As soon as the severity of the persecution was abated, the doors of the churches were assailed by the returning multitude of penitents, who detected their idolatrous submission, and who solicited with equal ardour, but with various success, their readmission into the society of Christians. 2

Alternatives of severity and toleration, established for the conviction and punishment of the Christians, the fate of those secessors, in an extensive and arbitrary government, must still, in a great measure, have depended on their own circumstances. In extremities, of whatever sort, the temper of their supreme as well as subordinate rulers. Zeal might sometimes provoke, and prudence might sometimes avert or assuage, the superstitious fury of the pagans. A variety of motives might dispose the emperors more or less rigorously to enforce or relax the execution of the laws; and of these motives the most forcible was their regard not only for the public edicts, but for the secret intentions of the emperor. A glance from whose eye was sufficient to kindle or to extinguish the flames of persecution. As often as they perceived themselves endangered by the different parts of the empire, the primitive Christians lamented and perhaps magnified their own sufferings; but the celebrated number of ten persecutions has been determined by the ecclesiastical writers of the fifth century, who possessed a more distinct view of the prosperous or dreary fortunes of the church, from the age of Nero to that of Diocletian. The ingenious parallels of the ten plagues of Egypt, and of the ten horns of the Apocalypse, first suggested this calculation to their minds; and in their at times fallacious, at other times true, but truth obstructed, they were careful to select those reigns which were indeed the most hostile to the christian cause. But these transient persecutions served only to revive the zeal, and to restore the discipline, of the faithful; and the moments of extraordinary rigour were compensated by much longer intervals of peace and security. The indolence of some princes, and the indulgence of others, permitted the Christians to enjoy, though not perhaps a legal, yet an actual and public, toleration of their religion.

The apology of Tertullian contains many very singular, but at the same time very suspicious instances of public clementy. It was published by Tiberius, and by Marcus Antoninus, and designed not only to protect the innocence of the Christians, but even to proclaim those stupendous miracles which had attested the truth of their doctrine. The first of these examples is attended with some difficulties, which seem not to have been perceived by the compilers of the edict; they required to believe, that Pontius Pilate informed the emperor of the just sentence of death which he had pronounced against an innocent; and, as it appeared, a divine person; and that, without acquiring the merit, he exposed himself to the danger, of martyrdom; that Tiberius, who avowed his contempt for all religions, immediately conceived the design of placing the Jewish Messiah among the gods of Rome: that his servile ventured to disobey the commands of his master; that Tiberius, instead of resenting their refusal, not only continued to accede to the wishes of the Christians, but enforced them. But the severity of the laws, many years before such laws were enacted, or before the church had assumed any distinct name or existence: and lastly, that the memory of this extraordinary transaction was preserved in the most public and authentic records, which escaped the annihilation of the edicts. These records were only visible to the eyes of an African Christian, who composed his Apology one hundred and sixty years after the death of Tiberius. The edict of Marcus Antoninus is supposed to have been the effect of his devotion and gratitude, for the miraculous deliverance which he had obtained in the Marcomannic war. The distress of the legions, the seasonable tempest of rain and hail, of thunder and of lightning, and the dismay and defeat of the barbarians, have been celebrated by the eloquence of several pagan writers. If there were any Christians in that army, it was natural that they should ascribe some merit to the fervent prayers which, in the moment of danger, they had offered up for their own and the public safety. But we are still assured by monuments of brass and marble, by the imperial medals, and by the Antonine column, that neither the emperor nor the legions had any signal obligation, since they unanimously attribute their deliverance to the providence of Jupiter, and to the interposition of Mercury. During the whole course of his reign, Marcus despaired the Christians as a philosopher, and punished them as a sovereign.

By a privity of the Christians in the reigns of Commodus and Severus, the empire, to which the church had been subjected under the government of a virtuous prince, immediately ceased on the accession of a tyrant, and as none except themselves had experienced the injustice of Marcus, they alone were protected by the lenity of Commodus. The celebrated Marcia, the most favoured of his concubines, and who at length contrived the murder of her imperial lover, entertained a singular affection for the oppressed church; and though it was impossible that she could reconcile herself to the presence of the priests of the gospel, she might hope to atone for the frivalities of her sex and profession, by declaring herself the patroness of the Christians. Under the gracious protection of Marcia, they passed in safety the thirteen years of a

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1 The testimony given by Pontius Pilate is first mentioned by Justin. The successive improvements which the story has acquired, and which it presents, it passed from the hands of Cyprian, Cyprian, African, Gregory of Tours, and the authors of the several editions of the edict of Pilate, are very fairly stated by Dom. Ceiled, Hist. des Persec., t. iii. p. 365. (2). (2)

2 On this miracle, as it is commonly called, of the thundering leg, we see an admirable criticism of Mr. Moore, in his Works, vol. ii. p. 213—220.

3 Dom. Caecilis, or rather his abbreviator xiphilin, lib. i. p. 860. Mr. More p. 250. has explained the condition of the church under the reign of Commodus.
crue1 tyranny; and when the empire was established in the house of Severus, they formed a domestic but menacing conspiracy. A similar edict was issued at Rome, whose piety and learning was spread over the east. Origen obeying to this an invitation, and though he could not expect to succeed in the conversion of an artful and ambitious woman, she listened with pleasure to his eloquent exhortations, and honourably dismissed him as a benefactor. The tenors of Mammea were adopted by her son Alexander, and the philosophic devotion of that emperor was marked by a singular but injudicious regard for the Christian religion. In his domestic chapel he placed the statues of Abraham, of Orpheus, of Paulinus, and of Christ, and was privately idolatrous. These sages who had instructed mankind in the various modes of addressing their homage to the supreme and universal Deity. A puerer faith, as well as worship, was openly pracitised and practised among his household. Bishops, perhaps, for the first time, were soon at court; and, after the death of Alexander, when the inhuman Maximian discharged his fury on the favourites and servants of his unfortunate benefactor, an great number of christians, of every rank, and of both sexes, were involved in the promiscuous massacre, which on its sequel, has improperly received the name of the persecution.

Notwithstanding the cruel disposition of Maximin, of Maximin, the effects of his recent persecution against the christians were of a very local and temporary nature, and the pious Origen, who had been so described as a devoted victim, thought it reserved to convey the truths of the gospel to the ear of monarchs. He addressed several edifying letters to the emperor Philip, to his wife, and to his mother; and as soon as that prince, who was born in the neighbourhood of Palestine, had suffered the persecution of the scorpions, or the executioner, a friend and a protector. The public and even partial favour of Philip towards the sectaries of the new religion, and his constant reverence of the church, gave some colour to the suspicion, which prevailed in his own times, that the emperor himself was become a convert to the faith. and afforded some

Of the successors of Severus.

A.D. 238.

The laws which Severus had enacted, soon expired with the authority of that emperor; and the christians, after this accidental tempest, enjoyed a calm of thirty-eight years. Till this period they had usually held their assemblies in private houses and sequestered places. They were now permitted to erect and consecrate convenient edifices for the purposes of religious worship; to purchase lands, even at Rome itself, for the use of the community; and to conduct the elections of their ecclesiastical ministers in so public, but at the same time in so exemplary, a manner, as to deserve the respect and attention of the gentiles. This long reign of the church was accompanied with dignity. The reigns of those princes who derived their extraction from the Asiatic provinces, proved the most favourable to the christians; the eminent persons of the sect, instead of being reduced to implore the protection of a slave or confidant, were admitted into the palaces in the honourable characters of priests and philosophers; and their mysterious doctrines, which were already diffused among the people, insensibly attracted the curiosity of their sovereign. When the emperor Mammea passed through Antioch, she expressed a desire to know the conversion of that certain empress whose piety and learning was spread over the east. Origen obeying to this an invitation, and though he could not expect to succeed in the conversion of an artful and ambitious woman, she listened with pleasure to his eloquent exhortations, and honourably dismissed him as a benefactor. The tenors of Mammea were adopted by her son Alexander, and the philosophic devotion of that emperor was marked by a singular but injudicious regard for the Christian religion. In his domestic chapel he placed the statues of Abraham, of Orpheus, of Paulinus, and of Christ, and was privately idolatrous. These sages who had instructed mankind in the various modes of addressing their homage to the supreme and universal Deity. A puerer faith, as well as worship, was openly practised and practised among his household. Bishops, perhaps, for the first time, were soon at court; and, after the death of Alexander, when the inhuman Maximian discharged his fury on the favourites and servants of his unfortunate benefactor, a great number of christians, of every rank, and of both sexes, were involved in the promiscuous massacre, which on its sequel, has improperly received the name of the persecution.

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1 Euseb. Hist. Eccles. i. vi. c. 21. Hieronym. de script. Eccl. c. 54. Mosheim, i. p. 200. has given a list of the christians and the pagan literary men. From the former, therefore, it was impossible that she should deserve that honourable epithet.

2 See the Authorities, p. 128, p. 129. 1 Historia Romana, p. 128. 1 Historia Romana, p. 128. 1 Historia Romana, p. 128. 1 Historia Romana, p. 128. 1 Historia Romana, p. 128. 1 Historia Romana, p. 128. 1 Historia Romana, p. 128. 1 Historia Romana, p. 128. 1 Historia Romana, p. 128.

3 It is with some mistake that this massacre has been called a persecution, for it lasted during the whole reign of Maximin; as we see in Eusebius, (lib. vi. chap. 29. Hist. Eccl. c. 54.) Rubiaus expressly confirms it: Titus annis a Maximo persecutione commota in quibusdam in persecutione facta est utriusque. (lib. vii. c. 15.)

4 Dioscor. i. vi. c. 29. It may be presumed, that the success of the christians had exaggerated the importance of the pagans. — Dion Cassius, who composed his history under the former reign, had most probably intended for the use of his master those councils of persecution, which he ascribes to a better age, and to the favorite of Augustus. — His opusculum de oratione Dom. Dion, I may refer to my own unbiased opinion, (p. 24, note i.) and to the Abc de la Bibliotheque (Memoires de l’Academie, tom. xxvi. p. 260, tom. xxvii. p. 429.)

[If this was so, then Cassius would have known the christians; and even these were the object of his particular attention, since our author supposed that it was his wish that his master should profit by his consilium de persecutione. Now shall we reconcile this necessary consequence with what Gibbon has said of the ignorance of Dion Cassius respecting even the name of christians? (vol. 3. p. 173. n. 1.) The supposition made in this note is based upon no proof, and it is probable that Dion Cassius has often designated the christians merely by the term Jews. See Dion Cassius de bello civili, chap. 14. lib. liviti, chap. 1. — G.)

5 Origen, i. vi. c. 19. mentions Origen as the object of Maximin’s persecution; and in the same chapter, a Capuchin, no writer of that age, gives a just and conditioned idea of this persecution (apud Cypriani, Rom. 38.)

6 The invitation of these princes who were publicly supposed to be christians as well as of the praefectus militum, are quoted by Suidas, Alexander, (in Zeno, l. vi. c. 10.) evidently alludes to Philip and his family; and for the contemporary evidence, that such a report had prevailed; but the Egyptian Cyprian, who lived at the same time, and under the same court of Rome, expresses himself with a becoming diffidence concerning the truth of the fact. The epistles of Origen, which were...
founded for a fable which was afterwards invented, that he had been purified by confession and penance from the guilt contracted in his inconstant predecessor. 5

A. D. 249.

the change of masters, a new system of government, so oppressive to the christians, that their former condition, ever since the time of Domitian, was represented as a state of perfect freedom and security, if compared with the rigorous treatment which they experienced under the short reign of Decius. 6

The virtues of that prince will scarcely allow us to suspect that he was actuated by a mean resentment against the favourites of his predecessor; and it is more reasonable to believe, in the spirit of his general design to restore the purity of Roman manners, he was desirous of delivering the empire from what he condemned as a recent and criminal superstition. The bishops of the most considerable cities were removed by exile or death; the vigilance of the magistrates prevented the clergy of Rome during six months from proceeding to a new election; and it was the opinion of the christians, that the emperor would more patiently endure a competitor for the purple, than a bishop in the capital. 8 Were it possible to suppose that the penetration of Decius had discovered the true state of the human heart, or that he could foresee the temporal dominion which might insensibly arise from the chains of spiritual authority, we might be less surprised, that he should consider the successors of St. Peter as the most formidable rivals to those of Augustus.

The administration of Valerian was distinguished by a levity and inconstancy, ill suited to the gravity of the Roman empire. In the first part of his reign, he surpassed in eminency those princes who had been suspected of an attachment to the christian faith. In the second half, listening to the insti-

tutions of a minister addicted to the superstitions of Egypt, he adopted the maxims, and imitated the severity, of his predecessor Decius. 3

The accession of Gallicius, which increased the calamities of the empire, succeeded peace to the church; and the christians obtained the free exercise of their religion, by an edict addressed to the bishops, and conceived in such terms as seemed to acknowledge their office and public character. 4 The ancient laws, without being formally repealed, were suffered to sink into oblivion; and (excepting the instances in which the emperor Aurelian) 5 the disciples of Christ passed about forty years in a state of prosperity, far more honorable to their virtue than the most severe trials of persecution.

extant in the time of Eusebius, see L. vi. c. 36), would most probably decide this curiosity, rather than important, question.

Euseb., l. vi. c. 34. The story, as it usual, has been embellished by succeeding writers, and is confined with much superficial learning by Frederick Spanheim (Opera Varia, tom. ii. p. 600, &c.)

Euseb. de Mortu. Pers. eccl. c. 3. 4. After celebrating the fealty and increase of the church, under a long succession of good princes; he adds, 'Estit post annum plurimum, exercitare an- dem. Decius, qui vexavit ecclesiam.'

Euseb., l. vi. c. 39. Cyprian. Epist. 55. The see of Rome re-

mained without a bishop, as a mark of disapprobation, for 25 years, from A.D. 250, till the election of Cornelius, the 4th of June, A.D. 251. Decius had probably left Rome, since he was killed before the end of the year.

Euseb., l. vi. c. 15. Mosheim. (p. 525.) has very clearly shown, that the perfect Marcellus, and the Egyptian Megan, are one and the same person.

Euseb., l. vi. c. 153.) gives us a Greek version of this Latin edict, which have been very concise. By another edict, he de-

rected that no one should be molested on account of his profession. 7

Euseb., l. vi. c. 70. Lactantius de M. P. c. 6. Hieronym. in Chron. p. 177. Origen, l. vi. c. 23. Their language is in general so similar, that we are at a loss to determine which of them, if Aurelian had carried his intentions before he was assassinated,— Most of his contemporaries (Diodore, Deestrius, Cyprian, &c.) have seized the occasion of gaining a few extraordinary martyrs.

Dr. Lardner has stated with his usual impartiality, all which has been said in favor of and against the persecution of Aurelian, and finallly saying, 'After having examined with the care of Eusebius, and of those who have written on the subject, I must say I believe very judiciously, decided that Aurelian did not confine himself to the intention of persecuting the christians, but that that persecution was rest. It was of short duration, because the emperor concluded his career in the usual way, by being either drowned or burnt in the sea. The story of Paul of Samosata, who filled the metropolis see of Antioch, and whose death, while the barbarous proceedings of Decius in Nuthius and Zenobia, may serve to illustrate the condition and character of the times. The wealth of that prelate was a sufficient evidence of his guilt, since it was neither derived from the inheritance of his fathers, nor acquired by the arts of honest industry. But Paul was considered as the great representative of the deistic profession. 1 His ecclesiastical jurisdiction was vernal and rapacious; he extorted frequent contributions from the most opulent of the faithful, and converted to his own use a considerable part of the public revenue. By his pride and luxury, the christian religion was rendered odious in the eyes of the gentiles. His council chamber and his throne, the splendor with which he appeared in public, the suppliant crowd who solicited his attention, the multitude of letters and petitions to which he dictated his answers, and the perpetual hurry of persecution, remained an effort of courage might perhaps make more suitable to the state of a civil magistrate, 2 than to the humility of a primitive bishop. When he harangued his people from the pulpit, Paul affected the figurative style and the theatrical gestures of an Asiatic sophist, while the cathedral resounded with the cymbals and the trum- pet, accompanied by the praise of his divine eloquence. Against those who resisted his power, or refused to flatter his vanity, the prelate of Antioch was arrogant, rigid, and inexorable; but he relaxed the discipline, and lavished the treasures of the church on his dependent clergy; who were considered as the tools, which were necessary to make their masters illustrious. For Paul indulged himself very freely in the pleasures of the table, and he had received into the episcopal palace two young and beautiful women, as the constant companions of his leisure moments.

Notwithstanding these scandalous vices, if Paul of Samosata had preserved the purity of the orthodox faith, his reign over the capital of Syria would have ended only with his life; and had a reasonable setting off of the worship of the one true God, as the source of every sensual appetite. For Paul indulged himself very freely in the pleasures of the table, and he had received into the episcopal palace two young and beautiful women, as the constant companions of his leisure moments.

He is degraded from the see of Antioch, A.D. 320.

3. If we are desirous of extenuating the vices of Paul, we must respect the circumstances, which are in several cases attractive, and, indeed, de-licious calamities in civilized epistles addressed to all the churches of the empire. (Ap. Euseb., l. vii. c. 36.)

1 [Has his history in his letters and private practice of Paul of Samosata, had great influence in preparing the condemnation which the bishops pronounced against him. The letter which the Synod addressed to the bishops of Rome and of Alexandria was designed, says Eusebius, to inform them of Paul's change of faith, and of the disgraceful conduct of his supporters, in such a way as his money, and his whole conduct. Eusebius Hist. Eccl. lib. vii. 20.]
fused, treaties were concluded and violated, and at length Paul of Samosata was degraded from his episcopal character, by the sentence of seventy or eighty bishops. One of the most important orations of Eusebius, and who, without consulting the rights of the clergy or people, appointed a successor by their own authority. The manifest irregularity of this proceeding increased the numbers of the discontented faction; and as Paul, who was no stranger to the arts of courts, had submitted himself to the favour of Zenobia, he maintained above four years the possession of the episcopal house and office. The victory of Aurelian changed the face of the east, and the two contending parties who applied to each other the epithets of schism and heresy, were either commanded or permitted to plead their cause before the face of the conqueror. This public and very singular trial affords a convincing proof, that the existence, the property, the privileges, and the internal policy, of the Christians, were acknowledged, if not by the laws, at least by the magistrates of the empire. As a pagan and as a soldier, it could scarcely be expected that Aurelian should enter into the discussion, whether the sentiments of Paul or those of his adversaries were most agreeable to the true standard of the orthodox faith. His determination, however, executed by Au-

the d'Acier, p. 131. 1 A sacrificial battle could not inspire their ancestors with the same confidence, if not seem to justify the assertion of Mosheim, (p. 915), that they had been privately baptized.

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to acknowledge the truth of those miracles which were claimed by their adversaries; and while they were contented with ascribing them to the arts of magie, and to the power of demons, they mutually concurred in restoring and establishing the reign of superstition. Philosophy, but most dangerous enemy, was now converted to help treat the decay of the pagge, the gardens of Epicurus, and even the portico of the stoes, were almost deserted, as so many different schools of scepticism or implyty: and many among the Romans were desirous that the writings of Cicero should be condemned and suppressed by the authority of the State. Conceiving of the great advantage which could be had from this, Lactantius judged it prudent to connect themselves with the priests, whom they perhaps despised, against the Christians, whom they had reason to fear. These fashionable philosophers prosecuted the design of extracting allegorical wisdom from the fictions of the old and converting them to ill purposes; and especially, for the use of their chosen disciples; recommended the worship of the ancient gods as the emblems or ministers of the Supreme Deity, and composed against the faith of the gospel many elaborate treatises, which have since been committed to the flames by the prudence of primitive Christians.

Maximian and Galerius punish the humanity of Constantine

Although the policy of Diocletian and Galerius had inclined them to preserve inviolate the maxims of toleration, it was soon discovered that their two associates, Maximian and Galerius, entertained the mortal hatred of the name and religion of the Christians. The minds of those princes had never been enlightened by science; education had never softened their temper. They owed their greatness to their swords, and in their most elevated fortunes they cherished their superstitious prejudices of soldiers and of peasants. In the several administrations of the provinces they obeyed the laws which their benefactor had established; but they frequently found occasions of exercising within their camp and palaces a secret persecution, for which the impudent local faction of the Christians sometimes offered the most specious pretences. A sentence of death was executed upon Maximilianus, an African youth, who had been produced by his own father before the magistrates as a sufficient and legal recruit, but who obstinately per

performed at the shrine of Pyrrothos, and the falsities relased of Apollonius of Tyana, were frequently opposed to the miracles of Chrles with Dr. Lardner's refutation of the miraculous tales, vol. iii. p. 523, 332), that when Polliusestus composed the life of Apollonius, he had no such intentions.

Julius (p. 501, ed. Spanheim) expresses a pious joy, that the providence of the gods had extinguished the impious sects, and for the most part destroyed the books of the Pyrrothos and Eudemus, which had been very numerous, since Eumates himself composed no less that 700 volumes. See Dionysius Laertius, l. ii. c. 25.

Canusius alius judaeus: maniera incertissima, et decenti opusculi statio per seunda, abeuntur et fasa scripta, sibils Christiana religio, etsi praestitus, tamen exutissima et inasissima et alios Christi ita esse videntur, quod in modo quod ille utriusque genere politiae, gentis, atque urbis inconstanter agitur. ad locum, quod in ecclesiasticis, et publicis volvuntur, multitudine et numero ministerum aureorum, ministerii ministrere, ministerii ministrii ministerio.

Lactantius (Divin. Institution, l. i. c. 2, 3) gives a very clear and spirited account of two of these philosophic adversaries of the faith, the one called Eudemus, of whom there are conserved of thirty books, and was composed in Sicily about the year 726.

See Socrates, Hist. Eclogae, l. i. c. 9 and Codex Justinian. l. i. 11. 9. 14. 27.

Eusebius, l. vii. c. 4. 17. He limits the number of military men of this expression, from the testimony of Lactantius, of which neither his Latin nor French translator have rendered the face of the abridgment. Notice the authority of Eusebius, and the silence of Lactantius, Ambrose Suwez, and others, and it has been long believed, that the Thessalian began, consisting of 6000 Christians, suffered a most cruel massacre in the valley of the Peneus Alps. The story was first published about the middle of the fifth century by Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, and it is supposed to have been related by Those of him which the latter received from Ikate bishop of Odeszam. The ecclesiastical historian, a resident of the council of Nicodimus, King of Burgundy. See an excellent Dissertation in the thirty volume of the Bibliothèque Renaissance, p. 127, 128.

[G] (The conjecture related at length presents the young as in a way

sisted in declaring, that his conscience would not permit him to embrace the profession of a soldier. It could scarcely be expected that any government should suffer the action of Marcellus the centurion to pass with impunity. On the day of a public festival, that officer threw away his belt, and declaring himself a Christian, exclaimed with a loud voice, that he would obey none but Jesus Christ the eternal King, and that he denounced for ever the use of carnal weapons, and the service of an idolatrous master. The soldiers, as soon as they recovered from their astonishment, secured the person of the centurion, and delivered him to the city of Tingi, by the president of that part of Mauritania; and as he was convicted by his own confession, he was condemned and beheaded for the crime of desertion. Examples of such a nature savour much less of religious persecution than of martial or even private law; but they served to model the dispositions of the emperors, to justify the severity of Galerius, who dismissed a great number of christian officers from their employments; and to authorize the opinion, that a sect of enthusiasts, which avowed principles so repugnant to the public safety, must either remain useless, or would soon become dangerous, supported the empire. After the success of the Persian war Galerius prevailed the hopes and the reputation of Diocletian to Galerius, he passed a winter with the general policy of Diocletian in the palace of Nicomedia; and the fate of Christianity became the object of their serious contemplation. The experienced emperor was still inclined to pursue measures of lenity; and though he readily consented to exclude the christians from holding any employments in the household of the army, he urged in the strongest terms the danger as well as the impropriety of retaining them. The emperors, however, were obvious fanatics. Galerius at length extorted from him the permission of summoning a council, composed of a few persons the most distinguished in the civil and military departments of the state. The important question was agitated in their presence, and those ambitious counsellors easily discerned, that it was incumbent on them to second, by their eloquence, the important violence of the Caesar. It may be presumed, that they insisted on every topic which might differen light. Maximilianus was the son of Victor, a christian soldier of Sirmium. His father did not prevent, but according to the custom of having all the qualities required by law for the profession of arms. The men of soldiers were obliged to serve at the age of twenty one, and Maximilianus, who appears to have been of the number of the reserved, refused to serve, on account of pagan ceremonies, in which he could not naturally partake. He was consequently dismissed from the profession of a soldier. The magistrate wished the father to persuade him to repudiate the error of his youth and to embrace the most excellent faith. He says, 'I know what he ought to do.' (Halicarnassus, 11. xvi. 3, ed. at 11.

The evidence of the most insignificant persons, the most obscure soldiers, and the least Christian, that he is forced to sacrifice to gods and to emperors, I renounce the vine and the cup, the bread and the chalice. Arcaeuus fugit alius, in his place to serve.' (Act. san. of Eutymius, ed. 11. xx.) It is evident that the necessity of sacrificing to false gods alone, drove Maximilianus from the military service. He is the only instance of a veritable and explicit testimony to return home thanking heaven it had given him such a son."

See the Acts Sinica, p. 559. The account of his martyrdom, and that of Marcellus, bear every mark of truth and authenticity.

Marcellus was in the same situation as Maximilianus. Upon the days of public feasts the bystanders sacrificed to the gods. Marcellus refused to do so, saying, 'If such is the lot of the soldier, he is forced to sacrifice to gods and to emperors, I renounce the vine and the cup, the bread and the chalice. Arcaeuus another, in his place to serve.' (Act. san. of Eutymius, ed. 11. xx.) It is evident that the necessity of sacrificing to false gods alone, drove Maximilianus from the military service. He is the only instance of a veritable and explicit testimony to return home thanking heaven it had given him such a son."

Ara Sinica, 332.

The Vlct. Galerii (or whoever was the author of this little treatise) was at that time an inhabitant of Nicomedia; but it seems dubious whether he could have consisted of thirty eighty books, and was composed in Sicily about the year 726.

See Socrates, Hist. Eclogae, l. i. c. 9 and Codex Justinian. l. i. 11. 9. 14. 27.

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The conjecture related at length presents the young as in a way
interest the pride, the piety, or the fears, of their sovereign in the destruction of Christianity. Perhaps they represented, that, though the destruction of the empire was left imperfect, as long as an independent people was permitted to subsist and multiply in the heart of the provinces. The Christians, (it might speciously be alleged), renouncing the gods and the institutions of Rome, had constituted a distinct republic, that yet be suppressed before it had acquired any military force; but which was already governed by its own laws and magistrates, was possessed of a public treasure, and was intimately connected in all its parts, by the frequent assemblies of the bishops, to whose deities numerous and popular sacrifices, dedicated the fruitful earth. Arguments like these may seem to have determined the reluctant mind of Diocletian to embrace a new system of persecution; but though we may suspect, it is not in our power to relate, the secret intrigues of the palace, the private views and ressentments, the grandeur of women or cumulums, and all those trilling but decisive causes which so often influence the fate of empires, and the councils of the wisest monarchs. Demolition of the church of Nico- 

The pleasure of the emperors was at the length signified to the Christians, who, during the course of this melancholy winter, had expected, with anxiety, the result of so much business of the state in twenty days. The third of February, which coincided with the Roman festival of the Terminalia, was appointed (whether from accident or design) to set bounds to the progress of Christianity. At the earliest dawn of day, the prerogative prefect, accompanied by several generals, tribunes, and officers of the revenue, repaired to the principal church of Nicomedia, which was situated on an eminence in the most populous and beautiful part of the city. The doors were instantly broke open; they rushed into the sanctuary; and as they searched in vain for some visible object of worship, they were obliged to content themselves with committing to the flames the volumes of holy scripture. The ministers of Diocletian were followed by a numerous body of guards and pioneers, who marched in order of battle, and were provided with all the instruments used in the destruction of fortified cities. By their incessant labours, a sacred edifice, which towered above the imperial palace, was laid open, and the envy of the gentiles, was in a few hours levelled with the ground. The first edict against the Chris- 

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His edict was scarcely exhibited to the public view, in the most conspicuous place of Nicomedia, before it was torn down by the hands of a christian, who, expressed, at the same time, his horror of the edict, and his contempt as well as abhorrence for such impious and tyrannical governors. His offence, according to the mildest laws, amounted to treason, and deserved death. And if it be true that he was a person of rank and education, those circumstances could serve only to aggravate his guilt. He was burnt, or rather roasted, by a slow fire; and his executioners, zealous to revenge the personal insult which had been offered to the emperors, exhausted every refinement of cruelty, without being able to subdue his patience, or to alter the steady and insulting smile which in his dying agonies he still preserved in his countenance. The Christians, though they confessed that his conduct had not been strictly conformable to the laws of prudence, admired the divine ferocity of his zeal; and the excessive commendations which they lavished on the memory of his hero and martyr, contributed to fix deep impression of terror and hatred in the mind of Diocletian.

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His fears were soon alarmed by the view of a danger from which he very narrowly escaped. Within fifteen days the palace of Nicomedia, and even the bedchamber of Diocletian, were twice in flames; and though both times they were extinguished without any material damage, the singularity of the event was justly considered as an evident proof that it had not been the effect of chance or negligence. The suspicion naturally fell upon the Christians; and it was suggested, with some degree of probability, that those desperate fanatics, provoked by their present sufferings, and the evidence of impending calamities, might have entered into a conspiracy with their faithful brethren, the eunuchs of the palace, against the lives of two emperors, whom they detested as the irreconcilable enemies of the church of God. Jealousy and resentment prevailed in every breast, and especially in that of Diocletian. A great number of persons, distinguished either by the offices which they had filled, or by the favour which they had enjoyed, were thrown into prison. Every mode of torture was put in practice, and the court, as well as city, was polluted with many bloody executions. But it was found impossible to extort any discovery of this mysterious transaction, it seems incumbent on us either to presume the innocence, or to admire the resolution, of the sufferers. A few days afterwards Galerius hastily withdrew himself from Nicomedia, declaring, that if he delayed his departure fifty years hence he would have shared the fate of the Christians. The one ascribes it to lightning, and the divine wrath; the other affirms, that it was kindled by the malice of Galerius himself.

Execution of the Edict. As the edict against the Christians was the first edict designed for a general law of the whole empire, and as Diocletian was by no means a bigot, though they might not wait for the consent, were assured of the concurrence, of the western princes, it would appear more consonant to our ideas of policy, that the governors of all the provinces should have received secret instructions in the same manner; but on one condition, that on the day, this declaration of war within their respective departments. It was at least to be expected, that the convenience of the public highways and established posts would have enabled the emperors to transmit their orders with the utmost dispatch from the palace of Nicomedia to the extremities of the Roman world; and that they would not have suffered fifty days to elapse, before the edict was published in Syria, and near four months before it was signified to the cities of Africa. This delay may perhaps be imputed to the cautious temper of Diocletian, who had yielded a reluctant consent to the measures of persecution, and who was desirous of trying the experiment under his own immediate eye, before he gave way to the disorders and discontent which it must inevitably occasion in the distant provinces. At

first, indeed, the magistrates were restrained from the effusion of blood; but the use of every other severity was permitted, and even recommended, to their zeal; nor could the Christians, though they cheerfully resigned the ornaments of their churches, resolve to interrupt their religious assemblies, or to deliver their sacred treasures to the ravage of the sword. Felix, an African bishop, appears to have embarrassed the subordinate ministers of the government. The curator of his city sent him in chains to the proconsul. The proconsul transmitted him to the pretorian prefect of Italy; and Felix, who disdained even to give the least token of submission to the man of whose generation and age he had been the pupil, and whose authority the Christians had long venerated, in Lucania, a place on which the birth of Horace has conferred fame. This precedent, and perhaps some imperial rescript, which was issued in consequence of it, appeared to authorize the governors of provinces, in punishing with death the refusal of the Christians to deliver up their sacred books. There were undoubtedly many persons who embraced this opportunity of obtaining the crown of martyrdom; but there were likewise too many who purchased an ignominious life, by discovering and betraying the holy scripture into the hands of the persecutors. A great number of bishops and presbyters, acquired by this criminal compliance, the opprobrious epitaph of Traditors; and their offence was productive of much present scandal, and of much future discord, in the African church.

The copies, as well as the versions. Demolition of the scriptorium. As a sanctum sanctorum it remains in the empire, that the most severe inquisition could no longer be attended with any fatal consequences; and even the sacrifice of those volumes, which, in every congregation, were preserved for public use, required the consent of some treacherous and unworthy ecclesiastics. Some small box was constructed in the church, to which the books of the sacred oracles were immersed by the authority of the government, and by the labour of the pagans. In some provinces, however, the magistrates contented themselves with shutting up the places of religious worship. In others, they more literally complied with the terms of the edict; and after taking away the doors, the benches, and the pulpit, which they burnt, as it were in a funeral pile, they completely demolished the remainder of the edifice. It is perhaps to this melancholy occasion, that we should apply a very remarkable story, which is relevant to the subject, and may almost seem an improbability, that it serves rather to excite than to satisfy our curiosity. In a small town in Phrygia, of whose name as well as situation we are left ignorant, it should seem that the magistrates and the body of the people had embraced the christian faith; and as some religious building might be apprehended to be exempted from the edict of the governor of the province was supported by a numerous detachment of legionaries. On their approach the citizens threw themselves into the church, with the resolution either of defending by arms that sacred edifice, or of perishing in its ruins. They indignantly rejected the notice and permission which was given to them to retire, till the soldiers, provoked by their obstinate refusal, set fire to the building on all sides, and consumed, by this extraordinary kind of martyrdom, a great number of Phrygians, with their wives and children.

* See the Acts Synecora of Ruiart, p. 353: those of Felix of Thibars, or Tibaur, appear much less corrupt than in other editions, which afford a lively specimen of legendary licence.

2 See the first book of Opistus of Milevis against the Donatists at Eligius, Thibars, and others; and of Ambrosius, bishop of Nicomedia; and both those writers, in language but truculent manner, the burnt scenes which were acted even in the imperial presence. 

3 See Lactantius, Ephrem, and Constantine, ad Caedum Sacerdi, where the same subject is treated. 

[Since the history of these times affords no example of any attempt on the part of the Christians against the persecutors, we have no reason except probability for attributing to them the burning of the public buildings. Lactantius, and the Constantine to the contrary, remain silent about it. The little evidence of the epistle of Junius, which has been cited in the previous pages, tends rather to prove that in the destruction of churches. They made a special inventory of the plate, &c. which they found in them. That of the church of Rome was very precious, on account of the fine goldsmiths of the city, besides a large quantity of brass utensils, and wearing apparel.]

4 All the subscribers, and not merely a great number were burnt, says Eusebuis, (Ephrem, vol. ii. 11.) confuses the rationality to the consecration, with its congregation. Eusebuis (vol. ii. 11.) extends it

200 The decline and fall, chap. XVI.
Subsequent edicts. Some slight disturbances, though they were suppressed almost as soon as ex-
acted, in Syria and the frontiers of Armenia, afforded the
enemies of the church a very plausible occasion to
instigate hideous outrages, by the intrigues of the bishops, who had already
forgotten their ostentatious professions of passive and
unlimited obedience.¹ The resentment, or the, fears,
of Diocletian, at length transported him beyond the
bounds of moderation, which he had hitherto pre-
served. He declared, in a series of cruel edicts, his
intention of abolishing the christian name. By
the first of these edicts, the governors of the provinces
were directed to apprehend all persons of the ecclesi-
asical order; and the prisons, destined for the vilest
criminals, were soon filled with a multitude of bishops,
prelates, doctors, readers, and exorcists. By a sec-
ond edict, the magistrates were commanded to employ
every method of severity which might reclaim them
from their odious superstition, and oblige them to
return to the established worship of the gods. This
rigorous order was extended, by a subsequent edict, to
the inhabitants of cities, and a third edict, to
private persons, provided with the means of
a violent and general persecution.⁵ Instead of those
salutary restraints, which had required the direct and
solemn testimony of an accuser, it became the duty as
well as the interest of the imperial officers, to discover,
to pursue, and to torment, the most obnoxious among
the adherents of the new faith. However, great numbers
all who should presume to save a proscribed sectary
from the just indignation of the gods, and of the em-
perors. Yet, notwithstanding the severity of this law,
the virtuous courage of many of the pagans, in con-
cealing their friends or relations, affords an honourable
proof of the great influence with which the common
minds the sentiments of nature and hu-
manity.⁴ General idea of

Diocletian had no sooner published his
the persecution edicts against the christians, than, as it
he had been desirous of committing to other hands the
work of persecution, he divested himself of the
empirical purple. The character and situation of his col-
leagues and successors sometimes urged them to en-
force, and sometimes inclined them to suspend, the
execution of these rigorous laws; nor can we acquire
a just and distinct idea of this important period of ec-
clesiology till we have considered the present state of christianity, in the different parts of the empire,
during the space of ten years, which elapsed between
the first edicts of Diocletian, and the final peace of the
church.

To a whole city, and introduces something very like a regular siege.

His ancient Latin translator, Rufinus, adds the important circum-
stance of the permission given to the inhabitants of retiring from
thee. As Paphlagon reached to the confines of Tarsus, it is possible
that the relentless temper of those independent barbarians may have
conquered his misfortune.

Eusebius, l. viii. c. 6. M. de Valois (with some probability
thinks that he has discovered the Syrian rebellion in an oration of
Libanion; and that it was a rash attempt of the tribune. Eusebius,
who, with only five hundred men, seized Antioch, and might per-
haps, at the close of the campaign, have expected the promise
From Eusebius (l. ix. c. 6) as well as from Moses of Chorene, (Hist. Ant.
l. i. c. 77, § 30) we are in no case, that Christianity was al-
ready introduced into Armenia.

(He had already departed from it in his former edict. It does not
appear whether this edict or fear had any part in instigating
these new persecutions; perhaps superstition, or a seeming respect
for his ministers, was the cause of it. The oracle of Apollo, when
consulted by Diocletian returned no answer, and said that just
men prevented it from speaking. Constantin, who assisted at the
ceremony, informed the emperors, that he was convinced these
men, the chief priest named the christians. "The emperor
exhorted them to retire from the town, to prevent him from
the sword designed to punish the guilty. He issued at once
bloody edicts, written. If I use the expression, with the point of
of the period, that the celebrated speech and manner of that
name has been inaccurately assigned by Prudentius, &c. to Saragossa, or Valentin, as well as the pomposity of the persons suffixed to the
most. tom. v. part £. 55—85. Some critics are of opinion, that the
Department of Constantius, as Caesar, in the head of which
it still continued, was the immediate judgment of Maximian.

¹ Eusebius, l. vii. c. 12. Lactantius de M. P. c. 15. Dodwell
(Dissertat. Cyprian. xi. 75.) represents them as inconsistent with
the edicts of the two emperors. But the former evidently speaks of Constantius in
the station of Caesar, and the latter of the same prince in the
rank of Au-

² Datianus is mentioned in Gruter's Inscriptions, as having deter-
mined his revocation. It is said that the bishop of the
City of Elora, both cities in the southern part of Lusitania. If we recollect
the neighbourhood of those places to Caste St. Vincent, for the
be far from supposing that the celebrated speech and manner of that
name has been inaccurately assigned by Prudentius, &c. to Saragossa, or Valentin, as well as the pomposity of the persons suffixed to the
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³ We can add also the principal councils, Dorotheus, Gorgonius, and Andrea, who, the personal attendants of Diocletian, possessed
his favor, and had the direction of his household. (V. Gibbon,
pears to have suffered death, during the whole course of this general persecution. 1

The revolt of Maxentius immediately restored peace to the churches of Italy and Africa; and the same tyrant who oppressed every other class of his subjects, showed himself just, humane, and even partial, towards the afflicted christians. 2 He depended on their gratitude and affection, and very naturally presumed, that the injuries which they had suffered from his predecessors, the effects of which were apprehended from his most invertebrate enemy, would secure the fidelity of a party already considerable by their numbers and opulence. 3 Even the conduct of Maxentius towards the bishops of Rome and Carthage, may be considered as a proof, since it is probable that the most orthodox princes would adopt the same measures with regard to their established clergy. Marcellus, the former of those prelates, had thrown the capital into confusion, by the severe penalty which he imposed on a great number of christians, who, during the late persecution, had renounced the faith, or dispersed their religion. The rage of faction broke out in frequent and violent seditions; the blood of the faithful was shed by each other's hands, and the exile of Marcellus, whose prudence seems to have been less cruel, and who, far from being exclusively minded, sure capable of restoring peace to the distressed church of Rome. 4 The behaviour of Mensurius, bishop of Carthage, appears to have been still more reprehensible. A deacon of that city had published a libel against the emperor. The offender took refuge in the episcopal palace; and though it was early to advance any claims of ecclesiastical immunities, the bishop refused to deliver him up to the officers of justice. For this treasonable resistance, Mensurius was summoned to court, and instead of receiving a legal sentence of death, or banishment, he was permitted, after much equivocation, to return to his diocese. Such was the happy condition of the christian subjects of Maxentius, that whenever they were desirous of procuring for their own use any bodies of martyrs, they

1 chap. xvi. p. 197.) Lactantius speaks of their death. Potlius Cist. De dom. cap. viii. 4. 5. De morte pere. c. 15.) And Eusebius leaves us in no doubt, naming Dorotheus and two other bishops of the imperial apartments, who perished, not by the emperor who massacred them, but as he was himself, probably to satisfy the fury of his zealous friends; but the most cruel measures were not used, and the glory and the pleasures of the world. Hist. Eccles. lib. viii. chap. 6—11. 2 Eusebius, i. viii. c. 11. Grut, Inscrip. p. 1711. No. 18. Rufinus has mistaken the office of Anacastus, as well as the place of his martyrdom. 3 [Nothing is less true, and the passage to which the historian refers is a mere perversion of the text of Eusebius. 4 Maxentius, in his own course, possessed himself of the entire power in Italy, at first formed himself a Christian, and was preferred to suffer for the sake of their faith, all kinds of disgrace and torments, and the most cruel deaths, without enjjoying the glory and the pleasures of the world.] Hist. Eccles. lib. viii. chap. 6—11. 5 Eusebius, i. viii. c. 14. But as Maxentius was vanquished by Constantine, it suited the purpose of Lactantius to place his death among those of the persecution. 6 The epitaph of Marcellus is to be found in Grut, Inscrip. p. 1717. No. 3. and it contains all that we know of his history. Marcellus and Marcellus, whose names follow in the list of popes, are supposed by many critics to be different persons; but the learned Alci de la Rive has proved that there was no such error. Veidus ricus episcopus mammae are the same. Veridus ricus laeiqia crimina flere. Processing the period of ére. 7 I have spoken of the emperor Galerius, and the same. One of our illustrious Roman emperors, his life, eccles. lib. ii. c. 6—10. 8 Hen furor, hinc olgium; secundum discordia. lites, religiosa; potius spectatur fideris pacts. Criminal of all or, Christian of Milan esteemed pagan. 9 Eusebius expatiabit et feritate Tyrannum. 10 The 'braves' as many' is an early Christian expression. 11 Marcelli popelus merimque cognocere posset. We may safely suppose that Eusebius made bishop of Rome, A. D. 306. 12 Opus, cent., Donatist, i. c. 17, 12. 13 The words of Opus are—Protricti (Roman) ramus dixit; jussus est revertere Carthagine, perhaps, to pleading his cause he justified himself, since he was ordered to return to Carthage.—Gr. 14 In Ilyricum and the east, under Galerius and Maximian.
tians who had denounced the religion and ceremonies instituted by their fathers; and presumptuously despoising the practice of antiquity, had invented extravagant laws and opinions according to the dictates of their fancy, and had collected a various society from the different provinces of our empire. The edicts which were pronounced or published during the time of Galerius, having exposed many of the Christians to danger and distress, many having suffered death, and many more, who still persist in their impious folly, being left desitute of any public exercise of religion, we are disposed to extend to those unhappy men, the effects of our former edicts: six months, however, is the period of time fixed by the precept, their situation, perhaps, may be admitted as a pledge of his sincerity.

When Galerius subscribed this edict of toleration, he was well assured that Licinius would readily comply with the inclinations of the people in that province; and were it the will of the senate and people of Asia, the favor of the christians would obtain the approbation of Constantine. But the emperor would not venture to insert in the preamble the name of Maximin, whose consent was of the greatest importance, and who succeeded a few days afterwards to the provinces of Asia. The empire, in the meantime, reposed on the merit of his former reign. Maximin affected to adopt the prudent counsels of his predecessor; and though he never condescended to secure the tranquillity of the church by a public edict, Sabinus, his pretorian prefect, addressed a circular letter to all the governors and magistrates of the provinces, exhorting on the imperial character, acknowledging the invincible obstinacy of the christians, and directing the officers of justice to cease their ineffectual prosecutions, and to connive at the secret assemblies of those enthusiasts. In consequence of these orders, great numbers of christians were released from dungeons, or delivered from the mines. The confessors, singing hymns of triumph, returned into their own countries; and those who had yielded to the violence of the tempest, solicited with tears of repentance their re-admission into the bosom of the church. But this treacherous calm was of short duration; nor could the christians of the last place any confidence in the character of their sovereign. Cruelty and superstition were the ruling passions of the soul of Maximin. The former suggested the means, the latter pointed out the objects, of persecution. The emperor was devoted to the worship of the gods, and the impiety of the hour. The people of Babylon, among his favorites, were especially averse to the destruction of the temples, which had been transformed into churches, and into houses of worship dedicated to the deities of the Christians. The buildings were repaired and beautified by the order of Maximin; and the officiating priests of the various deities were subjected to the authority of a superior pontiff destined to oppose the bishop, and to promote the cause of paganism. These pontiffs acknowledged, in their turn, the supreme jurisdiction of the metropolitan of Constantinople, who acted as the immediate viceroy of the emperor himself. A white robe was the ensign of their dignity; and these new pontiffs were carefully selected from the most noble and opulent families. By the influence of the magistrates, and of the sacerdotal order, a great number of ardent and devout christians, who possessed the exercise of their religion, were ordered to leave the cities of Niceomedia, Antioch, and Tyre, which artfully represented the well-known intentions of the court as the general sense of the people; solicited the emperor to consult the laws of justice rather than the dictates of his clemency; expressed their abhorrence of the Christians, and humbly prayed that those impious sectaries might at least be excluded from the limits of their respective territories. The answer of Maximin to the address which he obtained from the citizens of Tyre is still extant. He praises their zeal and devotion in terms of the highest satisfaction, descants on the liberality of the populace, and(by the readiness with which he consents to their banishment, that he considered himself as receiving, rather than as conferring, an obligation. The priests as well as the magistrates were empowered to enforce the execution of his edicts, which were engraved on tablets of brass, and erected in the most conspicuous parts of the cities, in order to avoid the effusion of blood, the most cruel and ignominious punishments were inflicted on the refractory christians.

The Asiatic christians had every end of the perishing to dread from the severity of a successor to a pontiff who had imposed his measures of violence with such deliberate policy. But a few months had scarcely elapsed, before the edicts published by the two western emperors obliged Maximin to suspend the prosecution of his designs; the civil war which he so rashly undertook against Licinius employed all his attention; and the defeat and death of Maximin soon delivered the church from the last and most implacable of her enemies.

In this general view of the persecutions, it is easy to conceive that the history of Eusebius, from the declarations of Lacontius, and from the most ancient acts, to collect a long series of horrid and disgusting pictures, and to fill many pages with racks and scourges, with iron hooks and red-hot beds, and with all the variety of tortures which fire and steel, savage beasts and more savage executioners, could inflict on the human body. These melancholy scenes might be enlivened by a crowd of visions and miracles destined either to delay the death, to celebrate the triumph, or to console the devout and emaciated saints who suffered for the name of Christ.

1 See Eusebius, l. viii. c. 14. 1. c. 2-8. Lacontius de M. p. c. 56. These writers agree in the representations of the acts of Maximin; but yet the former relates the destruction of several churches, which were expressly aimed at, occasional devotions, the murder of the bishops, and confessions of the martyrs.

2 Eusebius (l. viii. c. 17.) has given us a Greek version, and Lacontius (de M. p. c. 84.) the Latin original, of this memorable edict. This order of toleration was immediately executed wherever the authors whatever they have just affirmed of the remorse and repentance of Galerius.

3 Euseb. l. iv. c. 6. It inserted the epitaph of the perfect.
But I cannot determine what I ought to transcribe, till I am satisfied how much I ought to believe. The gravest of the ecclesiastical historians, Eusebius himself, indirectly confesses, that he has related whatever might redound to the glory, and that he has suppressed all the distinct narratives, and the discussions of private persons. Such an acknowledgment will naturally excite a suspicion that a writer who has so openly violated one of the fundamental laws of history, has not paid a very strict regard to the observance of the other; and the suspicion will derive additional credit from the character of the man, and from the almost incredible frequency, and more practised in the arts of courts, than that of almost any of his contemporaries. On some particular occasions, when the magistrates were exasperated by some personal motives of interest or resentment, when the zeal of the martyrs urged them to forget the rules of prudence, and perhaps of decency, to overturn the altars, to pour out imprecations against the emperors, or to strike the judge as he sat on his tribunal, it may be presumed, that every mode of torture which cruelty could invent or constancy could endure, was exhausted against them; and two circumstances, however, have been universally mentioned, which insinuate that the general treatment of the christians, who had been apprehended by the power of justice, was less intolerable than it is usually imagined to have been. 1. The confessors who were convicted of the minor crimes, were permitted, in the humanity or the negligence of their keepers, to build chapels, and freely to profess their religion in the midst of those dreary habitations. 2. The bishops were obliged to check and to censure the forward zeal of the christians, who voluntarily threw themselves into the hands of the magistrates. Some of these persons oppressed by poverty and debts, either by suicide, or by being bribed into the profession of the devil, may perhaps be suspected of some degree of guilt. Others were allure by the hope that a short confinement would expiate the sins of a whole life; and others again were actuated by the less honourable motive of deriving a plentiful subsistence, and perhaps a considerable profit, from the alarms which this religious conviction inspired to the Luxury of the rich and powerful. After the church had triumphed over all her enemies, the interest as well as vanity of the captives prompted them to magnify the merit of their respective sufferings. A convenient distance of time or place gave an ample scope to the progress of fiction; without condemning which might be alluded to the holy martyrs, whose wounds had been instantly healed, whose strength had been renewed, and whose lost members had miraculously been restored, were extremely convenient for the purpose of removing every difficulty from the way of the incredulous, and at the same time of spreading extravagant legends, as they conducted to the honour of the church, were applauded by the credulous multitude, countenanced by the power of the clergy, and attested by the suspicious evidence of ecclesiastical history.

The vague descriptions of exile and imprisonment, of pain and torture, are so easily exaggerated or softened by the pencil of an artful orator, that we are naturally induced to inquire into a fact of a more distinct and stubborn kind; the number of persons who suffered death in consequence of the edict of Julian, the persecutions of Diocletian, the elevation, and his successors. The recent legends record whole armies and cities, which were at once swept away by the undistinguishing rage of persecution. The more ancient writers content themselves with pouring out a liberal effusion of loose and tragi-cal inferences, without considering how considerable a number of these number of those persons who were permitted to seal with their blood their belief of the gospel. From the history of Eusebius, it may however be collected, that only nine bishops were punished with death; and we are enabled by his particular enumeration of the martyrs of Palestine, to say, that two christians were entitled to that honourable ap
enced by violence the empire which she had acquired by fraud: a system of peace and benevolence was soon disgraced by proscriptions, wars, massacres, and the institution of the holy office. And as the reformers were animated by the love of civil as well as of religious freedom, the catholic princes connected their own interest with that of the clergy, and enforced by fire and sword the necessity of their spirit. The empire of the Netherlands alone, more than one hundred thousand of the subjects of Charles the Fifth are said to have suffered by the hand of the executioner; and this extraordinary number is attested by Grotius, a man of genius and learning, who preserved his moderation amidst the fury of contending sects, and who compos-
ed the annals of his own age and country, at a time when the invention of printing had facilitated the means of intelligence, and increased the danger of de-
tection. If we are obliged to submit our belief to the authority of Grotius, it must be allowed, that the number of protestants, who were executed in a single province and a single reign, far exceeded that of the primitive martyrs in the space of three centuries, and of the Roman empire. But if the improbability of the fact itself should prevail over the weight of evi-
dence; if Grotius should be convicted of exaggerating the merit and sufferings of the reformers: we shall be naturally led to inquire what confidence can be placed in the doubtful and imperfect monuments of ancient credulity; what degree of credit can be assigned to a courtly bishop, and a passionate declaimer, who, under the protection of Constantine, enjoyed the exclusive privilege of recording the persecutions in-
flicted on the christians by the vanquished rivals or disregarded predecessors of their gracious sovereign.

CHAPTER XVII.

Foundation of Constantinople.—Political system of Con-
tinence, and his successors.—Military discipline.—
The palace.—The finances.

The unfortunate Licinius was the last rival who opposed the greatness, and the last captor who adorned the triumph of Constantine. After a tran-
quil and prosperous reign, the conqueror bequeathed to his family the inheritance of the Roman empire; a new capital, a new policy, and a new religion; and the innovations which he established have been embraced and felt by all the succeeding generations. The age of the great Constantine and his successors was filled with important events; but the historian must be op-
pressed by their number and variety, unless he di-
gently separates from each other the scenes which are connected only by the order of time. He will describe the political institutions that gave strength and stabili-
ty to the empire, before he proceeds to relate the wars and revolutions which hastened its decay. He will adopt the division unknown to the ancients of civil and ecclesiastical affairs: the victory of the christians, and their intestine discord, will supply copious and dis-
tinct material for the historian's pencil.

After the defeat and abdication of Li-
cinius, his victorious rival proceeded to lay the foundations of a city destined to A. D. 324.

in reign future times, the mistress of the east, and to survive the empire and religion of Constantine. The motives, whether of policy or policy which first induced Diocletian to withdraw himself from the ancient seat of government, had acquired additional weight by the example of his successors, and the habits of forty years. Rome was insensibly confound-

12 Retired sumus in duabus celinis ut at nos afferentem famem et siti et igne vaporum. (Cic. Cyp. Epist. xxii.)—G.
13 Ebanis de Marty. Palest. c. 13. He closes his narrative by assuring us, that these were the martyrdoms inflicted in Palestine, in the wake of the persecution. The 6th chapter of his eighth book, which relates to the province of Thesalia in Egypt, may seem to contradict our moderate computation; but it will only lead us to the conclusion, that the management of the historical business by the synods of the period, bears a scene of the most exquisite cruelty the most remote and sequestered counties of the Roman empire, to which returns, be it observed, to one hundred persons had frequently suffered martyrdoms in the same year. But when he proceeds to mention his own journey into Egypt, he omits a great有许多 martyrs who suffered under the edificators of the eucharistical rite. Instead of a large but definite number, he speaks of many christians; (Conc. Ephes. 463.) and he states two ambiguous numbers (τρισήκοντα και ἡμισήκοντα), which may signify either what he had seen or what he had heard: either the execution, or the execution of the punishment. [The reader will take the translation of the original, will see that if the word υπάρχαν has here been taken for the expression of the existence of the passions, there can be no necessity that they must become absolute. —G.] Having thus provided a secure evasion, he proceeds to give us the impression which he received from his travels, rationally conceiving that their piety would induce them to prefer the most favourable sense. There was, perhaps, some mistake in the re-
mark of Theodoretus, that all, who at Constantinople, had been conversant with the Egyptians, delighted in an obscure and in-
tricate style. (See Chapter VIII. note c.)
14 Why Palestine was divided into three, the prefecture of the East contained forty-eight provinces. As the nearest disgracers of the empire were abolished, the boundaries of the provinces corresponding to a general proportion of their extent and opu-

3 Fra Paolo (Istoria dell Conclave Tridentino, Iii.) reduces the number of Belgic martyrs to 50,000. Indeed, Fra Paolo was not inferior to Grotius. The priority of time gives some advantage to the evidence of the former, which he loses on the other hand by the distance of Venite from the Netherlands.
ed with the dependent kingdoms which had once acknowledged her supremacy; and the country of the Cæsars was viewed with cold indifference by a mortal prince, born in the neighbourhood of the Danu-obe, educated in the courts and armies of Asia, and inspired by the genius of Britain. The Italians, who had received Constantine as their deliverer, submissively obeyed the edicts which he sometimes condescended to address to the senate and people of Rome; but they were seldom honoured with the presence of their new sovereign. During the first years of his age, Constantine devoted himself to the various exigencies of peace and war, moved with slow dignity, or with active diligence, along the frontiers of his extensive dominions; and was always prepared to take the field either against a foreign or a domestic enemy. But as he gradually reached the summit of prosperity and the decline of life, he began to meditate the design of fixing in a more permanent station the strength as well as majesty of the throne. In the choice of an advantageous situation, he preferred the confines of Europe and Asia; to curb, with a powerful arm, the barbarians who dwelt between the Danu-robe and the Rhine, to watch with a vigilant eye the conduct of the Persian monarch, who indignantly supported the yoke of an ignominious treaty. With these views, Diocletian had selected and embellished the residence of Nicaeoda; but the memory of Dio-cesis, which was afterwards abhorred by the protector of the church; and Constantine's ambition was to found on the spot a city which might perpetuate the glory of his own name. During the late opera-
tions of the war against Licinius, he had sufficient opportunity to contemplate both as a soldier and as a statesman, the incommode-
tious position of Byzantium; and to observe how strongly it was guarded by nature against an hostile attack, whilst it was accessible on every side to the benefits of commercial intercourse. Many ages before Con-
stantine, one of the most judicious historians of an-
tiquity had described the advantages of a situation, from whence a feeble colony of Greeks derived the command of the sea, and the honours of a flourishing and independent republic.

If we survey Byzantium in the con-
temporary state, we find that with no slight advantage, the city has preserved, if we are to believe writers of the fifth century, the figure of the imperial city may be represented under that of an unequal triangle. The obtuse point, which advances towards the east and the shores of Asia, meets and repels the waves of the Thracian Bosphorus. The northern side of the city is bordered by the barbary; and the southern is washed by the Propontis, or sea of Marmara. The basis of the triangle is opposed to the west, and terminates the continent of Europe. But the admirable form and division of the circumjacent land and water cannot, without a more ample explanation, be clearly or sufficiently understood.

The Bosphorus, the waters of the Euxine flow with a rapid and incessant course towards the Mediterran-
ean, received the appellation of Byzantium, a name which we may assume to be derived from the history, than in the fables, of antiquity. A crowd of temporary or votive tars profusely scattered along its steep and woody banks, attested the unskilfulness, the terrors, and the devotion of the Grecian navigators, who, after the example of the Argonauts, explored the dangers of the inhospitable Euxine. On these banks tradition long preserved the memory of the palace of Phineus, im-
pregnated by the story of the famous and revolting reign of Amycus, who defied the son of Leu to the combat of the cestus. The straits of the Bosphorus are terminated by the Cyanean rocks, which, according to the description of the poets, had once floated on the face of the waters; and were destined by the gods for the watchful eye of profane curiosity. From the Cyanean rocks to the point and harbour of Byzantium, the winding length of the Bosphorus extends about sixteen miles, and its most ordinary breadth may be computed at about one mile and a half. The new castles of Eu-

The decline and fall.  Chap. XVII.

1 There are very few conjectures so happy as that of Le Clerc, (Bibliothèque Universelle, tom. i. p. 148.) who supposes that the harp

2 The residence of Amycus was in Asia between the old and the new castles of Bosphorus, which is called Laurae by Pausanias. It was

3 This, and the other fables, are closely described in two marble columns, of which the remains were found near the tower which be-

4 Namque artifisio iatere Europum Aesarnaque divinitus Byzantinum

5 Polybius, i. iv. p. 425, ed. Canusian. He observes that the peace of the Byzantines was frequently disturbed, and the extract of their territory contracted, by the incursions of the Thracians.

6 The navigator Byzus, who was styled the son of Nestor, founded the city 656 years before the christiarera. His followers were driven backwards on the coast of Brithannia, and afterwards reconquered and fortified by the Spartan general, Pausanias. See Scaliger Anni-

7 The ancient entrance of the gate of the city was defended by a ditch, and it was only by the passage of a wooden bridge, that the en-

8 The ancient computed one hundred and twenty stadia, or fifteen miles, from the Augean to the Eurymedon, and the Augeans were

9 Amycus reigned in Belbica, afterwards called Bithynia. He was the inventor of the gonest, of which he made use in fencing. The

10 Ephorus and Phylarchus; Diueta s. d., that Amycus was addressed by

11 By the geometrical division of 750, in the Art de Littere, plate i. c. 17.

12 Illyrius, who gives a detailed account of the combat. (Id. 32.) says that Ptolus did not kill him, but made him promise never more to

13 With great regret, he presented his body to the flames, and placed a column to the memory of the queen. He died a victim to his

14 The last emperor of the army was defeated by Zorzenon, and 1483, in the Art de Littere, plate i. c. 17.

15 The art of Byzantium was lost upon a funeral vessel given by

16 The Campi Phlegraei, the Sibyl of Cumae, and the poetess of

17 The Campi Phlegraei, the Sibyl of Cumae, and the poetess of

18 The Sibyl of Cumae, and the poetess of

19 Greek Callistus, with the Roman name of Cato, the 12th of Mar-

20 The Sibyl of Cumae, the 12th of March, the 2nd century before Christ.

21 Greek Callistus, with the Roman name of Cato, the 12th of Mar-

22 The Sibyl of Cumae, the 12th of March, the 2nd century before Christ.
The harbour of Constantinople, which may be considered an arm of the Bosphorus, obtained in a very remote period, the denomination of the Golden Horn. The curve which it wears, the turn of a river, or as it should seem, with more propriety, to that of an ox.\(^7\) The epithet of golden was expressive of the riches which every wind wafted from the most distant countries into the secure and capacious port of Constantinople. The river Lykos, formed by the confluent of two streams, pours into the harbour a perpetual supply of fresh water, which serves to cleanse the bottom, and to invite the periodical shoals of fish to seek their retreat in that convenient recess. As the vicissitudes of tides are scarcely felt in those seas, the constant depth of the harbour allows goods to be loaded and unloaded on the quays without the assistance of boats; and it has been observed, that in many places the largest vessels may rest their prows against the houses, while their sterns are floating in the water.\(^a\)

From the mouth of the Lykos to that of the harbour, this arm of the Bosphorus is more than seven miles in length. The distance is about five hundred yards broad, and a strong chain might be occasionally drawn across it, to guard the port and city from the attack of an hostile navy.\(^a\)

The Propontis. Between the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, the shores of Europe and Asia receding on either side, so as invincibly to encompass the strait, which was known to the ancients by the denomination of Propontis. The navigation from the island of the Bosphorus to the entrance of the Hellespont is about one hundred and twenty miles. Those who steer their westward course through the middle of the Propontis, may observe on their right, the strong town of Bithynia, and never lose sight of the lofty summit of Mount Olympus, covered with eternal snows.\(^b\) They leave on the left a deep gulf, at the bottom of which Nicomedia was seated, the imperial residence of Diocletian; and they pass the small islands of Cyzicus and Propontis before they cast anchor at Gallipoli; where the sea, which separates Asia from Europe, is again contracted into a narrow channel.

The Hellespont. The geographers who with the most skillful accuracy have surveyed the form and extent of the Hellespont, assign about sixty miles for the windings, and about thirty an ordinary breadth of those celebrated straits.\(^b\) But the narrowest part of the channel is found to the northward of the old Turkish castles between the cities of Cestus and Abydus. It was here that the adventurous Leander braved the passage of the flood for the sake of his mistress.\(^e\) It was here likewise, in a place where the distance between the opposite banks cannot exceed five hundred paces,\(^7\) that Xerxes imposed a stupendous bridge of boats, for the purpose of transporting into Europe an army of his hoplites.\(^4\) A sea contracted within such narrow limits, may seem but ill to deserve the singular epithet of broad, which Homer, as well as Orpheus, has frequently bestowed on the Hellespont. But our ideas of greatness are of a relative nature: the traveller, and especially the poet, who, with ready thoughts, can cover the windings of the Hellespont, and contemplate the rural scenery, which appeared on every side to terminate the prospect, insensibly lost the remembrance of the sea; and his fancy painted those celebrated straits with all the attributes of a mighty river flowing with a swift current, in the midst of which woods and groves are planted by the banks, and by a wide mouth, discharging itself into the Ægean or Archipelago.\(^1\) Ancient Troy,\(^2\) seated on an eminence at the foot of mount Ida, overlooked the mouth of the Hellespont, which scarcely received an accession of waters from the tribute of those immortal rivulets the Simois and Scamander. The Grecian camp had stretched twelve miles along the shore from the Sigean to the Thracian promontory; and the flanks of the army were guarded by the bravest chiefs who fought under the banners of Ajax. The first of those promontories was occupied by Achilles with a tower, and the other pitched his tents on the other. After Ajax had fallen a sacrifice to his disappointed pride, and to the ingratitude of the Greeks, his sepulchre was erected on the ground where he had defended the navy against the rage of Jove and of Hector; and the citizens of the Thracian Rhodius were afterwards invested with divine honours.\(^8\) Before Constantine gave a just precedence to the situation of Byzantium, he had conceived the design of erecting the seat of empire on this celebrated spot, from whence the Romans derived their fabulous origin. The extensive plain which lies below ancient Troy, towards the Thracian promontory and the tomb of Ajax, was first chosen for his new capital, and though the undertaking was soon relinquished, the stately remains of unfinished walls and towers attracted the notice of all who sailed through the straits of the Hellespont.*


Gibbon does not make the nearest shores of the Hellespont, more distant from one another than they are, and he states that in all the ancients speak of this last passage as being broader than the other. They agree in giving it 7 stadia, or 933 paces, in the narrowest part. (Herodotus, lib. xii. c. 101; Pliny, i. c. 18. 132.) It is singular that Gibbon, who, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, was considered as the most learned man of his time, should not have observed, that in every part of the strait the width was far too small for the purposes of navigation.\(^b\)

\(^b\) See the seventh book of Herodotus, wtu has erected an elegant trophy to his own name, and which is so placed that all the Ancients agree, that in the time of that Emperor, the Hellespont has been made with tolerable accuracy; but the vanity, first of the Persians, and afterwards of the Romans, to magnify the advantages of the navigation, and the victory, I should much doubt whether the invaders have ever understood the terms of any country which they attacked.

\(^e\) See Wood's Observations on Homer, p. 289. I have, with pleasure, selected this reflection from an author who generally speaks of the ancient annals of Greece with so much justice as to have disappointed the expectation of the public as a critic, and still more as a traveller. He had visited the banks of the Hellespont: he had been on board Strato; he ought to have consulted the Roman inscriptions; how was it possible for him to confound Ilium and Alexandria? (Observations on Homer, p. 352.) I can only see the two cities were separated sixty miles from each other, and the

\(^*\) See the Memoirs of the Academy, tom. ii. p. 595. The disposition of the ships which were drawn upon dry land, and the poets of Ajax and Achilles, are very clearly described by Homer. See Illiad in 220.

\(^a\) See Strabo, i. xiii. p. 595. The disposition of the ships which were drawn upon dry land, and the poets of Ajax and Achilles, are very clearly described by Homer. See Illiad in 220.

\(^b\) See Strabo, i. xiii. p. 595. The disposition of the ships which were drawn upon dry land, and the poets of Ajax and Achilles, are very clearly described by Homer. See Illiad in 220.
We are at present qualified to view the
advantageous position of Constantinople; which appears to have been formed by nature for the contemplation of a great empire. Situated on the forty-first degree of latitude, the imperial city commanded, from her seven hills, the opposite shores of Europe and Asia; the climate was healthy and temperate, the soil fertile, the harbour secure and capacious; and the approach on the side of the continent was made so easy by the natural and artificial aids of the Bosphorus and the Hellespont may be considered as the two gates of Constantinople; and the prince who possessed those important passages could always shut them against a naval enemy, and open them to the fleets of commerce. The preservation of the eastern provinces may, in some degree, be ascribed to the policy of Constantine, as the barbarians of the Euxine, who in the preceding age had poured their armies into the heart of the Mediterranean, soon desisted from the exercise of piracy, and despaired of forcing this insurmountable barrier. When the gates of the Hellespont and Bosphorus were shut, the capital still enjoyed within its spacious enclosure, every production which could supply the wants, or gratify the luxury, of its numerous inhabitants. The sea-coasts of Thrace and Bithynia, which languish under the weight of Turkish oppression, yield a rich produce of wineyards, fields of gardens, and of plentiful harvests; and the Propontis has ever been renowned for an inexhaustible store of the most exquisite fish, that are taken in their stated seasons, without skill, and almost without labour. But when the passages of the straits were thrown open for trade, they alternately admitted the natural and artificial riches of the north and south, of the Euxine, and of the Mediterranean. Whatever rude commodities were collected in the forests of Germany and Scythia, as far as the sources of the Tanais and the Borysthenes were manufactured by the skill of Europe or Asia; the gardens of Egypt, and the great artificial riches of the richest India, were brought by the varying winds into the port of Constantinople, which for many ages, attracted the commerce of the ancient world.

Foundation of the city.

The prospect of beauty, of safety, and of wealth, united in a single spot, was sufficient to justify the choice of Constantine. But as some decent mixture of prodigy and fable has, in every age, been supposed to reflect a becoming majesty on the origin of great cities, the emperor was desirous of acquiring a name, not to satisfy the uncertainty of counsels of human policy, as to the inaffilable and eternal decrees of divine wisdom. In one of his laws he has been careful to instruct posterity, that, in obedience to the commands of God, he laid the everlasting foundations of Constantinople: and though he has not condescended to relate in what manner the celestial inspiration was communicated to his mind, the defect of his modest silence has been liberally supplied by the ingenuity of succeeding writers; who describe the nocturnal vision which appeared to the fancy of Constantine, as he slept within the walls of Byzantium. The tutelar genius of the city, a venerable-thumbnail.

Advantages of

Constantinople. Before the foundation of Constantinople, Thessalonica is mentioned by Cedrenus, (p. 263) and Sardica by Zonaras, as the intended capital. They both suppose, with very little probability, that the emperor, if he had not been persuaded by a present vision, would have repeated the mistake of the Mind Chaldæenses.

History of the East, vol. ii. p. 127. His plan of the seven hills is clear and accurate. That traveller is sel-
dom so satisfactory.

The place of observation, c. 72—76 Among a variety of different species, the pelamides, a sort of twenties, were the most celeb-
ated, and of the Frenships, Strabo gives the profits of the fishery to the principal revenue of Byzantium. The earliest description of Brathenius, epistop. 1. p. 61. Est in Europa; quam incolitium contineat non sum, maris tamen navigationem constanter loqui, ac res maritimam, &c. et.Autors.

D. Caspar casparis antiquitas, ut mirando humanae diviniti, pri-
mundia turbas nempe facta, T. Liv. in prel. e.

He says, in one of his laws, pro commoditate urbis quam atque ut a"n, iunctum Dee, duumnum. Cod. Theodos. I. xiii. id. v. leg. 7.

The Greeks, Theophanes, Cedrenus, and the author of the Alex-
andrian Chronicle, confide themselves to vague and general expres-
sions. For a more particular account of the vision, we are obliged to have recourse to such Latin writers as William of Malmesbury; see Durece, C. P. l. p. 21. 25. See Plutarch in Romul. t. i. p. 40. edit. Bryan. Among other remonstrances of this kind, which had been day for that purpose, we are informed that the Greeks were so envious the extreme length of Constantinople was about three Roman miles; the circumference measured between

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of the Roman Empire.

of the glory of his reign, could employ in the prosecution of that great work the wealth, the labour, and all that yet remained of the genius of obedient millions. Some estimate may be formed of the expense bestowed with imperial liberality on the foundation of Constantinople, by the allowance of about two millions five hundred thousand pounds for the construction of the walls, the porticoes, and the aqueducts. The forests that overshadowed the shores of the Euxine, and the celebrated quarries of white marble in the loose heath of Attica, were supplied with fresh stock of materials, ready to be conveyed, by the convenience of a short water-carriage, to the harbour of Byzantium. A multitude of labourers and artificers urged the conclusion of the work with incessant toil; but the impatience of Constantinople soon discovered, that in the decline of arts, the skill as well as numbers of his architects became very unimportant in proportion to the greatness of his designs. The magistrates of the most distant provinces were therefore directed to institute schools, to appoint professors, and to bestow rewards and privileges, to engage in the study and practice of architecture a sufficient number of ingenuous artificers, who had received a liberal education. The buildings of the new city were executed by such artificers as the reign of Constantinople afforded: but they were decorated by the hands of the most celebrated masters of the age of Pericles and Alexander. To revive the genius of Phidias and Ly- sippus, surpassed indeed the power of the master; but the imperial prodigies which they had bequeathed to posterity were exposed without defence to the rapacious vanity of a despot. By his commands the cities of Greece and Asia were despoiled of their most valuable ornaments. The trophies of memorable wars, the objects of religious veneration, the most distinguished statues of the gods and heroes, of the sages and poets, of ancient times, contributed to the splendid triumph of Constantinople; and gave occasion to the remark of the historian Cedrenus, who observes, with some enthusiasm, that nothing seemed wanting except the souls of the illustrious men whom he had observed in their performances, who were absent. But it is not in the city of Constantinople, nor in the declining period of an empire, when the human mind was depressed by civil and religious slavery, that we should seek for the souls of Homer and Demosthenes.

During the siege of Byzantium, the emperor had pitched his tent on the commanding extremity of the second hill. To perpetuate the memory of his success, he chose the same advantageous position for the principal form; which appears to have been of a circular, or rather elliptical, form. To this object were contributed a new triumphal arch; the porticoes, which enclosed it on every side, were filled with statues; and the centre of the form was occupied by a lofty column, of which a mutilated fragment is now degraded by the appellation of the barnd pillar. This column was erected on a pedestal of marble, composed of ten pieces of porphyry, each of which measured about ten feet in height, and about thirty-three in circumference. On the summit of the pillar above one hundred and twenty feet from the ground, stood the colossal statue of Apollo. It was of bronze, had been transported either from Athens or from a town of Phrygia, and was supposed to be the work of Phidias. The artist had represented the god of day, or, as it was afterwards interpreted, the emperor Constantine himself, with a sceptre in his right hand, the globe of the world in his left, and a crown of rays glistening on his forehead. The circumference of this stately building about four hundred paces in length, and one hundred in breadth. The space between the two nuclei or goals, was filled with statues and obelisks; and we may still remark a very singular fragment of antiquity; the bodies of three serpents twisted into one another, which was brought from Athens; it once supported the golden tripod which, after the defeat of Xerxes, was consecrated in the temple of Delphi by the victors of Greeks. The beauty of the

the court and of the state of the legions, &c. It resembled our office of postmaster general, and was filled by persons of Eminence; and the officers, named the eminence. The office first took its rise from the time of the emperor Theodosius. The postmaster of the fifth century was in command of the principal post roads in the eastern part of the empire, and in charge of the communication between the towns of the west and the east. There is evidence to prove that it was not then made for the purpose of correspondence, but of the kind expected of such a person.

1 The accurate Thvenot (i. 1. 13) walked in one thousand and thirty-two English miles, from the Kri- puk to the seraglio of the seven towers. D'Anville estimates with care, and receives with confidence, this decisive testimony, which gives the true distance, from one hundred and twelve miles. The extravagant computation of Tournefort (Lettre xii.) of thirty-four or thirty miles, without including Scutari, is a strange departure from his usual character.

3 The syræ, or itineraries, formed the thirteenth region, and were very much improved by Justinian. It has since borne the names of Peru and Galata. The stigmata of the former is obvious; that of the latter is unknown. See Durand Comit. l. i. c. 22. and Gyllius de Byzantium, l. v. c. 10.

1 One hundred and twelve miles, which may be translated into modern English miles, is the only continuous French toise. See D'Anville Meures Itinéraire, p. 53.

5 This was the first of the three columns, which stood in the Prætorian, at Constantinople, and which had been dedicated to the memory of the three emperors, Theodosius, the elder Constantine, and the younger Constantine. See D'Anville Mém de l'Acaémie, vol. iv. p. 233. with his Descript. Of the emperor, who had resided here, for a space of forty years, from the time of his baptism, to the year 337.

7 If we divide Constantinople and Pera into equal shares of 30 French toises, the former contains 619, and the latter 1160, of these divisions.

9 Six hundred centuries, or sixty thousand pounds weight of gold, is mentioned by Zosimus (c. x. 13.) in a note, unless that contemptible author had derived his information from some more ancient writer, whom he has probably been unacquainted with, to obviate a mode of reckoning.

10 For the forests of the Black sea, consult Tournefort, Lettre xvi. for an account of the forests of the Black sea. See also D'Anville, Præsid. lire. 39. 39.

11 The latter had already furnished the materials of the stately building.

12 See the Codex Theodosii. l. xiii. tit. iv. leg. 1. This law is dated in the year 334, and was addressed to the prefect of Italy, whose jurisdiction extended over Africa. The commentary of Godfrey, on the whole title, will deserve to be consulted.

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Hippodrome has been long since defaced by the rude hands of the Turkish conquerors; but, under the similar appellation of Atmeddan, it still serves as a place of exercise for their horses. 1 From the throne, whence the emperor viewed the Circensian games, a winding staircase still retains its ancient form, and a magnificent colonnade, which scarcely yielded to Rome itself, and which, together with the dependent courts, gardens, and porticoes, covered a considerable extent of ground upon the banks of the Propontis between the Hippodrome and the church of St. Sophia. 2 We might likewise celebrate the baths, which still retained the name of Zephyrium, under which they had been enriched, by the munificence of Constantine, with lofty columns, various marbles, and above three-score statues of bronze. 3 But we should deviate from the design of this history, if we attempted minutely to describe the different buildings or quarters of the city. It may be sufficient to observe, that whatever could adorn the dignity of a great capital, or contribute to the benefit or pleasure of its numerous inhabitants, was contained within the walls of Constantinople. A particular description, composed about a century after its foundation, enumerates the school of law, schools of arts, public halls, theatres, small and large, and one hundred and fifty three private baths, fifty-two porticoes, five granaries, eight aqueducts or reservoirs of water, four spacious halls for the meetings of the senate or courts of justice, four taverns, fifteen churches, sixteen palaces, and nine hundred and eighty-eight temples, which, for their size or beauty, deserved to be distinguished from the multitude of plebeian habitations. 4

The populousness of this favoured city was the next most serious object of the attention of its founder. In the dark ages which succeeded the translation of the empire, the remote and the immediate consequences of that memorable event were strangely confounded by the vanity of the Greeks, and the credulity of the Latins. 5 It was asserted, and believed, that all the noble families of Rome, the senate, and the equestrian order, with their numerous attendants, had followed their emperor to the banks of the Propontis; that a spurious race of strangers and plebeians was left to possess the solitude of the ancient capital; and that the lands of Italy, long since converted into gardens, were at once turned into deserts by the removal of the imperial eagle. 6 Most modern writers and editors of the history of Rome, and of the eastern provinces, were probably invited by Constantine to adopt for their country the fortunate spot which he had chosen for his own residence. The invitations of a master are scarcely to be distinguished from commands; and the liberty of the emperor obtained a ready and cheerful obedience. He bestowed on his favourites the palaces which he had built in the several quarters of the city, assigned them lands and pensions for the support of their dignity; and alienated the demesnes of Pontus and Asia to grant hereditary estates by the easy tenure of maintenance and holding. A circumscribed number of, and engagements and obligations soon became superfluous, and were gradually abolished. Wherever the seat of government is fixed, a considerable part of the public revenue will be expended by the prince himself, by his ministers, by the officers of justice, and the officials of the provinces. The wealth of the provincials will be attracted by the powerful motives of interest and duty, of amusement and curiosity. A third and more numerous class of inhabitants will insensibly be formed, of servants, of artificers, and of merchants, who derive their subsistence from their own labour, and from the wants or luxury of the superior ranks. In less than a century, Constantinople disputed with Rome itself the pre-eminence of riches and numbers. New piles of buildings, crowded together with too little regard to health or convenience, scarcely allowed the intervals of narrow streets for the perpetual throng of men, of horses, and of carriages. The allotted space of ground was insufficient to contain the increasing people; and the additions foundations, which, on either side, were advanced into the sea, might as well have composed a very considerable city.

The frequency of the public festivals, the extreme profusion of wine and oil, corn or bread, of money or provisions, had almost exempted the poorest citizens of Rome from the necessity of labour. The magnificence of the first Caesars was in some measure imitated by that of the emperors of the east; and the empire, however liberal, however, it might excite the applause of the people, has incurred the censure of posterity. 7

1 Montesquieu, Grandeur et Decadence des Romains, c. 17. 2 J. Thoisy instit. orat. iii. p. 48. edid. Hardouin. Sozomen, i. ii. c. 2. Zosimus, i. ii. p. 167. Anonym. Valesianus, p. 715. If we could credit Codinus, (p. 10,) Constantin built houses for the senators on the exact model of their Roman palaces, and gratified them, as well as himself, with the pleasure of an agreeable surprise; but the whole story is full of fictions and inconsistencies. 3 Joinville, c. 10. 4 The Bibliothec Scystophoros. PJ. 180, abolished this tenure, may be found among the Novelle of that em- 5 pioner at the hands of the Thracian or Bulgarian ruler, Codex, tom. vi. nov. 12. M. de Tillamont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. 1, c. 23.,) has shown, 6 that the nature of these estates. With a grant from the imperial munificence, the small proprietors could not only possess themselves justly have been deemed a hardship, if it had been imposed upon private property.

7 The passages of Zosimus, of Eunapius, of Sozomen, and of Agath- 8 us, which relate to the increase of buildings and inhabitants at the time of Constantine, and the mechanical improvements of the city, are found only reckoned by Codinus, a man of moderation, who says, that the word must have had a more dignified signification. No insula and no tribunal, as the锨 were called, were of sufficient importance to be considered as the new streets, of the new 202. 8 P. luricius Lactant. de Inf. Neeoponth. p. 112. The modern Greeks have strangely disregarded the antiquities of Constantinople. We might excuse the errors of the Turkish or Arabian writers; but it is certain, that the difference between the genuine and the false and adulterated authentic materials preserved in their own language should prefer fiction to truth, and biased translation to accurate information. In a work of Codinus we may detect twelve unaccountable mistakes; the reconciliation of Severus and Niger, the marriage of their son and daughter, the siege of Byzantium by the Macedonians, the invasion of the Gauls, which recalled Severus to Rome, the sixty years which elapsed from his death to the foundation of Constantinople, &c.
tion of legislators and conquerors might assert their claim to the harvests of Africa, which had been purchased with their blood; and it was artfully contrived by the Emperor Julian to excite the hatred of the Romans should lose the memory of freedom. But the prodigality of Constantine could not be excused by any consideration either of public or private interest; and the annual tribute of corn imposed upon Egypt for the benefit of his new capital, was applied to feed a vast multitude of togaed bodies. The cost of that immense service was partly defrayed by the slavemen of an industrious province. Some other regulations of this emperor are less liable to blame, but they are less deserving of notice. He divided Constantine into fourteen regions or quarters, dignified the public council with the appellation of senate, communicated the revenues of Italy and bestowed on the rising city the title of Colony, the first and most favoured daughter of ancient Rome. The venerable parent still maintained the legal and acknowledged supremacy, which was due to her age, to her dignity, and to the remembrance of her former greatness.

Dedication.

As Constantine urged the progress of the A.D. 339 or 334, the work with the impatience of a lover, the walls, the porticoes, and the principal edifices, were completed in a few years, or, according to another account, in a few months: but this extraordinary and opulent construction, so far as the want of written records will allow us to judge of the extent of the works, in which so many of the buildings were finished in so hasty and imperfect a manner, that, under the succeeding reigns, they were preserved with difficulty from impending ruin. But while they displayed the vigour and freshness of youth, the founder prepared to celebrate the dedication of his city. The games and largesses which crowned the pomp of this memorable festival may easily be supposed; but there is one circumstance of a more singular and permanent nature, which ought not entirely to be overlooked. As often as the birth-day of the city returned, the statue of Constantine, framed, by his order, of gilt wood, and bearing in its right hand a small image of the genius of the place, was erected on a triumphal car. The guards, who were carrying what the ancients termed the statue of parade, accompanied the solemn procession as it moved through the Hippodrome. When it was opposite to the throne of the reigning emperor, he rose from his seat, and with grateful reverence adored the memory of his predecessor. At the festival of the dedication, the Emperor Julian, in a eloquent speech before the multitude, allotted to the title of Second or New Rome on the city of Constantine. But the name of Constantinople has prevailed over that honourable epitaph; and after the revolution of fourteen centuries, still perpetuates the fame of its author.

The foundation of a new capital is form of government naturally connected with the establishment of a new form of civil and military administration. The distinct view of the complicated system of policy, introduced by Diocletian, improved by Constantine, and completed by his immediate successors, may not only amuse the fancy by the singular picture of a great empire, but will tend to illustrate the secret and internal causes of its rapid decay. In pursuit of any remarkable institution, we may be frequently led into the more early or the more recent times of the Roman history; but the proper limits of this inquiry must be defined at the expiration of one hundred and thirty years, from the accession of Constantine to the publication of the Theodosian code, from which, as well as from the Notitia of the east and west, we derive the most copious and authentic information of the state of the empire. This variety of objects will suspend, for some time, the course of the narrative; but the interruption will be censured only by those readers who are insensible to the importance of laws and manners, while they perceive, with eager curiosit,y, the transient intrigues of a court, or the accidental event of a battle.

The name of the Romans, Constantine, having a subjection to the entire power of Constantine, had left to the vanity the east the forms and ceremonies of ostentatious greatness. But when they lost even the semblance of those virtues which were derived from their ancient freedom, the simplicity of Roman manners was improved. The Alexandrian discipline of the courts of Asia. The distinctions of personal merit and influence, so conspicuous in a republic, so feeble and obscure under a monarchy, were abolished by the despotism of the emperors; who substituted in their room a severe subordination

a See Cod. Theod. i. xiii. xiv. and Cod. Justinian. Edict. xii. tom. iv. p. 608. ed. Gresser. See the beautiful complaint of Ione in the poem of Claudius de Bell. Gallonicum, ver. 64—66. 5 Cum subit par Rome milli, divinum summit 5 eqales aurora tegat: Egypta rura
b The regions of Constantineople are mentioned in the code of Justinian, and particularly described in the Notitia of the younger Theodosius. But of them there are few written accounts. In the wall of Constantine, it may be doubted whether this division of the city was referred to the founder.

c Senatorium secundum ordinis: Claros vocavit. Anonym. Valentinian, p. 715. The senators of old Rome were styled Clarissimi Senatus. The Notitia imperii usque ad Anonymum, p. 9, describes the emperor on the eleventh epistle of Julian, it should seem that the place of senate was occupied by a large number of citizens rather than by senators. Abs de la Betiere (Vie de Jovien, tom. ii. p. 271) has shown that this epistle could not relate to Constantineople. Might we not read, instead of the proper name of D. Constan- tin, the obscure, but more probable word despotis? 5 Bisenti or Rhodestus, now Rhodoslo, was a small maritime city of Thrace. See Stephani. Byz. de Urbibus, p. 325. and Cellar. Geograph. tom. i. p. 819.

d Cod. Theod. i. xiii. 12. The commentary of Godefray (tom. v. p. 203.) is not perplexed; nor indeed is the essential secret that the Jews the Julianus could consist after the freedom of the city had been communicated to the whole empire.

e Julian (Orat. i. 8.) celebrates Constantine as not less superior to all other emperors than himself was inferior to Rome itself. His learned commentary on the Spartan, (p. 73, 75,) justifies this language by several parallel and contemporary instances. Zosimus, as well as Socrates, describes Tirteen, a flourishing place, situated on the sea between the two sons of Theodosius, which established a perfect equality between the old and the new capital. 5 Codinus (Antiquitatis, p. 8.) affirms, that the foundations of Constantine were laid in the year of the world 3937. (A.D. 339.) on the 26th of July, at the foot of the hill which is designated the 11th of May 5838. (A.D. 377.) He connects these events with several characteristic instances, but not without some exception; the authority of Codinus is of little weight, and the space which he assigns must appear insufficient. The term of ten years is given by Julian; (Orat. i. p. 8.) and Tacitus, (Annal. xiv. 35.) The emperor himself for the help of two passages from Theodronius, (Orat. f. p. 28.) and Phili- liades, (Hist. Rom., tom. i. p. 695-699.) and by the help of two passages from Theodros, (Orat. i. p. 24.) and Phili- liades, (Hist. Rom., tom. i. p. 695-699.) of the first and most favouring of the year 234. Modern critics are divided concerning this point of chronology, and their different sentiments are not sufficiently discussed by the author. 5 Theodronii, Tom. iii. p. 47. Zonnes, i. r. p. 165. Constantine himself places one of the triumphs at the gate of the city. (Cod. C. 8.) This may have his paternity.

f Ceddus and Zonnes are faithful to the mode of superstition which prevailed in their own times, assures us that Constantine was consecrated in the virgin Mother of God.

g The earliest and most complete account of this extraordinary event may be found in the Alexandrian chronicle, p. 523. Till, without the other friends of Constantine, who are offended with the air of suspicion which seems unworthy of a Christian prince, had a right to consider it as doubtful, but they were not authorized to omit the mention of it.

h Sossamen, i. ii. c. 5. Durange C. P. l. c. 6. Vebus iprius Roman, is the expression of Augustin, de Civit. Del. i. v. e. 25. I Etropolis, l. i. c. R. Julian. Orat. i. p. 8. Durange C. P. l. c. 5. The name of Constantineople is extant on the medals of Constantine.
THE DECLINE AND FALL

rank and office, from the titled slaves who were seat-
ed on the steps of the throne, to the meanest instru-
ments of arbitrary power. This extended circle of object
dependents was interested in the support of the actual
government, from the dread of a revolution, which
might at once confound their hopes, and intercept the
reward of their services. In this divine hierarchy (for
still it is frequently styled) every ramathers preceded
with the most scrupulous exactness, and its dignity
was displayed in a variety of tripping and solemn
ceremonies, which it was a study to learn, and a sacrilege
to neglect.* The purity of the Latin language was
debased, by adopting, in the intercourse of pride and
flattery, the style of epithets. Tully wishes, how-
scarcely have understood, and which Augustus would
have rejected with indignation. The principal officers
of the empire were saluted, even by the sovereign
himself, with the deceitful titles of your Sincerity,
your Graciousness, your Excellency, your Emace-
more, your sublime and wonderful Magnitude, your illustrious and
magnificent Highness.† The codies or patents of
their office were curiously embazoned with such em-
blems as were best adapted to explain its nature and
high dignity; the image or portrait of the reigning
emperor adorned the frontispiece of many of those
placed on a table, covered with a rich carpet, and
illuminated by four tapers; the allegorical figures
of the provinces which they governed; or the appella-
tions and standards of the troops whom they com-
manded. Some of these official ensigns were really
exhibited in their hall of audience, and others preceded
their pompous march whenever they appeared in pub-
lie; and every circumstance of their demeanour, their
dress, their ornaments, and their train, was calculated
to inspire a deep reverence for the representatives of
supreme authority. By a philosophic observer, the
system of the Roman government might have been
mistaken for a splendid theatre, filled with players of
every character and degree, who repeated the language,
and imitated the passions, of their original model.‡

Three ranks of
All the magistrates of sufficient im-
portance to find a place in the general
state of the empire, were accurately divided into three
classes. I. The Illustrious. 2. The Spectacles, or
Respectable: And, 3. The Clarissimi; whom we may
translate by the word Honorable. In the times of
Roman simplicity, the last-mentioned epithet was
unfrequently expressive of a real difference, till it
became at length the peculiar and appropriated title
of all who were members of the senate, and conse-
quentially of all who, from that venerable body, were se-
lected to govern the provinces. The vanity of those
will, however, of office and office, might be traced in a
more or less distinct advantage above the rest of the senatorial order,
was long afterwards indulged with the new appellation
of Respectable; but the title of Illustrious was always re-
served to some eminent personages who were obeyed or revered by the two subordinate classes. It was
communicated only 1. To the consuls and patricians;
II. To the praetorian prefects, with the praefects of
Roman and Constantinople; III. To the masters-gen-
eral of the cavalry and the infantry; and, IV. To the
seven ministers of the palace, who exercised their
sober functions about the person of the emperor. Among those illustrious magistrates who were esteem-
ed co-ordinate with each other, the seniority of ap-
pointment gave place to the union of dignities.§ By
the expediency of honorary codies, the emperors, who
were fond of multiplying their favours, might some-
times gratify the vanity, though not the ambition, of
impatient courtiers.¶

1. As long as the Roman consuls were
the first magistrates, there was no
derived the right to power from the choice of
the people. As long as the emperors condescended to
glise the servitude which they imposed, the consuls
were still elected by the real or apparent suffrage of
the senate. From the reign of Diocletian, even these
vestiges of republican liberty and glory were derive-
candidates who were invested with the annual honours
of the consulship, affected to deplete the humiliating
condition of their predecessors. The Seipios and the
Catos had been reduced to solicit the votes of plebeians,
to pass through the tedious and expensive forms of a
popular election, and to expose their dignity to the
shame of a public refusal; while their own happier fate
had reserved them for an age and government in
which the rewards of virtue were assigned by the
emerging wisdom of a gracious sovereign. In the epistles
of Cicero to Atticus, the writer testifies that when
his consulship was at last declared, that they were created by his sole au-
thority. Their names and portraits, engraved on gilt
TABLE IV, Figure 6

† Cod. Theod. i. vii. tit. vi. The rules of precedence are ac-
tained with the most minute accuracy by the emperors, and illus-
trated with particularity by the leveldiary of their offspring.

‡ Cod. Theod. i. vii. tit. xii.

§ Austens (De Rebus Actione) barely expatiates on this un-
worthy topic, which is managed by Mamertinus (Panegyr. Vet. xi.
16—19.) with somewhat more freedom and ingenuity.

¶ Cato did the same; the most illustrious of the consular volun-
table:...censibus, et decemviris, et tria triumviratu, &c. the
consul and tribune, and proconsul and praetor, and tertius
among the magistrates, and...are some of the expressions employed by the emperor Gratian to his
preceptor the Austus.

• Immortuosque viri, et deces

Qui sedet ferro in tabulis auroque micantes,
Inscripta rutinum consule consule nomen
Per process et vulgar exs.


Montfaucon has represented some of these tablets of dyptikes; see

Consul et lexator post plurimis secundus viam
Passantias apud aegonuntrom consule curulis
Audias qua nonam pravias: desuetate cingit
Bregaeque vestibus; formis et ignibus

From the reign of Carus to the death of the sixth consulship of Honorius, there
was an interval of one hundred and twenty years, during which the
emperors were always absent from Rome on the first day of January.

See Claudian in Cons. Prob. et Olyphrii, 178, &c. and in iv.
Cons. Honorii, 53, &c.; though in the latter it is not easy to separate
the ornaments of the emperor from those of the consul. Ausonius
received from the liberality of Gratian, a vestis palmaria, or robe of
cloth, in which the Lucullus and Tiberius Bithynicus were embro-

• Ceris et armorum processus legatones potentes:
Patriosum summi habitus; et more Gabino
Dignitatis aegonunt tribunica, posteaque tria
Belorom signa, agnitior vestilla Gabinii.
Lictori rudert equile, rideque torquet
Miles, Hinc aegonunt effagi, civitatem

• frigore procid radice secederat

In Cons. Prob. 229.

• See Valesius ad Ammian. Marcellin. I. xxiv. c. 7.
exercised an act of jurisdiction, by the manumission of a slave, who was brought before them for that purpose; and the ceremony was intended to represent the ceasing of many foreign wars, and the restoration of liberty and of the consulship, when he admitted among his fellow-citizens the faithful Vindex, who had revealed the conspiracy of the Tarquins. 1 The public festival was continued during several days in all the principal cities; in Rome, from custom; in Constantinople, from imitation; in Carthage, Antioch, and Alexandria, from the love of pleasure and the superfluity of wealth. 2 In the two capitals of the empire the annual games of the theatre, the circus, and the amphitheatre, cost four thousand pounds of gold, (about) one hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling; and it so happened that the body of the senators, and the great number of strangers and the nobility, together with the senators and of the magistrates themselves, the sum was supplied from the imperial treasury. 3 As soon as the consuls had discharged these customary duties, they were at liberty to retire into the shade of private life, and to enjoy during the remainder of the year the unembarrassed contemplation of their own greatness. They no longer presided in the national councils; they no longer executed the resolutions of peace or war. Their abilities (unless they were employed in more effective offices) were of little moment; and their names served only as the legal date of the year in which the consulship had been conferred, as the record of Cicero. Yet it was still felt and acknowledged, in the last period of Roman servitude, that this empty name might be compared, and even preferred, to the possession of substantial power. The title of consul was still the most splendid object of ambition, the noblest reward of virtue and loyalty. The emperors them- selves, who disDained the slight shadow of the republic, were conscious that they acquired an additional splendour and majesty as often as they assumed the annual honours of the consular dignity.

The patricians. The proudest and most perfect separation which can be found in any age or country, between the nobles and the people, is perhaps that of the patricians and the plebeians, as it was established in the first age of the Roman republic. Wealth and honours, the offices of the state, and the chief concern of religion, were almost exclusively possessed by the former; who, preserving the purity of their blood with the most insulting jealousy, held their clients in a condition of specious vassalage. But these distinctions, so incompatible with the spirit of a free people, were removed, after a long struggle, by the parties who, acting on the most active and successful of the plebeians accumulated wealth, aspired to honours, desired triumphs, contracted alliances, and, after some generations, assumed the pride of ancient nobility. 4 The patrician families, on the other hand, whose original number was never recruited till the end of the commonwealth, either failed in the ordinary course of nature, or were extinguished in so many foreign wars, or their titles were taken away by the law of merit or fortune, insensibly mingled with the mass of the people. 5 Very few remained who could derive their pure and genuine origin from the infancy of the city, or even from that of the republic, when Caesar and Augustus, Claudius and Vespasian, brought upon the Senate a competent number of new patrician families, in the hope of perpetuating an order, which was still considered as honourable and sacred. 6 But these artificial supplies (in which the reigning house was always included) were rapidly swept away by the rage of tyrants, by frequent alterations of the constitution, by the intermixtures of nations. 7 Little more was left when Constantine ascended the throne, than a vague and imperfect tradition, that the patricians had once been the first of the Romans. To form a body of nobles, whose influence may restrain, while it secures, the authority of the monarch, would have been very inconsistent with the character and policy of Constantine; but he had seriously entertained such a design, it might have exceeded the measure of his power to ratify, by an arbitrary edict, an institution which must expect the sanction of time and of opinion. He revived, indeed, the title of patricians, a distinction that had expired, not as a mediating, but as a transient and last vestige of the ancient Roman servitude. They yielded only to the transient superiority of the annual consuls; but they enjoyed the pre-eminence over all the great officers of state, with the most familiar access to the person of the prince. This honourable rank was bestowed on them for life; and the consuls of Constantine were revered as the adopted fathers of the emperor and the republic. 8

II. The fortunes of the pretorian pre- fects were essentially different from those of the consuls and patricians. The last saw their ancient greatness evaporate in a vain title. The former, rising by degrees from the most humble condition, were invested with the civil and military administration of the Roman empire. From the reign of Severus to that of Diocletian, the guards and the palace, the laws and the finances, the armies and the provinces, were intrusted to their superintending care; and, like the vizes of the east, they held, with one hand the seal, and with the other the standard, of the empire. The ambition of the prefects was always ambitious, and sometimes fatal to the masters whom they served, was supported by the strength of the pretorian bands; but after those haughty troops had been weakened by Diocletian, and finally suppressed by Constantine, the prefects, who survived their fall, were reduced without difficulty to the station of useful and obedient ministers. When they were no longer responsible for the

1 Ansaeas noster est omnium clamarum tribunus; 
I Dans nostre quarre; sabianus inde liber. 
Omnia liberae; dedeum univs morsm Lex servat. 
Equae est, liberaeque tue luctare heris.

2 Claudia in IV. Cons. Honoris, 511.

3 Celebrat quidem sollemne studia consulibus quam sub legibus agit; et Romana more, et Constantinopolicae imitatis
Anno solemne est, in quibusque annis antiquioribus, libertas, res publicam, et

4 In consulis Mæt. Theodori, 279—331, describes.

5 In his annis, i. 29—34. 

6 In consulis Mæt. Theodori, 279—331, describes.

7 In his annis, i. 26.

8 In consulis Mæt. Theodori, 279—331, describes.

9 See Lact. II. c. 25.

10 In consulis Mæt. Theodori, 279—331, describes.

11 See the animated pictures drawn by Sallust, in the Jugurthine war, of the pride of the nobles, and even of the Virtuous Metellus, who was unable to break the idea that the honour of the consuls would be bestowed on the obscure merit of his lieutenant Marius. In the year 86, before the establishment of the consular college was thus confined among the plebeians of Rome; and from the city, or the idea of their being protected by the city, it seems, he believes that those haughty nobles derived their origin from a similar status. In the same period of the republic, very few remained, not only of the old patrician families, but even of those which had been created by Caesar and Augustus. (Tacit. Annal. v. 25.) The family of Scarrus (a branch of the patrician C. Scarrus) was fixed in the patrician grade; and his father, who exercised the trade of a charcoal merchant, left him only ten slaves, and somewhat less than three hundred pounds sterling, of his property. (Valerius Maximus, p. 161, n. 11.) The family of Vespasian was saved from oblivion by the merit of the son. (Tacit. Annal. v. 30.) The fate of the patrician families, as well as the patrician college, is descried by Gildas in the first book of the Virtues of Agricola, who was created a patrician by the emperor Vespasian, restored honour on a former order; but his ancestors had not any claim beyond an equespous nobility.

12 This failure would have been almost impossible if it were true, as Casson conjectured, that the Virtues of Agricola, p. 42. See Hist. August. p. 291, and Casuarin Comment. p. 289, that this number was more than four thousand. In any case, however, this extravagant number is too much even for the scions of the emperor's family.

13 Zosimus, I. ii. p. 118; and Godefrey ad Cod. Theod. I. vi. tit. vi

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safety of the emperor's person, they resigned the jurisdiction which they had hitherto claimed and exercised over all the departments of the imperial army. They were deprived by Constantine of all military command, as soon as they had ceased to lead into the field, under their immediate orders, the flower of the Roman troops; and at length, by a singular revolution, the captains of the guards and their transformed into civil magistrates of the provinces. According to the plan of government instituted by Diocletian, the four præfets had each their prætorian præfect; and after the monarchy was once more united in the person of Constantine, he still continued to create the same number of four præfects, and intrusted to their management the departments which were already administered.

1. The præfect of the east stretched his ample jurisdiction into the three parts of the globe which were subject to the Romans, from the cataracts of the Nile to the banks of the Phasis, and from the mountains of Thrace to the frontiers of Persia.

2. The important provinces of Panonnia, Dacia, Macedonia, and Greece, once acknowledged the authority of the præfect of Illyricum.

3. The power of the præfect of Italy was not confined to the country from whence he derived his title; it extended over the additional territories as far as the Danube, and over the dependent islands of the Mediterranean, and over that part of the continent of Africa which lies between the confines of Cyrene and those of Tingitania.

4. The præfect of the Gauls comprehended under that plural denomination the kindred provinces of Britain and Spain, and his authority was extended to the walls of Antoninus to the foot of mount Atlas.

After the prætorian præfects had been dismissed from all military command, the civil functions which they were ordained to exercise over so many subject nations, with the resources and abilities of the most consummate ministers. To their vigilance was committed the supreme administration of justice and of the finances, the two objects which, in a state of peace, comprehend almost all the respective duties of the sovereign and of the people; of the former, to protect the citizens who are obedient to the laws; of the latter, to contribute the share of their property which is required for the expenses of the state. The coin, the highways, the posts, the granaries, the manufactories, whatever could interest the public prosperity, was moderated by the authority of the prætorian præfects. The lawlessness of the provinces, and the imbecility of the populace, they were empowered to explain, to enforce, and on some occasions to modify, the general edicts by their discretionary proclamations. They watched over the conduct of the provincial governors, removed the negligent, punished the impenitent, and if necessary, all the inferior jurisdictions, an appeal in every matter of importance, either civil or criminal, might be brought before the tribunal of the præfect; but his sentence was final and absolute; and the emperors themselves refused to admit any complaints against the judgment or the integrity of a præfect whom they honoured with such unbounded confidence. His appointments were suitable to his dignity; and if Arabia was his ruling passion, he enjoyed frequent opportunities of collecting a rich harvest of fees, of presents, and of perquisites. Though the emperors no longer dreaded the ambition of their præfects, they were at

tentive to counterbalance this great office by the uncertainty and insecurity of its duration.

From their superior importance and the profusion of dignity, Rome and Constantinople were Rome and Constantinople excepted from the jurisdiction of the prætorian præfects. The immense size of the city, and the experience of the tardy, ineptual administration of the large province, was a specious pretence for introducing a new magistrate, who alone could restrain a servile and turbulent populace by the strong arm of arbitrary power. Valerius Messalla was appointed the first præfect of Rome, that his reputation might counterbalance so invidious a measure; but he renounced the situation, which was assumed by his citizen resigned his office, declaring with a spirit worthy of the friend of Brutus, that he found himself incapable of exercising a power incompatible with public freedom. As the sense of liberty became less exquisite, the advantages of order were more clearly understood; and the præfect, who seemed to have been designed as a terror only to slaves and vagrants, was permitted to extend his civil and criminal jurisdiction over the equestrian and noble families of Rome. The præfects, annually created as the judges of law and public order, were either granted the title of præfectus Rhaetiae, Forma with a vigorous and permanent magistrate, who was usually admitted into the confidence of the prince. Their courts were deserted, their number, which had once fluctuated between two and eighteen, was gradually reduced to two or three, and their important and constitutional jurisdiction was extended to the provinces of exhibiting games for the amusement of the people. After the office of the Roman consul had been changed into a vain pageant, which was rarely displayed in the capital, the præfects assumed their vacant place in the senate, and were soon acknowledged as the ordinary residents of that powerful assembly. They received appeals from the distance of one hundred miles; and it was allowed as a principle of jurisprudence, that all municipal authority was derived from them alone.

In the discharge of his laborious employment, the governor of Rome was assisted by fifteen officers, some of whom had been originally his equals, or even his superiors. The principal departments were relative to the command of a numerous watch, established as a safeguard against fires, robberies, and nocturnal disorders; the custody and distribution of the public arms; the protection of the temples; and the management of the aqueducts, of the common sewers, and of the navigation and bed of the Tyber; the inspection of the

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1 For this, and the other dignities of the empire, it may be sufficient to refer to the able analysis of G. A. Lewis. But since the story of Caesars, who have diligently collected and accurately digested in their proper order the scattered historical materials. From those authors, Dr. Howell (History of the World, vol. ii. p. 94—77) has deduced a very distinct abridgment of the state of the Roman empire.

2 Tacit. Annal. viii. 51. In the oration of Marcellus, (i. vii. p. 675.) describes the prerogatives of the prince of the court as they were established in his own time.

3 In the same year he was recommended by Cicero to the friendship of Brutus. He followed the standard of the republic till it was broken in the fields of Philippi; he then accepted and desired the fusc. Caesar's theme; one of the equestrian order, and of the first rank. Though they were often unsuccessfull. Therefore he appeals from the distance of one hundred miles; and it was allowed as a principle of jurisprudence, that all municipal authority was derived from them alone.

4 In the service of his embassies and negociations, he was the first of the great representatives of the Roman world, and the most celebrated ambassador of whom we are enabled to give an account. He was the only man who could be compared to the great messenger of the republic, in the splendid exhibition of the conqueror of the Parthian empire. He was the only man who could be compared to the great messenger of the republic, in the splendid exhibition of the conqueror of the Parthian empire.

5 Caesar in his paper the statements are, by G. A. Lewis. The narrative of G. A. Lewis. The narrative of G. A. Lewis.

6 See Lipsius, Hist. Roman. ii. 6. 316. (L. S. iv. p. 70.) See also the imitation of the exercises of the equestrian order, and of the first rank. Though they were often unsuccessfull. Therefore he appeals from the distance of one hundred miles; and it was allowed as a principle of jurisprudence, that all municipal authority was derived from them alone.

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9 Quodquidigitur intra urbem admissus, ad P. T. videtur pertinere venia; or may be compared to the great messenger of the republic, in the splendid exhibition of the conqueror of the Parthian empire. 

10 The tria plura, or the three plebs, are declared to compose and command all equestrian magistrates sine iniuria et detrimento honoris alieni.
markets, the theatres, and of the private as well as public works. Their vigilance ensured the three principal objects of a regular police, safety, plenty, and cleanliness. The prefects, whose duty it was to superintend the government to preserve the splendour and ornament of the capital, a particular inspector was appointed for the statues; the guardian, as it were, of that inanimate people, which, according to the extravagant computation of an old writer, was scarcely inferior in number to the living inhabitants of Rome. About thirty years after the foundation of Constantinople, a similar magistracy was created in that rising metropolis, for the same uses and with the same powers. A perfect equality was established between the dignity of the two municipal, and that of the four praetorian prefects. The provinces, which were distinguished by the title of Illustri, spectable, formed an intermediate class between the Illustrious prefects and the honourable magistrates of the provinces. In this class the proconsuls of Asia, and Africa, claimed a pre-eminence, which was yielded to the remembrance of their ancient dignity; and the appeal from their tribunal to that of the prefects was almost the only mark of their dependence. But the civil government of the empire was distributed into thirteen great Dioceses, each of which equalled the just measure of a powerful kingdom. The first of these dioceses were subject to the management of a single praetorian prefect, but the next, that of the count of the east; and we may convey some idea of the importance and variety of his functions, by observing, that six hundred apparitors, who would be styled at present either secretaries, or clerks, or ushers, or messengers, were employed in this immediate office. The place of Augustal prefect of Egypt was no longer filled by a Roman knight; but the name was retained; and the extraordinary powers which the situation of the country and the temper of the inhabitants had once made indispensable, were still continued to the governor. The eleven remaining dioceses, of Asia, Pontus, and Thrace; of Macedonia, Dacia, and Pannonia, or western Illyricum; of Italy and Africa; of Gaul, Spain, and Britain; were governed by twelve vicars or vice-prefects, whose name sufficiently explains the nature and dependence of their office. It may be added, that the lieutenant-generals of the Roman army, commanding the military counts and dukes, who were hereafter mentioned, were allowed the rank and title of Respectable.

Of the provinces. — As the spirit of jealousy and ostentation prevailed in the councils of the emperors, they proceeded with anxious diligence to divide the empire into lesser kings and the whole was divided into two hundred and six provinces, each of which supported an expensive and splendid establishment. Of these, three were governed by proconsuls, thirty-seven by consuls, five by correctors, and seventy-one by presidents. The apppellations of these magistrates were different; they ranked in successive order, the ensigns of their dignity were curiously varied, and their situation, from accidental circumstances, might be more or less agreeable or advantageous. But they were all, excepting only the proconsuls) alike included in the class of honourable persons; and they were alike intrusted, during the pleasure of the prince, and under the authority of the laws, with the government and execution of justice and the finances in their respective districts. The ponderous volumes of the Codes and Pandects would furnish ample materials for a minute inquiry into the system of provincial government, as in the space of six centuries it was improved by the wisdom of the Roman statesmen and lawyers. It may be sufficient for the historian to select two singular and salutary provisions intended to restrain the abuse of authority. 1. For the preservation of peace and order, the governors of the provinces were armed with the sword of justice. They inflicted corporal punishments, and the death of insubordination, without the power of life and death. But they were not authorized to indulge the condemned criminal with the choice of his own execution, or to pronounce a sentence of the mildest and most honourable kind of exile. These prerogatives were reserved to the prefects, who alone could impose the heavy fine of fifty pounds of gold, their viceregents were confined to the trifling weight of a few ounces. This distinction, which seems to grant the larger, while it denies the smaller, degree of authority, was founded on a very rational motive. The smaller degree was infinitely more liable to abuse. The doubtful magistracy of an intrenched governor provoke him into acts of oppression, which allotted only the freedom or the fortunes of the subject; though, from a principle of prudence, perhaps of humanity, he might still be terrified by the guilt of innocent blood. It may likewise be considered, that exile, considerable fines, or the choice of an easy death, relate more particularly to the rich and the noble; and the persons the most exposed to the avarice or resentment of a provincial magistrate, were thus removed from his obscur persecution to the more august and impartial tribunal of the praetorian prefect. 2. As it was reasonable to apprehend that the position of the judge might be biased, if his interest was concerned, or his affections were engaged; the strictest regulations were established, to exclude any person, without the special dispensation of the emperor, from the government of the province where he was born; and to prohibit the governor or his deputy to receive the homage of a native, or an inhabitant; or from purchasing slaves, lands, or houses, within the extent of his jurisdiction. Notwithstanding these rigorous precautions, the emperor Constantine, after a reign of twenty-five years, still deploys the venal and oppressive administration over the provinces, in order to keep the audience of the judge, his despatch of business, his reasonable delays, and his final sentence, were publicly sold, either by himself or by the officers of his court. The continuance, and perhaps the impunity, of these crimes, is attested by the repetition of impotent laws, and ineffectual menaces.

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1 Among the works of the celebrated Ulpian, there was one in ten books, concerning the office of a praetor, whose duties in the most important articles were those of an ordinary governor of a province.

2 The presidents, or consuls, could impose only two ounces; the vice-prefects, three; the vice-prefects, count of the east; the vice-prefect of Egypt, six. See Heimenei Urk. Civ. lib. i. p. 73. Pandect. I. civ. tit. ii. xvi. E. Cod. Justinian. I. l. tit. xii. 3. d. 5.

3 A U tulli patris et munis administratione et speciali principii permitteretur. Cod. Justinian. I. l. tit. xii. 2. d. 3. c. 3. d. 4. e. It was enacted by the emperor Marcus, after the rebellion of Cassianus. (Dion. I. cxxxii.) The same regulation is observed in China, with equal strictness, and with equal effect. See the Code of Justinian.

4 Pandect. I. civ. tit. ii. n. 23, 25, 63.

5 In juridictione praefectorum, administrazionee consistit aequipara comparation. Cod. Theod. I. v. l. tit. xxv. leg. 1. This maxim of common law was enforced by a sense of rights (see the remainder of the clause) from Constantine, Justin. From this period, which is extended to the present officers of the governor, they except only the measures and provocations of a marcher for the public benefit; after which, on information, it devolves to the treasury.

6 Jerome calls it: Causa xii. 3. d. 4. d. 4. e. in apace—jamo na (callinum) officiani usuam: resactu, legum, navi, usque motum, nonnulla decum tunc, delegen in omnibus, quos quidem provinciae praefectoris. In the liber vic, leg. 2. Zeno enacted, that all governors should remain in the province, to answer any accusations fifty days after the expiration of their power. Cod. Justinian. I. l. tit. xii. leg. 1.
The profession of the civil magistrates were de-
veloped from the professional class of the law. The celebrated Institutes of Justinian are addressed to the youth of his dominions, who had devoted themselves to the study of Roman jurisprudence; and the sove-
reign condescends to animate their diligence, by the assurance that their skill and ability would in time be recognised, and promoted by the munificence of the republic. The rudiments of this lucrative science were taught in all the considerable cities of the east and west; but the most famous school was that of Berytus, on the coast of Phenicia; which flourished above three centuries from the time of Alexander Se-
vcer, the founder of an academy so advantageous to his native country. After a regular course of education, which lasted five years, the students dis-
persed themselves through the provinces, in search of fortune and honour; nor could they want an inex-
haustible supply of business in a great empire, already jurisprudence, the ordinary promontory of lawyers was
vices. The court of the prætorian prefect of the east could alone furnish employment for one hundred and fifty advocates, sixty-four of whom were distinguished by peculiar privileges, and two were annually chosen with a salary of sixty pounds of gold, to defend the causes of their clients. The system of law was made of their judicial talents, by appointing them to act occasionally as assessors to the magistrates; from thence they were often raised to preside in the tribu-

nals before which they had pleaded. They obtained the most important provinces; and, by the aid of merit, of reputation, or of favour, they ascended by successive steps, to the illustrious dignities of the state. In the practice of the bar, these men had considered reason as the instrument of dispute; they interpreted the laws according to the dictates of private interest; and the same precepts which had made them useful to their states, made them formidable to the public administration of the state. The honour of a liberal profession has indeed been vindic-
ted by ancient and modern advocates, who have filled the most important stations with pure integrity and consummate wisdom; but in the decline of Roman jurisprudence, and the profoundness of the profession, some of them procured admissitance into families for the purpose of fomenting differences, of encouraging suits, and of preparing a harvest of gain for themselves or their brethren. Others, recluse in their chambers, maintained the dignity of legal professors, by furnish-
ing a rich client with subtilities to confound the plausile
truths, and with arguments to colour the most unjustif-
able pretensions. The splendid and popular class was com-
posed of the advocates, who filled the forum with the sound of their tirand and loquacious rhetoric. Careless of fame and of justice, they are described, for the most part, as ignorant and rapacious guides, who conducted their clients through the courts of law with great delay, and of disappointment; from whence, after a tedious series of years, they were at length dismissed, when their patience and fortune were almost ex-
husted.

III. In the system of policy introduced by Augustus, the governors, those at least of the imperial provinces, were invested with the full powers of the sovereign himself. Ministers of peace and war, the distribution of rewards and punish-
ments depended on them alone, and they successively appeared on their tribunal in the robes of civil magis-
tracy, and in complete armour at the head of the Ro-
man legions. The influence of the revenue, the au-
thority of law, and the command of a military force, concur to render their power supreme and absolute; and whenever they were tempted to violate their alle-

giances, the loyalty of the province with which they were identified was scarcely sensible of any change in its political state. From the time of Commodus to the reign of Constantine, near one hundred governors might be enumerated, who, with various success, erected the standard of revolt; and though the innocent were too often accused, and the guilty sometimes acquit-

ted, by the suspicious cruelty of their master. To secure his throne and the public tranquillity from these formidable servants, Constantine resolved to divide the military from the civil administration; and to es-


stablish, as a permanent and professional distinction, a separate class of officers, with the rank and privileges of the same name. His number was thus doubled by the official division, and his authority redoubled. The dis-


cernals of the same rank and title were appointed on the four important frontiers of the Rhine, of the Upper and the Lower Danube, and of the Euphrates, the defence of the Roman empire was at length committed to eight masters-general of the cavalry and infantry, rank, privileges, &c. of the consuls in general, see Cod. Theol. i. vi. tit. xii.—xii. with the Commentary of Gode-

frey. 

4 Sunnii igitur ore, et alibi studiosi haec nostras accipere; et

5 voce antiquorum edidit comet. ad pyx. Cuiusque rem pomulorum in

6 partibus epi vobis redendis gubernari. Justinian, in proem. Insti-

7 tumentum.

8 The splendid of the school of Berytus, which preserved in the east the languages and jurisprudence of the Romans, may be com-
bined to have lasted from the third to the middle of the six-

9 I have traced the civil and military pro-
motion of Perianax, I shall here insert the civil honors of Millus Théoderus. 1. He was distinguished by his eloquence, while he pleased as an advocate in the court of the prætorian prefect. 2. He governed one of the provinces of Africa, either as president or con-

10 mental, and deserved, by his administration, the honor of a brass

11 statue. 3. He was appointed vicar, or vice-president, of Macedonia. 4. Quintus, one of the sacred lancers. 5. Prætorian prefect of the Gauls; whilst he might yet be retained as a young man. 6. After a retreat, perhaps a disgrace, of many years, which Millus forced, where one of the most distinguished, see Falco's Biblio-

12 theia. Festus. Edmund. i. e. 18. 301 employed in the study of

13 thein. 14. 207. 8. While he still exercised that great office, he was

14 created, in the year 399, consul for the west; and his name, on a

15 occasion of his colleague, on both sides, stands alone in the Past. 9. In the year 408, Millus was appointed a triumvir in the province of Italy, under the per-

16 ception of Augustus and of Constantine, observes, that if Otho had been put to death the day before he exercised his candidacy, Otho would not have appeared to be already at a disadvantage. od. 10. Zosimus, i. p. 116. Before the end of the reign of Constantine, the magister equitum was already increased to four. See Valesius ad Ammianum, i. liv. c. 7.

11. The abbe Gailhabaud, who has examined with accuracy (see Histe. de l'Anon, Convent. ed. 396), has added a sentence, which

12 sufficiently determined the number of his provinces, and the date

13 of the reign of Augustus, and of Constantine, observes, that if Otho had been put to death the day before he exercised his candidacy, Otho would not have appeared to be already at a disadvantage. od. 10. Zosimus, i. p. 116. Before the end of the reign of Constantine, the magister equitum was already increased to four. See Valesius ad Ammianum, i. liv. c. 7.

14 Although the military counts and dukes are frequently mentioned, they are unusual in his history, and are not always easy to place, for the exact knowledge of their number and stations. For the in-

15 dividuals of his reign, see ad Cod. Theol. i. vii. tit. xi.—xii. with the Commentary of Godfrey.
tonguished, have obtained in modern languages so very different a sense, that the use of them is at once surprising. But it should be recollected, that the second of those appellations is only a corruption of the Latin word, which was indiscriminately applied to any military chief. All these provincial generals were therefore dukes; but no more than ten among them were distinguished to the highest degree. They bad a sort of honour, or rather of favour, which had been recently invented in the court of Constantine. A gold belt was the ensign which distinguished the office of the count and dukes; and besides their pay, they received a liberal allowance sufficient to maintain one hundred and fifty-eight horses. They were strictly prohibited from interfering in any matter which related to the administration of justice or the revenue; but the command which they exercised over the troops of their department, was independent of the authority of the magistrates.

From about the same time that Constantine gave a sanction to the ecclesiastical order, he instituted in the Roman empire the nice balance of the civil and the military powers. The emulation, and sometimes the discord, which reigned between two professions of opposite interests and incompatible manners, was productive of beneficial and of pernicious consequences. It was seldom to be expected that the mutual envy of a service should either conspire for the disturbance, or should unite for the service, of their country. While the one delayed to offer the assistance which the other disdained to solicit, the troops very frequently remained without orders or without supplies; the public safety was betrayed, and the defenceless subjects were left exposed to the fury of the barbarians. The divided administration, which had been formed by Constantine, relaxed the vigour of the state, while it secured the tranquillity of the monarchy.

Distinction of the military and the civil power. The memory of Constantine has been preserved to posterity as the only example of a wise and impartial discrimination which corrupted military discipline, and prepared the ruin of the empire. The nineteen years which preceded his final victory over Licinius, had been a period of licence and intestine war. The rivals who contended for the possession of the Roman world, had withdrawn the greatest part of their forces from the guardian of the general frontier; and the principal cities which formed the boundary of their respective dominions were filled with soldiers, who considered their countrymen as their most implacable enemies. After the use of these internal garrisons had ceased with the civil war, the conqueror wanted either wisdom or firmness to suppress a fatal indulgence, which habit had endured and almost confirmed to the military order.

From the reign of Constantine a popular and even legal distinction was admitted between the Palatines and the Borderers, the troops of the court, as they were improperly styled, and the troops of the frontier. The former, elevated by the superiority of their pay and privileges, were permitted, except in the extraordinary emergencies of war, to occupy their tranquil stations in the heart of the provinces. The most flourishing cities were oppressed by the intolerable weight of which the soldiers insensibly forgot the virtues of their profession, and contracted the vices of civil life. They were either degraded by the industry of mechanic trades, or enervated by the luxury of baths and theatres. They soon became careless of their martial exercises, curious in their diet and apparel, and while they were employed in the superstition of a profane religion, they trembled at the hostile approach of the barbarians. The chain of fortifications which

Diocletian and his colleagues had extended along the banks of the great rivers, was no longer maintained with the same care, or defended with the same vigilance. The numbers which still remained under the name of the troops of the frontier, might be sufficient for the ordinary defence. But their spirit was degraded by the humiliating reflection, that they were expected to be taxed as the lighter and daintier troops of the court, and that they were rewarded only with about two-thirds of the pay and emoluments which were lavished on the troops of the court. Even the bands or legions that were raised the nearest to the level of those unworthy favourites, were in some measure disgraced by the title of innobility; and it is vain to pretend that Constantine repeated the most dreadful menaces of fire and sword against the Borderers who should dare to desert their colours, to convoy the intrudors of the barbarians, or to participate in the spoils. The mischiefs which flow from injudicious counsels are seldom removed by the application of partial securities; and though succeeding princes laboured to restore the strength and numbers of the frontier garrisons, the empire, till the last moment of its dissolution, continued to languish under the mortal wound which had been so rashly or so weakly inflicted by the hand of Constantine.

The same policy of dividing the army was in all ages a tendency to decrease whatever is united, of reducing whatever is eminent, of dreading every active power, and of expecting that the most feeble will prove the most obedient, seems to pervade the institutions of several princes, and particularly those of Constantine. The martial pride of the legions, whose victorious camps had so often been the scene of rebellion, was nourished by the memory of their past exploits, and the consciousness of their actual strength. As long as they maintained their ancient establishment of six thousand men, they subsisted, under the reign of Diocletian, each of which was considered as an independent and important object in the military history of the Roman empire. A few years afterwards, these gigantic bodies were shrunk to a very diminutive size; and when seven legions, with some auxiliaries, defended the city of Amida against the Persians, the total garrison, with the inhabitants of both sexes, and the peasants of the deserted country, did not exceed the number of twenty thousand persons. From this fact, and from similar examples, there is reason to believe, that the constitution of the legions, to which they partly owed their value and discipline, was dissolved by Constantine; and that the bands of Roman infantry, which still assumed the same names, were composed of some hundreds of one thousand or fifteen hundred men. The conspiracy of so many separate detachments, each of which was awed by the sense of its own weakness, could easily be checked; and the successors of Constantine might indulge their love of ostentation, by causing their orders to one hundred and thirty-two legions, inscribed on the muster roll of their numerous armies. The remainder of their troopers was distributed into several hundred cohorts of infantry, and squadrons of cavalry. Their arms, and titles, and ensigns, were calculated to inspire terror, and to display the variety of nations who marched under the imperial standard. And not a vestige was left of that severe simplicity, which, in the ages of freedom and victory, had distinguished the line of battle of a Roman army from the confounded host of an Asiatic monarch. A more particu-

Notes:
1. Zosimus, l. ii. p. 111. The distinction between the two classes of soldiers was established by Diocletian over the troops in the east, and the Thracian and the Notitiae. Consent, however, the copious paraphrasis or abstract, which Codex Paris. has drawn upon the seventh book. de Re Militari, of the Theodosian Code, l. vii. tit. I. leg. 25 l. viii. tit. i. leg. 26.
2. Ferox et in suis miles et rapax, ignavus vero in hostes et frac.
3. Annian. l. xii. c. 4. He observes that they loved dowry, and the honours and offices of magistrate; and that their caps were heavier than their swords.
4. Cod. Theod. l. vii. tit. i. leg. 1. l. viii. xii. leg. 1. See Howell's Hist. of the World, vol. i. p. 178. That the imperial army was sufficiently known, labourers to justify the character and policy of Constantius.
5. Annian. l. xii. c. 4. He observes (c. 2.) that the desperate salines of two Gothic legions were like a handful of water thrown on a great conflagration.
7. Romans seius annus proprio forma et hominem et armorum
cular enumeration, drawn from the Notitiae, might exercise the diligence of an antiquary; but the historian will content himself with observing, that the number of permanent stations or garrisons established on the frontiers of the empire, amounted to five hundred and eighty-three; and that, under the successors of Constantine, the Roman army of sufficient strength was computed at six hundred and forty-five thousand soldiers. An effort so prodigious surpassed the wants of a more ancient, and the faculties of a later, period.

DIFFICULTY OF RECRUITING.

In the various states of society, armies are recruited from very different motives. Barbarians are urged by the love of war; the citizens of a free republic may be prompted by a principle of duty; the subjects, or at least the nobles, of a monarchy, are animated by a sentiment of honour; but the timid and luxurious inhabitants of a declining empire must be induced by the hopes of profit, or compelled by the dread of punishment. The resources of the Roman treasury were exhausted by the increase of pay, by the repetition of donations, and by the invention of new emoluments and inducements, which, in the last instance, were not sufficient to compensate the hardships and dangers of a military life. Yet, although the structure was lowered, although slaves, at least by a tacit connivance, were indiscriminately received into the ranks, the insurmountable difficulty of procuring a regular and adequate supply of warriors was not yet surmounted. The emperor used more religious and temporal and coercive methods. The lands bestowed on the veterans, as the free reward of their valor, were henceforward granted under a condition, which contains the first rudiments of the feudal tenures; that their sons, who succeeded to the inheritance, should devote themselves to the profession of arms, as soon as they attained the age of manhood; and their cowardly refusal was punished by the loss of honour, of fortune, or even of life. But as the annual growth of the sons of the veterans bore a very small proportion to the demands of the service, levies of men were frequently required from the provinces, and every proprietor was obliged either to take up arms, or to procure a substitute, or to purchase his exemption by the payment of a heavy fine. The sum of forty-two pieces of gold, to which it was reduced, ascertain the exorbitant price of volunteers, and the reluctance with which the provinces furnished their quotas. The Philadelphia, or house of slaves, as it was called, was the horror of the profession of a soldier, which had affected the minds of the degenerate Romans, that many of the youth of Italy, and the provinces, chose to cut off the fingers of their right hand to escape from being enrolled in the service; and strange expiation was so commonly practised, as to denote a severe animadversion of the laws, and a peculiar name in the Latin language.

The introduction of barbarians into the Roman armies became every day more universal, more necessary, and more fatal. The most daring of the Scythians, of the Goths, and of the Germans, who delighted in war, and who found it most profitable to defend than to ravage the provinces of the empire, were allowed to form, and to establish, the dominion of their respective nations, but in the legislatures themselves, and among the most distinguished of the Palatine troops. As they freely mingled with the subjects of the empire, they gradually learned to despise their former manners; and to substitute an implicit reverence which the pride of Rome had excited from their ignorance, while they acquired the knowledge and possession of those advantages by which alone she supported her declining greatness. The barbarian soldiers, who displayed any military talents, were advanced, without exception, to the most important commands; and the names of the tribunes, of the counts and dukes, and of the generals themselves, betray a foreign origin, which they no longer condescended to disguise. They were often intrusted with the conduct of a war against their countrymen; and though most of them preferred the title of alien to that of a public enemy, the degraded condition of the Roman race, compared to those of blood, they did not always avoid the guilt, or at least the suspicion, of holding a treacherous correspondence with the enemy, of inviting his invasion, or of sparring his retreat. The camps and the palace of the son of Constantine were governed by the barbarians, as the legions of Carthage were by the strictest connexion with each other, and with their country, and who represented every personal affront as a national indignity. When the tyrant Caligula was suspected of an intention to invest a very extraordinary candidate with the consular robes, the sacrilegious preparations were interrupted by a sudden death; and, like a man of promise, who, instead of a horse, the noblest chieftain of Germany or Britain had been the object of his choice. The revolution of three centuries had produced so remarkable a change in the prejudices of the people, that, with the public approval, Constantine showed his successors the example of bestowing the honours of the consulship on the barbarians, who, by their merit and services, had deserved to be ranked among the first of the Romans. But as these hardy veterans, who had been educated in the ignorance or contempt of the laws, were incapable of exercising any civil rights or duties, they were distributed among the civil and military provinces, by the irreconcilable separation of talents as well as of professions. The accomplished citizens of the Greek and Roman republics, whose characters could adapt themselves to the bar, the senate, the camp, or the schools, had learned to write, to speak, and to act, with the same rapidity, and with the same abilities.

IV. Besides the magistrate and general ministerials, who at a distance from the court diffused their delegated authority over the provinces and armies, the emperor conferred the rank of Illustris on seven of his more immediate servants, to whom the fidelity he intrusted his safety, or his counsels, or his treasures.

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of the Roman Empire.

were governed by a favourite eunuch, who, in the language of that age, was styled the prepositus or praefectus the chamberlain. His duty was to preserve the sacred bed-chamber. His personal attendance on the emperor was an

twice twenty-four hours of state, or in those of amusement, and to perform about his person all those menial services which can only derive their splendour from the influence of royalty. Under a prince who deserved to reign, the great chamberlain (besides being useful and bountiful to domestic; but an artful domestic, who improves every occasion of unguarded confidence, will insensibly acquire over a freeb mind that ascendant which harsh wisdom and uncomplying virtue can seldom obtain. The degenerate grandsons of Theodosius, who were instanced in this part of the preceding to the duties, excelled the prefects of their bed-chamber above the heads of all the ministers of the palace; 2 and even his deputy, the first of the splendid train of slaves who waited in the presence, was thought worthy to rank before the respectable proconsuls of Greece or Asia. The jurisdiction of the chamberlain who was acknowledged by the counts, or superintendents, who regulated the two important provinces, or the magnificence of the wardrobe, and of the luxury of the imperial table. 3 The principal administration of public affairs was committed to the diligence and abilities of the master of the the master of the office. He was to conduct the discipline of the civil and military schools, and received appeals from all parts of the empire; in the causes which related to that numerous army of privileged persons, who, as the servants of the court, had obtained, for themselves and families, a right to decline the authority of the ordinary judges. The correspondence between the prince and his subjects was managed by the four serima, or offices of this minister of state. The first was appropriated to the bishops, the second to episkoples, the third to petitions, and the fourth to papers and orders of a miscellaneous kind. Each of these was subdivided into a council which in former ages would have been esteemed unworthy of the Roman majesty, a particular secretary was allowed for the Greek language; and interpreters were appointed to receive the ambassadors of the barbarians: but the department of foreign affairs, which constitutes so essential a part of modern policy, seldom diverted the attention of the master of the offices. His mind was more seriously engaged by the general direction of the posts and arsenals of the empire. There were thirty-four cities, fifteen in the east, and nineteen in the west, in which regular companies of workmen were perpetually employed in fabricating defensive or offensive weapons of all sorts, and military engines, which were deposited in the arsenals, and occasionally delivered for the service of the troops. 3. In the course of nine centuries, the office of quasator had experienced a very singular revolution. In the infancy of Rome, two inferior magistrates were annually elected by the people, to relieve the consuls from the humdrum business of the public treasury; 4 the plebeians, borrowed from the military character of the first emperors, the steward of their household was styled the praefectus domesticorum, a name which very seriously represents to him, that his own fame, and that of the empire, must depend on the opinion which foreign ambassadors may entertain of the dignity and magnificence of the royal table. Varro, i. vi. epist. 9. 

4 Cod. Theod. t. vii. tit. 6. 

5 Heinze, the chamberlain, was styled the praefectus domesticorum Augusti, i. c. 209, ii. 3. (Livy.) He was the sum of the praefects of the chamberlain, who were in the highest degree of the palace. (Plut. in Caesar.) There are some passages which state only that under the government of the house of Severus, their provincial government, they had the administration of the treasury; and though they were restored by Diocletian, as they seem to have been finally disused by Nero. (Tacit. Annal. A.D. 99, Sueton. Dom. A.D. 77, in Car. A.D. 51.) The name of praefectus domestorum was given to the chamberlain of the palace of Augustus, and is occasionally used in the earlier and later histories of Constantinople, and in reg. in senatus rectorum, etiam questionem vice. Sueton. in Tit. c. 6. 5. (Livy.) The office must have acquired new dignity, which was more than equal to the occasional existence of the great imperial office, Trojan instigated the same name to Hadrian his quasator and co-So. (Dedic. Prefaces, in Liv. x. 13. 28—379. 10.)

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The same name, if I may judge, was acknowledged even in the provinces of Africa, or of Syria, or of Syria, or of Syria, or of Syria, or of Syria, or of Syria, of Syria, or of Syria, of Syria, or of Syria, or of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syria, of Syri
mine and control their respective operations. The multitude of these agents had a natural tendency to increase; and it was more than once thought expedient to amplify and improve their functions. This supervision, who, deserting their honest labours, had pressed with too much eagerness into the lucrative profession of the finanes. Seventy-nine provincial receivers, of whom eighteen were honoured with the title of count, corresponded with the treasurers, and he exacted a revenue over the provinces from whence the precious metals were extracted, over the mines, in which they were converted into the current coin, and over the public treasuries of the most important cities, where they were deposited for the service of the state. The formidable power of the empire was regulated by the ministers, who directed likewise all the linen and woollen manufactures, in which the successive operations of spinning, weaving, and dyeing were executed, chiefly by women of a servile condition, for the use of the palace and army. Twenty-six of these institutions are enumerated in the west, where the arts had been more recently introduced, and a still larger proportion may be allowed for the industrious provinces of the east. The private treas. 5. Besides the public revenue, which was the absolute monarch might levy and expend according to his pleasure, the emperors, in the capacity of sovereigns, invested with very extensive property, which was administered by the count, or treasurer, of the private estate. Some part had perhaps been the ancient demesnes of kings and republics; some accessions might be derived from the families which were successively invested with the purple; but the most considerable portion flowed from the imperial source of confiscations and forfeitures. The imperial estates were scattered throughout the provinces, from Mauritania to Britain; but the rich and fertile soil of Cappadocia tempted the monarch to acquire in that country his fairest possessions, and either Constantine or his successors embraced the occasion of justifying his avowage by religious zeal. They suppressed the rich temple of Comana, where the high priest of the goddess of war supported the dignity of a sovereign prince; and they applied to their private use the consecrated lands, which were irrigated by the streams of the Sarus, bred a generous race of horses, renowned above all others in the ancient world for their majestic shape, and admirable swiftness. These sacred animals, destined for the service of the palace and the imperial games, were protected by the laws from the profanation of a vulgar master. The demesnes of Cappadocia were important enough to require the inspection of a count; officers of an inferior rank were stationed in the other parts of the empire; and the deputies of the private, as well as those of the public, treasurer, were maintained in the exercise of their independent functions, and encouraged to control the authority of the provincial magistrates. 6, 7. These


b Cod. Theo. l. vi. tit. 76. leg. 2, and Godefr. ad loc.

c Strabon. Geog. l. iii. p. 489. The other temple of Comana, in Puntus, was a colony from that of Cappadocia, l. xii. p. 282. The mountain province of Aneas, his Satrap, had been established by his predecessor, the city of which formed part of the former, and eight of the latter.

d Cod. Theo. l. vi. tit. 22. leg. 3. and Godefr. ad loc.

e Strabon. Geog. l. iii. p. 489. The other temple of Comana, in Puntus, was a colony from that of Cappadocia, l. xii. p. 282. The mountain province of Aneas, his Satrap, had been established by his predecessor, the city of which formed part of the former, and eight of the latter.

Use of torture. 3. The deceitful and dangerous experiment of the criminal question, as it is emphatically styled, was admitted, rather than approved, in the jurisprudence of the Romans. They applied this sanguinary mode of examination only to servile bodies, whose sufferings were seldom weighed by those haughty republicans in the scale of justice or public safety.

f As the Aegaeos in Rebus, see Ammian. l. iv. c. x. l. vi. c. 6. and Euseb. l. vii. c. x. l. viii. c. xvi. xxi. xxii. Among the passages collected in the Commentary of Godefroy, the most remarkable is one from Libanius, in his discourse concerning the death of Julian.
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...
who formed the corporations of the cities, and whom the severity of the imperial laws had condemned to servitude. The free and civil society of the whole Idea of the empire (without excepting the patrimonial estates of the monarch) was the object of ordinary tax; and every new purchaser contracted the obligations of the former proprietor. An accurate census, or survey, was the only equitable mode of assessment. The land, on which every one should be obliged to contribute for the public service; and from the well-known period of the indictions, there is reason to believe that this difficult and expensive operation was repeated at the regular distance of fifteen years. The lands were marked respectively to the new proprietors, who, their nature, whether arable or pasture, or vineyards or woods, was distinctly reported; and an estimate was made of their common value from the average produce of five years. The numbers of slaves and of cattle constituted an essential part of the report; an oath was administered to the proprietors, which bound them to disclose the true state of their affairs; and their attempts to prevaricate, or elude the intention of the legislator, were severely watched, and punished as a capital crime, which included the double guilt of treason and sacrilege. A large part of the tribute paid in money of the current coin of the empire, gold alone could be legally accepted. The remainder of the taxes, according to the proportions determined by the annual indiction, was furnished in a manner still more direct, and still more oppressive. According to the different nature of the produce that was introduced in the produce of wine or oil, corn or barley, wood or iron, was transported by the labour of the citizens, or the expense of the provincials to the imperial magazines, from whence they were occasionally distributed, for the use of the court, of the army, and of the two capitals, Rome and Constantinople. The inhabitants of the provinces were frequently obliged to make considerable purchases, that they were strictly prohibited from allowing any compensation, or from receiving in money the value of those supplies which were exacted in kind. In the primitive simplicity of small communities, this might be well adapted to collect the almost voluntary offerings of the people; but it is at once susceptible of the utmost latitude, and of the utmost strictness, which, in a corrupt and absolute monarchy, must introduce a perpetual contest between the power of oppression and the arts of fraud. The agriculture of the Roman provinces was insensibly ruined, and, in the progress of despoliation, which tends to disjoint its own purpose, the emperors were obliged to derive some merit from the forgiveness of debts, or the remission of tributes, which their subjects were utterly incapable of paying. According to the new division of Italy, the Fertile provinces, comprising the plain of Tuscany, the valleys of the Tiber and the Liris, the plains of Umbria, and the Apennine range of the early victories and of the delicious retirement of the citizens of Rome, extended between the sea and the Apennine from the Tyber to the Silarus. Within sixty years after the death of Constantine, and on the evidence of an actual survey, an exemption was granted, in a large, flat valley, in favor of the wealthy proprietors, of the highly cultivated plains of Littoral. The inhabitants of the provinces of Italy and the Apennine range were exempted from three-fifths of the labours of the indictions, and the provision of grain, which was formerly required. The latter of these sums was divided by the former; and the estimate, that such a province contained so many capita, or heads of tribute; and that each head was rated at such a price, was universally received, not only in the popular, but even in the legal computation. The value of the land, and the duties of the propinquity to many accidental, or at least fluctuating circumstances; but some knowledge has been preserved of a very curious fact, the more important, since it relates to one of the richest provinces of the Roman empire, and which now flourishes as the most splendid of the agricultural districts of the modern kingdom. The Rhine valley, which Constantine had exhausted the wealth of Gaul, by exacting twenty-five pieces of gold for the annual tribute of every head. The humane policy of his successor reduced the capitation to seven pieces; a moderate proportion between these opposite extremes of extravagant oppression and of transient indulgence, may therefore be fixed at sixteen pieces of gold, or about nine pounds sterling, the common standard, perhaps, of the impositions of Gaul. But this calculation, or rather the facts from whence it is deduced, can be fixed, without the intervention of any third party, as the amount of a demand. 

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not full of suggesting two difficulties to a thinking mind, who will be at once surprised by the equality, and then by the poverty of the gifts. To explain them may perhaps reflect some light on the interesting subject of the finances of the declining empire.

1. It is obvious, that, as long as the immutable constitution of human nature produces and maintains so unequal an distribution of the personal property of the community would be deprived of their subsistence, by the equal assessment of a tax from which the sovereign would derive a very trifling revenue. Such indeed might be the theory of the Roman capitulation; but in the practice, this unjust equality was no longer felt. The tribute was four hundred times, and not a real, not of a personal, imposition. Several indigent citizens contributed to compose a single head, or share of taxation; while the wealthy provincial, in proportion to his fortune, alone represented several of those imaginary beings. In a poetical request, addressed to one of the last and most deserving of the Roman princes who reigned in Gaul, Sidonius Apollinaris personifies his tribute under the figure of a triple monster, the Geryon of the Grecian fables, and entreats the new Hercules that he would most graciously be pleased to save his life by cutting off three of his heads. The fortune of the tributary was a very different matter, being, as it were, a part of a poet; but if he had pursued the allusion, he must have painted many of the Gallic nobles with the hundred heads of the deadly hydra, spreading over the face of the country, and devouring the substance of an hundred families.

II. The difficulty of allowing an annual sum of about nine pounds sterling, even for the average of the capitulation of Gaul, may be rendered more evident by the comparison of the present state of the same country, as it is now governed by the absolute monarch of an indubitable, wealthy, and affectionate people. The taxes of France cannot be magnified, either by fear or by flattery, beyond the annual amount of eight millions of sterling, which quite perhaps is to be shared among four-and-twenty millions of inhabitants. Seven millions of these, in the capacity of fathers, or brothers, or husbands, may discharge the obligations of the remaining multitude of women and children; yet the equal proportion of each tributary aye was not to exceed above fifty shillings of our money, instead of a proportion almost four times as considerable, which was regularly imposed on their Gallic ancestors. The reason of this difference may be found, not so much in the relative scarcity or plenty of goods, and silver coin, as in the different state of society in ancient Gaul and in modern France. In a country where personal freedom is the privilege of every subject, the whole mass of taxes, whether they are levied on property or on consumption, may be fairly divided among the whole body of the nation. But the far greater part of the lands of ancient Gaul, as well as of the other provinces of the Roman world, were cultivated by slaves, or by peasants, whose dependent condition was a less rigid servitude. In such a state the poor were maintained at the expense of the spoil of their labour; and as the rolls of tribute were filled only with the names of those citizens who possessed the means of an honourable, or at least of a decent, subsistence, the comparative smallness of their numbers explains and justifies the high rate of their capitulation. The truth of this assertion may be illustrated by an example. The Allobroges, one of the most powerful and cultivated tribes of cities of Gaul, occupied an extent of territory, which now contains above five hundred thousand inhabitants, in the two ecclesiastical dioceses of Autun and Nevers; and with the probable accession of those of Chalonais and Meus, the population would be raised to eight hundred thousand. In the time of Constantine, the territory of the Allobroges afforded no more than twenty-five thousand heads of capitulation, of whom seven thousand were discharged by that prince from the intolerable weight of tribute. A just analogy would seem to countenance the opinion of an ingenious historian, that the free and tributary citizens did not surpass the number of half a million; and if, in the ordinary administration of government, their annual payments may be computed at about four millions and a half of our money, it would appear, that although the share of each individual was trifling, yet, distributed to eight hundred thousand, a Billon of the modern taxes of France was levied on the imperial province of Gaul. The exactions of Constantine may be calculated at seven millions sterling, which were reduced to two millions by the humanity or wisdom of Julian.

But this tax, or capitulation, on the proprietors of land, would have suffered a trade and industry to escape. With the view of sharing that species of wealth which is derived from art and labour, and which exists in money or in merchandise, the emperors imposed a distinct and personal tribute on the trading part of their subjects. So many free citizens, very strictly confined both in time and place, were allowed to the proprietors who disposed of the produce of their own estates. Some indulgence was granted to the profession of the liberal arts; but every other branch of commercial industry was affected by the severity of the law. The inhabitants of Byzantium were reduced to mere suppliants, and the Alexandrians were forced to submit to the measures of a despotic government. They imported the gems and spices of India for the use of the western world; the usurer, who derived from the interest of money a silent and ignominious profit; the ingenious manufacturer, the diligent mechanic, and even the most obscure retailer of a sequestered village, were obliged to yield up the fruits of their industry to the partnership of their gain; and the sovereignty of the Roman empire who tolerated the profession, consented

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*Geryonem non esse potis, monstrumque tributum.*

Hor. Sat. i. 503. edition of 1770. Sido. Apol. Cart. xi. 2. The reputation of Father Simon, and the opinion of Mr. Cotman, the translator of Sidonius Apollinaris, on this passage, are much above what I have found in his note (p. 144.) on this remarkable passage. The words, non ut vero assurse, betray the perplexity of the commentator.

*This assertion, however formidable it may seem, is founded on the fiction of there never having been a separate public authority, and now deposited in the Contrôle Général at Paris. The number of heads of the people, taken in five years, from 1770 to 1774, both inclusive, is 79,649 boys, and 40,959 girls, in 119,292,993 children. The province of France Haute Loire, which is precisely of the same extent with the county of Artois, which, according to the last return of the population, annually repeated from the year 1773 to the year 1778, contains 237,087 inhabitants. By the rules of that inquiry, we may infer, that the ordinary proportion of annual births to the whole people is about one in every five. We may then divide the population of France into 17,538,000 persons of both sexes and of every age. If we content ourselves with the addition of 20 per cent. to this number, the whole population will amount to 21,322,930. From the diligent researches of the French government, which are not numerous of our own imitation, we may hope to obtain a still greater degree of certainty on this important subject.*


8 The ancient jurisdiction of (Augustodunum) Autun in Burgundy, the capital of the Aedu, comprised the adjacent territory of (Noviodunum) Nevers. See d'Anville, A. de Ancanee, Grable. v. et vi. The two provinces of Autun and Nevers are afterwards united, the former of 616, and the latter of 160, parishes. The registers of births, taken during the year 1756, were estimated at 8,112, the province of Burgundy, and multiplied by the moderate proportion of 25, (see Messance Recherches sur la Population, p. 142.) may authorize us to assign an average number of 669 persons for each parish, who being again multiplied by the 750 parishes of the dioceses of Nevers and Chalonais, and Autun, which comprised the whole extent of a country which was once possessed by the Aedu.

9 We might derive an additional supply of 107,750 inhabitants from the dioceses of Chalonais, (Callionum) and of Magon (Maison); since they contain, the one 200, and the other 269, parishes. This number is drawn from d'Anville's map of France, which exhibits the dioceses of the Church of France under the title of Nevers, and Magon, which have been severally made into dioceses, of the extent of five and six parishes in the province of the Nevers, and 15 persons of both sexes and of every age, of the province of Magon. In the province of the Nevers, the clergy are not numerous. (Panégyri. Vet. vii. 3.) which very fully detracts from the value of the information of Constantine, on the internal banks of the navigable Seine.

10 Emissio in Panégyri. Vet. viii. 11.


12 Fest Occid. Theod. l. viii. iii. liii. iv.
The struggle and battle of the CSP were on.

[The emperor Theodosius put an end by a law to these shameful profits. (Codex Theod., 3. 29. tit. 1. c.)] 1 But before depriving himself of this source of revenue, he made sure what sums would pay off his deficit. Flavius, a rich patrician, indignantly at this legalized lustrum, made representations concerning it to the emperor, and to induce him to tolerate it no longer, he offered his own property to supply this diminution of the revenue. The emperor had the goodness to accept his offer. 2

1 Codex Theod., 3. 29. tit. 1. c.
2 Flavius is probably as much passion and prejudice in the attack of Zosimus as was the memory of Constantine by the zealous Dr. Howell. Hist. of the World, 1. 659.才能 earlier date. The Romans borrowed it from Greece. Who has not heard of the famous creation of the mosteine of the crown of gold, with which the citizens wished to honor the emperor. They made representations to the emperor, and to induce him to tolerate it no longer, he offered his own property to supply this diminution of the revenue. The emperor had the goodness to accept his offer. 3

1 See Lipsius de Magnent. Romanae, l. 1. c. 9. The Tetraragonse divided the crown among the four Caesars, and placed the date of their crown of gold of seven, and Gaul with another of nine hundred pounds' weight. I have followed the rational account of Lipsius,

3 Codex Theod., 3. 29. tit. 7. leg. 3.

The decline and fall

Chapter XVIII.

Character of Constantine.—Gothic war.—Death of Constantine.—Division of the empire among his three sons.—Persecution war.—Tragic deaths of Constantine the younger and Constantius.— usurpation of Magnentius.—Civil war.—Victory of Constantius.

The character of the prince who reigned during such important changes into the civil and religious constitution of his country, has fixed the attention, divided the opinion of mankind, and the warmth of disapprobation, of men who agreed in the useful zeal of the Christians, the deliverer of the church has been decorated with every attribute of a hero, and even of a saint; while the discontents of the vanquished party has compared Constantine to the most abhorred of those tyrants, who, by their vice and weakness, disdained the imperial purple. The same passions have in some degree been perpetuated to succeeding generations, and the character of Constantine is considered, even in the present age, as an object either of satire or of panegyric. By the impartial union of these defects which are confessed by his warmest admirers, and of those virtues which are acknowledged by his most implacable enemies, we might hope to delineate a just portrait of that extraordinary man, which the truth and candour of history should adopt without a blush. But it would soon appear that the vain attempt to blend such discordant colours, and to reconcile such inconsistencies, must produce a figure

1 Codex Theod., 3. 29. tit. 11. The senators were supposed to be exempt from the immediate payment of taxes, but the collection of which was required at their hands, was precisely of the same nature.
2 The great concordats, in his judicious advice to his son, (Claudian in iv. Consulat. Honsir, 521. 44.) distinguishes the station of a Roman prince from that of a Persian monarch. Virtue was not required for his succession. But the life and manners of the latter were the greatest support for the other.
3 On ne sait tromper point sur Constantine, en croyant tout le mal qu'on dit Romain, et tout le bien qu'on dit Zosimus. Florit us Hist. Eclectist. tom. iii. p. 223. Eusebius and Zosimus form indeed, the two extremes of flattery and invective. The intermediate shades are expressed by those writers, whose character for situation variously interpreted the influence of their religious zeal.
monstrous rather than human, unless it is viewed in its proper and distinct lights, by a careful separation of the different periods of the reign of Constantine.

His virtues. Constantine had been enriched by nature with her choicest endowments. His stature was lofty, his countenance majestic, his deportment graceful; his strength and activity were displayed in every manly exercise, and from his earliest youth, to a very advanced season of life, he preserved the vigour of his constitution by a strict adherence to the domestic virtues of chastity and temperance. He delighted in the social intercourse of familiar conversation; and though he might sometimes indulge his disposition to rafferty and idleness reserved than was required by the severe dignity of his character, which could never lose its value to public utility, he was continually sought after as a master, and all who approached him,

The sincerity of his friendship has been suspected; yet he showed, on some occasions, that he was not incapable of a warm and lasting attachment. The disadvantage of an illiterate education had not prevented him from forming a just estimate of the value of learning; and the arts and sciences derived some encouragement from the munificent protection of Constantine. In the despatch of business, his diligence was indefatigable; and the active powers of his mind were almost continually exercised in reading, writing, or meditating. In his administration, indeed, as in his private life, his masterly success gained the hearts of all who approached him. The warmth and sincerity of his justice, the justness of his indignation, and the inflexibility of his resolution, were the causes of his being esteemed the honours of his virtues.

The virtues of Constantine are collected for the most part from Eutropius, and the younger Victor, two sincere pagans, who wrote without the present of a respect, or a suspicion, of the emperor's personal character. Julian, acknowledge his personal courage and military achievements.

His enemy's. His enemies with terror, degenerating into a cruel and225 absolute monarch, corrupted by his fortune, or raised by conquest above the necessity of dissimulation. The reign of this monarch, being the last fourteen years of his reign, A. D. 323-337, was a period of apparent splendour rather than of real prosperity; and the old age of Constantine was disgraced by the opposite yet reconcileable vices of rapaciousness and prodigality. The accumulated treasures found in the palaces of Maxentius and Licinius, were lavishly consumed; the various innovations introduced by the conqueror, were attended with an increasing expense; the cost of his buildings, his court, and his festivals, required an immediate and plentiful supply; and the oppression of the people was the only fund. His unworthy favourites, enriched by the boundless liberality of their master, usurped with impunity the privilege of rapine and corruption. A secret but universal decay was felt in every part of the public administration, and the emperor himself, though he still retained the obedience, gradually lost the esteem, of his subjects. The dress and manners, which, towards the decline of life, he chose to affect, served only to degrade him in the eyes of mankind. The Asiatic pomp, which had been adopted by the pride of Diocletian, assumed an air of softness and effeminacy in the person of Constantine, in order to support the false hair of various colours, laboriously arranged by the skilful artists of the times; a diadem of a new and more expensive fashion; a profusion of gems and pearls, of collars and bracelets, and a variegated flowing robe of silk, most curiously embroidered with flowers of gold. In such apparel, scarcely to be excused by the youth and folly of Elagabalus, we are at a loss to discover the wisdom of an aged monarch, and the simplicity of a Roman veteran. A mind thus relaxed by prosperity and indulgence, was incapable of rising to that magnanimity which disdains suspicion, and dares to forgive. The deaths of Maximian and Licinius may perhaps be justified by the maxims of policy, as they are taught in the schools of tyrants; but an impartial narrative of the executions, or rather murders which sullied the declining age of Constantine, will suggest to our most candid thoughts, the idea that in the sacrifice of the lives of these men, the laws of justice, and the feelings of nature, to the dictates either of his passions or of his interest.

The same fortune which so invariably followed the standard of Constantine, his family, seemed to secure the hopes and comforts of his domestic life. Those who had been the longest and most prosperous reigns, Augustus, Trajan, and Diocletian, had been disappointed of posterity; and the frequent revolutions had never allowed sufficient time for any imperial family to grow up and multiply under the shade of the purple. But the royalty of the Flavian line, which had been first established by the Gothic Claudius, descended through several generations; and Constantine himself derived from his royal father the hereditary honours which he transmitted to his children. The emperor had been twice married. Minervina, the obscure but lawful object of his youthful attachment, had left him only one son, Julian, Orat. i. p. 6. In a flattering discourse pronounced before the emperor Conslantine, and Csesar, p. 293. Zonaras, p. 29. The stately buildings of Constantinople e., may be quoted as a lasting and unexceptionable proof of the profuseness of their founder.

The impartial Arianism deserves all our confidence. Proximorum forces into the lap of the emperor. Eusebius himself confesses the abuse; (Vit. Constantin. lib. iv. c. 29.) and some of the imperial laws feebly point out the remedy. See above, p. 343.

Julian, in the Csesars, attempts to ridicule his uncle. His authority, though not equalled, is compared to that of the best; and Suchanek, with the authority of medals, (see Commentaries, p. 156, 299, 349.) Eusebius (Orat. c. 5.) alleges, that Constantine was the first and the only one who extinguished the(value unknown), could never want an excuse.

Zonaras and Zonaras agree in representing Minervina as the concomite of Constantine; but Ducange has very gallantly rescued
who was called Crispus. By Fausta, the daughter of Maximian, he had three daughters and three sons known by the bilined names of Constantine, Constantius, and Constans. The unambitious brothers of the great Constantine, Julius Constantius, Dalmatus, and Hannibalianus, were permitted to enjoy the most honourable rank, and the most alluring fortune, that could be consistent with their humble situation, by the youngest of the three lived without a name, and died without posterity. His two elder brothers obtained in marriage the daughters of wealthy senators, and propagated new branches of the imperial race. Gallus and Julian afterwards became the sons-in-law of Costantine the Patriarch. The two sons of Dalmatus, who had been decorated with the vain title of Caesar, were named Dalmatus and Hannibalianus. The two sisters of the great Constantine, Anastasia and Eutropia, were bestowed on Optatus and Nepotianus, two senators of noble birth, of consular dignity. His third sister, Constantia, was distinguished by her pre-eminence of greatness and of misery. She remained the widow of the vanquished Licinius; and it was by her entreaties, that an innocent boy, the offspring of their marriage, preserved for a time the title of Caesar, and excited a premature hope of the succession. Besides the females, and the allies of the Flavian house, ten or twelve males, to whom the language of modern courts would apply the title of prince of the blood, seemed, according to the order of their birth, to be destined either to inherit or to support the throne of Constantine. As it was in less than thirty years, this numerous and increasing family was reduced to the persons of Constantine and Julian, who alone had survived a series of crimes and calamities, such as the tragic poeties have deposed in the devoted lines of Pelops and of Cadmus.

Crispus, the eldest son of Constantine, and the presumptive heir of the empire, is represented by imperial historians as an amiable and accomplished youth. The care of his education, or at least of his studies, was intrusted to Lactantius, the most eloquent of the Christian; a prince admirably qualified to form the taste, and to excite the virtues, of his illustrious disciple. At the age of seventeen, Crispus was invested with the title of Caesar, and the administration of the Gallic province, where the inroads of the Germans gave him an early occasion of so far realizing his father's valour, that the civil war which broke out soon afterwards, the father and son divided their powers; and this history has already celebrated the valour as well as conduct displayed by the latter, in forcing the straits of the Hellespont, justly deserving of mention with the superior fleet of Licinius. This naval victory contributed to determine the event of the war; and the names of Constantine and of Crispus were united in the joyful acclamations of their eastern subjects: who loudly proclaimed, that the world had been subdued, and was now governed, by an emperor endowed with every virtue; and by his illustrious son, a prince beloved of heaven, and the lively image of his father's perfections. The public favour, which seldom accompanies old age, diffused its lustre over the youth of Crispus. He sustained the esteem, and he engaged the affections, of the court, the army, and the people; and he experienced the merit of a reigning monarch is acknowledged by his subjects with repletion, and frequently with partial and discontented murmurs; while, from the opening virtues of his successor, they fondly conceive the most unbounded hopes of private as well as public felicity.

This dangerous popularity soon ex-Jenner of Con- cited the attention of Constantine, who, naming A.D. 234. both as a father and as a king, was im- Oct. 30. patient of an equal. Instead of attempting to secure his family by the illegitimate enjoyment of con- fidence and gratitude, he resolved to prevent the mis-chiefs which might be apprehended from dissatisfied ambition. Crispus soon had reason to complain, that while his infant brother Constantius was sent, with the title of Caesar, to the department of the Gallic provinces, Joel, a prince of two years, who had performed such recent and signal services, instead of being raised to the superior rank of Augustus, was confined almost a prisoner to his father's court; and exposed, without power or defence, to every calamity which the malice of his enemies could suggest. Under such painful circumstances, the royal youth might not always be able to compose his behaviour, or suppress his discontent; and we may be as- sured, that he was encompassed by a train of indirect or pernicious followers, who assiduously studied to in- trigue his father's death; and who, perhaps, were instructed to betray, the unguarded watchfulness of his resentment. An edict of Constantine, published about this time, A.D. 235, Oct. I. manifestly indicates his real or affected suspicions, that a secret conspiracy had been formed against his person and government. By all the allure- ments of the court, and by every degree to accuse without exception his magis- trates or ministers, his friends or his most intimate favourites, protesting, with a solemn assecration, that he himself will listen to the charge, that he himself will render an account of his actions; and concluding with a prayer, which discovers some apprehension of danger, that the providence of the Supreme Being may still continue to protect the safety of the emperor and of the empire.

The informers, who complied so liberally an invitation, were sufficiently accustomed in the arts of courts to select the friends and adherents of Crispus as the guilty persons; nor is there any reason to distrust the veracity of the emperor, who had promised an ample measure of revenge and punishment. The policy of Constantine, who had himself preserved the provinces of Egypt by the indescribable advantages of regard and confidence towards a son, whom he began to consider as his most irreconcilable en- my. Medals were struck with the customary vows for the long and auspicious reign of the young Caesar; and as the people, who were not admitted into the secrets of the delusive plot, loved his virtues, and respected his dignity, a poet who solicits his recall from exile, adores with equal devotion the majesty of the father and that of the son. The time was now arrived for celebrating the august ceremony of the twentieth year of the reign of Constantine; and the emperor, for that purpose, removed his court from Nicomedea to Rome, where the most splendid preparations had been made for his reception. Every eye, and every tongue, affected to express their sense of the general happiness, and the veil of ceremony and dissimulation was

Virtues of Crispus

From Euseb. Hist. Ecclesiast. i. c. 9. Eutropius (s. 6.) styles him "aegrotum virum," and Julian (Orat. l.) very plainly adjoins the exploits of Crispus in the civil war. See Spalheim. Comment. p. 92. Lactantius (p. 68.) Complains that "the Gallic provinces are a blank to his Chronicle." See Tacitus Hist. iv. c. 3. 5.) The year in which Constantine was created Cesar, seems to be more accurately fixed by the two chronologists; but the historian who lived in his court, could not be ignorant of the day of the anniversary. For the appointment of the new Caesar to the provin- cial dignity. See Tacitus Hist. v. c. 42. Constantine (vi. c. 7.) Confirms the title of Caesar to his brother, A.D. 285. and Boulau, de la Primauté de l'Eglise, p. 483. Cod. Theod., l. i. c. 1. Cod. Godefrey supported the secret me- morials of this law. Concern. tom. iii. p. 9. Concern. tom. iii. p. 9. Concern. tom. iii. p. 9. Concern. tom. iii. p. 9.

Character of Her Character, by producing a decisive passage from one of the pane- glycies: "Ahasuerus purgitive to matrimonial ills..."

From Pauser. On the chr. 41. Noteworth, in him, after Zo- noras, the name of Constantia; a name somewhat obscure, for it was already occupied by the elder brother. That of Hannibalianus is mentioned in the Paehial Chronicle, and is approved by Til- lemon, Hist. der Empereur. tom. iv. p. 527.

drawn for a while over the darkest designs of revenge and murder. In the midst of the festival, the unfortunate Crispus was apprehended by order of the emperor, who laid aside the tenderness of a father without assuming the equity of a judge. The examination was short and private; but as it was thought decent to provide for the defense of the captive, the emperor, at the request of the Roman people, was sent to a strong guard to Pola, in Istria, where, soon afterwards, he was put to death, either by the hand of the executioner, or by the more gentle operation of poison. The Caesar Licius, a youth of amiable manners, was involved in the plot and perished on the same day. Formidable as the enterprise was, Constantine was unmoved by the prayers and tears of his favourite sister, pleading for the life of a son, whose rank was his only crime, and whose loss she did not long survive. The story of these unhappy princes, the nature and evidence of their guilt, the forms of their trial, and the circumstances of their death, were buried in the mists of suspicion; and the courtly bishop, who has celebrated in an elaborate work the virtues and piety of his hero, observes a prudent silence on the subject of these tragic events. Such haughty contempt for the opinion of mankind, whilst it imprints an indelible stain on the memory of Constantine, and prevents the shedding of tears on his name, has painted him one of the greatest monarchs of the present age. The Caesar Peter, in the full possession of despotic power, submitted to the judgment of Russia, of Europe, and of posterity, the reasons which had compelled him to subscribe the condemnation of a criminal, or at least of an outlaw.

The innocence of Crispus was so universally acknowledged, that the modern Greeks, who adore the memory of their founder, are reduced to palliate the guilt of a parricide, which the common feelings of human nature forbade them to justify. They pretend that as soon as the afflicter of the father of Constantine was unmoved by the prayers and tears of his favourite sister, pleading for the life of a son, whose rank was his only crime, and whose loss she did not long survive. The story of these unhappy princes, the nature and evidence of their guilt, the forms of their trial, and the circumstances of their death, were buried in the mists of suspicion; and the courtly bishop, who has celebrated in an elaborate work the virtues and piety of his hero, observes a prudent silence on the subject of these tragic events. Such haughty contempt for the opinion of mankind, whilst it imprints an indelible stain on the memory of Constantine, and prevents the shedding of tears on his name, has painted him one of the greatest monarchs of the present age. The Caesar Peter, in the full possession of despotic power, submitted to the judgment of Russia, of Europe, and of posterity, the reasons which had compelled him to subscribe the condemnation of a criminal, or at least of an outlaw.

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The innocence of Crispus was so universally acknowledged, that the modern Greeks, who adore the memory of their founder, are reduced to palliate the guilt of a parricide, which the common feelings of human nature forbade them to justify. They pretend that as soon as the afflicter of the father of Constantine was unmoved by the prayers and tears of his favourite sister, pleading for the life of a son, whose rank was his only crime, and whose loss she did not long survive. The story of these unhappy princes, the nature and evidence of their guilt, the forms of their trial, and the circumstances of their death, were buried in the mists of suspicion; and the courtly bishop, who has celebrated in an elaborate work the virtues and piety of his hero, observes a prudent silence on the subject of these tragic events. Such haughty contempt for the opinion of mankind, whilst it imprints an indelible stain on the memory of Constantine, and prevents the shedding of tears on his name, has painted him one of the greatest monarchs of the present age. The Caesar Peter, in the full possession of despotic power, submitted to the judgment of Russia, of Europe, and of posterity, the reasons which had compelled him to subscribe the condemnation of a criminal, or at least of an outlaw.
By the death of Crispus, the inheritance of the empire seemed to devolve on the three sons of Fausta, who have been already mentioned under the names of Constantine, of Constantius, and of Constans. These young princes were successively invested with the title of Caesar. The last two of them may be referred to the tenth, the twentieth, and the thirteenth years of the reign of their father. This conduct, though it tended to multiply the future masters of the Roman world, might be excused, by the partiality of paternal affection; but it is not so easy to understand the motive with which the new emperors were furnished, when the safety both of his family and of his people, by the unnecessary elevation of his two nephews, Dalmatius and Hannibalianus. The former was raised, by the title of Caesar, to an equality with his cousins. In favour of the latter, Constantine invented the new and singular appellation of nobilitas: to which he annexed the flattering distinction of a robe of purple and gold. But of the whole series of Roman princes in any age of the empire, Hannibalianus alone was distinguished by the title of King; a name which the subjects of Tiberius who have derived him, the Britons and the existing nation of capacious tyranny. The use of such a title, even as it appears under the reign of Constantine, is a strange and unexpected fact, which can scarcely be admitted on the joint authority of imperial medals and contemporary writers.

The exercise of the body prepared them for the fatigues of war, and the duties of active life. Those who occasionally mention the education or talents of Constantine, allude to his skill in gymnastics, his industry in leaping and running; that he was a dexterous archer, a skilful horseman, and a master of all the different weapons used in the service either of the cavalry or of the infantry. The same assiduous cultivation was bestowed, though not perhaps with equal success, to improve the mind of the sons of the emperor; of Constans. The most celebrated professors of the Christian faith, of the Grecian philosophy, and of the Roman jurisprudence, were invited by the liberality of the emperor, who reserved for himself the important task of instructing the royal youths in the science of government, and the knowledge of mankind. But the genius of Constantine himself had been formed by adversity and experience. In the free intercourse of private life, and amidst the dangers of the court of Galerius, he had learned to command his own passions, to conquer those of his dependants, and to defend himself for his present safety and future greatness on the prudence and firmness of his personal conduct. His destined successors had the misfortune of being born and educated in the imperial purple. Incessantly surrounded with a train of flatterers, they passed their youth in the enjoyment of luxury, and the expectation of a throne; nor would the dignity of their rank permit them to descend from that elevated station from whence the various characters of human nature appear to wear a smooth and uniform aspect. The indulgence of Constantine admitted them, at a very tender age, to share the administration of the empire; and they studied the art of reigning, at the expense of the people intrusted to their care. The younger Constantine was appointed to hold his court in Gaul; and his brother Constantius exchanged that department, the ancient patrimony of their father, for the more opulent, more easy, and less dangerous of their brothers. The provinces of the eastern Illyricum, and Africa, were accustomed to revere Constans, the third of his sons, as the representative of the great Constantine. He fixed Dalmatius on the Gothic frontier, to which he annexed the government of Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece. The title of Caesar was conferred on his son, Constans, who was destined to succeed his father; and the provinces of Pontus, Cappadocia, and the Lesser Armenia, were destined to form the extent of his new kingdom. For each of these princes a suitable establishment was provided. A just proportion of guards, of legions, and of auxiliaries, was allotted for their respective dignity and defence. The ministers and generals, who were placed about their persons, were such as Constantine could trust to assist, and even to control, these youthful sovereigns in the exercise of their delegated power. As they advanced in years and in years, this authority were insensibly enlarged: but the emperor always retained for himself the title of Augustus: and while he showed the Caesars to the armies and provinces, he maintained every part of the empire in equal obedience to its supreme head. The tranquillity of the last fourteen years of the reign of Constantine was scarcely marred by a tempestuous insurrection of a camel-driver in the island of Cyprus, or by the active part which the policy of Constantine engaged him to assume in the wars of the Goths and Sarmanians.

Among the different branches of the Manners of the Roman empire, there is one which is very remarkable; and when they are driven to the verge of ruin, as they seem to unite the manners of the Asiatic barbarians with the figure and complexion of the ancient inhabitants of Europe. According to the various accidents of peace and war, of alliance or conquest, the Sarmanians were sometimes confined to the banks of the Danube; they sometimes spread themselves over the immense plains which lie between the Vistula and the Volga. The care of their numerous flocks and herds, the pursuit of game, and the exercise of war, or rather of rapine, directed the vagrant motions of the Sarmanians. The movable camps or cities, the ordinary residence of their wives and children, consisted only of large waggons drawn by oxen, and covered in the form of tents. The military strength of the nation was composed of cavalry; and the custom of their warriors, to lead in the way of their families, and to keep their horses, enabled them to advance and to retreat with a rapid diligence, which surprised the security, and eluded the pursuit, of a distant enemy. Their poverty of iron prompted their rude industry to invent a sort of cuirass, which was capable of resisting a sword or javelin, though it was formed only of horses' hoofs, cut in thin and polished slices, carefully laid over each other in the manner of scales or feathers, and strongly sewed upon an under garment of coarse linen. The offensive arms of the
Sarmatians were short daggers, long lances, and a weighty bow with a quiver of arrows. These were reduced to the necessity of employing fish-bones for the points of their weapons; but the custom of dipping them in a venomous liquor, that poisoned the wounds which they inflicted, is alone sufficient to prove the most savage manners; since a people impressed with a theory for the sake of which they abjured their native arts, of which they were skilled in the arts of war, would have disdained so impotent a resource.4 Whenever these barbarians issued from their deserts in quest of prey, their shaggy beards, uncombed locks, the furs with which they were covered from head to foot, and the large size of their shields, which impressed the innate cruelty of their minds, inspired the more civilised provincials of Rome with horror and dismay.

Their settlement near the Danube. In the enjoyment of fame and luxury, it was condemned to an hopeless exile on the frozen banks of the Danube, where he was exposed, almost without defence, to the fury of these monsters of the desert, with whose stern spirits he feared that his gentle shade might hereafter be confounded. In his pathetic, but sometimes unmanly, lamentations, he describes in the most lively colours the dress and manner of these Sarmatians, who were associated for the purposes of destruction; and from the accounts of history, there is some reason to believe that these Sarmatians were the Jazyges, one of the most numerous and warlike tribes of the nation. The allurements of plenty engaged them to seek a permanent establishment on the frontiers of the empire. Soon after the reign of Augustus, they obliged the Dacians, who subsisted by fishing on the banks of the river Teys or Tibiscus, to retire into the hilly country, and to abandon to the victorious Sarmatians the fertile plains of the Upper Hungary, which are bounded by the course of the Danube and the semi-circular extension of the Transylvanian forests. In this advantageous position, they watched or suspended the moment of attack, as they were provoked by injuries or appeased by presents; they gradually acquired the skill of using more dangerous weapons; and although the Sarmatians did not illustrate their name by any memorable exploits, they occasionally assisted their eastern and western neighbours, the Goths and the Germans, with a formidable body of cavalry. They lived under the irregular aristocracy of their chieftains; but after they had received into their bosom the fugitive Vandals, who yielded to the pressure of the Gothic power, they were converted to the use of poison, and had spread over both worlds, never preserved a savage tribe from the inroads of a disciplining enemy.

The nine books of Poetical Epistles, which Ovid composed during the seven first years of his melancholy exile, possess, besides the merit of elegance, a double value. They exhibit a picture of the human mind under very singular circumstances; and they contain many passages which no Roman, no Ovid, can have an opportunity of making. Every circumstance which tends to illustrate the history of the barbarians, has been drawn together by his art in the substance of his poems. The name of the Danube, for example, is, I Eve, tom. iv. c. xvi. p. 596—317.

The Sarmatians were settled on the banks of the Puthius or Tisibus, when Pliny, in the year 79, published his Natural History. See l. i. c. 25. In the time of Strabo and Ovid, sixty or seventy years after the critical battles, they inhabited the coast of the Danube, along the coast of the Euxine. 

This motive of enmity must have made the Gothic War inflamed the subjects of Contantine, which perpertually arise on the confines of warlike and independent nations. The Vandal princes were stimulated by fear and revenge; the Gothic kings aspired to extend their dominion from the Euxine to the frontiers of Germany; and the waters of the Maros, a small river which flows into the Danube, was fed with the blood of the contending barbarians. After some experience of the superior strength and numbers of their adversaries, the Sarmatians protected the position of the Roman monarch, who beheld with pleasure the discord of the nations, but who was justly alarmed by the progress of the Gothic arms. As soon as Constantine had declared himself in favour of the weaker party, the haughty Alaric, king of the Goths, instead of expecting the attack of the legions, boldly passed the Danube, and spread terror and devastation through the province of Mæsia. To oppose the

in the destruction host, the aged emperor took the field in person; but on this occasion either his conduct or his fortune betrayed the glory which he had acquired in so many foreign and domestic wars. He had the mortification of seeing his troops fly before an inconsiderable detachment of the barbarians, who pursued them with the vigour of the Gothic arms. As soon as Constantine had obliged him to consult his safety by a precipitate and ignominious retreat. The event of a second and more successful action retrieved the honour of the Roman name; and the powers of art and discipline prevailed, after an obstinate contest, over the efforts of irregular valor. The broken army of the Goths abandoned the field of battle, the wasted province, and the passage of the Danube: and although the eldest of the sons of Constantine was permitted to supply the place of his father, the merit of the victory, which diffused universal joy, was ascribed to the auspicious counselors of the emperor against himself.

He contributed at least to improve this advantage, by his negotiations with the free and warlike people of Chersonesus,5 whose capital, situate on the western coast of the Tauric or Crimian peninsula, still retained some vestiges of a Grecian colony, and was governed by a perpetual magistrate, assisted by a council of senators, emphatically styled the Fathers of the City. The Chersonites were animated against the Goths, by the memory of the wars, which, in the preceding century, they had maintained with unequal forces against the invaders of their country. They gave them, in this event, the powerful assistance of their riches and commerce; as they were supplied from the provinces of Asia with corn and manufactures, which they purchased with their only productions, salt, wax, and hides. Obedient to the requisition of Constantine, they prepared, under the conduct of their magistrate Diogenes, a considerable army, of which the principal strength consisted in crossbows and military chariots. The speedy march and intrepid attack of the

4 Aspicis et nitti sub adnimo toxique serro, Et tellus causas mortis habere dux.

Ovid, Ex Ponto, i. iv. ep. 7. ver. 7.

5 In the Recreences sur les Amériques, tom. ii. p. 237—237, is a very curious dissertation on poisoned darts. The venom was commonly extracted from the vegetable rein: but that employed by the Sarmatians appears to have been drawn from the viper, and a mixture of human blood. The use of poison, which had spread over both nations, never preserved a savage tribe from the attacks of a disciplining enemy.
Chersonesites, by diverting the attention of the Goths, assisted the operations of the imperial generals. The Goths, vanquished on every side, were driven into the mountains, where, in the course of a severe campaign, above an hundred thousand were computed to have perished by cold and hunger. Peace was at length granted in 382, the condition of the inhabitants of Alaric was accepted as the most valuable hostage; and Constantine endeavored to convince their chiefs, by a liberal distribution of honours and rewards, how far the friendship of the Romans was preferable to their enmity. In the expressions of his gratitude toward them, the emperor was so liberal, that he was described as being more magnanimous. The pride of the nation was gratified by the splendid and almost royal decorations bestowed on their magistrates and his successors. A perpetual exemption from all duties was stipulated for their vessels which traded to the coasts of the Black Sea. A regular subsidy was promised, of iron, corn, oil, and every supply which could be useful either in peace or war. But it was thought that the Sarmatians were sufficiently rewarded by their deliverance from impending ruin; and the emperor, perhaps with too single a view of the expenses of the war, prevented the customary gratifications which were allowed to that turbulent nation.

Exasperated by this apparent neglect, the Sarmatians soon forgot, with the levity of barbarians, the services which they had so lately received of their benefactors which now still threatened their safety. Their inroads on the territory of the empire provoked the indignation of Constantine to leave them to their fate; and he no longer opposed the ambition of Geberic, a renowned warner, who had recently ascended the Gothic throne. Wisely, the emperor, whilst he permitted them to defend his dominions with undaunted courage, was vanquished and slain in a decisive battle, which swept away the flower of the Sarmatian youth. The remainder of the nation embraced the desolate expedition of arming their slaves, a hard race of hunters and herdsmen, to share the terrors which they reaped, and expelled the invader from their confines. But they soon discovered that they had exchanged a foreign for a domestic enemy, more dangerous and more implacable. Enraged by their former servitude, and desirous of their present glory, the slaves, under the name of Limigantes, claimed and usurped the possession of the country which they had saved. Their masters, unable to withstand the agitated fury of the populace, preferred the hardships of exile, to the tyranny of their servants. Some of the fugitive Sar- matians elected a less ignominious deposition, under the hostile standard of the Goths. A more numerous band retired beyond the Carpathian mountains among the Quadi, their German allies, and were easily admitted to share a superfluous waste of uncultivated land. But the far greater part of the distressed nation turned their eyes towards the fruitful provinces of Rome. Imploring the protection and forgiveness of the emperor, they solemnly promised, as subjects in peace, and as soldiers in war, the most inviolable fidelity to the empire which they so gratefully receive them into its bosom. According to the maxims adopted by Probus and his successors, the treatment of barbarous colonies were eagerly accepted; and a competent portion of lands in the provinces of Pannonia, Thrace, Macedonia, and Italy, were immediately assigned for the habitation and subsistence of three hundred thousand Sarmatians.1

By chastising the pride of the Goths, Death and funeral of Constantine and by accepting the homage of a super A.D.335, July 1. nation, Constantine asserted the majesty of the Roman empire; and the ambassadors, who followed him to the court of the king of India, congratulated the peace and prosperity of his government. If he reckoned, among the favours of fortune, the death of his eldest son, of his nephew, and perhaps of his wife, he enjoyed an uninterrupted flow of private as well as public felicity, till the third year of his reign, when the former was the cause of his predecessors, since Augustus, had been permitted to celebrate. Constantine survived that solemn festival about ten months; and, at the mature age of sixty-four, after a short illness, he ended his memorable life, at the palace of Partition, in the suburbs A.D. 337, May of Nicomedia, when he had retired for the benefit of the air, and with the hope of recruiting his exhausted strength by the use of the warm baths. The excessive demonstrations of grief, or at least of mourning, suppressed whatever had been practiced on the occasion. Notwithstanding the claims of the senate and people of ancient Rome, the corpse of the deceased emperor, according to his last request, was transported to the city, which was destined to preserve the name and memory of its founder. The body of Constantine, adorned with the vain symbols of friendship, was placed on a golden bed in one of the apartments of the palace, which for that purpose had been splendidly furnished and illuminated. The forms of the court were strictly maintained. Every day at the appointed hours, the principal officers of the state, the army, and the populace, would approach the tomb of the emperor, and, saluting him under the protection of his successors, with bended knees and a composed countenance, offered their respectful homage as seriously as if he had been still alive. From motives of policy, this theatrical representation was for some time continued; nor could flattery neglect the opportunity of remarking that Constantine alone, by the peculiar indulgence of heaven, had reigned after his death.2

But this reign could subsist only in Fractions of the empty pageantry; and it was soon dis- covered that the will of the most absolute monarch is seldom obeyed. when his subjects assert their freedom, his name is that of a mere title, or of a pretender to the hereditary re- sentment. The same ministers and generals, who bowed with such reverential awe before the inanimate corpse of their deceased sovereign, were engaged in secret consultations to exclude his two nephews, Dal- matius and Ambrianus, from the share which had assigned them in the succession of the empire. We are too imperfectly acquainted with the court of Constantine to form any judgment of the real motives which influenced the leaders of the conspiracy; unless we should suppose that they were actuated by a spirit of jealousy and revenge against the praiseworthy ambition of a great favourite, who had long directed the counsels and abused the confidence of the late emperor. The arguments, by which they solicited the concurrence of the soldiers and people, are of a more obvious nature; and they might with decency be stated on the subject that the children of Constantine, the danger of multiplying the number of sovereigns, and the impending mischief which threatened the republic, from the discord of so many rival princes, who were

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1 Eunuchius (in Vit. Const. iv. c. 56) remarks three circumstan- ces relative to these Indians. 1. They came from the shores of the eastern ocean; 2. a description which might be applied to the coast of Africa or Oceania, the hiding place of those unknown animals. 2. They protected their kings and erected statues to represent the supreme majesty of Constantine.

not connected by the tender sympathy of fraternal affection. The intrigue was conducted with zeal and secrecy, till a loud and unanimous declaration was procured from the troops, that they would suffer none, even the gayest, to derange their imminent monoply of the empire. The younger Dalmatius, who was united with his collateral relations by the ties of friendship and interest, is allowed to have inherited a considerable share of the abilities of the great Constantine: but, on this occasion, he does not appear to have exercised any measures for supporting the arms of his house, the just claims which himself and his royal brother derived from the liberality of their uncle. Astonished and overwhelmed by the tide of popular fury, they seem to have remained without the power of flight or of resistance, in the hands of their inevitable enemy. What reasons whatever might have been alleged by these unfortunate princes to defend their life and honour against so incredible an accusation, they were silenced by the furious clamours of the soldiers, who declared themselves, at once, their enemies, their judges, and their executioners. The spirit, and even the forms, of the imperial line were subjected to a most promiscuous massacre; which involved the two uncles of Constantius, seven of his cousins, of whom Dalmatius and Hannibalianus were the most illustrious, the patrician Optatus, who had married a sister of the late emperor, and the præfect Ablavius, whose power and riches had been obtained with some difficulty. If it were necessary to aggravate the horrors of this bloody scene, we might add, that Constantius himself had espoused the daughter of his uncle Julian, and that he had bestowed his sister in marriage on his cousin Hannibalianus. These alliances, which the policy of Constantius, regardless of the public good, had formed between the branches of the imperial house, served only to convince mankind, that these princes were as cold to the endearments of conjugal affection, as they were insensible to the ties of consanguinity, and the moving entreaties of youth and innocence. But one of the youngest descendants of Julian alone, the two youngest children of Julius Constantius, were saved from the hands of the assassins, till their rage, satiated with slaughter, had in some measure subsided. The emperor Constantius, who, in the absence of his brothers, was the most obnoxious object of the popular fury, discovered on several occasions, a faint and transient remorse for those cruelties which the perfidious cushions of his ministers, and the irresistible violence of the troops, had extorted from his unexperienced youth.4

The massacre of the Flavian race was succeeded by a period of intercourse and connection; the flavian princes; which was ratified in a personal interview of the three brothers. Constantius, the eldest of the Caesars, obtained, with a certain pre-eminence of rank, the possession of the new capital, which bore his own name and that of his house. Three and thirty years of the efflux of the provinces; and Constantius was acknowledged as the lawful sovereign of Italy, Africa, and the western Illyricum. The armies submitted to their hereditary right; and they condescended, after some delay, to accept from the Roman senate the title of caesar. Under the reign of Constantius, the eldest of these princes, was twenty-one, the second twenty, and the third only seventeen, years of age.5

While the martial nations of Europe, Sapor king of Persia, his warriors, and the Constantinian troops of Asia, was left to sustain the weight of the Persian war. At the decease of Constantius, the throne of the east was filled by Sapor, son of Hormoz, or Hormisdas, and grandson of Nares, who, after the victory of Galerius, had humbly confessed the superiority of the Roman power. Although Sapor was in the thirty year of his long reign, he was still in the vigour of youth, as the date of his accession, by a very strange fatality, had preceded that of his birth. The wife of Hormoz remained pregnant at the time of her husband's death; and the uncertainty of the sex, as well as of the date of her confinement, excited the jealousy of the great princes of the house of Sassan. The apprehensions of civil war were at length removed, by the positive assurance of the Magi, that the widow of Hormoz had conceived, and would safely produce a son. Obedient to the voice of superstition, the Persians preclude the prejudices of the Romans; who still considered the marriages of cousins germans as a species of imperfect incest; (Augustin de Civitate Dei, xx. 63) and Julian, whose mind was biased by sur-
The decline and fall

Chap. XVIII.

pared, without delay, the ceremony of his coronation. A royal bed, on which the queen lay in state, was exhibited in the midst of the palace; the dinem was prepared to receive the children whom the astrologers had foretold to be the future heir of Artaxerxes, and the prostrate satraps adored the majesty of their invisible and insensible sovereign. If any credit can be given to this marvellous tale, which seems however to be countenanced by the manners of the people, and by the extraordinary formation of his reign, the most admired was not only the fortune, but the genius, of Sapor. In the soft questered education of a Persian haram, the royal youth could discover the importance of exercising the vigour of his mind and body; and, by his personal merit, deserved a throne, on which he had been seated, without consulting the oracles, or embroiling the future of the dutes and temp-}

State of Mesopotamia and Armenia

The ambition of the Persian, to whom his enemies ascribe the virtues of a soldier and a statesman, was animated by the desire of revenging the disgrace of his fathers, and of wresting from the hands of the Romans the living princes beyond the Tigris. The military fame of Constantine, and the real or apparent strength of his government, suspended the attack; and while the hostile conduct of Sapor provoked the resentment, his artful negotiations amused the patience, of the imperial encampment, and the sacrifice of the rival firmness of the Persians, the title of Dourmanoff, or protector of the nation.1

The irregular incursions of the light troops alternately spread terror and devastation beyond the Tigris and beyond the Euphrates, from the gates of Ctesiphon to those of Antioch; and this active service was performed by the Arabs of the desert, who were divided in their interest and affection, some of their independent chiefs being enlisted in the party of Sapor, whilst others had engaged their doubtful fidelity to the emperor.2 The more grave and important operations of the war were conducted with equal vigour; and the armies of Rome and of Persia were sometimes driven to each other in bloody fields, in two of which Constantius himself commanded in person.3 The event of the day was commonly adverse to the Romans, but in the battle of Singara, their impudent valor4 Battle of Singara, had almost achieved a signal and decisive victory. The stationary troops of Singara retired on the approach of Sapor, who passed the Tigris over three bridges, and occupied near the village of Illeih an advantageous camp, which, by the labour of his

1 Apollinius, who lived in the sixth century, is the author of this statement. He quotes the speech of Tiridates, the son of Artaxerxes, and the historian of his reign, that the future successor would be a foreigner. The information from some extracts of the Persian Chronicles, obtained and translated by the late Mr. Tillet, is not less consistent with the tradition. The declaration of the mother of Sapor is likewise mentioned by Suidas, (Tar. p. 116.) and D'Herbelot, (Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 763.)
2 D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 764.
3 Sextus Rufus, (c. 50, who on this occasion is not contemptible and a contemporary of Sapor,) assures us that the Persians were not permitted to march against them; yet the superior weight of the testimony of Eusebius, unless we admit the prejudices, it not the ranting, of the party. See Tillet, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 420.
4 Julian. Orat. i. p. 50.
numerous pioneers, he surrounded in one day with a deep ditch, and a lofty rampart. His formidable host, when it was drawn out in order of battle, covered the banks of the river, the adjacent heights, and the whole extent of a plain of above twelve miles, which separated the two armies. Both were alike impatient to engage; but the barbarians, after a slight resistance, fled in disorder; unable to resist, or desirous to weary, the strength of the heavy legions, who, fasting with heat and thirst, pursued them across the plain, and cut in pieces a line of cavalry, clothed in complete armour, which had been posted behind the gates of the city, in order to protect their retreat. Constantius, who was hurried along in the pursuit, attempted, without effect, to restrain the ardour of his troops, by representing to them the dangers of the approaching night, and the certainty of completing their successes with the return of day. As they depended much more on their own valour than on the experience or the abilities of their chief, they silenced by their clamours his timid remonstrances; and rushing with fury to the charge, filled up the ditch, broke down the rampart, and dispersed themselves through the tents to recruit their exhausted strength, and to enjoy the rich harvest of their labours. But the prudent Sapor had watched the moment of victory. His army, of which the greater part, securely posted on the heights, had been spectators of the action, advanced in silence, and under the shadow of night; and the Persians, gladdened by the illumination of the camp, poured a shower of darts upon the combatants and licentious crowd. The sincerity of history declares, that the Romans were vanquished with a dreadful slaughter, and that the flying remnant of the legions was exposed to the most intolerable hardships. Even the tenderness of panegyric, confessing that the glory of the emperor was the admiration of the world, and the soldiers, chooses to draw a veil over the circumstances of this melancholy retreat. Yet one of those venal orators, so jealous of the fame of Constantius, relates with amazing coolness an act of such incredible cruelty, as to impair the judgment of posterity, must imprint a far dearer stain on the honour of the imperial name. The son of Sapor, the heir of his crown, had been made a captive in the Persian camp. The unhappy youth, who might have excited the compassion of the most savage enemy, was scourged, tortured, and publicly executed by an order of Sapor.** 336.

Whatever advantages might attend the arms of Sapor in the field, though nine repeated victories diffused among the nations the fame of his valour and conduct, he could not hope to succeed in the execution of his designs, while the fortifications of the town and the ramparts, that enclosed the ancient city of Nisibis, remained in the possession of the Romans. In the space of twelve years, Nisibis, which, since the time of Lucullus, had been deservedly esteemed the bulwark of the east, sustained the mem- orable sieges against the power of Sapor; and the three disappointed monarchs, after urging his attacks above sixty, eighty, and an hun- dred days, was thrice repulsed with loss and igno- miny.** This large and populous city was situated about two days journey from the Tigris, in the midst of a pleasant and fertile plain at the foot of Mount Musus. A triangle is inscribed between the sides of the town, and the enclosure of the tower walls was de- jected by a deep ditch; and the intrepid assistance of Count Lucilius, and his garrison, was seconded by the desperate courage of the people. The citizens of Nisibis were animated by the exhortations of their bishop, inured to arms by the presence of danger, and convinced of the intentions of Sapor to plant a Persian colony in the Illyrian provinces, to renounce their constant and barbarous captivity. The event of the two former sieges elicited their confidence, and exasperated the haughty spirit of the great king, who advanced a third time towards Nisibis, at the head of the united forces of Persia and India. The ordinary machines, which had been invented for the purpose of capturing the walls, were un- derstood ineffectual by the superior skill of the Romans; and many days had vainly elapsed, when Sapor embraced a resolution worthy of an eastern monarch, who believed that the elements themselves were subject to his power. At the stated season of the melting of the snows in Armenia, the river Mygdonis, which divides the plain and the city of Nisibis, forms, like the Nile, an inundation over the adjacent country. By the labour of the Persians, the river of the country was stopt below the town, and the waters were confined on every side by solid mounds of earth. On this artificial lake, a fleet of arched pontoon bridges, filled with engines which discharged stones of five hundred pounds' weight, advanced in order of battle, and en- gaged, almost upon a level, the troops which defended the ramparts. The irresistible force of the waters was alternately fatal to the contending parties, till at length the Persians, superior to the Romans in the rate of the proportion, were driven from the breaches, and drowned in the unseem holes which had been filled by the rushing waters. The elephants, made furious by their wounds, increased the disorder, and trampled down thousands of the Persian archers. The great king, who, from an exalted throne, beheld the misfortunes of his arms, sounded, with reluctant indignation, the signal of the retreat, and suspended for some hours the prosecution of the attack. But the vigilant citizens improved the opportunity of the night; and the retreat of day discovered a new wall of six feet in height, rising every thousand steps up the slopes. Notwithstanding the disappointment of his hopes, and the loss of more than twenty thousand men, Sapor still pressed the reduction of Nisibis, with an obstinate firmness, which could have yielded only to the necessity of defending the eastern provinces of Persia, and of opposing the invasion of the Persians. Alarmed by this intelligence, he hastily relinquished the siege, and marched with rapid diligence from the banks of the Tigris to those of the Oxus. The danger and difficulties of the Scythian war engaged him soon afterwards to conclude, or at least to observe, a truce with the Roman emperor, which was equally grateful to both princes, and Constantius himself, after the deaths of his two brothers, was involved, by the revolu- tions of the west, in a civil contest, which required and seemed to exceed the most vigorous exertion of his undivided strength.

** Aertzium nocturna concertatione muretum est, noctorum co- nis ingentis stragis confusus. Ammian. xviii. 5. See likewise Eurpo- pides, Od. vi. 39. ibid. 42. and Theophr. Rem. ii. 20.


‡ Libanius. Orat. ii. p. 62. &c. with the Commen- tary of Synphilus. (p. 189—252.) who illustrates the circumstances, and displays the value of the three sieges of Nisibis. Their date are likewise examined by Tillenium. (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. i. p. 469, 671, 674.)

§ Siliust. Fragment. lxiv. edit. Brosses, and Plutarch in Lollum, tom. i. p. 241. The tower of Nisibis is one hundred and fifty-six feet high; the marshy land produces rice and the fertile meadows, on which many flocks and of cows; the marshy land produces rice and the fertile meadows, as far as Mowd and the Tigris, are covered with the ruins of towns and villages. See Niebuhr, Voyages, tom. i. p. 306—309.

The miracles which Theodoret (ii. ii. c. 30.) ascribes to St. James, Bishop of Edessa, were at least performed in a worthy cause, the defence of his country. He appeared on the walls under the figure of St. James. The emperor ordered an army of grunts to sing the songs of the elephants, and to disconnect the huge edifice which covered the city.

Julian. Orat. i. p. 27. Though Niebuhr (tom. i. p. 367.) allows a very considerable part of this account to Justinian, which he saw a bridge of twelve arches; it is difficult, however, to understand this passage without the assistance of a tedious violet with a mighty river. There are many circumstances obscure, and almost unintelligible, in the description of these stupendous water-works.

We are obliged to Niebuhr, (tom. i. xiii. p. 113.) for this inva- sion of the Mazageta, which is perfectly consistent with the gen- eral state of those memoirs, to which we are darkly led by the broken history of Ammianus.

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After the partition of the empire, three years had scarcely elapsed before the sons of Constantine seemed impatient to assert the rights of inheritance by the choice of an active and vigilant prince, to reward the same virtues which had raised the ancestors of the degenerate Constantians from a private condition to the throne of the world. As soon as the conspiracy was ripe for execution, Marcellinus, under the pretence of celebrating his son's birth-day, gave a splendid entertainment to the illustrious and honourable persons of the court of Gaul, which then resided in the city of Autun. The intemperance of the feast was artfully protracted till a very late hour of the night; and the unsuspecting guests were tempted to indulge themselves in dangerous and guilty freedom of conversation. On a sudden the doors were thrown open, and Magnentius, who had retired for a few moments, returned into the apartment, invested with the dædalian and purple. The conspirators instantly saluted him with the titles of Augustus and emperor. The surprise, the terror, the intoxication, the ambitious hopes, and the mutual ignorance of the rest of the assembly, prompted them to join their voices to the general acclamation. The guards hastened to take the oath of fidelity; the gates were opened; and before the dawn of day, Magnentius became master of the troops and treasure of the palace and city of Autun. By his secrecy and diligence he enticed some hopes of surprising the person of Constantius, who was pursuing in the adjacent forest his favourite amusement of hunting, or perhaps engaged in the furious exercise of a more private and criminal lust. The rapid progress of fame allowed him, however, an instant for flight, though the desertion of his soldiers and subjects deprived him of the power of resistance. Before he could reach a sea-port in Spain, where he had been trusted, by the royal liberality of his predecessor, to reside at the foot of the Pyrenees, by a party of light cavalry, whose chief, regardless of the sanctity of a temple, executed his commission by the murder of the son of Constantine.

As soon as the death of Constantias had removed the last obstacle to Magnentius and Vetranio assumption, the example of the court of Autun was imitated by the provinces of the west. The authority of Magnentius was acknowledged through the whole extent of the two great provinces of Gaul and Italy; and the usurper prepared, not for the defence, but to lay their territory open to the generous discharge of an immense donation, and supply the expenses of a civil war. The martial countries of Illyricum, from the Danube to the extremities of Greece, had long obeyed the government of Vetranio. The provinces of the west, from the Rhine to Mauretania, were governed by a court of manners, and who had acquired some reputation by his experience and services in war. Attached by habit, by duty, and by gratitude, to the house of Constantine, he immediately gave the strongest assurances to the only surviving son of his late master, that he would employ, with unshaken fidelity, his person and his troops, to inflict a just revenge on the traitors of Gaul. But the legions of Vetranio were seduced, rather than provoked, by the example of rebellion; their leader soon betrayed a want of firmness, or a mixture of his manners, and who had obtained some reputation by his experience and services in war. An ancient city had once flourished under the name of Heliopolis (Proponumus Mela, B. S.). The munificence of Constantine gave a new splendour to this city. The lady of his bloodline, and his mother's noble stock, the poet's muse, was the first of a bishop, who long afterwards transferred his residence to Dijon, and the capital of modern Rossillon. See D'Anville Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule, p. 356. Long description de la France, p. 223, and the Mapa Hispánica, L. i., c. 1. Vetranio assumed the name of Zosimius, or Zosimos (xlii. 10), and was the son of a family of the Montferrat, who could persuade the good people of England, that he, a Persian born by birth, had taken arms to deliver them from foreign favourites.

7 The causes and the events of this civil war are related with much perplexity and confusion. I have therefore followed Zonar's and the younger Victor. The monody (ad calicem Exon. edit. Ruyvenm.) pronounced on the death of Constantine, might have been very instructive; but prudence and false taste engagd the author to preserve himself from such declamation.

8 Quirinus (quiritium) abridges himself of the death of Helena, which might have been very instructive; but prudence and false taste engaged the author to preserve himself from such declamation.

9 Julian, Ora~, i. and ii. Zonar. i. ii. p. 151. Victor in Epitome there is reason to believe that Magnentius was born in one of those provinces which Constantine had established in Gaul. See this History, p. 152. His behaviour may remind us of that of the barbarian, the famer north of the Monfort, who could persuade the good people of England, that he, a Persian born by birth, had taken arms to deliver them from foreign favourites.
of Augustus, placed the diadem with her own hands on the head of the Illyrian general; and seemed to expect, from his victory, the accomplishment of those unbounded hopes, of which she had been disappointed by the death of her husband Hannibal. Perhaps it was upon this account that the new emperor formed a necessary, though dishonourable, alliance, with the usurper of the west, whose purple was so recently stained with her brother's blood.

The intelligence of these important events, which so deeply affected the pride and interests of the imperial house, recalled the arms of Constantius from the inglorious prosecution of the Persian war. He recommended the care of the east to his lieutenant, and afterwards to his cousin Gallus, whom he raised from a prison to a throne, and, at the same time, acknowledged the imperial authority of his brother, by common consent the future operations of the civil war. In consequence of this agreement, Vetranio advanced to the city of Sardica, at the head of twenty thousand horse, and a more numerous body of infantry; and, with the powers of the forces of Constantius, that the Illyrian emperor appeared to command the life and fortunes of his rival, who, depending on the success of his private negociations, had seduced the troops, and undermined the throne, of Vetranio. The chiefs, who had secretly embraced the party of Constantius, were prepared in his behalf, and calculated to discover and inflame the passions of the multitude.

Constantius acknowledged him as a legitimate and equal colleague in the empire, on condition that he would renounce his disgraceful alliance with Magnentius, and appoint a place of interview on the frontiers of their respective provinces; where they might pledge themselves to the friendship of their subjects, by common consent the future operations of the civil war. The united armies were commanded to assemble in a large plain near the city. In the centre, according to the rules of ancient discipline, a military tribunal, or rather scaffold, was erected, from whence the emperors to whose sons such an enigma had given their allegiance, were to harangue the troops. The well-ordered ranks of Romans and barbarians, with drawn swords, or with erected spears, the squadrions of cavalry, and the cohorts of infantry, distinguished by the variety of their arms and ensigns, formed an immense circle round the tribunal; and the harangue of the emperor, which served was sometimes interrupted by loud bursts of clamour or of applause. In the presence of this formidable assembly, the two emperors were called upon to explain the situation of public affairs; the precedence of rank was yielded to the royal birth of Constantius; and he was received, as they had hoped, in the arts of rhetoric, he acquitted himself, under these difficult circumstances, with firmness, dexterity, and eloquence. The first part of his oration seemed to be pointed only against the tyrant of Gaul; but while he tragically lamented the cruel murder of Constans, he insinuated, that none, except a brother, could claim a right to the succession of his brother. He displayed, with some complacency, the glories of his imperial race; and recalled to the memory of the troops, the valour, the triumphs, the liberality of the great Constantine, to whose sons such a task had been intrusted by his beneficent laws; and he was sufficiently skilful, by an oath of fidelity, which the ingratitude of his most favoured servants had tempted them to violate. The officers, who surrounded the tribunal, and were instructed to act their parts in this extraordinary scene, confessed the irresistible power of reason and eloquence, and hailed the new man of universal sway.

The authority of such a vision, or rather of the prince who alleged it, silenced every doubt, and excluded all neglection. The ignominious terms of peace were rejected with disdain. One of the ambassage of the tyrant was dismissed with the haughty answer of Constantius; his colleagues, as unworthy of the privileges of the law of nations, were put in irons; and the contending powers prepared to wage an implacable war.

Decimus Vetranius was the conduct, and such per- haps was the duty of the troops who composed the forces of Vetranio. The situation and character of Vetranio admitted of milder measures; and the policy of the eastern emperor was directed to disunite his antagonists, and to separate the forces of Illyricum from the emperor of the west. It was an easy task to deceive the frankness and simplicity of Vetranio, who, fluctuating some time between the opposite views of honour and interest, displayed to the world the insincerity of his temper, and was insensibly engaged in the snare of an artful negotiation.

"The doubtful, fluctuating conduct of Vetranio is described by Ju- lian, Siscius, and especially by the historian Ammianus, who discussses the condition and behaviour of Constantius."

"See Peter the Patrician, in the Excerpta Legationum, p. 27."

The historian Siscius, in a work of minor importance, in which he discusses the situation and behaviour of Constantius, refers to the account of Peter the Patrician given in the Excerpta Legationum, p. 27. This work is a distinct narrative of the historical services of the emperor to illustrate the difference, but vague, descriptions of the orator.
enjoyment of ease and affluence. He often expressed his grateful sense of the goodness of Constantius, and, with a very amiable simplicity, advised his benefactor to resign the sceptre of the world, and to seek for a tent (where alone it could be found) in the peacful obscurity of a private condition.¹

Makès war against Messentius. The behaviour of Constantius on this memorable occasion was celebrated with some appearance of justice; and his counsellors, among the others a Pericles or a Demosthenes addressed to the populace of Athens, with the victorious eloquence which had persuaded an armed multitude to desert and depose the object of their partial choice.² The approaching contest with Messentius was of a more serious and bloody kind. The tyrant advanced by rapid marches to encounter Constantius, at the head of a numerous army, composed of Gauls and Spaniards, of Franks and Saxons; of those provincials who supplied the strength of the legions, and of those barbarians who were dreaded as the most formidable enemies of the republic. The平原s of the lower Pannonis, between the Drave, the Save, and the Danube, presented a spacious theatre; and the operations of the civil war were protracted during the summer months by the skill or timidity of the combatants.³ Constantius proceeded with an intention of saving his name in the fields of Cibalis, a name that would animate his troops by the remembrance of the victory which, on the same auspicious ground, had been obtained by the arms of his father Constantine. Yet by the impregnable fortifications with which the emperor encompassed his camp, he appeared to decline, rather than to invite, a general engagement. It was the object of Messentius to tempt or to compel his adversary to relinquish this advantageous position; and he employed, with that view, the various marches, evolutions, and stratagems, which in the art of warfare are mere suggestions to the mind of an experienced officer. He carried by assault the important town of Siscia; made an attack on the city of Sirmium, which lay in the rear of the imperial camp; attempted to force a passage over the Save into the eastern provinces of Illyricum; and cut in pieces a numerous detachment, which he had eluded in the narrow passes of the Aecarn. During the greater part of the summer, the tyrant of Gaul showed himself master of the field. The troops of Constantius were harassed and dispirited; his reputation declined in the eyes of the world; and his pride compelled him to sign a treaty of peace which would have resigned to the assassins of Constantine the sovereignty of the provinces beyond the Alps. These offers were enforced by the eloquence of Philip the imperial ambassador; and the council as well as the army of Messentius were disposed to accept them. But the haughty usurer, careless of the remonstrances of his friends, gave orders that Philip should be detained as a captive, or at least as a hostage; while he despatched an officer to re-proach Constantius with the weakness of his reign, and to insult him by the promise of a pardon, if he would instantly abdicate the purple. "That he should confide in the justice of his cause, and the protection of an avenging Deity," was the only answer which honour permitted the emperor to return. But he was so sensible of the difficulties of his situation, that he no longer desired to retaliate, the indignities which had been offered to his representative. The negotiation of Philip was not, however, ineffectual, since he determined Sylvanus the Frank, a general of merit and reputation, to desert with a considerable body of cavalry, a few days before the battle of Mura.⁴

¹ This remarkable bridge, which is flanked by towers, and supported on large wooden piles, was constructed, A. D. 1566, by Sultan Soliman, to facilitate the march of his armies into Hungary. See Browne's Travels, and Buskley's System of Geography, vol. ii. p. 90.

² This position, and the subsequent evolutions, are clearly, though imperfectly, described by Julian, Orat. i. p. 36.

³ Sulpicius Severus, i. ii. p. 465. The emperor passed the day in prayer with his family. It may be observed, who gained his confidence by announcing the success of the battle. M. de Tillemont (Histoire des Empereurs, iv. p. 110) very improperly attributes the confidence of Julian with regard to the personal prowess of Constantius in the battle of Mura. The emperor's victory is sometimes equal to the most celebrated, and authentic evidence.

⁴ Julian, Orat. i. p. 36, 37; and Orat. i. p. 59, 60. Zonaras, tom. ii. xiii. p. 64, 65; and in his Historia in Gestis Theodosii, vol. ii. p. 173, 174. The emperor speaks of the desert of the archer Memelas, who could discharge three arrows in one second of time; an Instance of his appreciation of military affairs, materially contributed to the victory of Constantius.

⁵ According to Zonaras, Constantius, out of 60,000 men, lost 20,000.
which proves the obstinacy of the contest, and justifies the observation of an ancient writer, that the forces of the empire were consumed in the fatal battle of Mursa, by the loss of a veteran army, sufficient to defend the frontiers, and his camp in the possession of the enemy.\(^1\) Notwithstanding the invectives of a servile orator, there is not the least reason to believe that the tyrant deserted his own standard in the beginning of the engagement. He seems to have displayed the virtues of a general and of a soldier till the day was reversed in vain, and to have made the loss of his troops a sacrifice to the interest of the empire. Magnentius then consulted his safety, and throwing away the imperial ornaments, escaped with some difficulty from the pursuit of the light horse, who incessantly followed his rapid flight from the banks of the Dora to the foot of the Julian Alps.\(^1\)

Conquest of the Alps. The flight of Mursa supplied the indolence of Constantius with specious reasons for deferring the prosecution of the war till the ensuing spring. Magnentius had fixed his residence in the city of Aquileia, and showed a seeming resolution to dispute the passage of the mountains and to resist the imperial fleet at the head of the Venetian province. The surprisal of a castle in the Alps by the secret march of the imperialists, could scarce have determined him to relinquish the possession of Italy, if the inclinations of the people had supported the cause of their tyrant.\(^1\) But the memory of the Alaric and the rash designs of the unsuccessful revolt of Nepotian, had left a deep impression of horror and resentment on the minds of the Romans. That rash youth, the son of the princess Eutropia, and the nephew of Constantine, had seen with indignation the sanguinary west usurped by a perfidious barbarian. Armimg a desperate number of slaves and gladiators, he overpowered the feeble guard of the domestic tranquillity of Rome, received the homage of the senate, and assuming the title of Augustus, precariously reigned during a tumult of twenty-eight days. The march of some regular forces put an end to his ambitious hopes: the rebellion was extinguished in the blood of Nepotian, of his mother Eutropia, and of his adherents; and the proscription was extended to all who had contracted a fatal alliance with the name and family of Constantine.\(^1\) But as soon as Constantius, after the battle of Mursa, became master of the sea and the mountains, he overtook the enemy, who had ventured to equip a fleet in some harbour of the Adriatic, sought protection and revenge in his victorious camp. By their secret intelligence with their countrymen, Rome and the Italian cities were persuaded to display the banners of Constantius on their walls. The prophecies of the augurs, whose right authority was in the hands of Constantius, signalized their gratitude and loyalty to the son of the emperor. The cavalry, the legions, and the auxiliaries of Italy, renewed their oath of allegiance to Constantius; and the usurper, alarmed by the general desertion, was compelled, with the remains of his faithful troops, to retire beyond the Alps into the provinces of Gaul. The detachments, however, which were ordered either to press or to intercept the flight of Magnentius, continued to pursue the tyrant, and to watch the passage of the Rhone.\(^1\) They were, however, mistaken in their object, and allowed him, in the plains of Pavia, an opportunity of turning on his pursuers, and of gratifying his despair by the carnage of a useless victory.\(^1\)

The pride of Magnentius was reduced, by repeated misfortunes, to size, and to despair. He found the emperor, embossed in the person of a senator, in whose abilities he confided, and afterwards several bishops, whose holy character might obtain a more favourable audience, with the offer of resigning the purple, and of the promise of devoting the remainder of his life to the service of the emperor. But Constantius, though he granted fair terms of pardon and reconciliation to all who abandoned the standard of rebellion, avowed his inflexible resolution to inflict a just punishment on the crimes of an assassin, whom he prepared to overthwart on every side by the effort of his victorious arms. An imperial commission, composed of the emperor, the consuls, and Spain, confirmed the waving faith of the Moorish nations, and landed a considerable force, which passed the Pyrenees, and advanced towards Lyons, the last and fatal station of Magnentius.\(^1\) The temper of the tyrant which was never inclined to clemency, was provoked by the offer of a ruse which could extort an immediate supply from the cities of Gaul.\(^1\) Their patience was at length exhausted; and Treves, the seat of prætorian government, gave the signal of revolt, by shutting her gates against Decentius, who had been raised by his brother to the rank either of Caesar or of Augustus.\(^1\) From Treves Decentius was obliged to retire to Sens, where he was soon surrounded by an army of Germans, whom the peregriniae of Constantius had introduced into the civil dissensions of Rome.\(^1\) In the mean time, the imperial troops forced the passages of the Cottian Alps, and in the bloody combat of mount Sculeniunc irrevocably fixed the title of rebels on the party of Magnentius.\(^1\) He was unable to bring another army into the field; the fidelity of his guards was corrupted; and when he appeared in public to animate them by his exhortations, he was saluted with an unanimous shout of relief.\(^1\) Long life! Magnentius, the tyrant, who perceived that they were preparing to desert and rewards by the sacrifice of the most obnoxious criminal, prevented their design by falling on his sword: a death more easy and more honourable than he could hope to obtain from an enemy. The last and the greatest of the conspirators, who were proud of his abilities, and possessed of the spicetum of justice and fraternal pity. The
example of suicide was imitated by Decennius, who
strangled himself on the news of his brother’s death.
The author of the conspiracy, Marcellinus, had long
since disappeared in the battle of Mursa, and the pub-
lic tranquillity was confirmed by the execution of the
surviving leaders of a guilty and unsuccessful faction.
A severe inquisition was extended over all who, either
from choice or compulsion, had been involved in the
cause of rebellion. Paul, summoned Catena, from
his superior skill in the judicial exercise of tyranny,
was sent to explore the latent remains of the conspir-
acy in the remote province of Brintia. The honest
indignation expressed by Martin, vicar apostolic of the
island, was interpreted as an admission of his own guilt,
and the governor was urged to the necessity of turning
against his breast the sword with which he had been
provoked to wound the imperial minister. The most
innocent subjects of the west were exposed to exile and
execution; and the statesmen and the tyrants, who are
ever cruel, the mind of Constantius was insen-
sis to mercy.1

CHAPTER XIX.

Constantius sole emperor.—Education and death of Gallus.—Danger and elevation of Julian.—Normand and Persian wars.—Vitriolic account of Julian in Gaul.

Tari divided provinces of the empire,
were again united by the victory of Con-
stantius; but as that feeble prince was destitute of
personal merit, either in peace or war; as he feared
his generals and distrusted his ministers; the triumph
of his arms served only to establish the reign of the
eunuchs, over the Roman world. The unhappy beings,
the nearest production of oriental jealousy and despotic
ism,2 were introduced into Greece and Rome by the
temptation of Asiatic luxury.3 Their progress was
rapid; and the eunuchs, who, in the time of Augustus,
had been abhorred, as the monstrous repute of an
Egyptian queen, were gradually admitted into the
families of matrons, of senators, and of the emperors
themselves.4 Restained by the severe edict of Do-
mitian and Nerva,5 cherished by the pride of Dio- 
celeus, reduced to an humble station by the prudence of
Constantine,6 they multiplied in the palaces of his de-
generate sons, and insensibly acquired the knowledge,
and at length the direction, of the imperial empire.

Constantius. The avarice and contempt which man-
kind has so uniformly entertained for that imperfect
species, appears to have degraded their character, and
to have rendered them almost as inappreciable as they
were supposed to be, of conceiving any generous sen-
timent, any of the qualities in which they have been
instructed; the eunuchs were skilled in the arts of flattery and
intrigue; and they utterly governed the mind of Con-
stantius by his fears, his indolence, and his vanity.6

Whilst he viewed in a deceitful mirror the fair appear-
ance of public prosperity, he supinely permitted them
to interpose in the commerce of the world. He accumu-
late immense treasures by the sale of justice and
honours; to disgrace the most important digni-
ties, by the promotion of those who had purchased at
their hands the powers of oppression,7 and to gratify
the amorous affections of their mistresses.8 By his
artful suggestions, the emperor was persuaded to
subscribe the condemnation of the unfortunate Gallus,
and to add a new crime to the long list of unnatural
murders which pollute the honour of the house of Con-
stantine.

While the two nephews of Constantine—Education of Gal-
tine, Gallus and Julian, were saved by Paul and Julian,
from the fury of the soldiers, the former was about
twelve, and the latter about six, years of age; and,
as the eldest was thought to be of a sickly constitution,
they obtained with the less difficulty a precarious and
dependent existence. But Gallus, who was sensible that the execution of these helpless
orphans would have been esteemed, by all mankind, an
act of the most deliberate cruelty.9 Different cities of
Ionia and Bithynia were assigned for the places of their
exile and education; but, as soon as their growing
years excited the jealousy of the emperor, he judged
it more prudent to secure those unhappy youths in the
strong castle of Macellum, near Caesarea. The

treatment which they experienced during a six years’ con-
finement was partly such as they could hope from a

careful guardian and partly such as they received from a

suspicious tyrant.1 Their prison was an ancient

palace, the residence of the kings of Cappadocia; the

situation was pleasant, the building stately, the

enclosure spacious. They pursued their studies, and prac-

exemplified the generous principles of Cyrus, to

impose his hand to the guard of

eunuchs. He had observed in animals, that although the practice of

crime might tame the inveterate fierceness, it did not

diminish their strength or spirit; and he persuaded himself, that those

who were separated from the rest of human kind, would be

more firmly attached to the person of their benefactor. But a long expen-

tence had convinced the judgment of Cyrus. Some particular in-

stances may occur where eunuchs distinguished by their fidelity, their

value, and their abilities; but if we examine the general history of Per-

sia, and China, we shall find that only power of the eunuchs has

uniformly marked the decline and fall of every dynasty.

1 See Sat. iv. 8, 9, 11. 2 Marcellus, l. i. c. 11, 12. 3 He

the whole term of his imperial history serves to justify the

invectives of Marmontel, of La Harpe, and of Julian himself, who have insulted

the views and abilities of his sovereign.

1 Aurelius Victor enumerates the negligence of his sovereign in choosing

the governors of the provinces, and the generals of the army,

and concludes his history with a very bold observation, as it is much

more disastrous for a feeble reign, than for one which

has been strong in itself. "Ut verum absolvam brevi, ut imperatore ipso

claribus, ipsa apparitorium magnae magis atra natum."1

1 A very different description of the eunuchs is given by

Ammian (l. xvi. c. 4). 2 Gallus and Julian (Orat. iii. p. 92) reproaches the apostate

with his ingratitude towards Mark, bishop of Antioch, who had

been of the eunuchs to the side of the pages, and Socrates (f. iii. r. i.) on that

of the Christians, have preserved several interesting circumstances.
tised their exercises, under the tuition of the most skilful masters; and the numerous household appointed to attend, or rather to guard, the nephews of Constantine, was not unworthy of the dignity of their birth. But they could not disguise to themselves that they were but brutes, and were suspended to assume that odious character. Every apartment of the palace was adorned with the instruments of death and torture, and a general consternation was diffused through the capital of Syria. The prince of the east, as if he had been conscious how much he had at stake, and how little he desired to reign, selected for the objects of his resentment, the provincials accused of some imaginary treason, and his own courtiers, whom with more reason he suspected of incensing, by their secret correspondence, the timid and suspicious mind of Constantius. But he forgot that he had set his long term to the affections of the people; whilst he furnished the malice of his enemies with the arms of truth, and afforded the emperor the fairest pretext of executing the forfeit of his purple, and of his life.\footnote{A D. 354.}

As long as the civil war suspended \textit{Maries} of the fate of the throne, and \textit{Empereurs} of the imperial thrones, Constantius dissembled his knowledge of the weak and cruel administration to which his choice had subjected the east; and the discovery of some assassins, secretly despatched to Antioch by the tyrant of Gaul, was employed to excite the public, that the measures were united for the same interest, and pursued by the same enemies.\footnote{A D. 354.} But when the victory was decided in favour of Constantius, his dependent colleague became less useful and less formidable. Every circumstance of his conduct was severely and suspiciously examined, as it was privately resolved, either to deprive Gallus of the purple, or at least to remove him from the indolent luxury of Asia to the hardships and dangers of a German war. The death of Theophilius, consular of the province of Syria, who in a time of scarcity had been massacred by the people of Antioch, with the connivance, and almost at the instigation, of Gallus, was justly resented, not only as an act of wanton cruelty, but as a dangerous insult on the supreme majesty of Constantius. Two ministers of illustrious rank, Dotician, the oriental prefect, and Montius, questor of the palace, were empowered by a special commission to visit and reform the state of the eastern empire. They attempted to torture Gallus with moderation and respect, and, by the gentlest arts of persuasion to engage him to comply with the invitation of his brother and colleague. The rashness of the prefect disappointed these prudent measures, and hastened his own ruin, as well as that of his benefactor. On the 11th of March, 349, Gallus, who could ill brook the insolence of a subject, expressed their resentment by instantly delivering Dotician to the custody of a guard. The quarrel still admitted of some terms of accommodation. They were rendered impracticable by the imprudent behaviour of Montius, a statesman, who \footnote{See in Ammianus (l. xiv. 1. 7.) a very ample detail of the cruelties of Gallus. His brother Julian (p. 272.) insinuates, that a se- cret conspiracy, concocted some years before by Cassianus, had already been formed in a certain place; and that Zonaras (l. i. p. 133.) the persons engaged in it: a minister of considerable rank, and two obscure agents, who were resolved to make their fortune by the means of the Alexandrians, were discovered, and revealed by an old woman in whose cottage they lodged.}
whose art and experience were frequently betrayed by the levity of his disposition. The quaestor reproached Gallus in haughty language, that a prince, who was scarcely adorned to his dignified and martial appearance, should presume to imprison a praetorian prefect; con-
voked a meeting of the civil and military officers; and
required them, in the name of their sovereign, to defend
the person and dignity of his representatives. By this
rush declared war, the impatient temper of Gallus
was provoked to embrace dangerous and ec-

dulous counsels. He ordered his guards to stand to their
arms, assembled the populace of Antioch, and recommended to
their zeal the care of his safety and revenue. His com-
mands were too fatally obeyed. They rudely seized the
prefect and the praetorians, tore their garments, and
hurried them with ropes, dragged them through the streets
deeped, a thousand insults and a thousand
wounds on these unhappy victims, and at last precipi-
tated their mangled and lifeless bodies into the stream of
the Orontes.1

Dangerous

Dangers.

After such a deed, whatever might

be the designs of Gallus, it was

only in a field of battle that he could assert his inno-
cence with any hope of success. But the mind of that

prince was formed of an equal mixture of violence and

weakness. Instead of assuming the title of Augustus,

inspired by those in the midst of the treasures of the east,

he suffered himself to be deceived by
the affected tranquillity of Constantius, who, leaving
him the vain pageantry of a court, imperceptibly
recalled the veteran legions from the provinces of Asia.
But the prince, inspired with dangerous to arrest Gallus in
his capital, the slow and laborious arts of dissimulation
were practised with success. The frequent and pressing
epistles of Constantius were filled with professions of
confidence and friendship; exhorting the Caesar to

discharge the duties of his high station, to relieve his
army, to recruit the public care, and to assist the west by his presence, his counsels, and his
arms. After so many reciprocal injuries, Gallus had
reason to fear and to distrust. But he had neglected
the opportunities of flight and of resistance; he was
seduced by the flattering assurance of the tribune Scu-
dilius, who, under the semblance of a rough soldier, dis-
guised the most artful insinuation; and he depended on
the credit of his wife Constantia, till the unsean-
sonable death of that princess completed the ruin in
which he had been involved by her impetuous pas-

Disgrace and
Death.

After a long delay, the reluctant Ce-

sar set forwards on his journey to the

imperial court. From Antioch to Ha-
drianople, he traversed the wide extent
of his dominions with a numerous and stately train;
and on his departure, he concealed his apprehensions from
the world, and perhaps from himself, he entertained
the people of Constantinople with an exhibition of the
games of the circus. The progress of the journey might,
however, have warned him of the impending danger.
In all the principal cities he was met by minis-
ters of confidence, commissioned to seize the officers
of government, to observe his motions, and to prevent
the hasty sallies of his despair. The persons des-
patched to secure the provinces which he left behind,
passed him with cold salutations, or affected disdain;
and the troops, whose station lay along the public road,
were studiously removed on his approach, lest they
might be tempted to offer their swords for the service of
a civil war.2 After Gallus had been permitted to

submit the refusal of Constantius, he had received a
mandate, expressed in the most haughty and abso-

lute style, that his splendid retinue should halt in that
city, while the Caesar himself, with only ten post-
carri-

riages, should hasten to the imperial residence at Mi-

lan. In this rapid journey, the profound sleep which
was due to the fatigue and health of Constantius
was insensibly changed into rude familiarity; and
Gallus, who discovered in the countenances of the att-

endants that they already considered themselves as
his guards, and might soon be employed as his execu-
tors, was accelerated to hasten to his destined

destined to collect, with terror and remorse, the conduct by
which he had provoked his fate. The dissimulation which
had hitherto been preserved, was laid aside at Petovio
in Pannonia. He was conducted to a palace in the

suburbs, where the general Barbarito, with a select
body of Constantius, who could neither be bribed, nor

cursed by rewards, expected the arrival of his

illustrious victim. In the close of the evening he was

arrested, ignominiously stripped of the ensigns of

Cesar, and hurried away to Pola in Istria, a sequest-

tered prison, which had been so recently polluted with

avowed blood. A few days after, his fate was con-


1 The Theban legion, which were then quartered at Hadriano-

polis, revolted against Gallus, with a tender of their services.

Amian, l. xiv, c. 11. The Notitia (s. 60, 35, edit. Labri) men-


tions three forces which bore the name of Theban. The

seat of, of Volturno, to destroy a despicable, though celebrated

legion, has tempted him on the slightest grounds to deny the exis-


tence of all the requisitions of Constantius. See Oeuvres de


2 See the complete narrative of the journey and death of Gallus in

Amian, l. xiv, c. 11. The Roman emperor should not be exposed
to death without a trial; attempts to justify, or at least to excuse,
the cruel sentence, would only corrupt the turbulent spirit of
the age. The accounts of it have been preserved; we are at
least to acknowledge that he might justly have been deprived of
the purple.


the former was partial towards an Arian monarch, and the latter

transcribed, without care or criticism, whatever he found in the

writings of the oriental.

4 See Amianus Marcellin. l. xiv. e. 3. 8. Julian himself, in his
in the school of adversity, Julian insensibly acquired the virtues of firmness and discretion. He defended his honour, as well as his life, against the insinuating subtleties of the envoys, who endeavoured to extort some declaration of his sentiments; and whilst he cautiously put the import of his mission beyond all doubt, nobly disdained to flatter the tyrant, by any seeming approbation of his brother's murder. Julian most devoutly ascribed his marvellous deliverance to the providence of the gods, who had exempted his innocence from the sentence of destruction pronounced by their justice upon the house of Constantine. As the most effectual instrument of their providence, he gratefully acknowledges the steady and generous friendship of the empress Eusebia; a woman of beauty and merit, who, by the ascendancy which she had gained over the mind of her husband, counterbalanced, in some measure, the powerful conspiracy of the envoys. By the intercession of his patroness, Julian was admitted into the imperial presence; he pleaded his cause with a decent freedom; he was heard with favour; and, notwith­standing the efforts of his enemies, who urged the danger of sparing an avenger of the blood of Galrus, the most daring of his projects, failed him in the end.2

But the effects of a second interview were dreaded by the envoys; and Julian was advised to withdraw for a while into the neighbourhood of Milan, till the emperor thought proper to assign the city of Athens for the place of his ho­

He is sent to Athens. A. D. 355. May. 

nourishment. 

oratory, and the treachery of courts, he spent six months, the groves of which he involved in a free intercourse with the philosophers of the age, who studied to cultivate the genius, to encourage the vanity, and to inflame the devotion of their royal pupil. Their labours were not un­successfull; and Julian inviolably preserved for Athens that tender regard, which seldom fails to arise in a liberal mind, from the recollection of the place where it has discovered and exercised its growing powers. The gentleness and affability of manners, which his temper suggested and his situation imposed, insensibly engaged the affections of the strangers, as well as that of his own generation. Some of his fellow-students might perhaps examine his beha­

vour with an eye of prejudice and aversion; but Julian established, in the schools of Athens, a general pre­

sposition in favour of his virtues and talents, which was soon diffused over the Roman world.7

Recalled to Milan. The death of the last Caesar had left Constantius in­

vested with the sole command, and oppressed by the accumulated weight, of a mighty empire. Before the

wounds of civil discord could be healed, the provinces of Gaul were overwhelmed by a deluge of barbarians. The Sarmatians no longer respected the barrier of the Danube. The impetuosity of rapine had increased the boldness and numbers of the wild Saunians; those cruel neighbors, continually descending from the mountains, ravaged the adjacent country, and had even presumed, though without success, to besiege the important city of Seleucia, which was defended by a garrison of three Roman legions. Above all, the Persian monarch, elated by victory, again threatened the peace of Asia, and, not satisfied with the precipitancy of the emperor, was induced, by political exigencies, both in the west and in the east. For the first time, Constantius sincerely acknowledged, that his single strength was unequal to such an extent of care and of dominion.8 Insensible to the voice of flat­

tery, which assured him that his all-powerful virtue, and celestial fortune, would still continue to triumph over every obstacle, he listened with complacency to the advice of Eusebia, which gratified his indulgence, without offending his suspicious pride. As she perceived that the remembrance of Galrus dwelt on the emperor's mind, she artfully turned his attention to the masses of his subjects, and shewed how their two infant years had been compared to those of Donatian and of Titus.9 She accustomed her husband to con­

sider Julian as a youth of a mild unambitious dispo­sition, whose allegiance and gratitude might be secured by the gift of the purple, and who was qualified to fill, with honour and virtue, the office of a great statesman. She proposed to dispute the commands, or to shade the glories, of his sovereign and benefactor. After an obstinate though secret struggle, the opposition of the favourite envoys submitted to the ascendency of the empress; and it was resolved that Julian, after celebrating his nuptials with Helena, wife of Constantius, should be appoint­

ed, with the title of Caesar, to reign over the countries beyond the Alps.10

Although the order which recalled him to court was probably accompanied by some intimation of his ap­

proaching greatness, he appeals to the people of Athens to witness his tears of undistinguished sorrow, when he was reluctantly torn away from his beloved retired.2

He trembled for his life, for his fame, and even for his virtue; and his sole confidence was derived from the persuasion that Minerva inspired all his actions, and preserved him safe and unharmed. The sumptuous banquets of her benevolent angels, whom for that purpose she had borrowed from the sun and moon. He approached, with horror, the palace of Milan; nor could the ingenious youth conceal his indignation, when he found himself accosted with false and servile respect by the assassins of his family. The suspicions of her majesty, the schemes, that embroiled him with the tenderness of a sister; and endeavoured by the most sooth­ing caresses, to dispel his terrors, and reconcile him to his fortune. But the ceremony of shaving his beard, and his awkward demeanour, when he first exchanged the cloak of a Greek philosopher for the military habiliments of a Roman prince, amused, during a few days, the levity of the imperial court.11

The emperors of the age of Constantine no longer desired to consult with the senate in the choice of a colleague; but they were anxious that their nomin­

apostle to the Athenians, draws a very lively and just picture of his own danger, and of his sentiments. He shows, however, a tendency to exaggerate his sufferings, by instilling, though in obscure terms, that he found them heavy: a period which he recast with the truth of chronology. 

4 Julian was harassed by the vicissitudes of the family of Constantius into an allegorical facet, which is happily conceived and agreeably related. It forms the conclusion of the seventh Oration, from whence it has been detached and translated by the Abbe de la Biterie. Vie de Jovien, tom. ii. p. 285-289. 

5 Libanius, in panegyricus ex Macedonia, of a noble fa­

mily, and the daughter, as well as sister of consuls. Her marriage with the emperor may be placed in the year 392. In a divided age, the restoration of full liberty to the Church was a period when he recorded his acts with the truth of chronology. 

6 Libanius and Gregory Nazianzen have exhausted the arts as well as the powers of their eloquence, to reproach and inflame the name of Jovien. It is Gregory, who was his fellow-student at Athens; and the symptoms, which he so tragically describes, of the future conqueror of the empire, may be gathered from his discourses, and to some peculiarities in his speech and manner. He protests, however, that he then foresees and foretold the calamities of church and state. (Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iv. p. 121, 122.) 

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tion should be ratified by the consent of the army. On this solemn occasion, the guards, with the other troops whose stations were in the neighbourhood of Milan, appeared under arms; and Constantius ascended his lofty throne, and, by his own invention, if it was agreeable to their wishes, of rewarding with the honours of the purple, the promising virtues of the nephew of Constantine. The approbation of the soldiers was testified by a respectful murmur; they gazed on the manly countenance of Julian, and observed with pleasure, that the fire which sparkled in his eyes was tempered by a modest blush, on being thus exposed, for the first time, to the public view of mankind. As soon as the ceremony of his investiture had been performed, Constantius addressed him with the tone of authority, which his superior age and station were permitted to assume; and exhorting the new Caesar to deserve by heroic deeds, that sacred and immortal name, the emperor gave his colleague the strongest assurances of a friendship which should never be impaired by time, nor interrupted by their separation into the two most distant cliques. By the same token, he declared, the troops, as a token of applause, clashed their shields against their knaps; while the officers who surrounded the tribunal expressed, with decent reserve, their sense of the merits of the representative of Constantius.

The two princes returned to the palace in the same chariot; and during the slow procession, Julian repeated to himself a verse of his favourite Homer, which he might equally apply to his fortune and to his fears. The four-and-twenty days which the Caesar spent at Milan after his return, were the first months of his reign; and were devoted to a splendid but severe captivity; nor could the acquisition of honour compensate for the loss of freedom. His steps were watched, his correspondence was intercepted; and he was obliged, by prudence, to decline the visits of his most intimate friends. Of his former domestics, four only were permitted to attend him; two pages, his physician, and his librarian; the last of whom was employed in the care of a valuable collection of books, the gift of the empress, who studied the inclinations as well as the interest of her husband. The four of these domestics, whose household was formed, such indeed as became the dignity of a Caesar: but it was filled with a crowd of slaves, destitute, and perhaps incapable, of any attachment for their new master, to whom, for the most part, they were either unknown or suspected. His want of experience might require the assistance of a wise council; but the minute instructions which regulated the service of his table, and the distribution of his hours, were adapted to a youth still under the discipline of his preceptors, rather than to the situation of a prince in the conduct of an important war.

If he aspired to deserve the esteem of the public subjects, his care was checked by the fear of displeasing his sovereign; and even the fruits of his marriage-bed were blasted by the jealous arts of Eusebia's herself, who, on this occasion alone, seems to have been unmindful of the tenderness of her sex, and the generosity of her character. The memory of his father and ancestors, the remembrance of Julian's own danger, and his apprehensions were increased by the receivc and unworthy fate of Sylvanus. In the summer which preceded his own elevation, that general had been chosen to deliver Gaul from the threats of the Persians. Sylvanus soon discovered that he had left his most dangerous enemies in the imperial court. A dexterous informer, countenanced by several of the principal ministers, procured from him some recommendatory letters; and erasing the whole of the contents, except the signature, filled up the vacant paragraph with matters of high and reasonable import. By the industry and courage of his friends, the fraud was however detected, and in a great council of the civil and military officers, held in the presence of the emperor himself, the innocence of Sylvanus was publicly acknowledged. But the discovery came too late; the report of the calumny, and the hasty seizure of his estate, had already provoked the indignant chief to the rebellion of which he was so unjustly accused. He assumed the purple at his head-quarters of Cologne, and his name was interned by an invasion, and Milan with a storm. In this emergency, Ursicinus, a general of equal rank, regained, by an act of treachery, the favour which he had lost by his eminent services in the east. Exasperated, as he might spectaciously allege, by injuries of a similar nature, he hastened with a few followers to join the standard, and to betray the confidence, of his too erudite friend. After a reign of only twenty-eight days, Sylvanus was assassinated: the soldiers who, without any criminal intention, had blindly followed the example of their leader, immediately returned to their allegiance. The Gallic provinces, with the wisdom and felicity of the monarch, who had extinguished a civil war without the hazard of a battle.

The protection of the Rhetic frontier, and the persecution of the cathedral church, detained Constantius in Italy above eighteen days; but the discovery came too late; the death of the future of Julian. Before the emperor returned into the east, he indulged his pride and curiosity in a visit to the ancient capital. He proceeded from Milan to Rome along the Amilian and Flaminian ways; and as soon as he arrived, the usual ceremonies of his six and foreign enemies, assumed the appearances of a triumphal procession. His splendid train was composed of all the ministers of luxury; but in a time of profound peace, he was encompassed by the glittering arms of the numerous squadrons of his guards and equestrians. Their streaming hangers of silk, embroidered with gold, and shaped in the form of dragons, waved round the person of the emperor. Constantius sat alone in a lofty car resplendent with gold and precious gems; and, except when he bowed his head to pass under the gates of the cities, he affected a stately demeanour of inflexible and, as it might seem, of insensible gravity. The severe

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2. The emperors omnibus horrendo fragore genibus illustrates; quod est prospectus indicium plenum; nam contra eum haec lyceum fabulosae crassae fiunt, et tam suscipit adulter, et dux eum fermentum. Ammianus adds, with a fine distinction, Emuutii ut potiori rerum serenatur, via super modum languent nunc infra quam deceler.

3. Zosimus, I. III. p. 159. Trogus Patavinius, I. 31. 14. The word purpura, which Homer had used as a vague but common epithet for death, was applied by Julia's poets, very expressly, the nature and object of his own apprehensions.

4. Ammianus, in his most pathetic terms, (p. 277.) the distress of his new situation, or the prospect for his conduct, however, not elegant and sumptuous, that the young philosopher rejected it with disdain. The empress and his mother, however, received him with a veneration aud stultitiam manus una consensuerat, praetulfa Preparatius in componit manus, quae ei spectat, spectat imperii, et valvam tuam exigu vertuit et inferit. Ammianus, Marcellinus, I. xvi. c. 9.

5. If we recollect that Constantine, the father of Helena, died above eighteen years before in a mature age, it will appear probable, that the daughter, though a virgin, could not be very young at the time of her marriage. She was soon afterwards delivered of a son, who died immediately, quod obstetrica corrupta mercede, mox natum praecoque plascebat commodum et univis necessitate. Sed ammianus, in his description of the death of Constantine's son, in the latter, quae naevum liberae per fraudulentium illius, ut superiusnumque eadem esse et perpetuam accipere, et nepotem adjacentem naturam remanere. Our physicians will determine whether there exists such a poison. For my own part, I am inclined to hope that the public opinion instigated the falsehood as the foundation of this fabrication.

6. Ammianus (xv. 5.) was perfectly well informed of the conduct of the Persians; but the fate of his messenger was not brought to his knowledge, who attended Ursicinus in his dangerous enterprise.

7. For the description of the举行 of Constantine's marriage, we am

Ammianus, I. xvi. c. 10. We have only to add that Theodosius was appointed deputy from Constantinople, and that he composed his fourth oration for this ceremony.
discipline of the Persian youth had been introduced by the Persia into the imperial palace; and such were the habits of piety which they had acquired. During a slow and sultry march, he was never seen to move his hand towards his face, or to turn his eyes either to the right or to the left. He was received by the magistrates and senate of Rome; and the emperor surveyed, with attention, the civil honours of the repose and the magnificence of the noble families. The streets were lined with an innumerable multitude. Their repeated acclamations expressed their joy at beholding, after an absence of thirty-two years, the sacred person of their sovereign; and Constantius has vowed that some particular action affecting the supposition that the human race should thus suddenly be collected on the same spot. The son of Constantine was lodged in the ancient palace of Augustus; he presided in the senate, harangued the people from the tribunal which Cicero had so often ascended, assisted with unusual courtesy at the games of the circus, and accepted the crowns of gold, as well as the panegyrics which had been prepared for the ceremony by the deputies of the principal cities. His short visit of thirty days was employed in viewing the monuments of art and power, which were scattered over the seven hills and in the spacious, free, and unconstrained precincts of majesty. The vast extent of the baths of Caracalla and Diocletian, the severe simplicity of the pantheon, the massy grandeur of the amphitheatre of Titus, the elegant architecture of the theatre of Pompey and the temple of Peace, and, above all, the stately structure of the forum and column of Trajan; acknowledged that the voice of fame, so prone to invent and to magnify, had made an inadequate report of the metropolis of the world. The traveller, who has contemplated the ruins of ancient Rome, may conceive some imperfect idea of the sentiments which they must have inspired when they reared their heads in the splendour of unsullied beauty.

A new obelisk.

The satisfaction which Constantius had received from this journey excited him to the generous emulation of bestowing on the Romans some memorial of his own gratitude and munificence. His first idea was to imitate the equestrian and colossal statue which he had seen in the forum of Trajan; but when he had maturely weighed the difficulties of the execution,1 he chose rather to embellish the capital by the gift of an Egyptian obelisk. In a remote but polished age, which seems to have preceded the degenerate and fallen condition of great nations, the manufacture of these obelisks had been erected in the cities of Thebes and Heliopolis, by the ancient sovereigns of Egypt, in a just confidence that the simplicity of their form, and the hardness of their substance, would resist the injuries of time and violence,2 Several of these extraordinary columns had been transported to Rome by Augustus and his successors, as the most durable monuments of their power and victory; but there remained one obelisk, which, from its size or sanctity, escaped for a long time the rapacious vanity of the conquerors. It was designed by Constantine to adorn his new city;3 and, after being removed by his order from the place where it stood before the temple of the Sun at Helionopolis, was dedicated to Alexandria. The death of Constantius suspended the execution of his purpose, and this obelisk was destined by his son to the ancient capital of the empire. A vessel of uncommon strength and capriciousness was provided to convey this enormous weight of granite, at a cost six times greater than that of the Nile, from the banks of the Nile to those of the Tyber. The obelisk of Constantius was landed about three miles from the city, and elevated, by the efforts of art and labour, in the great circus of Rome.4

The departure of Constantius from Theodorus and Constantine was hasted by another motive. The intelligence of the distress and danger of the Hyltorian provinces. The distractions of civil war, and the irreparable loss which the legions had sustained in the battle of Mursa, exposed those countries, almost without defence, to the light cavalry of the barbarians; and particularly to the invasions of the Quadri, a fierce and powerful nation, who seem to have exchanged the institutions of Germany for the arms and military arts of their Sarmatian allies.5 The garrisons of the frontier were insufficient to check their progress; and the indolent monarch was at length compelled to be present in person in his own camp, when the flower of the Palatine troops, to take the field in person, and to employ a whole campaign, with the preceding autumn and ensuing spring, in the serious prosecution of the war. The emperor passed the Danube on a bridge of boats, cut in pieces all that encountered his march, penetrated into the heart of the country of the Quadri, and severely retaliated the calamities which they had inflicted on the Roman province. The disarrayed barbarians were soon reduced to sue for peace; they offered the restitutum of his captive subjects as an atonement for the past, and the noblest hostages as a pledge for their future conduct. The generous courtesy which was shown to the first among their chiefs who implored the clemency of Constantius, encouraged the more timid, or the more obstinate, to imitate their example; and the imperial camp was crowded with the princes and ambassadors of the most distant tribes, who occupied the plains of the Lesser Poland, and who might have deemed themselves secure behind the lofty ridge of the Carpathian mountains. While Constantius gave laws to the barbarians beyond the Danube, he distinguished, with spacious compassion, the Sarmatian exiles, who had been expelled from their country by the rebellion of their slaves, and who formed a very powerful accession to the power of the Quadri. The emperor, embracing a generous but artful system of policy, released the Sarmatians from the bands of this humiliating dependence, and restored them, by a separate treaty, to the dignity of a united nation under the government of a king, the friend and ally of the republic. He declared his resolution of asserting the justice of their cause, and of securing the peace of the provinces by the extirpation, or at least the banishment, of the Limigates, whose manners were still infected with the taste of their barbarity. This design was attended with more difficulty than glory. The territory of the Limigates was protected against the Romans by the Danube, against the hostile barbarians by the Teyss. The marshy lands, which lay between those rivers, and were often covered by their inundations, formed a natural barrier, not only to the inhabitants, who were sequestered with its secret paths, and inaccessible fortresses. On the ap-

1 Horinias, a favorite prince of Persia, observed to the emperor, that if he made such a horse, he must think of preparing a similar stable (the forum of Trajan). Atheron (De Rom. Emp.) Horiniasus is recorded, "that one thing only had displeased him, to find that men died at Rome as well as elsewhere." "If we adopt this reading of the text of Ammianus (digustiniani instead of pluribus), we may consider it as a reproof of Roman vanity. The contrary sense would have been the effect of a want of sagacity on the part of the emperor.

2 Where-ever the ancient visited the ancient monuments of Egypt, the delight of the poets explained to him the meaning of these hieroglyphics. Thuc. Annal. vi. 60. But it seems probable, that before the use of the hieroglyphics, these natural or artificial signs were made to denote the common characters of the Egyptian nation. See Warburton's Divine Legislation of Moses, vol. iii. p. 69—743.

3 Ammian. Marcellin. xvi. c. 4. He gives us a Greek interpretation of the horned crescent, and his commentator Lindenburgh adds a Latin inscription, which, in twenty verses of the age of Constantius, contains a short history of the obelisk.

4 See Donat. Roma Antiqua, lib. ii. c. 14. lib. x. c. 12. and the learned though confused dissertations of Baronius on Obelisci, inserted in the fourth volume of Gravina's Roman Antiquities, p. 1007—1008. This dissertation is destructive to the Theodorus. In like manner, Constantius in the square before the patriarchal church of St. John Lateran.

5 The events of this Quadrian and Sarmatian war are related by Ammianus, xvi. 10. xvii. 12. vii. 11.
proach of Constantius, the Limigantes tried the efficacy of prayers, of fraud, and of force, but he sternly rebuked their effronteries, defeated their rude stratagems, and repelled with skill and firmness the efforts of their irregular valor. One of their most warlike tribes, established in a small island towards the confluence of the Tayss and the Danube, consented to pass to the side of their conqueror. In the judgment of Ammianus, it followed the example of the eastern ministers of Constantius, the prataetor prefect Musonian, whose abilities were disgraced by the want of truth and integrity, and Cassian, duke of Mesopotamia, a hardy and veteran soldier, opened a secret negotiation with the sarmatic Tamerlane. Their surrender of peace, transacted into the service of a flattering language of Asia, were transmitted to the camp of the great king; who resolved to signify, by an ambassador, the terms which he was inclined to grant to the suppliant Romans. Narses, whom he invested with that character, was honourably received in his passage through Antioch and Constantinople; he reached Sirmium after a long journey, and, at his first audience, respectfully unfolded the silken veil which covered the haughty epistle of his sovereign. Sapor, king of kings, and brother of the Sun and Moon, (such were the loftier titles which the Persians for distinction conferred.) In the extremity the bravest of the Limigantes were resolved to die in arms, rather than to yield: but the milder sentiment, enforced by the authority of their elders, at length prevailed; and the suppliant crowd, followed by their wives and children, repaired to the imperial city, and obtained their pardon from the conqueror. After celebrating his own clemency, which was still inclined to pardon their repeated crimes, and to spare the remnant of a guilty nation. Constantius assigned for the place of their exile a remote country, where they might enjoy a safe and honourable repose. The Limigantes, obeyed with reluctance; but hope that they could reach, at least before they could occupy, their destined habitations, they returned to the banks of the Danube, exaggerating the hardships of their situation, and requesting, with fervent professions of fidelity, that the emperor would grant them an undisturbed settlement within the limits of the Roman provinces. Instead of consulting his own experience of their incurable perfidy, Constantius listened to his flatterers, who were ready to represent the honour and advantage of accepting a colony of soldiers, at a time when the whole empire was necesary to obtain their contributions than the military service of the subjects of the empire. The Limigantes were permitted to pass the Danube; and the emperor gave audience to the multitude in a large plain near the modern city of Buda. They surrounded the tribunal, and seemed to hear with respect an oration full of mildness and dignity; when one of the barbarians, casting his shoe into the air, exclaimed with a loud voice, Marchat! Marchat! a word of defiance, which was received as the signal of the tumult. They rushed with fury to seize the person of the emperor; his royal throne and golden couch were pillaged by these rude hands; but the faithful defence of his guards, who died at his feet, allowed him a moment to mount a fleet horse, and to escape from the confusion. The disgrace which had been incurred by a treacherous surprise was soon repaired by the numbers and discipline of the Romans; and the combat was only terminated by the extinction of the name and nation of the Limigantes. The free Sarthians were reinstated in the possession of their ancient seats; and although Constantius distrusted the loyalty of their choice, he was moved by a sense of gratitude might influence their future conduct. He had remarked the lofty stature and obscure joan of Zizaius, one of the noblest of their chiefs. He conferred on him the title of king; and Zizaius proved that he was not unworthy to reign, by a sincere and lasting attachment to the interests of his benefactor, who, after this splendid success, received the name of Sarmanitus from the acclamations of his victorious army. While the Roman emperor and the Persian monarch, at the distance of three thousand miles, defended their extreme limits against the barbarians of the Danube and of the Oxus, their intermediate frontier experienced the visitations of a Tartar, who had already been attended by some of the eastern ministers of Constantius, the prataetor prefect Musonian, whose abilities were disgraced by the want of truth and integrity, and Cassian, duke of Mesopotamia, a hardy and veteran soldier, opened a secret negotiation with the sarmatic Tamerlane. 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6 Gesell Sarmatarum magnos decori cupidos opusque regnum desiderans. 
7 Thebanus Vistae (p. 27, edit. Patav. takes notice of these conquerors. 
8 cassiusius. In Asia. 
9 Anmianus xvi. 9.
10 Ammianus (xvii. 5.) transcribes the haughty letter. 
11 Theiminus (Grat. ec. p. 27, edit. Patav. takes notice of the sarmatic conqueror. Darius and Zorabazon mention the journey of the ambassador; and Peter Patreus (in the classic variation. Lact. p. 28.) has informed us of his concluding behaviour.
12 Ammianus. xvi. 5. and Valesius ad loc. 
13 The sophist, or philosopher. (in that age these words were almost synonymous.) was
monarch to abate the rigour of his demands. But
the progress of their negotiation was opposed and de-
efeated. The success of Sapor, 1 the object of Syrinx, who had died from oppression, and was ad-
mitted into the counsels of Sapor, and even to the
royal table, where, according to the custom of the
Persians, the most important business was frequently
discussed. 2 The dexterous fugitive promoted his interest
by the same conduct which gratified his revenge. He
incidentally urged the ambition of his new master, to
embrace the favourable opportunity when the bravest
of the Palatine troops were employed with the
emperor in a distant war on the Danube. He pressed Sapor
to invade the exhausted and defenceless provinces of the
east, with the numerical advantage which his
army had over the alliance of the fiercest barbarians.
The ambassadors of Rome retired without success, and
a second embassy, of a still more honourable rank,
was detained in strict confinement, and threatened either
with death or exile.

Invasion of Mesop-
tamia by Sapor.

A.D. 359.

The Persians, as they were preparing
to construct a bridge of boats over the Tigris, beheld
from an eminence the plain of Assyr, as far as the
edge of the horizon, covered with men, with horses,
and with arms. Sapor appeared in the front, conspicu-
ous by the splendour of his purple. On his left hand,
the place of honour among the orientals, Grumbates,
king of the Chionites, displayed the stern countenance
of an aged and renowned warrior. The monarch had
reserved a similar place on his right hand for the king
of the Albanians, who led his independent tribes from
the shores of the Caspian. The satraps and generals
were distributed according to their several ranks, and
the whole army, besides the numerous train of oriental
luxury, consisted of more than one hundred thousand
effective men, inured to fatigue, and selected from the
bravest nations of Asia. The Roman despot, who in
sickness resided in the palace of councils of Sapor, had
profoundly advised, that, instead of wasting the summer
in tedious and difficult sieges, he should march directly
to the Euphrates, and press forwards without delay to
seize the fertile and wealthy metropolis of Syria. But
the Persians were not sooner advanced into the plains of
Mesopotamia, than they had been banished from that
province which had been used by their predecessors
for the repair of their own armies. 3 The fresh swell of
the waters of the Euphrates deterred the barbarians
from attempting the ordinary passage of the
bridge of Thapsacus. Their skilful guide, changing
his plan of operations, then conducted the army by a
longer circuit, but through a fertile territory, towards
the head of the Euphrates, where the infant river is
reduced to a shallow and accessible stream. Sapor
overlooked, with prudent disdain, the strength of Nis-
bis; but as he passed under the walls of Amida, he
resolved to try whether the majesty of his presence
would not awe the garrison into immediate submission.
The same celerity was displayed in a random dart, which
flew against the royal tiara, convinced him of his error; and

Eustathius the Cappadocian, the disciple of Isaiarchus, and the
fraternal name of Euphronius (in Vit. Eustei., p. 41—47,) fondly at-
tributes to this philosopher the mental and physical attributes of a
barbarian king by the persuasive charms of reason and eloquence.
See also (in the same place) the disquisitions of G. W. Smith on
the age and circumstances of the Persian monarchs.
1 Ammian., xviii. 5. 6. 8. The deceit and respectful behaviour of
the Euphrates must be noticed. It appears, according to Ammianus,
seen in a very interest-
ing light; and Ammianus himself speaks of the traitor with respect,
compassion and esteem.
2 That the Euphrates is not noticed by Ammianus, servers to prove
the veracity of Herodotus, (I. c. 133,) and the permanence of the
Persian dominion over these provinces, which, from several reasons,
continued, or at least interrupted, as late as the time of Justinian. In
the description of this river, Ammianus, (I. c. 62—65,) gives the
winds of Shiraz, and the Bavarus, as the limits of the Persian
empire. Baron de Reguia Pers. l. ii. p. 642—672. and Chardin,
Voyages en Perse, tom. iii. p. 90.
3 Ammian., l. xvii. 6—8, 10.

the indigent monarch listened with impatience to the
advice of his ministers, who conjured him not to sacri-
fice the success of his ambition to the gratification of
his resentment. The following day Grumbates
advanced towards the gates with a select body of troops,
and required the instant surrender of the city, as the
only atonement which could be accepted for such an
act of rashness and insolence. His proposals were
attacked and defied by the Assyrians, who, in the
beauty and valiant youth, was pierced through the
heart by a javelin, shot from one of the balistae.

The funeral of the prince of the Chionites was celebrated
according to the rites of his country; and the grief of
his aged father was alleviated by the solemn promise
of Sapor, that the city of Amida should serve as
a funeral pile to expiate the death, and to perpetuate
the memory of, his son.

The ancient city of Amida or Amida, 1 which sometimes assumes the provincial
appellation of Diarbekir, 2 is advantageouslysituated in
a fertile plain, watered by the natural and artificial
channels of the Tigris, of which the least consider-
able stream bounds a semicircular form round the
eastern part of the city. The emperor Constantius
had recently conferred on Amida the honour of his own
name, and the additional fortifications of strong walls
and lofty towers. It was provided with an arsenal of
armaments, and other ordinary army stores. The
situation, which had formerly been informed to the amount of sevenlegions, when the place
was invested by the arms of Sapor, 3 his first and most
sanguine hopes depended on the success of a general
assault. To the several nations which followed his
standard their respective posts were assigned; the
south to the Verte; the north to the Albanians; the east
to the Chionites, inflamed with grief and indignation;
the west to the Segestans, the bravest of his warriors,
who covered their front with a formidable line of
Indian elephants. 4 The Persians, on every side, supported
their efforts, and animated their courage; and the
monarch himself, careless of his rank and safety, disor-
med, in the prosecution of the siege, the ardour of a
youthful soldier. After an obstinate combat, the bar-
barians were repulsed; they incessantly returned to
the charge; they were again driven back with a dread-
ful slaughter, and two rebel legions of Gauls, who had
been banished into the east, singularly disciplined and
disciplined courage by a nocturnal sally into the heart
of the Persian camp. In one of the fiercest of these re-
peated assaults, Amida was betrayed by the treachery
of a deserter, who indicated to the barbarians a se-
cret and neglected strait, scooped out of the rock
by a stream of water. The chosen archers of the royal
guard ascended in silence to the third story of a lofty tower, which commanded the
precipice; they elevated on high the Persian ban-
er, the signal of confidence to the assailants, and
of dismay to the besieged; and if this devoted band
could have maintained their post a few minutes longer, the

1 For the description of Amida, see D’Herbelot, Bibliotheque Ori-
fante, p. 108. Histories de Thudor Ber, par Chercheblin Al. ii. c.
(1723.) Amiès. Al. ii. p. 20. See also D’Ott, Voyages t. ii. p. 301.
tom. i. p. 301. Voyages d’Ott, tom. ii. p. 273, and Voyages de
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Diarkehir, which is styled Amid, or Amida, in the public
writings of the Turks, contains above 16,000 houses, is the resi-
dence of a patriarch of the Nestorians, and is distinguished
from the blackness of the stone which composesthe strong and an-
fient wall of Amida.

3 This opinion is absolutely contradicted by Ammianus, (xv., 1—9,) who
acted an honourable part in the de-

4 As of these four nations, the Albanians are too well known to re-
necessitate any description. They were a far more ancient and
powerful race, than the barbarians, and inhabited a large and level
country, while is still preserves its name, to the south of Khorasan,
and the west of the Caspian sea; and the great city of the
Albanians is known to us. See the Voyages d’Ott, tom. ii. p. 273.

5 D’Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 597.) Notwithstanding the
violent and unadvised victory which this event procured to Sapor,
the Persians, after this day, had no other idea of going farther.
I his post, appear as an independent nation, the ally of Persia. We
are ignorant of the situation of the Verte and Chionites, but I am
inclined to place them (at least the latter) towards the confines
of India and Syrieh. See Ammianus, vii. 9.
reduction of the place might have been purchased by the sacrifice of their lives. After Sapor had tried, without success, the cfficacy of force and of stratagem, he had recourse to the slower but more certain operations of a regular siege, in the conduct of which he was instructed by the skill of the Roman deserters. The trenches were opened at a convenient distance, and the troops destined for that service advanced under the portable cover of strong hurdles, to fill up the ditch, and undermine the foundations of the walls. Wooden towers were set up at the same time to connect, and moved forward on wheels, till the soldiers, who were provided with every species of missile weapons, could engage almost on level ground with the troops who defended the rampart. Every mode of resistance which art could suggest, or courage could encourage, was employed to the defence of Amida, and the works of Sapor were more than once destroyed by the fire of the Romans. But the resources of a besieged city may be exhausted. The Persians repaired their losses, and pushed their approaches; a large breach was made by the battering-rain, and the strength of the garrison, wasted by the siege, and by disease, yielded to the fury of the assault. The soldiers, the citizens, their wives, their children, all who had not time to escape through the opposite gate, were involved by the conquerors in a promiscuous massacre.

Of Sapor and Amida. 

But the ruin of Amida was the safety of the Roman provinces. As soon as the first transports of victory had subsided, Sapor was at leisure to reflect, that to chastise a disobedient city, he had lost the flower of his troops, and the most favourable season for conquest. Thirty thousand of his veterans had fallen under the walls of Amida, during the continuance of a siege which lasted seventy-three days: and the disappointed monarch returned to his capital with affected triumph and secret mortification. It was more than probable, that the inconstancy of his barbarian allies was tempted to relinquish a war in which they had encountered such unexpected difficulties; and that the aged king of the Chionites, satiated with revenge, turned away with horror from a scene of action where he had been deprived of the hope of his family and nation. The strength as well as spirit of the army with which Sapor took the field in the ensuing year, was equal to that which bounded the province of his ambition. Instead of aspiring to the conquest of the east, he was obliged to content himself with the reduction of the two fortified cities of Mesopotamia, Singara and Bezabde;1 the one situate in the midst of a sandy desert, the other in a small peninsula, sur- rounding it, on every side, with deep and miry marshes; the stream of the Tigris. Five Roman legions, of the diminutive size to which they had been reduced in the age of Constantine, were made prisoners, and sent into remote captivity on the extreme confines of Persia. After dismantling the walls of Singara, the conqueror abandoned that solitary and sequestered place; but he carefully restored the fortifications of Bezabde, and fixed in that important post a garrison or colony of veterans, amply supplied with every means of defence, and animated by high sentiments of honour and fidelity. This reduction of the enemy, and the expulsion of Sapor, incurred some disgrace by an unsuccessful enterprise against Virtha, or Territ, a strong, or as it was uni-

1 Ammianus has marked the chronology of this year by three events of capital consequence with the three first books of the series of his history. 1. The corn was ripe when Sapor invaded Mesopotamia; 2. Cun jam stipula favemere turgescere; a circum- stance which probably determined the emperor to leave the province of Alaeus, where he was naturally refitted, at the month of April or May. See Hårner's Observations on Scrips. Ant. Hist., p. 177. 3. The progress of Sapor was checked by the overflowing of the Euphrates, which generally happens in July and August. Int. Nat., v. 21, Pagi. Introduct. delta Var., s. c. 669. 3. When Sapor was preparing to attack Amida, after a siege of seventy-three days, the autumn was far ad- vanced, and the emperor was not without some misgiving as to the success of his enterprise. To reconcile these apparent contradictions, we must allow for some degree of latitude in the chronology, some inaccuracy in the historian, and some disorder in the seasons. 

2 The account of these sieges is given by Ammianus, xx. 6, 7.
swarm of Franks and Alemanni were invited to cross the Rhine by presents and promises, by the hopes of spoil, and by a perpetual grant of all the territories which they should be able to subdue. But the emperor, who for a temporary service had thus imprudently made himself the abject servant of barbarous ambition, did not discover and hasten the difficulty of dismissing these formidable allies, after they had tasted the richness of the Roman soil. Regardless of the nice distinction of royalty and rebellion, these undisciplined robbers treated as their natural enemies all the subjects of the empire, who refused and rejected what they were desirous of acquiring. Forty-five flourishing cities, Tongres, Cologne, Treves, Worms, Spire, Strasbourg, &c., besides a far greater number of towns and villages, were pillaged, and for the most part reduced to ashes. The barbarians of Germany, still faithful to the maxims of their ancestors, shunned the confinement of walls, to which they applied the odious names of prisons and sepulchres; and fixing their independent habitations on the banks of rivers, the Rhine, the Moselle, and the Meuse, they secured themselves against the danger of a surprise, by a rude and hasty fortification of large trees, which were felled and thrust up in a heap, and thus the stateliness of the gilded palaces, established in the modern countries of Alsace and Lorraine, the Franks occupied the island of the Batavians, together with an extensive district of Brabant, which was then known by the appellation of Toxandria, and may deserve to be considered as the original seat of the Faucini, a people, who, not differing from their neighbours in the mouth of the Rhine, the conquests of the Germans extended above forty miles to the west of that river, over a country peopled by colonies of their own name and nation; and the scenes of their devastations was three times more extensive than that of their conquests. At a greater distance the Roman army was deserted, and the inhabitants of the fortified cities, who trusted to their strength and vigilance, were obliged to content themselves with such supplies of corn as they could raise on the vacant land within the enclosure of their walls. The diminished legions, destitute of pay and provisions, of arms and discipline, trembled at the approach, and even at the name, of the barbarians.

Under these melancholy circumstances, an unexperienced youth was appointed to save and to govern the provinces of Gaul, or rather, as he expresses it himself, to exhibit the vain image of imperial greatness. The retired scholar-education of Julian, in which he had been more conversant with books than with arms, with the dead than with the living, left him in profound ignorance of the practical arts of war and government; and when he awkwardly repeated some military exercise which it was necessary for him to learn, he explained with a sigh, "O Plato, Plato, what a task for a philosopher!" Yet even this speculative philosophy, which men of business are too apt to despise, had filled the mind of Julian with the noblest precepts, and the most shining examples; had animated him with the love of virtue, the desire of fame, and the contempt of death. The habit of his mind, therefore, if it did not render him still more essential in the severe discipline of the Roman army.
ized to the knowledge of the country, secretly collected their scattered forces, and seizing the opportunity of a dark and rainy day, poured with unexpected fury on the rear-guard of the Romans. Before the inevitable disorder could be remedied, two legions were destroyed; and Julian was taught by experience the caution of the most important lessons of the art of war. In a second and more successful action, he recovered and established his military fame; but as the agility of the barbarians saved them from the pursuit, his victory was neither bloody nor decisive. He advanced to the banks of the Rhine, suffered the ruins of Cologne, convinced himself of the difficulties of the war, and retreated on the approach of winter, discontented with the court, with his army, and with his own success.  

The power of the enemy was yet unbroken; and the Caesar had no sooner separated his troops and fixed his own quarters at Sens, in the centre of Gaul, than he was surrounded and besieged by a numerous host of Germans. Reduced in this extremity to the resources of his own mind, he displayed a prudent intrepidity which compensated for all the deficiencies of the place and garrison; and thus he kept to the end of thirty days, were obliged to retire with disappointed rage.

His second campaign was unlooked only to his sword for this signal deliverance, was imbittered by the reflection, that he was abandoned, betrayed, and perhaps deceived in his expectation. He determined to aid him by every tie of honour and fidelity. Marcellus, master-general of the cavalry in Gaul, interpreting too strictly the jealous orders of the court, beheld with supine indifference the distress of Julian, and had restrained the troops under his command from marching to the relief of Sens. If the Caesar had dissembled in silence so dangerous an insult, his person and authority would have been exposed to the contempt of the world; and if an action so criminal had been suffered to pass with impunity, the emperor would have confirmed the suspicions, which received a very considerable colour from his past conduct towards the princes of the Flavian family. Marcellus was recalled, and gently dismissed from his office. In his room Severus was appointed general of the cavalry; an experienced soldier, of approved courage and fidelity, who could advise with respect and zeal; and who submitted, without reluctance, to the supreme command which Julian, by the interest of his patroness Eusebia, at length obtained over the armies of Gaul.

A very judicious plan of operations was adopted for the approaching campaign. Julian himself, at the head of some of the three new levies which he had been permitted to form, boldly penetrated into the centre of the German cantonments, and carefully re-established the fortifications of Sens, in an advantageous post, which would either check the incursions, or intercept the retreat of the enemy. At the same time Babito, general of the infantry, advanced from Milan with an army of thirty thousand men, and passing the mountains, prepared to throw a bridge over the Rhine, in the neighbourhood of Basel. It was reasonable to expect that the Alemanni, pressed on either side by the Rhine and the Saane, would be soon forced to evacuate the provinces of Gaul, and to hasten to the defence of their native country. But the hopes of the campaign were defeated by the incapacity, or the envy, or the secret instructions of Barbatius; who acted as if he had been the enemy of the Caesar, and the secret ally of the barbarians. The negligence with which he permitted a troop of pillagers freely to pass, and to return almost before the gates of his camp, may be imputed to his want of abilities; but the treachery and weakness of Barbatius deprived Julian of the expected support; and left him to extricate himself from a hazardous situation, where he could neither remain with safety, nor retire with honour.

As soon as they were delivered from the fears of invasion, the Alemanni prepared to chastise the Roman youth, who presumed to dispute the possession of that country, which they claimed as their own by the right of conquest and of treaties. They employed three days, and as many nights, in transporting over the Rhine their military powers. The fierce Chnodomar, shaking the ground with a prodigious crash, hurled the javelin, which was wielded against the brother of Magnentius, led the van of the barbarians, and moderated by his experience the martial ardour which his example inspired. He was followed by six other kings, by ten princes of regal extraction, by a long train of high-spirited nobles, and by the chieftains of the chosen youth of their tribes of Germany. The confidence derived from the view of their own strength, was increased by the intelligence which they received from a deserter, that the Caesar, with a feeble army of thirteen thousand men, occupied a post about one-and-a-half miles from the camp of Strassburg. With this inadequate force, Julian resolved to seek and to encounter the barbarian host; and the chance of a general action was preferred to the tedious and uncertain operation of separately engaging the dispersed parties of the Alemanni. The Romans marched in close order, and in two columns, the cavalry on the right, the infantry on the left; and the day was so far spent when they appeared in sight of the enemy, that Julian was desirous of deferring the battle till the next morning, and of allowing his troops to recull their exhausted strength by the necessary refreshments. His commands went to and fro with zeal, but with some reluctance, to the clamours of the soldiers, and even to the opinion of his council, he exhorted them to justify by their valor the eager impatience, which, in case of a defeat, would be universally branded with the epithets of rashness and presumption. The trumpets sounded, the military shout was heard, and the vanguard entered the field, and the two armies rushed with equal fury to the charge. The Caesar, who conducted in person his right wing, depended on the dexterity of his archers, and the weight of his cuirassiers. But his ranks were instantly broken by an irregular mixture of light horse and of light infantry from another country, and he had the mortification of beholding the flight of six hundred of his most renowned cuirassiers. The fugitives were stopped and rallied by the presence and authority of Julian, who, careless of his own safety, threw himself before them, and urging every arm, went back against the victorious enemy. The conflict between the two lines of infantry was obstinate and bloody. The Germans possessed the superiority of strength and stature, the Romans that of discipline and

1 Ammianus xvi. 2. 3. appears much better satisfied with the supply of pay for the Roman troops than Julian does, who says that he did nothing of consequence, and that he died before the enemy.

2 Ammianus xlvii. 4. Libanius speaks rather more advantageously of the military talents of Marcellus. Orat. i. p. 327. And Julian in his epitaph for the latter, speaks of the latter with a strange silence.


4 On the design and failure of the co-operation between Julian and Barbaro, see Ammianus, xlii. 11. and Libanius, Orat. i. p. 237. As appears from the latter, Magnentius would have put himself at the head of the German armies. See also the figure and character of Chnodomar. Audax et ingenio sibi gens, incertorum, ubi aderit, prorsim operatur immensia, equo spumante, et arduis victoriam compluvia, praebet, sed non iactat, sed, super omnem impetum, aliorum conspexit: astra streneus et nolue, et utiles prater caeterum, honos se expugnare doctore, atque alios tenere et supinum.

5 After the battle, Julian ventured to revive the rictus of ancient discipline, by expulsing these fugitives from the camp, as appeared to the defeated Romans as a signal of the whole camp. In the next campaign, these troops nobly received their honour. Zonaras, i. ii. 147.
temper; and as the barbarians, who served under the
standard of the empire, united the respective advantages
of both parties, their strenuous efforts, guided by a
skilful leader, at length determined the event of the
day. The Romans lost four tribunes, and two hun-
dred and forty-three soldiers, in this memorable battle
of Strasburg, so glorious to the Cæsar, and so salutary
to the provinces of Gaul, yet while the enemy was
overthrown, the Alemanni were slain in the field, without
including those who were drowned in the Rhine, or transfix-
ated with darts whilst they attempted to swim across the
river. Chnodomar himself was surrounded and taken
prisoner, with three of his brave companions, who had
determined not to impede the march of the army of the
Alemanni on the Rhine, the death of their chief. Julian received him with military
pomp in the council of his officers; and expressing a
generous pity for the fallen state, dissembled his in-
ward contempt for the abort humiliated, of his ex-
pectative. Instead of exhibiting the vanquished king of
the Alemanni, as a grateful spectacle to the cities of
Gaul, he respectfully laid at the feet of the emperor
this splendid trophy of his victory. Chnodomar ex-
perienced an honourable treatment; but the impatient
barbarian could not long survive his defeat, his confine-
ment, and his captivity.

After Julian had repulsed the
Alemanni from the provinces of the Upper
Rhine, he turned his arms against the
Franks, who were seated nearer to the ocean on the
confines of Gaul and Germany; and who, from their
numbers, and still more from their intractable valour, had
ever been esteemed the most formidable of the barba-
rians. Although they were strongly actuated by the
allurements of rapine, they professed a disinterested
love of war, which they considered as the supreme
honour and felicity of human nature; and their minds
and bodies were so completely hardened by perpetual
habit of fighting, that the army of Julian, when the
warrior, the snows of winter were as pleasant to them
as the flowers of spring. In the month of December,
which followed the battle of Strasburg, Julian attack-
ated a body of six hundred Franks, who had thrown
themselves into two castles on the Meuse. In the
midst of that severe season they sustained, with in-
flexible constancy, a siege of fifty-four days; till at
length, exhausted by hunger, and satisfied that the vi-
gilance of the enemy in breaking the ice of the
river, left them no hopes of escape, the Franks consented, for
the first time, to dispense with the ancient law which
commanded the captives to be slain, if they
refused to return. Julian immediately sent his captives to the court of Consta-
tiunus, who, accepting them as a valuable present, re-
joiced in the opportunity of adding so many heroes to the
choicest troops of his domestic guards. The ob-
2. Zosimus,

4. Julian himself (ad S. P. Q. Athen, p. 335) speaks of the battle
of Strasburg with the modesty of conscious merit; "in hoc
militium spectaculo etiam triumphavit." Zosimus compares it
with the victory of Alexander over Darius, and yet we are at
least in danger of discovering any effectual strokes of military
talent in Julian's conduct. The attention of the public to the
success of the day, and the applause of the officers, were the
principal motive to the immediate arrest of the slain (Orat. x. p. 274).

5. The Franks are now numbered among the Slavonic race; and the
modern inhabitants of the region north of the Rhine, as well as of the
Upper Danube, are generally reckoned to be descended from
them.

6. Zosimus, whether he means the Franks or the Alamanni.

7. Zosimus, who seems to have been the destroyer of the
Alemanni, not the conqueror.

8. Zosimus, who compares it with the victory of Alexander over Darius, and yet we are at
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on either side of the Meyn, which were plentifully stored with corn and cattle, felt the ravages of an invading army. The principal houses, constructed with some imitation of Roman elegance, were consumed by the flames; and the Caesar boldly advanced about ten miles, till his progress was stopped by a dark and impenetrable forest, undershrubbed and wooded; whose mass was so great as to require a considerable time to pass through. There were no signs of habitation, or any vestige of human habitation, which threatened, with secret snares and ambush, every step of the assailant. The ground was already covered with snow; and Julian, after repairing an ancient castle which had been erected by Trajan, graced a trace of ten months to the submissive beauty. At the end of this period, Julian undertook a second expedition beyond the Rhine, to humble the pride of Sinar and Horta, the two of the kings of the Alemanni, who had been present at the battle of Strasburg. They promised to restore all the Roman captives who yet remained alive; and as the Caesar had procured an exact account from the cities and villages of Gaul, of the inhabitants whom they had lost, he detected every attempt to deceive him with a degree of readiness and accuracy, which almost established the belief of his supernatural knowledge. His third expedition was still more successful in impelling the two barbarians. The Germans had collected their military powers, and moved along the opposite banks of the river, with a design of destroying the bridge, and of preventing the passage of the Romans. But this judicious plan of defence was disconcerted by a skilful diversion. Three hundred and fifty light-armed troops, and active soldiers, were detached and posted in forty small boats to fall down the stream in silence, and to land at some distance from the posts of the enemy. They executed their orders with so much boldness and celerity, that they had almost surprised the barbarian chiefs, who returned in the earliest instance of intimidation from one of their nocturnal festivals. Without repeating the uniform and disgusting tale of slaughter and devastation, it is sufficient to observe, that Julian dictated his own conditions of peace to six of the most powerful kings of the Alemanni, three of whom were permitted to view the severe discipline and martial pomp of a Roman camp. Followed by twenty thousand captives, whom he had rescued from the chains of the barbarians, the Caesar repassed the Rhine, after terminating a war, the success of which has been compared to the ancient glories of the Punics and Etrurians.

Restores the cities of Gaul. Julian had secured an interval of peace; he applied himself to a work more congenial to his humane and philosophic temper. The cities of Gaul, which had suffered from the inroads of the barbarians, he diligently repaired; and several between Mentz and the mouth of the Rhine, are particularly mentioned; as having been rebuilt and fortified by the order of Julian. 3 The vanquished Germans had submitted to the just but humiliating condition of preparing and conveying the necessary materials. The active zeal of Julian urged the prosecution of the work; and such was the spirit which he had diffused among the troops, that the auxiliaries themselves, waiving their exemption from any duties of fatigue, contended for the most laborious and laborious; and with the diligence of the Roman soldiery. It was incumbent on the Caesar, as much as impossible for the subsistence, as well as for the safety, of the inhabitants and of the garrisons. The desertion of the former, and the mutiny of the latter, must have been the fatal and inevitable consequences of famine. The tributes paid in consequences of Gaul, or were by the calamities of war; but the security of harvests which the continent were supplied, by his paternal care, from

1 Ammianus. xvi. 8. Libriani, Orat. s. p. 259. 299. Of these seven, four are at present towns or villages of the same local government. Among them are local and Nyon. The other three, Triconis, Geneva, and Vezen子弟, are ancient towns or villages, but there is no reason to believe, that on the ground of Quadraburgium, the Caesar have completed the fort of their arms, a rampart so extensive to the fastidious delicacy of Rheims. See D'Arceutte Notice de l'Age. d'Orléans Gault, p. 167. Boulain, Epître iv. and the notes.

2 We may credit Julian himself, Orat. s. P. Q. Catheniseum, p. 299, who speaks with the most particular account of the transaction. Zosimus adds two hundred vessels more, l. iii. p. 149. If we compute the 600 busses of Julian at only seventy tons each, they were equal to the whole of Phalo and the most considerable of their assessed amount, must already have attained an improved state of agriculture.

3 The troops once broke out into a mutiny, immediately the second passage of the Rhine. Ammianus. xii. 9.

4 Ammianus. xvi. 8. 18. Mamertine in Paneer. Vet. xii. 4
With what justice could I pronounce his sentence, if in the hour of danger, I myself neglected a duty far more sacred and for more important? God has placed me in this elevated post; his providence will guard and support me. Should I be condemned to suffer, I shall derive comfort from the testimony of a pure and upright mind, capable of instructing a disciple of the Greeks; he might expect the graceful and grateful fictions of a nation, whose martial spirit has never been enervated by the indulgence of luxury; and he must applaud the perfection of that inestimable art, which softens and refines and embalms the intercourse of social life.

CHAPTER XX.

The notices, progress, and effects of the conversion of
Constantine—Legal establishment and constitution of the
catholic or christian church.

The public establishment of Christianity may be considered as one of those important and domestic revolutions which excite the most lively curiosity, and afford the most valuable instruction. The victories and the civil policy of Constantine no longer influence the state of Europe; but a considerable portion of the globe still retains the impression which it received from the conversion of that monarch; and the ecclesiastical institutions of his reign are still connected, in some degree, with all the revolutions, the arts, and the interests of the present generation.

In the consideration of a subject which may be examined with impartiality, and cannot be viewed with indifference, a difficulty immediately arises of a very unexpected nature; that of ascertaining the real and precise date of the conversion of Constantine. The eloquent Lactantius, in the midst of his court, seems impatient to proclaim to the world the glorious example of the sovereign of Gaul; who, in the first moments of his reign, acknowledged and adored the majesty of the true and only God. The learned Eusebius has ascribed the faith of Constantine to the miraculous sign which was displayed in the heavens whilst he meditated and prepared the Italian expedition. The historian Zosimus has related that the emperor, from the conviction which he had imbued his hands in the blood of his eldest son, before he publicly renounced the gods of Rome and of his ancestors. The perplexity produced by these discordant authorities, is derived from the behaviour of Constantine himself. According to the strictness of ecclesiastical language, the first of the christian emperors was unworthy of that name, till the moment of his death; since it was only during his last illness that he received, as a catechumen, the imposition of hands; and as was afterwards admitted, the fashion of the fourth century, assumed the territorial appellation of Pontifex.

A.D. 306.

The date of the Divine Institutions of Lactantius, has been accurately discussed. Difficulties have been started, solutions proposed, and an expedient imagined of two original editions; the former published during the persecution of Diocletian, the latter under that of Constantine. See Dufresnoy, Pref. p. Vilemont. Mem. Eccl. Hist. vi. p. 653-616. Lardner's Credibility, part ii. vol. vii. p. 78-86. For my own part, I am almost convinced that Lactantius dedicated his Institutions to the sovereign of Gaul, at a time when Gallic, Maximiian, and Licinius, persecuted the christians; that is, between the years 296 and 311.

A.D. 355.

Lactant. Divin. Inst. i. l. 27. The first and most important of these passages have been shrewdly and confidently woven into a fine web, and not without reason. If, however, it is found that there is a base of fact, and not in nineteen. If we weigh the comparatively greater value of the following passages, these may be admitted as arguments for the adoption of this view, if not as full confirmation. Lactant. Divin. Inst. i. 34. The history of the Latin church, must, for a time allude to another, in which the doctrine of three persons in one God is established. See the Memoires de l'Academie des inscriptions, Mem. xiv. p. 569-616.

A.D. 361.

That, and that he founded the Bishopric of Juliaca, in a memorable period of the history of the church, which, according to

theatre were unknown or despised. He indignantly contrasted the effeminate Syrians with the brave and honest simplicity of the Gauls, and almost forgave the intemperance, which was the only stain of the Celtic character. If Julian could now revisit the capital of France, he might converse with men of science and letters, capable of instructing a disciple of the Greeks; he might expect the grateful and graceful fictions of a nation, whose martial spirit has never been enervated by the indulgence of luxury; and he must applaud the perfection of that inestimable art, which softens and refines and embalms the intercourse of social life.
tated, by the initiatory rites of baptism, into the number of the faithful.1 The Christians, however, Constantine must have perceived as a religion no more vague and qualified sense; and the nicest accuracy is required in tracing the slow and almost imperceptible gradations by which the monarch declared himself the protector, and at length the proselyte, of the church. It was an arduous task to reconcile the tenets and prejudices of the faithful to the doctrine of Christ, to acknowledge the divine power of Christ, and to understand that the truth of his revelation was incompatible with the worship of the gods. The obstacles which he had probably experienced in his own mind, instructed him to proceed with caution in the transaction. The public religious services of Rome had insensibly discovered his new opinions, as far as he could enforce them with safety and with effect. During the whole course of his reign, the stream of Christianity flowed with a gentle, though accelerated, motion: but its general direction was sometimes checked, and some of its subjects, by publishing in the same year two edicts; the first of which enjoined the solemn observance of Sunday, and the second directed the regular consultation of Aruspices.1 While this important revolution yet remained in suspense, the Christians and the pagans watched the conduct of their monarch with the same anxiety, but with very opposite sentiments. The former were prompted by every motive of zeal, as well as vanity, to exaggerate the marks of his favour, and the evidences of his faith. Truth, indeed, was not yet consistent enough to inspire into despair and resentment, attempted to conceal from the world, and from themselves, that the gods of Rome could no longer reckon the emperor in the number of their votaries. The same passions and prejudices engaged the partial writers of the times to connect the public profession of Christianity with the most glorious or the most ignominious era of the reign of Constantine.

His pagan super-

Whatever symptoms of Christian piet-

ity might transpire in the discourses or actions of Constantine, he persevered till he was near fifty years old in the practice of the established religion;2 and the same conduct, which in the court of Nicomedia might be imputed to his fear, could be ascribed only to the inclination or policy of the sovereign of Gaul. His liberality restored and enriched the temples of the gods: the medals which issued from his imperial mint are impressed with the figures and attributes of Jupiter and Apollo, of Mars and Hercules; and his filial piety increased the council of Olympus by the solemn apotheosis of his father Constantius.1 But the devotion of Constantine was more peculiarly directed to the genius of the sun, the Apollo of Greek and Roman mythology; and he was pleased to be ranked among the votaries of the god of Light and Poetry. The unerring shafts of that deity, the brightness of his eyes, his laurel wreath, immortal beauty, and elegant accomplishments, seem to point him out as the patron of a young hero. The altars of Apollo with the votive offerings of Constantine; and the cedules multitude were taught to believe, that the emperor was permitted to behold with mortal eyes the visible majesty of their tutelar deity; and that, either waking or in a vision, he was blessed with the auspicious omens of a long and victorious reign. The sun was universally celebrated as the invincible guide and protector of Constantine; and the pagans might reasonably expect that the insulted god would pursue with unrelenting vengeance the impiety of his ungrateful favourite.2

As long as Constantine exercised authority limited to the provinces of Gaul and of his son, his Christian subjects were protected by the authority, and perhaps by the laws, of a prince, who wisely left to the gods the care of vindicating their own honour. If we may credit the assertion of Constantine himself, he had been an indifferent spectator of the contest between the Christian and the pagan faith, expected to be settled, by the hands of Roman soldiers, on those citizens whose religion was their only crime.3 In the east and in the west, he had seen the different effects of severity and indulgence; and as the former was rendered still more oppressive by the example of Galerius, the implacable enemy, the latter was recommended to his imitation by the authority and advice of a dying father. The son of Constantius immediately suspended or repealed the edicts of persecution, and granted the free exercise of their religious ceremonies to all those who had already professed themselves members of the church. They were soon encouraged to depend on the favour as well as on the justice of their sovereign, who had imbued a secret and sincere reverence for the name of Christ, and for the God of the Christians.4

About five months after the conquest A.D. 313, March, of Italy, Constantine, by the ascendant of genius and power, obtained the ready conenence of his colleague Licinius; the union of their names and authority disarmed the fury of Maximin; and, after the death of the tyrant of the east, the edict of Milan was received as a general and fundamental law of the Roman world.5 The wisdom of the emperors provided for the restitution of all the civil and religious rights which the Christians had been so unjustly deprived. It was en-

1 See the medals of Constantine in Durange and Pocinius. As few cities had retained the privilege of coinage, almost the millions of that age flowed from the mint under the sanction of the imperial au-

2 The panegyric of Eunomius, (vis. inter Panegyr. Vet.) which was pronounced a few months before the Italian war, among the most unexceptionable evidence of the pagan superstition of Con-

stantine, and of his particular veneration for Apollo, or the Sun; to which Julius Vitalis (Hist. v. p. 226, ed. Wieseler), a Romano-

3 See Euseb. Hist. c. c. 48, 58, and Conybeare, Hist. c. 8, r. 16, Lactant. Divin. Institut. i. 1. Cecilius de Mort. Persecut. c. 48. Cecilius (de Mort. Persecut. c. 48.) has preserved the Latin origin-

4 Euseb. Hist. c. 1. x. 3. c. has given a Greek translation of this perpetual edict, which refers to some provincial regu-

5 See Euseb. Hist. c. 1. x. 3.
acted that the places of worship, and public lands, which had been confiscated, should be restored to the church, without dispute, without delay, and without expense: and this severe injunction was accompanied with a gracious promise, that if any of the purchasers had the least scruple to return them, they should be immediately restored. The pope, with these concessions, surrendered to the world, that they have granted a free and absolute power to the christians, and to all others, of following the religion which each individual thinks proper to prefer, to which he has addicted his mind, and which he may deem the best adapted to his own use. They carefully explain every ambiguous word, remove every exception, and exact from the governors of the provinces a strict obedience to the true and simple meaning of an edict, which was designed to establish and secure, without any limitation, the claims of religious liberty. They condone to assign two weighty reasons for the edict: one that they thought truth and universal toleration: the humane intention of consulting the peace and happiness of their people; and the pious hope, that, by such a conduct, they shall appease and propitiate the Deity, whose seat is in heaven. They gratefully acknowledge the many signal proofs which the Deity has given of his divine favour; and they trust that the same Providence will for ever continue to protect the prosperity of the prince and people. From these vague and indefinite expressions of piety, three apprehensions may be deduced, of a different, but not of an incompatible, nature. The mind of Constantine may be susceptible of every form of idolatry and religions. According to the loose and complying notions of polytheism, he might acknowledge the God of the christians as one of the many deities who composed the hierarchy of heaven. Or perhaps he might entertain the philosophical and pleasing idea, that, notwithstanding the variety of names, of rites, and of opinions, all the sects and all the nations of mankind are united in the worship of the common Father and Creator of the universe; 1

But the counsels of princes are more often influenced by views of temporary advantage, than by abstract and speculative truths. The partial and increasing favour of Constantine may naturally be referred to the esteem which he entertained for the moral character of the christians; and to a persuasion, that the propagation of the gospel would accelerate the practice of private and public virtue. Whatever latitude an absolute monarch may assume in his own conduct, whatever indulgence he may claim for his own passions, it is undoubtedly his interest that all his subjects should respect the natural and civil obligations of society. But the operation of the wisest laws is imperfect and precarious. They seldom inspire virtue, and cannot always restrain vice. Their power is insufficient to prohibit all that they condemn, nor can they always punish the actions which they prohibit. The legislators of antiquity had summoned to aid the power of education, the example and influence of Rome and Sparta, was long since extinguished in a declining and despotic empire. Philosophy still exercised her tender sway over the human mind, but the cause of virtue derived very feeble support from the influence of the pagan superstition. Under these discouraging circumstances, a prudent magistracy might observe with pleasure the progress of a religion which diffused among the people a pure, benevolent, and universal system of ethics, adapted to every duty and every condition of life; recommended as the will of God, and of Christ, and sanctioned by the sanction of eternal rewards or punishments. The experience of Greek and Roman history could not inform the world how far the system of national manners might be reformed and improved by the precepts of a divine revelation; and Constantine might listen with attention to the flattering, and indeed realible, assurances of Lactanius. The eloquent apostolus seemed firmly to expect, and almost ventured to promise, that the establishment of Christianity would restore the innocence and felicity of the primitive age: that the worship of the true God would extinguish war and dissension among those who mutually considered themselves as the children of a common parent; that every impure desire, every angry or selfish passion, would be restrained by the knowledge of the gospel; and that the magistrates might shew the sword of justice among a people who would be universally actuated by the sentiments of truth and purity and moderation, of harmony and universal love. 2

The passive and unresisting obedience, which bows under the yoke of authority, or even of oppression, must have appeared, in the eyes of an absolute monarch, as perhaps the most comfortable, and the most agreeable, of all the forms of religious observance. 3 The primitive christians derived the institution of civil government, not from the consent of the people, but from the decrees of heaven. The reigning emperor, though he had usurped the sceptre by treason and murder, immediately assumed the sacred character of the edict, and was himself entitled to be accounted for the abuse of his power; and his subjects were indissolubly bound, by their oath of fidelity, to a tyrant, who had violated every law of nature and society. The humble christians were sent into the world as sheep among wolves; and since they were not permitted to employ force, even in the defence of their religion, they should be still more criminal if they were tempted to shed the blood of their fellow creatures, in disputing the vain privileges, or the world possessions, of this transitory life. Faithful to the doctrine of the apostle, who in the reign of Nero had pronounced the duty of suffering for righteousness, the christians of the three first centuries preserved their conscience pure and innocent of the guilt of secret conspiracy, or open rebellion. While they experienced the rigour of persecution, they were never provoked either to meet their tyrants in the field, or in indignantly to withdraw themselves into some remote and sequestered corner of the globe. 4 The protestants of France, of Germany, and of Britain, who asserted with such intrepid courage their civil and religious freedom, have been insulted by the invidious comparison between the conduct of the primitive and the reformed christians. 5 Perhaps, instead of comparing, some apologue may be due to the superior sense and spirit of our ancestors, who had convinced themselves that religion cannot abolish the unalienable rights of

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1 See the elegant description of Lactanius, (Divin. Institut. v. 5.) who is much more perspicuous and positive than it becomes a discreet writer to profess his opinion.  
2 The political system of the christians is explained by Grotius, de Jure Belli et Pacis, lib. 2. Grotius seems a very able and judicious author; but the mildness of his temper inclined him to support the established powers.  
3 feftanin. Apolog. c. 2, 21, 35, 76. Tamen unquam Albinien, nec Nicanor vel Cassiani inveniri potuerunt christianum. Ad Scapul. C. 4. 2. It is truly said, that strictriy true, it excludes the christians of that age from all civil and military employments, which would have compelled them to take an active part in the service of their respective governments.  
4 See the artful Boquet Hist, des Variations des Eglises Protetes, tom. iii. lib. 6.  
5 I am not, says Bayle, for he was certainly the author of the Avis aux Refusés, consult the Dictionnaire Critique de Chifflet, tom. i. part 2. p. 54.
human nature. Perhaps the patience of the primitive church may be ascribed to its weakness, as well as to the influence of the primitive Christians, who were born leaders, without arms, without fortifications, must have encountered inevitable destruction in a rash and fruitless resistance to the master of the Roman legions. But the Christians, when they deprecated the wrath of Diocletian, or solicited the favour of Constantine, conducted their business with the truth and consciousness that they held the principle of passive obedience, and that, in the space of three centuries, their conduct had always been conformable to their principles. They might add, that the throne of the emperors would be established on a fixed and permanent basis if all their subjects, even bringing the christian doctrine, should learn to suffer and to obey.

Divine right of Constantine. 
In the general order of Providence, princes and tyrants are considered as the ministers of Heaven, appointed to rule or to chastise the nations of the earth. But sacred history affords many illustrous examples of the more immediate interposition of the Deity in the government of his chosen people. The sceptre and the sword were committed to the hands of Moses, of Joshua, of Gideon, of David, of the Maccabees; the virtues of those heroes were the seal of the effectual grace by which the triumph of the success of their arms was destined to achieve the deliverance or the triumph of the church. If the judges of Israel were occasionall and temporary magistrates, the kings of Judah derived from the royal anointing of their great ancestor, an hereditary and indefeasible connexion with the truths, which could not be altered or recalled by the caprice of their subjects. The same extraordinary providence, which was no longer confined to the Jewish people, might elect Constantine and his family as the protectors of the christian world; and the devout Laetareus announces, in a proper figure, the immediate grace of his long and universal reign. Galerius and Maximin, Maxentius and Licinius, were the rivals who shared with the favourite of Heaven the provinces of the empire. The tragic deaths of Galerius and Maximin soon gratified the resentment, and calculated the sanguine expectations of the christians. The success of Constantine against Maxentius and Licinius, removed the two formidable competitors who still opposed the triumph of the second David, and his cause might seem to claim the peculiar interposition of Providence. The character of the emperor, which disgraced the spirit of the times and nature; and though the christians might enjoy his precarious favour, they were exposed, with the rest of his subjects, to the effects of his wanton and capricious cruelty. The conduct of Licinius soon betrayed the reluctance with which he had consented to the wise and humane regulations of the Edict of Milan. The convocation of provincial synods was prohibited in his dominions; his christian officers were ignominiously dismissed; and if he avoided the guilt, or rather danger, of a general persecution, his partial oppressions were rendered still more odious, by the violation of a solemn and voluntary engagement. While the east, according to the lively expression of Eusebius, was involved in the shades of infernal darkness, the auspicious rays of celestial light warmed and illuminated the provinces of the west. The piety of Constantine admitted as unexceptionable proof the justice of his arms; and his use of victory confirmed the opinion of the christians, that their hero was inspired, and conducted, by the Lord ofhosts. The conquest of Italy produced a general edict of toleration; and as soon as the defeat of Licinius had instigated the Christian party to the elevation of the Roman world, he immediately, by circular letters, exhorted all his subjects to imitate, without delay, the example of their sovereign, and to embrace the divine truth of christianity.

The assumpion of Constantine was intimately connected with the designs of Providence, instil-
party led into the minds of the christians two opinions, which, by a different means, assisted the accomplishment of the prophesy. Their warm and active loyalty was exhibited in the professed spirit of the empire; and they confidently expected that their strenuous efforts would be seconded by some divine and miraculous aid. The enemies of Constantine have imputed to interested motives the alliance which he insensibly contracted with the catholic church, and which apparently contributed to the success of his ambition. In the beginning of the fourth century, the christians still bore a very inadequate proportion to the inhabitants of the empire; but among a degenerate people, who viewed the change of masters with the indifference of slaves, the spirit and union of a re-

1 Dio, liii. 21. 5. 6. See the extracts from Eusebius and others, quoted in Vol. cxxi. It must be owned, that the conduct of Constantine the Great has constantly been referred to Eusebius (Hist. Eccl. i. ch. 28) with a degree of partiality which has escaped the observation of the more recent critics. See several pieces, in Miscellanies, nos. 211, 241. They are all unanimously in favour of Constantine, and did not attempt to conceal their desire to make him the hero of a history, which connected the bishops of the most distant provinces, enabled them freely to communicate their wishes and their designs, and to transmit without danger any useful intelligence, or any pious contributions, which might promote the service of Constantinian benefactors, the public service was strengthened by the spirit of mutual assistance.

1 Euseb. in Vit. Constant. l. ii. c. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. Dio, liii. 21. 4. 5. 6. See the extracts from Eusebius (Hist. Eccl. i. c. 28) with a degree of partiality which has escaped the notice of the more recent critics. See several pieces, in Miscellanies, nos. 211, 241. They are all unanimously in favour of Constantine, and did not attempt to conceal their desire to make him the hero of a history, which connected the bishops of the most distant provinces, enabled them freely to communicate their wishes and their designs, and to transmit without danger any useful intelligence, or any pious contributions, which might promote the service of Constantine.

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5 Euseb. in Vit. Constant. l. ii. c. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. Dio, liii. 21. 4. 5. 6. See the extracts from Eusebius (Hist. Eccl. i. c. 28) with a degree of partiality which has escaped the notice of the more recent critics. See several pieces, in Miscellanies, nos. 211, 241. They are all unanimously in favour of Constantine, and did not attempt to conceal their desire to make him the hero of a history, which connected the bishops of the most distant provinces, enabled them freely to communicate their wishes and their designs, and to transmit without danger any useful intelligence, or any pious contributions, which might promote the service of Constantine.
who publicly declared that he had taken up arms for the deliverance of the church. The enthusiasm which inspired the belief of a vast crowd, and perhaps the emperor himself, was sharpened by a new stroke of fortune. It was known that the followings of Barabbas, with the full assurance, that the same God, who had formerly opened a passage to the Israelites through the waters of Jordan, and had thrown down the walls of Jericho at the sound of the trumpets of Joshua, would display a similar efficacy and open a passage to the Christians through the gates of Rome. The enthusiasm of ecclesiastical history is prepared to affirm, that their expectations were justified by the conspicuous miracle to which the conversion of the first christian emperor has been almost unanimously ascribed. The real or imaginary cause of so important an event, deserves and demands the attention of posterity; and I shall endeavour to form a just estimate of the famous vision of Constantine, by a distinct consideration of the standard, the dream, and the celestial sign; by separating the historical, the natural, and the marvellous parts of this extraordinary story, which, in the composition of a special work, might otherwise have been artfully confounded in one splendid and brittle mass.

I. An instrument of the tortures which were inflicted only on slaves and strangers, became an object of horror in the eyes of a Roman citizen; and the idea of guilt, of pain, and of ignominy, were united in the mind of the Roman emperor, by the simple idea of the cross. The piety, rather than the humanity, of Constantine, soon abolished in his dominions the punishment which the Saviour of mankind had consecrated to suffer; but the emperor had already learned to despise the prejudices of his education, and of his political considerations. They were at the battle of Rome his own statute, bearing a cross in its right hand; with an inscription, which referred the victory of his arms, and the deliverance of Rome, to the virtue of that symbol, the true sign of force and courage. The same symbol sanctified the arms of the soldiers of Constantine; the cross glittered on their helmets, was engraved on their shields, was interwoven into their banners; and the consecrated emblems which adorned the person of the emperor himself, were distinguished only by richer materials and more exquisite workmanship. But the principal standard which displayed itself at the battle of the Labarum, an obscure, though celebrated name, which has been vainly derived from almost all the languages of the world. It is described as a long pike intersected by a transversal beam. The silken veil which hung down from the beam, was curiously inwrought with the images of the reigning monarch and his children. The summit of the flag was decorated with a golden monogram, which enclosed the mysterious monogram, at once expressive of the figure of the cross, and the initial letters of the name of Christ. The safety of the labarum was intrusted to fifty guards, of approved valour and fidelity; their station was marked by honours and consorts of victory; and the emperor conceived an opinion, that as long as the guards of the labarum were engaged in the execution of their office, they were secure and invulnerable amidst the darts of the enemy. In the second civil war Licinius felt and dreaded the power of this consecrated banner, the sight of which, in the distress of battle, animated the soldiers of Constantine with an invincible enthusiasm, and scattered terror and dismay through the ranks of the adverse legions. The christian emperors, who respected the example of Constantine, displayed in all their military expeditions the standard of the cross; but when the emperor had degenerated into a tyrant, he chose to appear in person at the head of their armies, the labarum was deposited as a venerable but useless relic in the palace of Constantinople. Its honours are still preserved on the medals of the Flavian family. Their grateful devotion has placed the monogram of Christ within the limits of the pious emperors, as the sumptuous epithets of the republic, glory of the army, restoration of public happiness, are equally applied to the religious and military trophies; and there is still extant a medal of the emperor Constantinus, where the standard of the labarum is accompanied with these memorable words: BY THIS SIGN THOU SHALT CONQUER. II. In all occasions of danger or distress, the dream of Constantine was in the practice of the primitive Christians to fortify their minds and bodies by the sign of the cross, which they used, in all their ecclesiastical rites, in all the daily occurrences of life, as an infallible preservative against every species of spiritual or temporal evil. The authority of the church might alone have had sufficient weight to justify the devotion of Constantine, who, in the same prudent and gradual progress, acknowledged the truth, and assumed the symbol of Christianity. But the testimony of a contemporary writer, suffices to prove, that even at this early stage, the cause of religion, bestows on the piety of the emperor a more awful and sublime character. His formation, with the most perfect confidence, that in the night which preceded the last battle against Maxentius, (which is employed by Gregory Nazianzen, Ambrose, Probaudent, &c. still remain totally unknown; in spite of the efforts of the critics, who have inconsiderately tortured the Latin, Greek, Spanish, Cotie, Teste. D. 122. Bonn., in search of an etymology. See Diebesious, in Gloss. med. et antiqu. Latinam, sub voce Labarum and Codex. Theod., Conc. Theodos. tom. ii. p. 173. 


2. The monumental Littera summae capitis circuli, Christum in ecclesiis nostri notat, Cod. Tac., C. 101, M. P. L. 45, 46, 47, 58, 59, 60. Lactant. tom. ii. p. 504, and Baronia (D. A. 312. No. 23.) have engraved from ancient monuments several specimen (as thus are a witness of the common practice of the church, which is not a custom able in the christian world.

3. Eusebius in. Vit. Constantini. i. 80, 31. Baronius (Ancor. Eccles. A. D. 312. No. 26.) has engraved a representation of the Latin Labarum, which was the first among the emperors who adopted the symbol of Christianity.

4. Baronia in. Vit. Constantini. i. 80, 31. Baronius (Ancor. Eccles. A. D. 312. No. 26.) has engraved a representation of the Latin Labarum, which was the first among the emperors who adopted the symbol of Christianity.

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7. In Eusebius in. Vit. Constantini. i. 80, 31. Baronius (Ancor. Eccles. A. D. 312. No. 26.) has engraved a representation of the Latin Labarum, which was the first among the emperors who adopted the symbol of Christianity.
Constantine was enthroned in a dream to inscribe the shields of his soldiers with the celestial sign of God, the sacred monogram of the name of Christ; that he executed his victory by the power of his profession and obedience were rewarded by the decisive victory of the Milvian bridge. Some consideration might perhaps incline a sceptical mind to suspect the judgment or the veracity of the rhetorician, whose pen, either from fear or interest, was devoted to the cause of the prevailing faction. He appears to have published his deaths of the assassins at Nicomedia about three years after the Roman victory; but the interval of a thousand miles, and a thousand days, will allow an ample latitude for the invention of declaimers, the endeavours of men, that might have interested the imagination of the emperor himself; who might listen without indignation to a marvellous tale, which exalted his fame, and profaned his name. In favours of Licinius, who still dissembled his animosity to the Christians, the same author has provided a similar vision, of a form of prayer, which was communicated by an angel, and received by the whole army before they engaged the legions of the tyrant Maximin. The frequent repetition of miracles serves to provoke, where it does not subdue, the reason of mankin'd: but if the dream of Constantine is separately considered, it may be naturally accounted for by the poetical prophecies of the emperors. Whilst his anxiety for the approaching day, which must decide the fate of the empire, was suspended by a short and interrupted slumber, the venerable form of Christ, and the well-known symbol of his religion, might forcibly offer themselves to the active fancy of a prince who revered the name, and had perhaps secretly implored the power, of the God of the christians. As readily might a consummate statesman indulge himself in the use of one of those military stratagems, some of those pious frauds, which Philip and Secturias had employed with such art and effect, the preternatural origin of dreams was universally admitted by the nations of antiquity, and a considerable part of the Gallic army was already prepared to place their confidence in the salutary sign of the christian religion. The secret vision of Constantine could be disproved only by the event; and the inordinate jealousy of Licinius, whose name is now employed by the advocates for Fanaticism, might view with careless despair the consequences of a defeat under the walls of Rome. The senate and people, exulting in their own deliverance from an odious tyrant, acknowledged that the victory of Constantine was a pure mercy of man; without daring to ascribe it the hand of God.

The triumphal arch, which was erected about three years after the event, proclaims, in ambiguous language, that, by the greatness of his own mind, and by an instinct or impulse of the divinity, he had saved and avenged the Roman republic. The pagan orators, who had seized an earlier opportunity of celebrating the famous victory of the emperor, and of his virtues and his patience, and of his valour and obedience in that period of life; and had written the translation of the pseudo-Oraculum, or having enjoyed a secret and intimate commerce with the Supreme Being, who delegated the care of mortals to his subordinate deities; and thus assigns a very plausible reason why the subjects of Constantine should not presume to embrace the new religion of their sovereign.

III. The philosopher, who first wrote of the celestial objects, who first crossed the sky, the omens, the miracles and prodigies, of profane or even of ecclesiastical history, will probably conclude, that if the eyes of the spectators have sometimes been deceived by the appearance of the heavenly bodies, which have much more frequently been insulted by fiction. Every event, or appearance, or accident, which seems to deviate from the ordinary course of nature, has been rashly ascribed to the immediate action of the Deity; and the astonished fancy of the multitude has sometimes given shape and colour, and language, and a name, to the fleeting but uncommon meteors of the air. Nazarius and Eusebius are the two most celebrated orators, who in studied panegyrics have laboured to exalt the glory of Constantine. Nine years after the Roman victory, Nazarius has employed his powers with a vast success, to introduce the new miracles into the world of superstition, who seemed to fall from the sky: he marks their beauty, their spirit, their gigantic forms, the stream of light which beamed from their celestial armour, their patience in suffering themselves to be heard, as well as seen, by mortals; and their declaration that they were sent, that they declared, and that they do declare, that Christ alone is the mediator of heaven and earth. For the truth of this prodigy, the pagan orator appeals to the whole Gallic nation, in whose presence he was then speaking, and seems to hope that the ancient appurtenances would now obtain credit from this recent and public event.

The celestial raft of Eusebius, which, in the space of twenty-six years, might arise from the original dream, is cast in a much more correct and elegant mould. In one of the marches of Constantine, he is reported to have seen with his own eyes the luminous trophy of the cross, placed above the sun, by which he was enlightened, and inscribed with the following words: By this, conquer. This amazing object in the sky astonished the whole army, as well as the emperor himself, who was yet undetermined in the choice of a religion: but his astonishment was converted into joy by the grace of the seen, which appeared before his eyes, and displaying the same celestial sign of the cross, he directed Constantine to frame a similar standard, and to march, with an assurance of victory, against Maxentius and all his enemies. The learned bishop of Caesarea appears to be sensible, that the recent discovery of this marvellous anodice would excite some surprise and distrust among the most pious of his readers. Yet, instead of ascertaining the precise circumstances of time and place, which always serve to detect falsehood, or establish truth; instead

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1 Caesar, de M. P. c. 64. It is certain, that this historical declaration was composed and published while Licinius, sovereign of the east, still preserved the friendship of Constantine, and of the christians. Every reader of taste must perceive that the style last a different and inferior character to that of Lactantius; and such indeed is the judgment of Le Clerc and Lardner. (Bibliothèque Ancienne, in 12. p. 132, Lib. 2. c. 4. De la Bible, part. 2. vol. vi. p. 94.) Three arguments from the title of the book, and the names of two pupils of the Theology of Constantine, produced by the editor Le Peletier, who assisted the author of this work and Lactantius and Florus. The preserved language of Constantine, was universally admitted by the nations of antiquity, and a considerable part of the Gallic army was already prepared to place their confidence in the salutary sign of the christian religion. The secret vision of Constantine could be disproved only by the event; and the inordinate jealousy of Licinius, whose name is now employed by the advocates for Fanaticism, might view with careless despair the consequences of a defeat under the walls of Rome. The senate and people, exulting in their own deliverance from an odious tyrant, acknowledged that the victory of Constantine was a pure mercy of man; without daring to ascribe it the hand of God.

2 The merit of this anodice must be ascribed to the profound and perspicuous researches of the learned, in the acknowledged and original text of the Harmony of the Gospels, and in the genuine panegyrics of Eusebius and the other great historians, who have preserved to us these important facts.

3 Eusebius, de Historia Ecclesiastica, c. 10. p. 18, 30. This anodice is celebrated by the most ancient and the most recent historians. In Le Clerc, Collect. de la Bibl., tom. ii. p. 46-50. The poem is not surpassed by the proem of the pseudo-Oraculum of the Gallic army were already prepared to place their confidence in the salutary sign of the christian religion. The secret vision of Constantine could be disproved only by the event: and the inordinate jealousy of Licinius, whose name is now employed by the advocates for Fanaticism, might view with careless despair the consequences of a defeat under the walls of Rome. The senate and people, exulting in their own deliverance from an odious tyrant, acknowledged that the victory of Constantine was a pure mercy of man; without daring to ascribe it the hand of God.

4 Caesar, de M. P. c. 46. There seems to be some error in the substance of this account, (Cesarean, tom. iv. p. 367.) who ascribes to the success of Constantine the superintendence of his labours above the angel of Licinius. Yet even this angel is favorably entertained by the Gallic historian, and appears to be his protector and guide.
of collecting and recording the evidence of so many living witnesses, who must have been spectators of this stupendous miracle; 4 Eusebius contented himself with alleging a very singular testimony; that of the domestic slave of his who, many years since, was employed in the freedom of conversation with Eusebius, and attested to him this extraordinary incident of his own life, and had attested the truth of it by a solemn oath. The prudence and gratitude of the learned prelate forbade him to suspect the veracity of his victorious master; but he plainly intimates, that he cannot deprecated the motives which, however, have refused his ascent to any meaner authority. This motive of credibility could not survive the power of the Flavian family; and the celestial sign, which the infidels might afterwards deride, 5 was disregarded by the christians of the age which immediately followed this event, and the best churchmen, both of the east and of the west, has adopted a prodigy, which favours, or seems to favour, the pious worship of the cross. The vision of Constantine maintained an honourable place in the legend of superstition, till the bold and sagacious spirit of criticism presumed to deprave this holy tradition, and to array the truth, of the first christian emperor.

The Protestant and philosophical readers of Constantine's present age will incline to believe, that, in the account of his own conversion, Constantine attested a wilful falsehood by his own hands. The Chrisian may not hesitate to pronounce, that, in the choice of religion, his mind was determined only by a sense of interest; and that (according to the expression of a profound poet) 6 he used the altars of the church as a convenient footstool to the throne of the empire. A conclusion, which is consistent with the ignorance and the partiality which so successfully warranted our knowledge of human nature, of Constantine, or of Christianity. In an age of religious fervour, the most artful statesmen are observed to feel some part of the enthusiasm which they inspire; and the most orthodox saints assume the dangerous privilege of defending the cause of truth by the arms of deceit and falsehood. Personal interest is often the standard of our belief, as well as of our practice; and the same motives of temporal advantage which might influence the public conduct and professions of Constantine would insensibly dispose his mind to embrace a religion which promised so many worldly fortunes. His vanity was gratified by the flattering assurance, that he had been chosen by heaven to reign over the earth; success had justified his divine title to the throne, and that title was founded on the truth of the christian revelation. As real virtue is sometimes excited by undeserved applause, the scurrilous piety of Constantine, if at first it was doubtfully, might gradually, by the force of praise, of habit, and of custom, be changed into serious faith and fervent devotion. The bishops and teachers of the new sect, whose dress and manners had not qualified them for the residence of a court, were admitted to the imperial table; they acted as the monarch in his expeditions; and the ascendant which one of them, an Egyptian or a Spaniard, acquired over his mind was imputed by the pagans to the effect of magic. 8 Laetantius, who has adored the precepts of the gospel with the eloquence of Cicero; 7 and Eusebius, who has consecrated the learning and the piety of his age to the service of religion, 9 were both received into the friendship and familiarity of their sovereign; and those able masters of controversy could patiently watch the soft and yielding moments of persuasion, and dexterously apply the arguments which were the best adapted to his character and understanding. Whatever advantages might be derived from the acquisition of an imperial proscript, he was distinguished by the splendour of his purple, rather than by the superiority of wisdom or virtue, from the many thousands of his subjects who had embraced the doctrines of Christianity. Nor can it be supposed that the mind of a soldier should have yielded to the weight of evidence, which, in a more enlightened age, has satisfied or subdued the reason of a Grotius, a Pascal, or a Locke. In the midst of the incessant labours of his great office, this soldier employed, or affected to employ, the hours of the night in the diligent study of the Scriptures, and the composition of theological discourses; which he afterwards pronounced in the presence of a numerous and applauding audience. In a very long discourse, which is still extant, the royal preacher expatiates on the various proofs of religion; but he dwells with peculiar complacency on the Nibyline. The fourth verse, 2 and the fourth eclogue of Virgil, 3 have been so unworthily applied to the infant son of a consul or a triumvir: 7 but if a more splendid, and indeed sincere, interpretation of the fourth eclogue contributed to the conversion of the first christian emperor, 10 this favourite was probably the great Otus, bishop of Cordova, who preferred the pastoral care of the whole church to the government of a part of it. His character is so justly, and even concisely, expressed by Athanasmus, (tom. i. p. 707.) See Tillemon, l. i. p. 157. 8 See Lactantius, Enarr. Eccles. tom. iv. p. 261. 9 See Eusebius, (In Vit. Constant. passim,) and Zosimus, l. i. p. 194. 10 The charity of Laetantius was of a moral rather than of a mysterious cast: the Eros gene radus (says the orthodox bull) distinguishes christians, et in rhetoric si mecum quia in theologica versatus. 7 Depraver Fidelis Inocens, sect. ii. c. 8. 8 Fabricon, with equal dexterity and diligence, has collected a list of between three and four hundred authors quoted in the Evangelical Preparation of Eusebius, (l. i. c. 7.) 9 See Constantz, Orat. ad Sanctos, c. 19, 26. He chiefly depends on a mysterious acrostic; composed in the manner of the pagan magic system; to which he has added an oath taken by the Erythraean Sibyl, and translated by Cicero into Latin. The first letters of the thirty-four Greek vers are, form this prophetic sentence: Justus Caesar, Rex, et Velox operis. 10 In his paraphrase of Virgil, the emperor has frequently satirized and improved upon the moral sense of the Latin text. See Bonet, Dictionnaire des Sybilles, l. i. c. 14, 15, 16. 11 The different chains of an elder and younger son of Pollio, of Junius, of Drusus, of Marcellus, are found to be incompatible with chronology, history, and the good sense of Virgil. 12

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The decline and fall.

Devotion and privileges of Constantine.

The awful mysteries of the Christian faith and worship were concealed from the eyes of strangers, and even of catechumens, with an affected secrecy, which served to excite their wonder and curiosity. But the severe rules of discipline which the prudence of the bishops had instituted, were relaxed by the same prudence in favour of an imperial proselyte, whom it was so important to allure, by every gentle concession, into the fold of the church; and Constantine was permitted, at least by a tacit dispensation, to enjoy most of the privileges, before he had contracted any of the obligations, of a Christian. Instead of retiring from the congregation, when the voice of the deacon dismissed the profane multitude, he prayed with the faithful, disputed with the bishops, preached on the most sublime and intricate subjects of theology, celebrated with sacred rites the vigil of Easter, and publicly declared himself, not only a partisan, but, in some measure, a priest and hierophant of the Christian mysteries.

The pride of Constantine might assume, and his services had deserved, some extraordinary distinction; an ill-timed rigour might have blotted the unripened fruits of his conversion; and if the doors of his church had been strictly closed against a prince who had deserted the altars of the gods, the master of the empire would have lost the sympathy, and influence, of religious worship.

In his last visit to Rome, he piously disclaimed and insulted the superstition of his ancestors, by refusing to lead the military procession of the equestrian order, and to offer the public vows to the Jupiter of the Capitoline hill.1 Many years before his baptism and death, Constantine had proclaimed to the world, that neither his person nor his image should ever more be seen within the walls of an idolatrous temple; while he distributed through the provinces a variety of medals and pictures, which represented the emperor in an humble and superior posture of Christian devotion.

The pride of Constantine, who refused the privileges of a catechumen, cannot easily be explained or excused; but the delay of his baptism may be justified by the maxims and the practice of ecclesiastical antity. The formal act of baptism was administered by the bishop himself, with his assistant clergy, in the cathedral church of the diocese, during the fifty days between the solemn festivals of Easter and pentecost, and this holy term admitted a numerous band of infants and adult persons into the bosom of the church.

The discretion of Constantine prescribed the baptism of their children till they could understand the obligations which they contracted: the severity of ancient bishops extended from the new converts a noviciate of two or three years; and the catechumens themselves, from different motives of a temporal or a spiritual nature, were seldom impatient to assume the character of perfect and initiated Christians. The sacrament of baptism was supposed to contain a full and absolute expiation of sin; and the soul was supposed to be instantly delivered from all the guilt of past passions in the enjoyments of this world, while they still retained in their own hands the means of a sure and absolute and easy absolution. The sublime theory of the gospel had made a much fitter impression on the heart than on the understanding of Constantine himself. The bishops could not transfigure him through the dark and bloody paths of war and policy; and, after the victory, he abandoned himself, without moderation, to the abuse of his fortune. Instead of asserting his just superiority above the imperfect heroism and profane philosophy of Trajan and the Antonines, the victorious son of Constantine lost the reputation which he had acquired in his youth. As he gradually advanced in the knowledge of truth, he proportionately declined in the practice of virtue; and the same year of his reign in which he convened the council of Nicaea, he receded from his treatises to indulgence, or rather, murder, of his eldest son. This date is an efficient refutation of the ignorant and malicious suggestions of Zosimus,2 who affirms that after the death of Crispus the remorse of his father accepted from the ministers of Christianity the expiation which he had vainly hesitated to bestow on his beloved son. After the death of Crispus, the emperor could no longer hesitate in the choice of a religion; he could no longer be ignorant that the church was possessed of an infallible remedy, though he chose to defer the application of it, till the approach of death had removed the temptation and danger of a religious profession. The bishop who had been summoned, in his last illness, to the palace of Nicomedia, were edified by the fervour with which he requested and received the sacrament of baptism, by the solemn protestation that the remainder of his life should be worthy of a disciple of Christ, and by his humble frame, the manner in which the approach of death could be observed. The emperor, clothed in the white garment of a neophite. The example and reputation of Constantine seemed to counterbalance the delay of baptism.3 Future tyrants were encouraged to believe, that the innocent blood which they might shed in a long reign would instantly be washed away in the waters of regeneration; and the abuse of religion dangerously undermined the foundations of moral virtue.

The gratitude of the church has exalted the virtues and excused the failings. Constantine, of a generous patron, who sent Christian clergy to the throne of the Roman world; and the Greeks, who celebrated the festivity of the imperial saint, seldom mention the name of Constantine without adding the title of equal to the apostles.4 Such a comparison, if it almost

2 See Photius, Biblia Polonica, 521, 61, 203.

3 In the examination of the fourth edition, the respectable bishop of London has displayed learning, taste, ingenuity, and a temperate exercise of his factual judgment, in defending his judgment.

4 The distinction between the public and the secret parts of divine service, the missa catechumenorum, and the missa fidelium, and the mysterious vest which party or policy had cast over the latter, are very judiciously explained by Thiria, Exposition du Saint sacrement, l. c. 682, p. 209-211: but as, on this subject, the papists may reasonably be suspected, a protestant reader will depend with more confidence on the learned Bingham, Antiquitatis, l. c. 35.

5 See Eusebius, in Vit. Constant. l. c. 15-22, and the whole tenor of Constantine's sermon. The facts and interpretation of the Sacratissimum were not published; Barmus has furnished Barmus with a specious argument in favour of his critics.

6 Zosimus, l. c. 165.

7 See in the Commentaries of Eusebius, l. c. 13, 16.

8 The theory and practice of antiquity, with regard to the sacra politicia, have been splendidly explained by Don Charbon, Hist. des Sacraments de l'ancien Empire, de l'Eglise Antiquit, tom. I.; and by Blignac, in the tenth and eleventh chapters of his Histoire de l'Eglise, tome IV. The sacraments are occasionally observed, in which the modern churches have materially departed from the primitive. The sacrament of baptism, even when it was administered to infants, was immediately followed by confirmation and the holy communion.

9 Zosimus, l. c. 164. For this diabolical falsehood he is very justly accused by Eusebius, l. c. 61, 62, 63. The bishop of Ctesaropa interprets the act of consecration with the most perfect simplicity.

10 See Tillotson, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. IV. p. 429. The Greeks,
The charactes of those divine missionaries, must be imputed to the extravagance of impius flattery. But if the parallel be confined to the extent and number of their evangelical victories, the success of Constantine might perhaps equal that of the apostles themselves. By the edicts of toleration, he removed the terrors of an militant ; and the piercing eye of ambition and avarice soon discovered, that the profession of Christianity might contribute to the interest of the present, as well as of a future, life. The hopes of wealth and honours, the example of an emperor, his exhortations, his irresistible smile, diffused conviction among the sensual and obsequious crowds which usually fill the apartments of a palace. The cities which signalized a forward zeal by the voluntary destruction of their temples, were distinguished by municipal privileges, and rewarded with popular donatives; and the new capital of the east gloried in the apostles of the faith. The prelates were never profaned by the worship of idols. As the lower ranks of society were governed by imitation, the conversion of those who possessed any eminence of birth, of power, or of riches, was soon followed by dependent multitudes. The salvation of the common people was thus far the danger of the one. The next year, twelve thousand men were baptized at Rome, besides a proportionable number of women and children, and that a white garment, with twenty pieces of gold, had been promised by the emperor to every convert. The powerful influence of Constantine was not checked, but swelled to a narrow limit of his life, or of his dominion. The emperor bestowed on his sons and nephews, secured to the empire a race of princes, whose faith was still more lively and sincere, as they imbued, in their earliest infancy, the spirit, or at least the doctrine, of Christianity. War and commerce had spread the knowledge of the gospel beyond the confines of the Roman provinces; and the barbarians, who had disdained an humble and proscribed sect, soon learned to esteem a religion which had been so lately embraced by the greatest monarch, and the most civilized nation, of the globe. The Goths and Germanic tribes poured over the frontiers of those nations. The Romans, through the ages, have preserved the cross which glittered at the head of the legions, and their fierce countryside received at the same time the lessons of faith and of humanity. The kings of Iberia and Armenia worshipped the God of their protector; and their subjects, who have invariably preserved the name of Christians, soon formed a sacred and perpetual connection with their Roman brethren. The Christians of Persia were suspected, in time of war, of preferring their religion to their country; but this suspicion lasted as long as pious Persians were the persecuted victims of the persecuting spirit of the magi was effectually restrained by the interposition of Constantine. The rays of the gospel illuminated the coast of India. The colonies of Jews, who had penetrated into Arabia and Ethiopia, opposed the progress of Christianity; but the obstacles were removed by the wise ministers facilitated by a previous knowledge of the Mosaic revelation; and Abyssinia still renews the memory of Frumentius, who, in the time of Constantine, devoted his life to the conversion of those scattered regions. Under the reign of his son Constantius, Theophilus, who was himself of Indian extraction, was invested with the double character of ambassador and bishop. He embarked on the Red sea with two hundred horses of the purest breed of Cappadoea, which were sent by the emperor to the prince of the Sabaeans, or Hormities. Theophilus was instructed with many other subalterns, who were to become his missionaries, to pacify and to conciliate the friendship of the barbarians; and he successfully employed several years in a pastoral visit to the churches of the torrid zone. The irresistible power of the Roman Change of the im- empors was displayed in the important empors of the nations of the Mediterranean. The terrors of a military force silenced the faint and unsupported murmurs of the pagans, and there was reason to expect, that the cheerful submission of the Christian clergy, as well as people, would be the result of conscience and gratitude. It was long since established, as a fundamental maxim of the Roman constitution, that every nation had a conscience which it was safe to respect, and laws, and that the care of religion was the right as well as duty of the civil magistrate. Constantine and his successors could not easily persuade themselves that they had forfeited, by their conversion, any branch of the Imperial prerogatives, or that they were incapable of granting laws to a religion which they had protected and embraced. The emperors still continued to exercise a supreme jurisdiction over the ecclesiastical order; and the sixteenth book of the Theodosian code represents, under the title of "The Christian empire," the laws they assumed in the government of the Catholic church.

But the distinction of the spiritual and temporal powers, which had never been imposed on the free spirit of Roman pontiffs, and had always been exercised by one of the most eminent of the senators, was at length united to the imperial dignity. The first magistracy of the state, as often as he was prompted by superstition or policy, performed with his own hands the sacred functions of the Rccaniis, and, in the darker ages, the Latinns themselves, have been deacons of placing Constantine in the catalogue of saints.

c. See the third and fourth books of his life. He was accustomed to say, that whether Christ was preached in presence, or in truth, he should still rejoice. (l. iii. c. 5.)

d. M. de Villemin (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 374-316) has published, with strength and spirit, the virgin purity of Constantine people against some malevolent insinuations of the Emperor Sev. (l. ii. 13.)

e. The author of the Histoire Politique et Philosophique des deux Indes. makes it a law of Christianity to give freedom to all the slaves who should embrace Christianity. The canons of the Council of Nicomedia, which was held because of the Jews circumcised, or keeping, any christian slaves. (see Euseb. in Vit. Constant. l. iv. c. 27. and Cod. Theod. l. xvi. c. 26, with Godfrey's Commentary. C. 1.)

f. The Emperor's conversion related only to the Jews; and the great body of slaves, who were the property of christian or pagan masters, could not improve their temporal condition by changing their religion. I am ignorant by what guides the Allen Raynal was deceived; as the total absence of all testimonies of the countrymen of the Polos, who are celebrated for their learning and piety. The Maldives, of which Male, or Digue, may be considered, are an island, which is called the sacred. Such terms are customary in contemptuous accounts; but these circumstances are in themselves so probable, that the learned Dr. Howell (History of the World, tom. ii. p. 257) is not of the same opinion.


If you have a passage of the lives of the martyrs, or of the confessors, it would be fair to say, that the Latin translation of Eusebius, deserves to be considered as an original authority. His information was curiously collected from one of the companions of the Apostle of Ethiopia, and from Barbaris, an Iberian priest, who was cons of the dominions. Father Masanelli has given no ample compilation on the progress of Christianity, in the first and second volumes of his great but imperfect work.

2 See in Eusebius (in Vit. Constant. l. iv. c. 9) the pressing and pathetic epitaph of Constantine in favour of his christian brethren of Cappadoea. (l. ii. 277.)

3 See Basset, Hist. des Jufs, tom. vii. p. 182. tom. viii. p. 322. tom. ix. p. 100. The various dissertations of this writer pursues the Jewish exiles to the extremities of the globe.

4 Theophilus had been given in his infancy as a hostage by his father, Emperor Constantine, to the Emperor of the East, to ensure the learning and piety. The Maldives, of which Male, or Digue, may be considered the sacred, are an island, which is called the sacred. Such terms are customary in contemptuous accounts; but these circumstances are in themselves so probable, that the learned Dr. Howell (History of the World, tom. ii. p. 257) is not of the same opinion.

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5 See the epistle of Osias, ap. Athanasivum, vol. i. p. 810. The public remonstrance which Osias was forced to address to the son, contained the same principles of ecclesiastical and civil government which he had secretly instilled into the mind of the father.
tions; 4 nor was there any order of priests, either at Rome or in the provinces, who claimed a more sacred character among men, or a more intimate communication with the gods. But in the christian church, which intrusts the service of the altar to a perpetual succession of consecrated ministers, the monarch, whose spiritual rank in the levitical order was higher than that of nations, was seated below the rails of the sanctuary, and confounded with the rest of the faithful multitude. 5 The emperor might be saluted as the father of his people, but he owed a filial duty and reverence to the fathers of the church; and the same marks of respect for the institution of the church on the part of saints and confessors, were soon exacted by the pride of the episcopal order. 6 A secret conflict between the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions, embarrassed the operations of the Roman government; and a pious emperor was alarmed by the guilt and danger of touching with a profane hand the ark of the covenant. The separation of men into the two orders of the clergy and of the laity was, indeed, familiar to all nations of antiquity; and the priests of India, of Persia, of Assyria, of Judea, of Ethiopia, of Egypt, and of Gaul, derived from a celestial origin the temporal rights and distinctions which they exercised. These venerable institutions had gradually assimilated themselves to the manners and government of their respective countries; 7 but the opposition or contempt of the civil power served to cement the discipline of the primary church. The christian empire had been obliged to elevate their own ministers, to raise and distribute a peculiar revenue, and to regulate the internal policy of their republic by a code of laws, which were ratified by the consent of the people, and the practice of three hundred years. When Constantine embraced the faith of the church, he had the same advantage, and he established a perpetual alliance with a distinct and independent society; and the privileges granted or confirmed by that emperor, or by his successors, were accepted, not as the precautionary favours of the court, but as the just and inalienable rights of the ecclesiastical order. The catholic church was administered by the spiritual and legal jurisdiction of eighteen hundred bishops; 8 of whom one thousand were seated in the Greek, and eight hundred in the Latin, provinces of the empire. The extent and boundaries of their respective dioceses had been previously fixed by the zeal and success of the first missionaries, by the wishes of the people, and by the propagation of the gospel. Episcopal churches were closely planted along the banks of the Nile, on the sea-coast of Africa, in the provinces of Asia, and through the southern provinces of Italy. The respective bishoprics of Thrace and Pontus, reigned over an ample territory, and delegated their rural suffragans to execute the subordinate duties of the pastoral office. 9 A christian diocese might be spread over a province, or reduced to a village; but all the bishops possessed an equal and indissoluble character; they all derived the same powers and privileges from the apostles, from the people, and from the laws. While the civil and military professions were in confusion, and the respect of the religio of a new and perpetual order of ecclesiastical ministers, always respectable, sometimes dangerous, was established in the church and state. The important review of their station and attributes may be distributed under the following heads: I. Popular election. II. Ordination. III. Intrusts. IV. Apostacy. V. Spiritual censures. VI. Exercise of public oratory. VII. Privilege of legislative assemblies. 

I. The freedom of election 1 subsisted 2 election of long after the legal establishment of bishops. 3 and the subjects of Rome enjoyed in the church the privilege which they had lost in the republic, of choosing the magistrates whom they were bound to obey. As soon as a bishop had closed his eyes, the metropolitan issued a commission to one of his suffragans to administer the vacant see, and prepare, within a limited time, the future election. The right of that commission was occasionally acquiesced; but those who were best qualified to judge of the merit of the candidates; in the senators or nobles of the city, all those who were distinguished by their rank or property; and finally in the whole body of the people, who, on the appointed day, were in multitudes from the most remote parts of the diocese, 4 Although they were not influenced by their tumultuous acclamations, the voice of reason and the laws of discipline. These acclamations might accidentally fix on the head of the most deserving competitor; of some ancient presbyter, some holy monk, or some well-meaning nobleman; but the bishop was chosen. But the episcopal chair was solicited, especially in the great and opulent cities of the empire, as a temporal rather than as a spiritual dignity. The interested views, the selfish and angry passions, the arts of perjury and dissimulation, the secret corruption, the open and even bloody privilege which they had formerly disgraced the freedom of election in the commonwealths of Greece and Rome, too often influenced the choice of the successors of the apostles. While one of the candidates boasted the honours of his family, a second allured his judges by the delicacies of a plentiful table, and a third paid them plentifully with rewards for the plunder of the church among the accomplices of his sacrilegious hopes. 5 The civil as well as ecclesiastical laws attempted to exclude the populace from this solemn and important transaction. The canons of ancient discipline, by requiring several episcopal qualifications of age, station, &c. restrained in some measure the indiscriminate caprice of the electors.

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1 On the subject of the rural bishops, or Choriprinci, who voted in synods, and conferred the minor orders, see Thomasius, Discipulus de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 347, &c. and Charond, Hist. des Sacr., tom. v. p. 335, &c. They do not appear till the fourth century.

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3 This liberty was very limited, and was soon annihilated; although the civil and military power, and the influence of the members of the community, but by the bishops, though it appears from the letters of St. Cyprian, that in his time no priest was elected without the consent of the community, (Ep. 65;) this was far from being a free election. The bishop proposed to his parishioners the candidate whom he had chosen, and they were permitted to mention any objections they might have in his character or his manners. (St. Cyp. Ep. 65.) They lost even this right, towards the end of the fourth century. — G. Dufour.

4 Thomasius (Discipulus de l'Eglise, tom. ii. 2. ii. c. 8. p. 677—721.) has given a particular account of the election of bishops during the five first centuries, both in the east and in the west; but he will be the best judge of the party which a greater number of the episcopal writers (Ep. 65. c. 2.) is moderate; and Charond (Hist. des Sacr., tom. v. p. 106—122.) says that nothing could be more conciliatory.

5 Incrdbilis multitudine, non solam ex oppido, (Torsa,) sed etiam ex vicinis urbis sui saturis et fraginis convenunt, (C. Sul. ep. 16.) Vincentius Scipionis episcopi (ibid.) in Hort. et collato; in eam ecclesiasticam, in quam Deus, (ut dixit st.ma, s.a. idem) est, nemo profanum accessere poterat, et aliquis, qui non vere christianus fuisse sciret et testificaretur, ejusdem ecclesiae etiam se abjuriaretur. (Ep. 26.)

6 The epicles of Ciconius Apollinaris (iv. 23. vii. 5—9.) exhibit some of the scandals of the Gallican church; and Gaul was less polluted and less corrupt than the east.

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M. de la Bastie (Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions. tom. xx. p. 38—61.) has evidently proved, that Augustus and his successors exercised in person all the sacred functions of pontifex maximus, and the prerogatives of the Roman emperor.

9 Something of a contrary practice had insensibly prevailed in the church of Constantinople; but the rigid Ambrose condemned Theodosius the great in this respect, and decided the question between a king and a priest. See Theodoret. l. v. c. 18.

10 As the table of the emperor Maximus, bishop of Tours, received the cup from an apostate, and gave it to the presbyter his assistant, and from thence to the emperor to drink; the empress waited on Martin at table. Subsidus Severus, in Vit. c. 5. and Valerian. c. 21. and Dialogue ii. 7. Yet it may be doubted, whether these extraneous compliments were paid to the bishop or the saint. The honour usually granted to the former character, may be seen in the books of Caesarius of Arles, c. 5. i. c. 6. See the haughty ceremonial which Leontius, bishop of Tripolis, imposed on the empress. Tilmouth, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 724—727, 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742.

11 Plutarch, in his treatise of Tiss or Osiris, informs us, that the king of Egypt, in times not already priests, were initiated, after their election, into the sacerdotal order.

12 The numbers are not ascertained by any ancient writer, or origin, without the aid of the partial lists of the churches of the comparatively modern. The patient diligence of Charles de Pue lo has enabled him to compile a list of Buecham, which contains an amazing number of all the episcopal sees of the catholic church, which was most common among the bishops in the Roman empire. The ninth book of the Christian Antiquities is a very exact map of ecclesiastical geography.
C H A P. XX.
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

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The authority of the provincial bishops, who were assembled in the vacant church to consecrate the choice of the people, was interposed to moderate their passion and to prevent their mistakes. The bishops could refuse to ordain an unworthy candidate, and the rage of contending factions sometimes accepted their impartial meddations. The submission, or the resistance, of the clergy and people, on various occasions, afforded different precedents, which were converted into positive laws, and provincial customs; but it was every where admitted, as a fundamental maxim of religious policy, that no bishop could be imposed on an orthodox church, without the consent of its members. The emperors, as the guardians of the public peace, were enriched by the donations of the state and their family, and their officers. These donations, however, did not diminish the independence of the church. Such a bishop, as deacon, sub-deacon, chanters, exorcists, readers, singers, and door keepers, contributed, in their respective stations, to swell the pomp and harmony of religious worship. The clerical name and privilege were extended to many pious fraternities, who devoutly performed the devotions of the pietas perambulatori, or adventurers, visited the sick at Alexandria; eleven hundred copeists, or grave-diggers, buried the dead at Constantinople; and the swarms of monks, who arose from the Nile, overspread and darkened the face of the christian world.

II. Ordinaries.

The bishops alone possessed the clergy. The faculty of spiritual generation: and this extraordinary privilege might compensate, in some degree, for the painful celibacy, which was imposed as a virtue, as a duty, and at length as a positive obligation. The religions of antiquity, which established a temporal order among the pope, vacancies, and their respective courts, were adopted in the primitive church. The imperial power, in order to protect the holy religion, obtained legal establishments among the clergy. These abuses excited complaints and popular popular risings. The vices of the clergy, and of the hierarchies, and the vast wealth which they were able to command, forbade the richest citizens (decumanus and curiales) to enter the ecclesiastical order; and the bishops to admit any new ecclesiastics, who were not able to bear the charge of their maintenance. As soon as clerics were excluded from the civil and the military, and even from the ecclesiastical order, the world, which was to be governed by religious principles, became more extensively either the bishop or the other party.

I. Institutions.

All the examples quoted by Thaumasius (Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. ii. l. i. c. v. p. 704—714) appear to be extraordinary acts of power, and of even of oppression. The confirmation of the bishop at the moment of his consecration, is of the same origin in all cases. The practice, which has been so frequently examined. In particular, Thaumasius, Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. i. l. ii. c. ix. 131, p. 586—592, and Bygham's Antiquities, l. iv. c. 5. By each of these learned and factitious critics, one half of the preceding order, dedicated a holy race, a tribe or family, to the perpetual service of the gods. Such institutions were founded for possession, rather than conquest. The children of the priests enjoyed, with proud and indolent security, their sacred inheritance; and the fiery spirit of enthusiasm was abated by the gentle sentiments of domestic life. But the christian sanctuary was open to every ambitious candidate, who aspired to its heavenly promises, or temporal possessions. The office of priests, like that of soldiers or magistrates, was strenuously exercised by those men, whose temper and abilities were not enlarged by an extended or frequent intercourse of the clergy, or who had been selected by a discerning bishop, as the best qualified to promote the glory and interest of the church. The bishops (till the abuse was restrained by the prudence of the laws) might constrain the reluctant, and protect the dissuasive. For ever and ever, a part of the most valuable privileges of civil society. The whole body of the catholic clergy, more numerous perhaps than the legionaries, was exempted by the emperors from all service, private or public, all municipal offices, and all personal taxes and contributions, which pressed on the freebooting and independent character of the clergy. The duties of their holy profession was accepted as a full discharge of their obligations to the republic. Each bishop acquired an absolute and indefeasible right to the perpetual obedience of the clerk whom he ordained: the clergy of each episcopal church, with its dependent clergy and parochial servitors, were the possessors of the cathedrals of Constantinople 4 and Carthage 5 maintained their peculiar establishment of five hundred ecclesiastical ministers. Their ranks 6 and numbers were insensibly multiplied by the superstition of the times, which introduced into the church the splendid ceremonies of a Jewish or pagan temple; and a long train of priests, deacons, sub-deacons, acolythes, exorcists, readers, singers, and door keepers, contributed, in their respective stations, to swell the pomp and harmony of religious worship. The clerical name and privilege were extended to many pious fraternities, who devoutly performed the devotions of the pietas perambulatori, or adventurers, visited the sick at Alexandria; eleven hundred copeists, or grave-diggers, buried the dead at Constantinople; and the swarms of monks, who arose from the Nile, overspread and darkened the face of the christian world.

III. The edict of Milan secured the III. Property, same as well as the peace of the A.D. 313.

The church.

The christians not only recovered the lands and houses of which they had been stripped by the persecuting laws of Diocletian, but they acquired a perfect title to all the possessions which they had hitherto enjoyed by the conversion of the people. As soon as Christianity became the religion of the emperor and the empire, the national clergy might claim a decent and honourable maintenance; and the payment of an annual tax might have delivered the people from the burden of that tax.

7 A compromise was sometimes introduced by law or by consent; either the bishop or the people chose one of the three candidates, who had been named by the other party.

8 These exemptions were very limited. Municipal offices were of course, in many cases, granted to the occupier, others to that of the owner. Constantine exempted the bishops and priests from the first class of taxes. (Cod. Theod. ii. 9. 1, 2. Evang. Hist. Eccl. x. c. 7.) They sought also to obtain exemption from the second, (secundum patrimonium.) They sought also to obtain exemption from the second, (secundum patrimonium.) The law, in order to protect the holy religion, obtained a right to a third, and to hold places among the clergy. These abuses excited complaints and popular risings. The vices of the clergy, and of the hierarchies, and the vast wealth which the clergy of the Christian emperors, was contained in the sixteenth book of the Theodosian Code, and is illustrated with tolerable confidence, by the learned Godfrey, whose mind was balanced by the opposite prejudices of a civilian and a protestant. 9 Justinian, Novellae, xiv. 6. Sixty prelats, or priests, one hundred deacons, forty deaconesses, ninety sub-deacons, one hundred and twenty chanters, forty and one subchanters, forty and one subchanters, fourteen and sixty and five chanters, in all, five hundred and twenty-five. This moderate number was fixed by the emperor, to relieve the distress of the church, which had been involved in debt and misery by the expense of a much higher establishment.

10 Universae cleres ecclesiae Catharpicae, etc., fasciculus vel amplius; inter quisquis quaesituri erat lectus instructus. Victor Vitensis, de Fereculta. Vandal, v. B. 76. edit. Rudiard. This compilation, which was supposed to be the metrical version of the octodecim, was read by a lecturer to the Vandals.

11 The number of these orders has been fixed in the Latin church, exclusive of the episcopal character. But the four inferior ranks, the minor orders, are now reduced to empty and useless titles.

12 See Cod. Thod. i. II. 6. 24. Commentaries, and the Ecclesiastical History of Alexander, show the danger arising from these plebe orders, which often disturbed the peace of that turbulent capital.

13 The edict of Julian (I. M. P. 42.) acknowledges, by ruling, that there existed a species of landed property, ad ius corporis formae, id est, ecclesiarium non hominum singularum pertinentia. As such, these real or personal possessions, which have been received in all the tribunals as a species of civil law.
from the more oppressive tribute, which superstition imposes on her vassals. But as the wants and ex- penses of the Christian churches, and the state of ecclesiastical order was still supported and enriched by the voluntary oblations of the faithful. Eight years after the edict of Milan, Constantin

A.D. 321. was granted to all his subjects the free and universal permission of bequeathing their fortunes to the church and the clergy, and the liberty of religion, which during their lives was checked by luxury or avarice, flowed with a profuse stream at the hour of their death. The wealthy christians were encouraged by the example of their sovereign. An absolute mon-

arch, who is rich without parsimony, may be chari-

ted liberality of Constantine increased in a just proportion to his faith and to his vices. He assigned in each city a regular allowance of corn, to supply the fund of ecclesiastical charity; and the persons of both sexes who embraced the monastic life, became the peculiar favourites of their sovereign. The Christian temples of Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem, Constantinople, &c. displayed the ostentatious piety of a prince, ambi-

tious in a declining age to equal the perfect labours of antiquity. The form of these religious edifices was simple and oblong; though they might sometimes swell into the height of a dome, and sometimes bend into the figure of a cross. The timbers were framed for the most part of cedars of Libanus; the roof was covered with tiles, perhaps of gilt brass; and the walls, the columns, the pavement, were incrusted with variegated marbles. The most precious ornaments of gold and silver, of silk and gems, were profusely ded-

icated to the service of the altar; and this specious magnificence was supported on the solid and perpetual basis of landed property. In the space of two cen-

turies, from the reign of Constantine to that of Justinian, the eighteen hundred churches were enriched by the frequent donations of princes and people. An annual income of six hundred pounds sterling may be reasonably assigned to the bishops, who were placed at an equal distance between riches and poverty, but the standard of their wealth insensibly rose with the dignity and opulence of the cities which they governed.

An authentic but imperfect rent-roll specifies some houses, shops, gardens, and farms, which belonged to the three Basilei of Rome, St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. John Lateran, in the provinces of Italy, Africa, and the east. They produced, besides a reserved rent of oil, liquors, and wines, a profit of 100 per cent., on a clear annual revenue of twenty-two thousand pieces of gold, or twelve thousand pounds sterling.

In the age of Constantine and Justinian, the bishops no longer possessed, perhaps they no longer deserved, the unsuspecting confidence of their clergy and people. The ecclesiastical revenue of the church was now to be divided; for the respective uses, of the bishop himself, of his inferior clergy, of the poor, and of the public worship; and the abuse of this sacred trust was strictly and repeatedly checked. The patrimony of the church was as diffused among the clergy of Rome, Alexandria, Thessalonica, &c. might solicit and obtain some partial exemptions; but the premature attempt of the great council of Rimini, which aspired to universal freedom, was successfully resisted by the son of Constantine.

IV. The Latin clergy, who erected their tribunal on the ruins of the civil and common law, have modestly accepted, as the gift of Constantine, the independent jurisdiction, which was the fruit of time, of accident, and of their own industry. But the liberality of the christian emperors was the sole foundation of the clergy's wealth, and the clergy's wealth, which secured and dignified the sacerdotal char-

acter. 1. Under a despotic government, the bishops alone enjoyed and asserted the inestimable privilege of being tried only by their peers; and even in a capital accusation, a symon of their brethren were the sole judges of their guilt or innocence. Such a tribunal, unless it was inflamed by personal resentment or reli-

gious discord, might be favourable, or even partial, to the sacerdotal order; but Constantine was satisfied, that secret impunity would be less pernicious than public scandal; and the Nicene council was edified by the public declaration that if ecclesiastical tribunals here fore put the set of adversity, he should cast his imperial mantle over the episcopal sinner. 2. The domestic jurisdic-

tion of the bishops was at once a privilege and a restrai-

nt of the ecclesiastical order, whose civil causes were decently withdrawn from the cognizance of a secular judge. Their venal offences were not exposed

to the inspection of an able and judicious Latin clergy, men who pronounced with authority on the consecration of bishops, who were appointed to the episcopate; and many of their decisions were supported by an ancient, and a judicial authority. The bishop of Rome, by his authority, may nominate a fit person to fill the place of a clergyman, who shall be invested with the pastoral charge of a district. The pope is the earthly father of the church, a"
philosophic bishop supported with dignity the character which he had assumed with reluctance. He vanquished the monster of Libya, the president Andronicus, who abused the authority of a venal office, invented new modes of rapine and torture, and aggravated the most odious vice of oppression as a suitable and beneficial profession, the Roman magistrate drew the sword of justice, without any regard to ecclesiastical immunities. Their arbitration of the bishops was ratified by a positive law; and the judges were instructed to execute, without appeal or delay, the severity of the laws which had been prescribed on the consent of the parties. The conversion of the magistrates themselves, and of the whole empire, might gradually remove the fears and scruples of the christians. But they still resorted to the tribunal of the bishops, whose abilities and integrity they apostolically enjoyed the satisfaction of complaining that his spiritual functions were perpetually interrupted by the invidious labour of deciding the claim or the possession of silver and gold, of lands and cattle. An ancient privilege of sanctuary was transferred to the christian temples, and extended, by the liberal piety of the young and zealous professors, to their shops and habitations. The fugitives and even guilty, suppliants were permitted to implore either the justice, or the mercy, of the Deity and his ministers. The rash violence of despotism was suspended by the mild interposition of the church; and the lives or fortunes of the most eminent subjects might be saved by its reconciliation. The ancient extemporal courts, which had prepared the triumph of the Roman pontiffs, who have trampled on the heads of kings.

VI. Every popular government has experienced the effects of rude or artificed public preaching eloquence. The coldest nature is animated, the strongest reason moved, by the rapid communication of the prevailing impulse; and each hearer is affected by his own passions, and by those of the surrounding multitude. The ruin of civil liberty had silenced the demagogues of Athens, and the tribunes of Rome: the custom of preaching, which seems to constitute a considerable part of christian devotion, had not been introduced into the temples of antiquity; and the ears of monarchs were never invaded by the harsh sound of popular eloquence, till the pulpits of the empire were filled with sacred orators, who possessed some advantages unknown to their profane predecessors. The ambitious and illiberal were instantly opposed, with equal arms, by skilful and resolute antagonists; and the cause of truth and reason might derive an accidental support from the conflict of hostile passions. The bishop, or some distinguished presbyter, to whom he cautiously delegated the powers


Syros was previously represented on his own disqualifications.

See Bashi, Epist. vii. in Barington, Annot. Eccles. A. D. 370, No. 91, who speaks of his being the bishop of the church of the aus. In the words of Fr. Paulo (tom. iv. p. 102, &c.) there is an excellent discussion on the origin, chiefs, abuses, and limits of sanctuaries. He judiciously observes, that ancient Greece might perhaps contain fifteen or twenty, or perhaps more, sanctuaries; a number which at present may be found in Italy within the walls of a single city.

The present bishop was then called the bishop of Chalcis, and sometimes appointed the bishop of Euboea. His rank was consecrated by a contest between the episcopus and the exarch of Rome. See Bacon, in Acer., xxxvii. 131, and translated by Whitaker, in Biblia, p. 59. See the learned Bashi, Epist. viii. in Barington, Annot. Eccles. A. D. 370, No. 91. We must avoid the excommunication, and the persecution of a general council. He falsely charged the council with being composed of the bishops of the eastern and western provinces, and not of the whole church. See the Synod, Epist. xxvii. 4. 29. 58. xxviii. 22. 23. 

The sentence of excommunication was expressed in a rhetorical style, and not by the terms of an absolute interdict. The rest of the Synod of Chalcedon is not extant. See the Synod, Epist. xxxvii. 186, 187. Epist. lviii. 518, 519. —Epist. lviii. 238. 239. —Epist. lviii. 238. 239. —Epist. lviii. 238. 239.

Synod (of Regno, p. 2) partially calmed the troubles in the church of this province. (Synod. Loc. p. 201—203.) The assembly of the presbyters and teachers of the whole province, though somewhat unjust, was improved into a regular interdict of the see.
of preaching, harangued, without the danger of interruption or reply, a subservient multitude, whose minds had been prepared and subdued by the awful ceremonies of religion. Such was the strict subordination of the catholic church, that the same concerted sounds might issue at once from an hundred pulpits of Italy or Egypt, if the emperors of the master-hand of the Roman or Alexandrian prince. The design of this institution was laudable, but the fruits were not always salutary. The preachers recommended the practice of the social duties; but they exalted the per- fection of monastic virtue, which is painful to the indi-
vidual, and useless to mankind. The uphill degeneration of the human race was from the bottom of society. The emperors who patronized the clergy might be permitted to manage the wealth of the faithful, for the benefit of the poor. The most sublime represen-
tations of the attributes and laws of the Deity were sullied by an idle mixture of metaphysical subtleties, puerile rimes, and fictitious miracles; and they exalted, with the most fervent zeal, on the religious merit of hating the adversaries, and obeying the minis-
ters, of the church. When the public peace was dis-
tracted by heresy and schism, the sacred orators sound-
ed the discord, and used the plague, of sedition. The understandings of their congregations were perplexed by mystery, their passions were inflamed by invectives, and they rushed from the christian temples of Athioch or Alexandria, prepared either to suffer or to inflict martyrdom. The corruption of taste and language was so marked in the subsequent decla-

ditions of the Latin bishops; but the compositions of Gregory and Chrysostom have been compared with the most splendid models of Attic, or at least of Asiaic, eloquence.7

VII. Privilege of the Riparian an-
munher republic was regularly assembled in the spring and autumn of each year; and these synods diffused the spirit of ecclesiastical discipline and legislation through the hundred and twenty provinces of the Roman world.8 The arch-

bishops, or metropolitan, was empowered, by the laws, to summon the suffragan bishops of his province; to revise their conduct, to vindicate their rights, to declare their fault, and to examine the merit of the candidates who were elected by the clergy and people to supply the vacancies of the episcopal college. The primates of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Carthage, and afterwards Constantinople, who enjoyed a more ample jurisdiction, convened the numerous assembly of their dependent bishops. But the convocation of great and extraordinary synods was the prerogative of the em-
peror alone. Whenever the emergencies of the church required a general measure, an empty summons to the bishops, or the deputies of each province, with an order for the use of post-horses, and a competent allowance for the expenses of their journey. At an early period, when Con-
stantine was the protector, rather than the proselyte, of christianity, he referred the African controversy to the council of Arles; in which the bishops of York, of Treves, of Milan, and of Car-

thage, met as friends and brethren, to debate in their native tongue on the common interest of the Latin or

western church.1 Eleven years after-

wards, a more numerous and celebrated assembly was convened at Nice in Bithynia, to extin-
guish, by their final sentence, the subtle disputes which had arisen in Egypt on the subject of the Trinity. Three hundred and eighteen bishops obeyed the sym-

collected in the provinces of Asia, which was from the honour of the em-

peror. Leaving his guards at the door, he seated him-

self (with the permission of the council) on a low stool in the midst of the hall. Constantine listened with patience, and spoke with modesty; and while he in-

fluenced the debates, he humbly professed that he was the minister, not the judge, of the successors of the apostles, who had been established as priests and as gods upon earth.9 Such profound reverence of an ab-

solute monarch towards a feeble and unarmed assem-

bly of his own subjects, can only be compared to the respect with which the senate had been treated by the Roman princes who adopted the policy of Augustus. Within the space of fifty years, a philosophic specta-

tor of the vicissitudes of human affairs might have contemplated Tacitus in the senate of Rome, and Con-

stantine in the council of Nice. The fathers of the church congratulated the victory of the ancient de-

fenders of the virtues of their founders; but as the bishops were more deeply rooted in the public opinion, they sustained their dignity with more decent pride, and sometimes opposed, with a manly spirit, the wishes of their sovereign. The progress of time and super-

sition eroded the memory of the leaders of the pas-

tion, the ignorance, which disgraced these ecclesiasti-
cal synods; and the catholic church has unanimously submitted6 to the infallible decrees of the general councils.7

CHAPTER XXI.

Persuasion of heresy. — The schism of the Donatists. — The Arian controversy. — Athanasius. — Distracted state of the church and empire under Constantine and his sons. — Tolera-
tion of paganism.

The grateful applause of the clergy has consecrated the memory of a prince who indulged their passions and promoted their interest. Constantine gave them a toleration which provided a support of the ortho-

dox faith was considered as the most sacred and important duty of the civil magistrate. The edi-
cal of Milan, the great charter of toleration, had con-

firmed to each individual of the Roman world the pri-

vilege of choosing and professing his own religion. But this inestimable privilege was soon violated; with the knowledge of truth, the emperor imbibed the maxims of persecution; and the seeds which dissented

1 Queen Elizabeth used this expression, and practised this art, whenever she wished to persuade the minds of her people in favour of any extraordinary measure of government. The hostile effects of this music were apprehended by her subjects, as is clearly seen by her son, "When pulpitt, drum ecclesiastic." Rex. See Heylin's Life of Groton.

2 Those modest orators acknowledged, that as they were destined to the gift of miracles, they endeavoured to acquire the arts of elo-

quence.

3 The council of Nice, in the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh cen-
turies, was the most fundamental, and important of all the syn-

odromos dogmata sanct sanctorum Scripturars et regulas sanctorum leges obseruantem, Justinian, Novell. cxxxi. Bevedere (Sun Frodentic, pro-

c. p. 257, says that the emperors never made new laws in ecclesi-
stical matters; and Glianna observe, in a very different spirit, "that they gave a legal sanction to the canons of councils." Istoria Civile di Napoli, tom. p. 136.

4 See the article Conception in the Encyclopedia, tom. iii. p. 650—670, and the article Holy Men and Women in the Encyclopedia, p. 1—226. For the latter, the author, M. le docteur Bouchaud, has dis-

5ed, according to the principles of the Gallican church, the princi-
pal question of the day, "when a regal sanction was of the uni-

national, and provincial councils. The editors (See Preface, p. xxx) have reason to be proud of this article. Those who consult their immemorial compilation, seldom depart so well satisfied.

6 See Tillemont, tom. vi. p. 515. Beusnes Hist. du Manche-

tome, tom. l. p. 529. The name of the synod, which is given by Euse-

bious to the 256 ecclesiastics, (Annals, tom. l. p. 440, vers. Focock,) must be extended far beyond the limits of an orthodox or even episco-
pal ordination.

7 See Eutych, in V. Constant. i. iii. c. 6—21. Tillemont, Mem.

8 Sanarium ipse virum leonem obtinebat, quam non Sancto Concilio a longis annis timet et armatur. Dat nova, et nova synodomos dogmata sanct sanctorum Scripturars et regulas sanctorum leges obseruantem, Justinian, Novell. cxxxi. Bevedere (Sun Frodentic, pro-
c. p. 257, says that the emperors never made new laws in ecclesi-
stical matters; and Glianna observe, in a very different spirit, "that they gave a legal sanction to the canons of councils." Istoria Civile di Napoli, tom. p. 136.

9 See the article Conception in the Encyclopedia, tom. iii. p. 650—670, and the article Holy Men and Women in the Encyclopedia, p. 1—226. For the latter, the author, M. le docteur Bouchaud, has dis-

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bious to the 256 ecclesiastics, (Annals, tom. l. p. 440, vers. Focock,) must be extended far beyond the limits of an orthodox or even episco-
pal ordination.

11 See Eutych, in V. Constant. i. iii. c. 6—21. Tillemont, Mem.
from the catholic church, were afflicted and oppressed by the triumph of Christianity. Constantine easily believed that he the heretics, who presumed to dispute his opinions, or to oppose his commands, were guilty of the most absurd and criminal obstinacy; and that a seasonable application of moderate severity might save these unhappy men from the danger of the last and lasting condemnation. The worst which could happen to a man, was to lose in excluding the ministers and teachers of the separated congregations from any share of the rewards and immunities which the emperor had so liberally bestowed on the orthodox clergy. But as the sectaries might still exist under his cloud of royal disgrace, the conquest of the east was immediately followed by an edict which announced their total destruction. After a preambule filled with passion and reproach, Constantine absolutely prohibited the assemblies of the heretics, and confiscates their public property to the use either of the revenue or of the catholic church. The sects against whom the imperial severity was directed, appear to have been the adherents of Paul of Samosata; the Montanists of Phrygia, who maintained an enthusiastic succession of prophecy; the Novatians, who strenuously rejected the temporal efficacy of repentance; the Arians, whose false doctrine was degraded in the most odious manner by the veneration of the various Gnostics and Asia; and exercised on unsuspected; and perhaps the Manicheans, who had recently imported from Persia a more artful composition of oriental and Christian theology. The design of extirpating the name, or at least of restraining the influence of the heretics, was so closely connected with vigour and effect. Some of the penal regulations were copied from the edicts of Diocletian; and this method of conversion was applauded by the same bishops who had felt the hand of oppression, and had pleaded for the rights of humanity. Two immaterial circuses may serve, however, to prove the mind of Constantinople was not entirely animated by the spirit of zeal and bigotry. Before he condemned the Manicheans and their kindred sects, he resolved to make an accurate inquiry into the nature of their religious principles. As if he distrusted the impartiality of his ecclesiastical counsellors, this delicate commission was intrusted to a civil magistrate; whose learning and moderation he justly esteemed; and of whose verbal character he was probably ignorant. The emperor was soon convinced, that he had too hastily proscribed the orthodox faith and the exemplary morals of the Arians; who had so unexpectedly entered the church in some articles of discipline which were not absolutely essential to salvation. By a particular edict, he exempted them from the general penalties of the law: allowed them to build a church at Constantinople, respected the miracles of their saints, invited their bishop Acæius to the council of Nice; and gently ridiculed the narrow tenets of his sect by a familiar jest, which, from the mouth of a sovereign, must have been received with applause and gratitude.

African contrary. The complaints and mutual accusations which assailed the throne of Constantinople, as soon as the death of Maxentius had submitted Africa to his victorious arms, were ill adapted to edify an imperfect proselyte. He learned, with surprise, that the provinces of that great country, from the confines of Cyrene to the columns of Hercules, were distracted with religious discord. The source of the division was derived from a double apostasy which Cæsarian major, and the persecuting majority of his ordination, was destroyed by the illegal, or at least indecent, haste, with which it had been performed, without expecting the arrival of the bishops of Numidia. The authority of these bishops, who, to the number of seventy, condemned Cæcilian, and consecrated Majorinus, is again weakened by the infamy of some of their personal characters; and by the female intrigues, sacrilegious bargaining, and tumultuous proceedings, which are imputed to this Numidian council. The bishops of the contending factions maintained, with equal ardour and obstinacy, that their adversaries were least disposed to renounce the crime of delivering the Holy Scriptures to the officers of Diocletian. From their mutual reproaches, as well as from the story of this dark transaction, it may justly be inferred, that the late persecution had embittered the zeal, without reforming the manners, of the African church. The most esteemed ecclesiastical powers of the day were destroyed; and a second, royal, and sacred, and impartial judicature; the controversy was solemnly tried in five successive tribunals, which were appointed by the emperor; and the whole proceeding, from the first appeal to the final sentence, lasted above three years. A severe inquisition, which was taken by Diocletian from the report of two episcopal visitors who had been sent to Carthage, the degrees of the councils of Rome and of Arles, and the supreme judgment of Constantine himself in his sacred consistory, were all favourable to the cause of Cæcilian; and he was unanimously acknowledged, by the civil and ecclesiastical powers, as the true and lawful primate of Africa. The honours and estates of the church were attributed to his suffragan bishops, and it was not without difficulty, that Constantine was satisfied with inflicting the punishment of exile on the principal leaders of the Donatist faction. The sentence was confirmed by the edict, and the condemnation of their cause was considered with much attention, perhaps it was determined with justice. Perhaps their complaint was not without foundation, that the credulity of the emperor had been abused by the insidious arts of his favourite Osias. The influence of falsehood and corruption might procure the condemnation of the innocent, or aggravate the sentence of the guilty. Such an act, however, of injustice, if it concluded an important dispute, might be numbered among the transient evils of a despotic administration, which are neither felt nor remembered by posterity.

But this incident, so incomprehensible that it scarred a place, a place, a place, "Sic transit gloria mundi," was productive of a memorable schism, which afflicted the provinces of Africa above three hundred years, and was extinguished only with

A. D. 312.

* Eusebius, in Vit. Constant. l. iii. c. 63—66.
* After some examination of the various opinions of Tiltum, Denoeloe, Lardner, &c. I am convinced that George, a pontiff, held the chair of the church of Diocletian against the Manichæans, which may be found in Barnes, p. 232; Joann. of the Arians, who was defrocked by him, was suspected, and declared a liar, and was excluded from the church of Mere, 25th July, 1784. 2. The Third Eccl., iv. c. 2. As the general law is not inserted in the Thodosian Code, it is probable, that in the year 402, the sects which it had condemned, were already extinct.

2. The Fourth Eccl., iv. c. 2. What is the relation of some historians have been suspected, but I think without reason, of an attachment to the Novatian doctrine. The emperor said to the bishop, "Aecessus, take a ladder, and let up to heaven by yourself." Most of the Christian sects have, by turns, borrowed the ladder of Aecessus.

1. The best materials for this part of ecclesiastical history, may be found in the edict of Constantine, made in the Proceedings which are signed ed, published (Paris, 1709) by P. Dupin, who has enriched it with critical notes, geographical and historical, on the cities and provinces of Africa, where the whole controversy. 2. M. de Tiltum has bestowed on the Donatists the greatest part of a volume; (Tom. viii, part. 1,) and I am obliged to it for an ample store of facts for the purposes of my favourite St. Augustinus, which relate to those heretics.

10. Scholia in the Acts of the martyrdom of the Arians; epigrammata, scripta ad sanctos; the Acts of Porphyrios; fere soros et duos. Porphyrios respondit: Putare me tibi erat a 7 . . . eccle. et ecco eos qui contra me faciant. Acta Concil. Eccl. Cap. 274. When a second assembly of bishops, Porphyrios said to his brethren, or rather to his accomplices, "Let him come hither to receive our imposition of hands, and we will break his head by way of punishment." Optat. i. c. 19.
Christianity itself. The infallible zeal of freedom and fanaticism animated the Donatists to refuse obedience to the usurpers, whose election they disputed, and whose spiritual powers they denied. Excluded from the civil and religious communion of mankind, they boldly excommunicated the rest of mankind, who had connived at the usurpation of the sacred rights. Tradition, from whom he derived his pretended ordination. They asserted with confidence, and almost with exultation, that the apostolical succession was interrupted; that all the bishops of Europe and Asia were infected by the contagion of guilt and schism; and that the primitiveness of the cathechumenate was confined to the chosen portion of the African believers, who alone had preserved inviolate the integrity of their faith and discipline. This rigid theory was supported by the most uncharitable conduct. Whenever they acquired a prospect of winning from the distant provinces of the east, they carefully repeated the sacred rites of baptism and ordination; as they rejected the validity of those which he had already received from the hands of heretics or schismatics. Bishops, virgins, and even spotless infants, were subjected to the disgrace of a public trial, where they could not escape communion of the Donatists. If they obtained possession of a church which had been used by their Catholic adversaries, they purified the unhallowed building with the same jealous care which a temple of idols might have required. They washed the paves- ments, crucifixes, bells, bibles, which are commonly of wood, melted the consecrated plate, and cast the holy eucharist to the dogs, with every circumstance of ignomy which could provoke and perpetuate the animosity of religious factions. Notwithstanding this irreconcilable aversion, the two parties were for a period so mixed and separated in all the cities of Africa, had the same language and manners, the same zeal and learning, the same faith and worship. Prescribed by the civil and ecclesiastical powers of the empire, the Donatists still maintained in some provinces, particularly in Numidia, their superior numbers; and four hundred bishops acknowledged the jurisdiction of their primate. But the invincible spirit of the sect sometimes preyed on its own vitals; and the bosom of their schismatistical church was torn by intestine divisions. A fourth part of the Donatist bishops followed the independent standards of the Arians, of the Maurorum, and of the Locos, a sect which its first leaders had marked out, continued to deviate from the great society of mankind. Even the imperceptive sect of the Ragnoni could affirm, without a blush, that when Christ should descend to judge the earth, he would find his true religion preserved only in a few nameless villages of the Caseran Mauritanian.

The Trinitarian The schism of the Donatists was controversy. confined to Africa: the more diffusive mis- chief of the Trinitarian controversy successively penetrated into every part of the christian world. The former was an accidental quarrel, occasioned by the abuse of freedom; the latter was a high and mysterious argument, derived from the abuse of philosophy. From the age of Constantine to that of Clovis and Theodore, the first conquests both of the Romans and barbarians were deeply involved in the disputes of Arianism. The historian may therefore be permitted respectfully to withdraw the veil of the sanctuary; and to deduce the progress of reason and faith, of error and passion, from the school of Plato to the decline and fall of the empire.

The genius of Plato, informed by his own meditation, or by the traditional knowledge of the priests of Egypt, had ventured to explore the mysterious nature of the Deity. When he had elevated his mind to the sublime contemplation of the first self-existent, the transcendental idea of the Deity, he was incapable of conceiving how the simple unity of his essence could admit the infinite variety of distinct and successive ideas which compose the model of the intellectual world; how a being purely incorporeal could execute that perfect model, and mould with a word the universe of intelligences. He therefore hoped of extricating himself from these difficulties, which must ever oppress the feeble powers of the human mind, might induce Plato to consider the divine nature under the threefold modification; of the first cause, or Logos, the Word, of the Logos, or spirit of the universe. His poetical imagination sometimes fixed and animated these metaphysical abstractions; the three archetypal or original principles were represented in the Platonic system as three Gods, united with each other by a mysterious bond and indescribable unity which was peculiarly considered under the more accessible character of the Son of an Eternal Father, and the Creator and Governor of the world. Such appear to have been the secret doctrines which were cautiously whispered in the gardens of the Academy; and which, according to

Plato. Egyttnus peragravit ut ascendentis barbaris numeros et ecclesia accipierit. Cerco de Iin. 5. The Egyptians, in the very state of their most remote existence, which is believed by some to have been under the government of the priests, have persuaded many of the Christian fathers, that Plato derived a part of his knowledge from the Jews; but this vain opinion cannot be reconciled with the pure state and simple manners of the Jewish people, whose scriptures were not accessible to Greek curiosity till the middle of the second century, and were not translated into the Latin tongue till the time of Cæsar, by Jerome, and Marcellus, Canon. chron. p. 114. Le Clerc, Epistol. crit. viii. p. 177—179.

This account of the doctrines of Plato, appears to me, opposed to the real meaning of the writings of this philosopher. The obscurity of his language, the complexity of his sects, and his highly allegorical and figurative style, have misled his interpreters at times; but, could we find, or did not seek, from his works viewed as a whole and beyond the images employed by the writer, the depth of the ideas of the philosopher. There is, in my opinion, nothing of the Trinity in the works of Plato. He has established no mysterious generation between the three principles which it has been imagined that he clearly recognises in his writings; and he never conceived of the ideas of which it is pretended he made substances, real existences, except as the attributes of divinity or of power.

According to Plato, God and matter have existed from all eternity. Before the existence of the world, matter existed in infinite motion, but without design or laws. It is this principle which Plato calls the irrational soul of the world (στοιχεῖα οὐρανοῦ) because in his metaphysics he gives to the rational soul, and not to the soul. God wished to bestow the impress of form upon this matter; but, as night and day, or the existent and non-existent, could not be brought together, he could not regulate its motion, and add to it design and laws. Deity could not act in this operation, except according to ideas existing in his in- telligence. Their union completed it, and formed the soul of the world. It is this ideal world, this divine intelligence existing with God from all eternity, and called by Plato νοῦς or λογος, the personification, the substantialization of which is attributed to him, while an attentive examination in sufficient to produce the concep- tion that he never gave it existence independent of Deity, and that he considered the logos only as the ensemble of the ideas of God, the order of ideas is independent of the relation to the Deity. Some of his systems are irreconcilable with all his philosophy. Thus he says (Timæus, p. 316, ed. Gomii), that the idea of divinity is really united that of an intelligence, a logos; he must then have admitted a double logos, one inerent in deity as an attribute, the other existing indepen- dently of Deity. It is a difficult question, or the origin of the most fundamental idea of the soul. The idea of motion, as a principle of motion and life, of the nature which is unknown to us.

How could he, after this, have regarded the logits as a substance endowed with an independent existence? Besides, he exhibits it by means of three different principles, viz. the science, and the idea, to denote attributes of deity, (Soph. vol. ii. p. 293). Finally, it re- sults from his own passages, among others that of Plato, vol. ii. p. 297, 298, that Plato never gave but one of these two meanings to the words nous and logos; namely, the result of the motion of the world (στοιχεῖα οὐρανοῦ) and the idea of the divine order, the laws of the generation or the universe, which is the first being a whole—and this is the natural soul of the world (στοιχεῖα οὐρανοῦ) or the natural soul of the universe, στοιχεῖα οὐρανοῦ. When he separates God, the ideal type, from the world and matter, he does it in order to explain how, according to his system, God has formed and generated this world, in which he has possessed himself in his own intelligence, the logos, to the principle of being, the nous, and the logos is the soul, logos, and soul, logos, to the principle of being, the nous, and the logos is the soul, logos, and soul. When he speaks of the place which the ideal world (στοιχεῖα οὐρανοῦ) occupies, it is to designate the divine intellect which is the cause of it. In no part of this writer are there four real personifications
The more recent disciples of Plato, could not be perfectly understood, till after an assiduous study of thirty years.  

The arms of the Macedonians diffused over Asia and Egypt the language and learning of Greece; and the theological ideas of the Jews were received, in this receptacle, with less reserve, and perhaps with some improvements, in the celebrated school of Alexandria. A numerous colony of Jews had been invited, by the favour of the Ptolemies, to settle in their new capital. While the bulk of the nation practised the legal ceremonies, and participated the advantages of the Grecian, and, perhaps, of the Hebrews, of a more liberal spirit, devoted their lives to religious and philosophical contemplation. They cultivated with diligence, and embraced with ardour, the theological system of the Athenian sage. But their national pride would have been mortified by a fair confession of their former poverty; and they boldly marked, as the sacred inheritance of their ancestors, the gold and jewels which they had so lately stolen from their Egyptian ancestors. One hundred years before the birth of Christ, a philosophical treatise, which manifestly betrays the style and spirit of the amazing book, was produced by the Alexandrian Jews, and unanimously received as a genuine and valuable relic of the inspired wisdom of Solomon. A similar union of the Mosaic faith and the Greek philosophy, distinguishes the works of Philo, of the precedent occasion of which it is said he formed a Trinity, and if this periodical existence were continued, it would have been manifestly impossible to many other ideas of which many different Trinities might have been formed. Moreover, it would not be necessary, in order to consider Plato alone, to tell the inquirers of Plato have fallen, ancient as well as moderns, was sufficiently natural. Besides the liability to be led into error by his figurative style, besides the metaphysical character of his thought, there was that which he comprehended as a whole, and not explained by isolated panegyric upon the parts and portions of the universe. Plato appeared, the uncertainty of human knowledge, and the constant deceptions of the senses were acknowledged, and this gave rise to a general scepticism. Socrates wished to fester mori a from this scepticism; Plato endeavoured to keep metaphysics free from all such deceptions, of which he was convinced, that the senses could not furnish. He invented the system of innate ideas, the ensemble of which formed, according to him, the ideal world; and he affirmed, that these ideas were the veritable attributes, attached not only to our representations of objects, but also to the nature of the objects themselves. He gave to these ideas a positive existence as attributes; his commentators could easily give them this existence, by the assistance of the transcendental opinions of which, however, he would not allow to be used to designate them, as he has no existence apart from themselves; beauty itself, goodness itself, might be made use of in this substantiation (hypostasization) in spirit.

The modern guides who led me to the knowledge of the Platonic system, of the Platonic philosophy, and of the Platonic works, were the American philosophers, (hist. des Jufs, t. iv. p. 338—360.) Le Cleer, (Epist. Crit. vii. p. 134—295.) and Brucker, (Hist. Philosoph. tom. i. p. 472—700.) As the extracts from the works of Plato do not contain any impulsive observe may derive instruction from their disputes, and from their agreements. 

Brucker, Hist. Philosoph. tom. i. p. 129—127. 357. The Alexandrian school is celebrated by Strabo, (l. xvii.) and Ammianus, (xxiv. 6.) 

Josephus, Antiquities of the Hebrews, (l. iv. c. 2.) Excerpta, Hier. des Jufs, c. 7. 

For the origin of the Jewish philosophy, see Eusebius, Prepar. Evang. xvi. 18. According to Ptolemy, the Therapeutes studied philosophy; and Brucker has proved, (Hist. Philosoph. tom. ii. p. 124—160,) that the Jews, of the preference of that to which the Alexandrians have given the name of philosophy, were influenced by the work of Moses and of the work of that monotheist; and although rejected by the protests for want of a Hebrew original, it has obtained, with the rest of the Vandalic translation, the auctoritas doctrinalis of the school.

The philosophy of Plato was not the only source of that of Moses. Origen, Irenaeus, Porphyry, and others, who have written on the Jewish, and the Egyptian literature existed, was the theatre of strange combinations of the systems of these three nations. According to one of the school of Alexandria, it has been observed, that the Jews have altered, and in this manner, undergone great changes; endeavoured to reconcile this Platonic with their new doctrines, and entirely disfigured it; and finally, by means of the exposition and interpretations, which the Greeks themselves respected, coloured on their part to such a degree, that it became and remained a part of their spiritual oriental philosophy, rather than of that of Platonism, appears in the works of the Alexandrian Jews. This has been often noted in those books and in those of the later prophets, as Ezekiel, ideas which the Jews did not have before the Babylonian captivity, and the germ of which was brought under the influence of the oriental system by that of the Alexandrian Jews, and was afterwards elaborated by the Alexandrian Jews, and was afterwards elaborated by the Alexandrian Jewish philosophy, which was composed for the most part under the reign of Augustus. The material soul of the universe might offend the piety of the Hebrews: but they applied the character of the Logos to the Jehovah of Moses and the patriarchs; and the Son of God was introduced upon earth under a visible and even human appearance, which was not incompatible with the nature and attributes of the universal cause.

The eloquence of Plato, the name of Solomon, the authority of the school of Alexandria, and the consent of the Jews, were sufficient to establish the truth of a mysterious doctrine, which might please, but could not satisfy, a rational mind. A prophet, or apostle, inspired by the Deity, can alone exercise a lawful dominion over the faith of mankind; and the theology of Plato might have been for ever confounded with the philosophical visions of the Academy, the Porch, and the Lyceum, if the name and divine attributes of the Logos had not been confirmed by the celestial pen of the last and most sublime of the evangelists. The christian revelation, which was consummated under the reign of Nerva, disclosed to the world a God, that the Logos was introduced from the beginning, and was God, who had made all things, and for whom all things had been made, was incarnate in the person of Jesus of Nazareth; who had been born of a virgin, and suffered death on the cross. Besides the general design of fixing on a perpetual basis the divine avouchments of Christ, the most and most respectable of the ecclesiastical writers have ascertained to the evangelical theologian, a particular intention to confute two opposite heresies, which disturbed the church of the Philosophers, and also the church of the Jews, which has been the main use of this word without my previous explanation, as a term which his contemporaries already

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The Ebionites were of the primitive church. 1. The Ebionites, supposed to have been the sons of the Nazarines, 2 perhaps of the Nazarines, 3 was gross and imperfect. They revered Jesus as the greatest of the prophets, endowed with supernatural virtue and power. They ascribed to his person and to his future reign all the predictions of the Hebrew oracles which relate to the spiritual and everlasting state. They believed that he was the Messiah, and asserted the divine nature of Christ. 4 Educated in the school of Plato, accustomed to the sublime idea of the Logos, they readily conceived that the brightness of the Sophia, or emanation of the Deity, might assume the outward shape and visible appearances of a mortal; 5 but they finally, after long reflection, determined to reject an idea so incompatible with the purity of a celestial substance.

While the blood of Christ yet smoked on Mount Calvary, the Docetists invented the imposers and extravagant hypotheses, that, instead of issuing from the womb of the Virgin, Christ was born of a spirit; and that he was a kind of incorporeal principle, which assumed a visible body, as a kind of mask, in order to professor to Christ. 6

The divine sanction, which the sosp- Mysteries had bestowed on the fundamental of the Trinity, the dogma of the trinity of Plato, encouraged the


2 The principle of the divine eternity of the Logos of the Jews, as well as his human nature; they were of the number of the Gnostics, whose whole philosophy, among whom Chrestus himself, chose to derive their opinions from those of Plato. These philosophers did not consider that Platonism had been the subject of controversy, and that the person of Christ was not of the essence of God; the conformity of the Gnostics, posterior to that of the Docetists, with the interpretation of the Scriptures, and the solution of the mysteries of the Logos, and the entrance to the divine kingdom, are clearly proved (Inst. Hist. Ec. Maj. p. 136. 339.) that the oriental philosophy combined with the cabalistic philosophy of the Jews, gave birth to Gnosticism. (The agreement which exists between this doctrine and the monumental records which remain to us of the orientals, such as the Chaldæans and Persians, is evident; and was the source of the errors of the gnostic christians, who wished to reconcile their ancient opinions with their new belief. It is for this cause that they deny the human nature of Christ; they also deny his intimate union with God, and believe him to be only one of the substances (Aiones) created by God. As they believed in the eternity of God, they attributed the principle of evil; in opposition to the Deity, the first cause, and understood it in a spiritual sense. Thus the materials of Christian theology were the same, that which from the Aiones proceeding from God would have allied himself to the principle of evil, by assuming a material nature, and which was involved in the world, was a material body, which was the body of Christ. (See ch. G. F. Walch. Hist. of Heresies, in German, vol. I. p. 217. 218.)

3 The Arians reproached the orthodox party with borrowing their Trinity from the Valentimians and Marcionites. See Beauneau, tom. p. 593.


5 The Logos, as he was called by some, and as he is understood without difficulty, while the Greek and the Grecian Jewish philosophy were united, the principles of these philosophies, and the dogmas of the Ebionites, are the subject of common prejudices, opinions with the ideas of the Evangelist, who did not expressly contain that the Logos was co-existent with God, in the same sense as the Logos of Plato. But we may be led to think that according to the school of Alexandria, attached to the Logos of St. John a metaphysical, which is what St. John understands. Their doctrine approached very near to that of the Greeks. For he was not only called the Word, but the Logos in the person of Arna. G. B. Bengel, Hebræorum Testamenti Interpretatio de Manichæis, tom. I. p. 377.

6 Aporologia aduersus Diognetum et Apuleium, tom. I. p. 524, that those who will not believe the doctrine of the Aiones proceeding from God would have allied himself to the principle of evil, by assuming a material nature, and which was involved in the world, was an earthly body, which was the body of Christ. See ch. G. F. Walch. Hist. of Heresies, in German, vol. I. p. 217. 218.)

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in the habits of abstract reasoning; aspired to contemplate the economy of the Divine Nature: and it is the boast of Tertullian, that a Christian mechanic could readily answer such questions as had perplexed the wisest of the Grecian sages. Where the subject lies so far beyond our reach, the difference between the highest and the lowest of human understandings may be laid to the proper attribute of their opposites. The grace of weakness may perhaps be measured by the degree of obstinacy and dogmatic confidence. These speculations, instead of being treated as the amusement of a vacant hour, became the most serious business of the present, and a most useful preparation for the future. All this, Platonism, to believe, it was impious to doubt, and which it might be dangerous and even fatal to mistake, became the familiar topic of private meditation and popular discourse. The cold indifference of philosophy was inflamed by the fervent spirit of devotion; and with the metaphors of common language suggested the falshoods prejudices of sense and experience. The Christians, who abhorred the gross and impure generation of the Greek mythology, were tempted to argue from the familiar analogy of the filial and paternal relations. The character of Son seemed to imply a perpetual submission to the voluntarism of the act of generation, in the most spiritual and abstracted sense, must be supposed to transmit the properties of a common nature, they durst not presume to circumscribe the powers or the duration of the Son of an eternal and omnipotent Father. Fourscore years after the death of Christ, in the Council of Nicaea, held before the tribunal of Pliny, that they invoked him as a god: and his divine honours have been perpetuated in every age and country, by the various sects who assume the name of his disciples. Their tender reverence for the memory of Christ, and their horror for the scandal created by the profane worship of his name, engaged them to assert the equal and absolute divinity of the Logos, if their rapid ascent towards the throne of heaven had not been imperceptibly checked by the apprehension of violating the unity and sole supremacy of the great Father of Christ and of the universe. The suspension and dissolution produced in the minds of the Christians by these opposite tendencies, may be observed in the writings of the theologians who flourished after the fall of the apostolic age, and before the origin of the Arian controversy. Their sufferance is claimed, with equal confidence, by the orthodox and by the Arians, and no decided preference is made. It is fairly allowed, that if they had the good fortune of possessing the catholic verity, they have delivered their conceptions in loose, inaccurate, and sometimes contradictory language.

II. The devotion of individuals was authority of the first circumstance which distinguished the Christians from the Platonists: the second was the authority of the church. The disciples of philosophy...
phy asserted the rights of intellectual freedom, and their respect for the sentiments of their teachers was a liberal and voluntary tribute, which they offered to support.

But the Christians formed a numerous and disciplined society; and the jurisdiction of their laws and magistrates was strictly exercised over the minds of the faithful. The loose wanderings of the imagination were gradually confined by creeds and confessions; the freedom of private judgment subsided into the wisdom of churches; the authority of a theologian was determined by his ecclesiastical rank; and the episcopal successors of the apostles inflicted the censures of the church on those who deviated from the orthodox belief. But in an age of religious controversy, equity and moderation adds not to the elastic vigour of the mind; and the zeal of obstinacy of a spiritual rebel was sometimes stimulated by secret motives of ambition or avarice.

A metaphysical argument became the cause or pretence of political contests; the subtleties of the Platonic school were used as the badges of popular factions, and the distance which separated their respective tenets was enlarged or magnified by the acrimony of dispute. As long as the dark heresies of Praxeus and Sabellius laboured to confound the Father with the Son, the orthodox party might be expected to advance with a greater boldness towards the contrary extreme; and the most orthodox doctors allowed themselves the use of the terms and definitions which had been censured in the mouth of the sectaries. After the edict of toleration had restored peace and leisure to the christians, the Trinitarian controversy was revived, and in the ancient seat of Platonism, the learned, the opulent, the tumultuous city of Alexandria; and the flame of religious discord was rapidly communicated from the schools to the clergy, the people, the province, and the east.

The abstruse question of the eternity of the Logos was agitated in ecclesiastical conferences, and popular sermons; and the heterodox opinions of Arius were soon made public by his own zeal, and by that of his adversaries. His most implacable adversaries have acknowledged the learning and blameless life of the eminent presbyter, who, in a former election, had deserted to the opposite party; and perhaps some of his pretensions to the episcopal throne. His competitor Alexander assumed the office of his judge. The important cause was argued before him; and if at first he seemed to hesitate, he at length pronounced his final sentence, as an absolute presbyter, of the church.

The undoubted presbyter, who presumed to resist the authority of his angry bishop, was separated from the communion of the church. But the pride of Arius was supported by the applause of a numerous party. He reckoned among his immediate followers two bishops of Egypt, seven presbyters, twelve deacons, and many other bishops and priests (by no means a small number) of the very numerous, and almost incredible, seven hundred virgins.

A large majority of the bishops of Asia appears to have supported or favour his cause; and their measures were conducted by Basilius of Cæsarea. The most learned of the christians, Sabellius, and Eusebius of Cæsarea, who had acquired the reputation of a statesman among them, by distinguishing that of a saint. Synods in Palestine and Bithynia were opposed to the synods of Egypt. The attention of the prince and people was attracted by this theological dispute; and the decision, at the very end of the year 320, was pronounced by the supreme authority of the general council of Nice.

When the mysteries of the christian

Three systems of faith were dangerously exposed to public debate, it might be observed, that the human understanding was capable of forming three distinct, though imperfect, systems, concerning the nature of the Divine Trinity; and it was pronounced, that none of these systems, in a pure and absolute sense, were exempt from heresy and error.

1. According to the first hypothesis, which was maintained by Arius and his disciples, the Logos was a dependant and spontaneous creature of the Father, begotten by the Father, and therefore inferior to the Father. The Son, by whom all things were made, had been begotten before all worlds, and the longest of the astronomical periods could be compared only as a fleeting moment to the extent of his duration; yet this duration was not infinite, and there had been a time when the indefinable procession of the Logos, on this only begotten Son the Almighty Father had transubstantiated his ample spirit, and impressed the effulgence of his glory. Visible image of invisible perfection, he saw, at an immeasurable distance beneath his feet, the thrones of the brightest archangels; yet he shone only with a reflected light, and, like the sons of the Roman emperors, who were invested with the titles of Caesar or Augustus, he governed the universe in obedience to the will of his Father and Monarch.

2. In the second hypothesis, the Logos possessed all the inherent, incommunicable perfections, which religion and philosophy appropriate to the Supreme God. Three distinct and infinite minds or substances, three co-equal and co-eternal beings, composed the Divine Essence; and it would have implied contradiction, that any of them should not have existed, or that they should ever cease to exist, without the concurrence of the others. The Logos proceeded from the Father; the Father from the Logos. Three persons in the Roman emperors, who were invested with the titles of Caesar or Augustus, he governed the universe in obedience to the will of his Father and Monarch.

3. But in the absolute creationism of the Logos, was gradually introduced the discourse of the creationists, (Basilii, contra. lib. ii. p. 623—745.) the dignity of the incarnation was so much reduced as to make the work of Christ appear a mere historical event; and the Logos, who was able to digest an eternal generation from an infinite cause, could be compared to the head of a line of contraries, who, at the appearance of the primitive fathers, particularly by Athanasius, in his apology to the emperor Marcus and his son; and it is added, without cause, by Justin, Irenæus, Tertullian, Irenæus, by his passion, his prejudices, and his ignorance.

4. The late Roman emperors presented the Logos as indifferently, and even ignorant, in the beginning of the controversy: while Socrates (lib. i. p. 333) says, that the doctrine of Arius is the most absurd that he has heard in his theological speculations. Dr. Serrin (Remarks on Eccelesiological History, vol. ii. p. 175) has examined, with his usual freedom, the conduct of Alexander; and Socrates, Eusebius, Chrysostom, Gregory Nazianzen, by Cyril of Alexandria, John of Damascus, etc. — See Cæsarea, Leclerc. Cité littéraire Universelle, tom. vi. p. 95—165.

5. Augustine seems to carry the freedom of the philosophers. Life of Ambrose, loquax philosophi. 

their harmony proceed only from the imperfection and inequality of their faculties: but the omnipotence which is guided by infinite wisdom and goodness, can not fail of choosing the same means for the accomplishment of the same ends.

II. The Father and the Son.

One of their peculiar attributes is the perfect knowledge of their existence, possess all the divine attributes in the most perfect degree; who are eternal in duration, infinite in space, and intimately present to each other, and to the whole universe; irresistibly force themselves on the astonished mind, as one and the same Being whose operations are of infinite grace, as well as in that of nature, may manifest himself under different forms, and be considered under different aspects. By this hypothesis, a real substantial Trinity is refined into a trinity of persons, and abstract modifications, that subsist only in the mind which conceives them. The Logos is no longer a person, but an attribute; and it is only in a figurative sense, that the epiph of Son can be applied to the eternal reason which was with God from the beginning, and by which, not by whom, all things were made. The Incarnation of the Logos is reduced to a mere inspiration of the Divine Wisdom, which filled the mind, as their peculiar phenomenon to the man Jesus. Thus, after revolving round the theological circle, we are surprised to find that the Sabellian ends where the Ebionite had begun; and that the incomprehensible mystery which excites our adoration, eludes our inquiry.

But if the bishops of the council of Nice had been permitted to follow the unbiassed dictates of their conscience, Arius and his associates could scarcely have flattered themselves with the hopes of obtaining a majority of votes, in favour of an hypothesis so directly adverse to the two immense principles of the catholic faith. The Arians soon perceived the danger of their situation, and prudently assumed those modest virtues, which, in the fury of civil and religious dissensions, are seldom practised, or even praised, except by the weaker party. They recommended the exercise of christian charity and moderation; urged the incomprehensible nature of the controversy; disclaimed the use of any terms or definitions which could not be found in the scriptures; and offered, by very liberal concessions, to satisfy their adversaries, without renouncing the integrity of their own principles. The victorious faction rejected the proposals of the adversaries, and anxiously sought for some irreconcilable mark of distinction, the rejection of which might involve the Arians in the guilt and consequences of heresy. A letter was publicly read, and ignominiously torn, in which their patron, Eusebius of Nicomedia, ingenuously avowed the reasons of his former submission, and directly accused those who adhered to the Nicene faith, of being the advocates of the Arians, and of that infinite and irremediable misfortune which they had discovered to them, as a sword which they possessed, but never used. The council of Nicaea, in consequence of this letter, suspended the proceedings against the Arians, and sent to Constantinople to demand a reply from their leader, a letter which explains this extraordinary proceeding of the council. The answer was not yet arrived before the council was dissolved. The Nicene Creed, however, was immediately promulgated, and was thought to be the most suitable to prevent the folly and inconstancy of the Arians. This page is replete with ecclesiastical transactions, and is replete with disputes and controversies, which are so variously intermixed, that it is impossible to give an account of them all.

The authors of a general council, to Arius creeds, which the Arians themselves had been from the seashore, to cut off the head of the hated monster. The consubstantiality of the Father and the Son was established by the council of Nicaea, and has been unanimously received as a fundamental article of the christian faith, by the consent of the Greek, the Latin, and the German church; and if the same word had not served to dignify the heretics, and to unite the catholics, it would have been inadequate to the purpose of the majority, by whom it was introduced into the orthodox creed. This majority was divided into two parties, distinguished by a contrary tendency to the schismatical and the orthodox parties of the Sabellians. But as those opposite extremes seemed to overthrow the foundations either of natural or revealed religion, they mutually agreed to qualify the rigour of their principles; and to disavow the just but invincible consequences, which might be urged by their antagonists. The interest of the common cause inclined them to join their numbers, and to conceal their differences; their animosity was softened by the healing counsels of toleration, and their disputes were suspended by the use of the mysterious Homounston, which either party was free to interpret according to the dictates of their consciences. The Sabellian sense, which, about fifty years before, had obliged the council of Antioch to prohibit this celebrated term, had endeared it to those theologians who entertained a secret but partial affection for a nominal Trinity. But the more fashionable saints of the Arian times, the intrepid Anathemnus, and the meek Petavius, were the other pillars of the church, who supported with ability and success the Nicene doctrine, appeared to consider the expression of subsistence, as if it had been synonymous with that of nature; and they ventured to illustrate their meaning, by affirming that three men, as they belong to the same common species, are consubstantial, or homounstic to each other. This pure and distinct equality was tempered, on the one hand, by the internal connection, and spiritual penetration, which indissolubly unites the divine persons; and on the other, by the pre-eminence of the Father, which was acknowledged as far as it is compatible with the independence of the Son. Within these limits the almost invisible and tremulous ball of orthodoxy was allowed securely to vibrate. On either side, beyond this consecrated ground, the heretics and the demons lurked in ambush to surprise and devour the unhappy sheep of the orthodox. The orthodox themselves must depend on the spirit of the war, rather than on the importance of the controversy, the heretics, who degraded, were treated with more severity than those who annihilated, the person of the Son. The life of Athanasius was consumed in irreconcilable opposition to the impiest cabals of his adversaries. But he died a martyr, and after twenty years the Sabellianism of Marcellus of Anycrn; and when at last he was compelled to withdraw himself from his communion, he continued to mention, with an ambiguous smile, the venial errors of his respectable friend. The authors of a general council, to Arius creeds.

1 See Bull, Defens. Phil. Nica. sect. i. c. i. p. 25-26. He thinks it his duty to recommend the orthodox synod as the correct assembly, and the council of Nice as the most pernicious. He therefore endeavours to defend the Nicene creed by its adversaries. See the invective of Tertullian against Paeans, and Nicene creed by its adversaries. See the invective of Tertullian against Paeans, and the temperate animadversion of Modestus, (p. 423. 681.) and Bouanor, tom. i. i. 3. c. 6. p. 593. 2 The transactions of the council of Nicaea are related by the ancients, among whom we find the name of its attendants, and the names of their authors; but we find no thing that can be considered as the authentic history of the council. Many of the facts proved by the miracles of the Father, and that of nature, may be seen in Tilenium. (De eccles. institut. i. 13. c. 22.) And in Le Clerc (Bibliotheque Universelle, tom. ii. p. 423. 600-753.) and in Le Clerc (Bibliotheque Universelle, tom. ii. p. 423. 600-753.). 3 We are indebted to Ambrose (de Pala. I. iii. cap. ult.) for the knowledge of these various anecdotes. However, among the most probable, and the least suspectible of errors, we must place those that are mutual concessions from the ictus. In the expression of subsistence, the ancient fathers were of two different opinions. 4 Petavius, Carolenses, Codurth, Le Clerc, &c. maligny, or annemasteria, is perhaps the deepest and darkest wormer of the whole animal kingdom. 5 The third section of Bull's Defence of the Nicene faith, which was published in the year 1679, is this, against this opposition, which he considered as the prerogative of the whole church.
 compelled to submit, inscribed on the banners of the orthodox party, the mysterious characters of the word Homoeoteus, which essentially contributed to the standing some obscure disputes, some nocturnal combats, to maintain and perpetuate the uniformity of faith, or at least of language. The Constantinianists, who by their success have desired and obtained the title of catholics, gloried in the simplicity and steadiness of their creed, and, like the repetition of their adversaries, who were destitute of any certain rule of faith. The sincerity or the cunning of the Arian chiefs; the fear of the laws or of the people, their reverence for Christ, their hatred of Athanasius, all the causes, human and divinely inspired, that influence a sect, are elements of a metaphorical fiction, introduced among the sectaries a spirit of discord and inconstancy, which, in the course of a few years, erected eighteen different models of religion, and avenged the violated dignity of the church. The zealous Hilary, who, from the peculiar hardships of his situation, was inclined to extenuate rather than to aggravate the errors of the oriental clergy, declares, that in the wide extent of the ten provinces of Asia, to which he had been banished, there could be found very few priests who had preserved the knowledge of the true God. The bishops of Syria, of which he had fled, which he was the spectator and the victim, appealed, during a short interval, the angry passions of his soul; and in the following passage, of which I shall transcribe a few lines, the bishop of Potters unwarily deviates into the style of a christian philosopher. "It is a thing, says Hilary, "equally deplorable and dangerous, that there are as many creeds as opinions among men, as many doctrines as inclinations, and as many sources of blasphemy as there are faults among us; because we make creeds arbitrarily, and explain them as arbitrarily. The Hominousion is rejected, and received and explained away by successive synods. The partial or total resemblance of the Father and of the Son, is a subject of dispute for these unhappy times. Every year, nay every moon, we make new creeds to describe invisible mysteries. We repent of what we have done, we defend those who repent, we unchallenge those whom we defended. We condemn either the doctrine of others in ourselves, or our own in that of others; and reciprocally, tearing one another to pieces, we have been the cause of each other's truth."* 

Arian sect. 

It will not be expected, it would not perhaps be desirable, that shall smooth this theological digression, by a minute examination of the eighteen creeds, the authors of which, for the most part, disclaimed the odious name of their parent Arius. It is amusing enough to delineate the form, and to trace the vegetation, of a singular plant; but the tedious detail of leaves without flowers, and of branches without fruit, would soon exhaust the patience, and discontinue the curiosity, of a laborious student. One question which gradually arose from the Arian controversy, may however be noticed, as it served to produce and discriminate the three sects, which were its immediate corollaries to the Hominousion of the Nicene synod. 1. If they were asked, whether the Son was like unto the Father; the question was resolutely answered in the negative, by the historians of the church. It was a distinct and indubitable difference between the Creator and the most excellent of his creatures. This obvious consequence was maintained by Athanasius, on whom the zeal of his adversaries bestowed the surname of the Atheist. But Damasus, in his letter to Gratian, almost every profession of human life. He was successively a slave, or at least a husbandman, a travelling tinker, a goldsmith, a physician, a schoolmaster, a theologian, and at last the apostle of a new church, which was propagated by the abilities of his disciple Eunomius. The latter, armed with texts and capricious syllogisms from the logic of Aristotle, the subtle Athanasus had acquired the fame of an invincible disputant, whom it was impossible either to silence or to convince. Such talents engaged the friendship of the Arian bishops, till they were forced to remove, and even to persue, a dangerously, weak and inaccurate of his reasoning, had prejudiced their cause in the popular opinion, and offended the piety of their most devoted followers. 2. The omnipotence of the Creator suggested a specious and respectful solution of the question of the Son; but the enormous deviations of the Eunomian interest, and who occupied the principal thrones of the east. They detested, perhaps with some affection, the impiety of Athanasius; they professed to believe, either without reserve, or according to the scriptures, that the Son was different from all other creatures, and similar to the Father, at least in the second person, or in either of the same, or of a similar, substance; sometimes boldly justifying their dissent, and sometimes objecting to the use of the word substance, which seems to imply an adequate, or at least a distinct, notion of the nature of the Deity. 3. The sect which asserted the doctrine of a similar substance, was the most numerous, at least in the provinces of Asia; and when the leaders of both parties were assembled in the council of Seleucia, their opinion would have prevailed by a majority of one hundred and five, to forty-three bishops. The Greek word, which was chosen to express the same, was commonly understood with a affinity to the orthodox symbol, that the profile of every age have derided the furious contests which the difference of a single diphthong excited between the Homocussians and the Homoeans. As it frequently happens, that the sounds and characters which approach the nearest to each other accidentally represent the most opposite ideas, the observation would be itself ridiculous, if it were possible to mark any real and sensible distinction between the doctrine of the Semi-Arians, as they were improperly styled, and that of the catholics themselves. The bishop of Potters, in his Phrygian exile very wisely aimed at a coalition of

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* Athanasius, in his epistle concerning the Synods of Seleucia and Rimini, (tomo. l. v. 966—965.) has given an ample list of Arian creeds, which have been added and improved by the learned scholars, in the fatigable Tlemoen. (Morn. Eccl. tom. vi. p. 477.) Arian creeds. 

† A remarkable sense and judgment distinguished the just character of Hilary. To revise his text, to compose the annals of his life, and to justify his sentiments and conduct, is the province of the biographer. 

‡ Alboque episcopo Elioii et pancum cie co, ex majore parte Arian docet, et dixit ad opus, de ordinibus ecclesiasticis, et varia benefacio. De antico pelinis, ex prodromi episcopis, in omnium benefiis scripta et amSSERTA. Histor. de Synodo, vide de Fide Orientalibus. c. 63. (Dioclet. c. 33.) In the celebrated synod of 314, the bishop of Potters would have been surprised in the capacity of an Arian presbyter, and an Athanasian bishop, by the interpolation of a synod. 

§ Hilary ad Constantianum l. ii. 4, 5, p. 1327, 1228. This remarkable passage deserves the attention of Mr. Locke, who has translated it (vol. iii. p. 170.) into the model of his new common place book.
parties, endeavours to prove that, by a pious and faithful interpretation, the Homooousion may be reduced to a consensual sense. Yet he confesses that the way is beset with the suspicious aspect; and, as if darkness were congenial to the mind of Eusebius, he led the Semi-Arians, who advanced to the doors of the church, assailed them with the most unrelenting fury.

The provinces of Egypt and Asia, cetera for Latin which cultivated the language and churchmanship of the Greeks, had deeply imbibed the venom of the Ariotelic sect. The familiar study of the Platonie system, a vain and argumentative disposition, copyious and delicate idiom, supplied the clergy and people of the east with an inexhaustible flow of words and distinctions; and, in the midst of their fiercely contentium, they had forgot the doubt which is recommended by philosophy, and the submission which is enjoined by religion. The inhabitants of the west were of a less inquisitive spirit; their passions were not so forcibly moved by invisible objects, their minds were less frequently exercised by the habits of dispute; and such was the happy ignorance of the Gallican church at the outset. Hilary himself, above thirty years after the first general council, was still a stranger to the Nicene creed. The Latins had received the rays of divine knowledge through the dark and doubtful medium of a translation. The primitive and stubbornness of their native tongue was not always capable of affording a convenient mode for the Greek terms, for the technical words of the Platonie philosophy, which had been consecrated, by the gospel or by the church, to express the mysteries of the christian faith; and a verbal defect might introduce into the Latin theology a long train of error or perplexity. But in the west the doctrine of the Church was the most fortunate of deriving their religion from an orthodox source, they preserved with steadfastness the doctrine which they had accepted with docility; and when the Arian pestilence approached their frontiers, they were supplied with the seasonable preservative of the Homoean doctrine; for the pastoral care of the Roman pontiff, the Council of Rimini. Their sentiments and their temper were displayed in the memorable synod of Rimini, which surpassed in numbers the council of Nice, since it was composed of above four hundred bishops of Italy, Africa, Spain, Gaul, Britain, and Illyricum, and two hundred prelates of the whole world; of whom fourscore prelates adhered to the party, though they affected to anathematize the name and memory of Arians. But this inferiority was compensated by the advantages of skill, of experience, and of discipline; and the minority was conducted by Valens and Ursinus, bishops of Illyricum, who exerted their influence in the lives of the prelates, and in the intrigues of courts and councils, and who had been trained, under the Eusebian banner, in the religious wars of the east. By their arguments and negociations, they embarrased, they confounded, they at last defeated, the hosts of the Semi-Arians; who suffered the palladium of the faith to be extorted from their hands by fraud and importunity, rather than by open violence. The council of Rimini was not allowed to separate, till the members had imperfectly subscribed a capitular creed, in which some expressions, susceptible of an heretical sense, were inserted in the room of the Homooousion. It was on this occasion, that, according to Jerome, the world was surprised to find the Church of Aria. But the bishops of the Latin province had no sooner received the news, than they discovered their mistake, and repented of their weakness. The ignominious capitulation was rejected with disdain and abhorrence; and the Homooousian standard, which had been shaken but not overthrown, was more firmly replanted in all the churches of the west.

Such was the rise and progress, and such were the natural revolutions, of those theological disputes, which disturbed the peace of Christianity under the reigns of Constantine and Eusebius. As those princes presumed to extend their despotism over the faith, as well as over the lives and fortunes, of their subjects; the weight of their suffrage sometimes inclined the ecclesiastical balance: and the prerogatives of the King of heaven were settled, or changed, or modified, in the cabinet of an earthly monarch.

The unhappy spirit of discord which prevailed the provinces of the east, in the reign of Constantine, A.D. 324, but the emperor continued for some time to view, with cool and careless indifference, the object of the dispute. As he was yet ignorant of the difficulty of appraising the question, and of understanding the parting of the contending parties, to Alexander and to Arians, a moderating epistle: which may be ascribed, with far greater reason, to the untainted sense of a soldier and statesman, than to the dictates of any of his episcopal counsellors. He attributes the origin of the whole controversy to the target of the boundless neglect, and to the insensibility of the emperor to the incomprehensible point of the law, which was foolishly asked by the bishop, and impropriely resolved by the presbyter. He laments that the christian people, who had the same God, the same religion, and the same worship, should be divided by such inconsiderable distinctions; and he recommends to the clergy of Alexandria the example of the Greek philosophers; who could maintain their arguments without losing their temper, and assert their freedom without violating their friendship. The indifference and contempt of the sovereign would have been, in this instance, perhaps, the most effectual cause of the dispute, if the popular current had been less rapid and impetuous, and if Constantine himself, in the midst of faction and fanaticism, could have preserved the calm possession of his own mind. But his ecclesiastical ministers, being the interpreters of the impiety of the magistrate, and to awaken the zeal of the proselyte. He was provoked by the insults which had been offered to his statues; he was alarmed by the real, as well as by the imaginary, magnitude of the spreading mischief; and he extinguished the hope of peace and toleration, from the moment that he assembled three hundred bishops within the walls of the same palace. The presence of the monarch swelled the importance of the debate; his attention multiplied the arguments; and he exposed his person with a patient intrepidity, which annulled the value of all the objections. But he was exasperated by the mere name of heresy; he rejected the applause which has been bestowed on the eloquence and sagacity of Constantine, a Roman general, whose religion might be still a subject of doubt, and whose mind had not been enlightened either by study

1 Ineurgit totius orbis, et Ariansun se esse exaratus est. Hieronym. adv. Luciferi. tom. i. p. 145.
2 Lacerti Deum celi atque terrae meum neutram audirem, semper tamen umbrique sensere. Regeneratus enim et in epis- copis et presbyteris hereticalibus et presbyteris audiri. Hist. de Synod. c. xii. p. 225. The Benedicte are persuaded that he governed the diocese of Polities several years before his death. Lib. v. c. 28. 3 Seneca (Epist. viii.) complains that even the very of the Platonic elements of thought were not discerned by the mind of the Roman statesman, who was the most direct exponent of the Latin noun, whom the senate which the fourth sentence of the Laternian reign came to a numerical rather than a generic unity, (see Petavi. tom. ii. l. iv. c. 13. p. 424;) was favoured by the Latin language; for he seems to exclude the idea of substance, trinity of qualities. Vol. I.—2 K

1 Eusebius, in Vit. Constant. i. lib. ii. c. 15. (Hist. Sacra, i. ii. p. 419—420. edd. Lugd. Bat. 1677;) and by Jerome, in his dialogue against the Lucavi, for the deserts of the latter, and the conduct of the Latin bishops, who were deceived, and who repented.
2 The principles of Eusebius, in Vit. Constant. 1692. The principles of persecution, and religious indifference, contained in this epistle, have been very great offence to some of the scholiast; who think that the emperor had some evil counsellor, either Sathan or Eusebius, at his elbow. See Justin's Remarks, tom. ii. p. 575.
3 Eusebius in Vit. Constant. i. lib. ii. c. 15.
or by inspiration, was indifferently qualified to discuss, in the Greek language, a metaphysical question, or an article of faith. But the credulity of his favourite Osius, who appears to have presided in the council of Nice, might dispose the emperor in favour of the orthodox party; and a well-timed instigation, that the sons of the republic were not protected by the sacred heretics, had lately assisted the tyrant,2 might exasperate him against their adversaries. The Nicene creed was ratified by Constantine; and his firm declaration, that those who resisted the divine judgment of the synod, must prepare themselves for an immediate contest, was an intimation that the persecution was determined against those in whose possession they should be found. The emperor had now imbibed the spirit of controversy, and the angry sarcastic style of his edicts was designed to inspire his subjects with the hatred which he had conceived against the enemies of Christ. 2


doctrine and the ortho-

decree had been guided by passion instead of A. D. 324—337. principle, three years from the council of Nice were scarcely elapsed, before he discovered some symptoms of merriment, and even of indulgence, towards the proscribed sect, which was secretly protected by his favourite sister. The edicts which secreted his opinion over the mind of Constantine, was restored to the episcopal throne, from which he had been ignominiously degraded. Arius himself was treated by the whole court with the respect which would have been due to an innocent and oppressed man. His faith was approved by the synod of Jerusalem; and the emperor seemed impatient to repair his injustice, by issuing an absolute command, that he should be solemnly admitted to the communion in the cathedral of Constantinople. On a day on which he had been desirous of the triumphs of Arian, Eusebius, who gratuitously resumed his influence over the emperor, was restored to the episcopal throne, from which he had been ignominiously degraded. The emperor, who had been desirous of the triumphs of Arian, was restored to his former dignity; and the strange and horrid circumstances of his death might excite a suspicion, that the orthodox saints had contributed, more efficaciously than by their prayers, to deliver the church from the most formidable of her enemies. Arius was banished to the court, and the whole empire ascribed to his arrival in the court of Constantine, whose favor was, in his own, and the emperor's mind, that the glorious event had been revealed to him by an angel. The grateful emperor ascribed his success to the merits and intercession of the bishop of Marsa, whose faith had deserved the public and miraculous approbation of heaven. The Arians, who considered that the favor of Constantine was to be transferred to his glory to that of his father, Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, immediately composed the description of a celestial cross, encircled with a splendid rainbow, which, during the festival of Pentecost, about the third hour of the day, had appeared over the mount of Olives, to the edification of the devout pilgrims, and

1 Theodoret has preserved (L. i. c. 20) an epistle from Constantine to Arius, in which he defers himself to the public acumen of one of his subjects; he styles Eusebius, 'the apostate,' and imputes to him the blunders of his horrible behaviour during the civil war.

2 epistle of Eusebius of Cesarea, in which he attempts to justify his subscribing the Homilies. The character of Eusebius has always been a problem; but those who have read the second critical edition of Le Clerc, (Ars Critica, tom. iii. p. 59—69,) must entertain very favorable opinion of the orthodoxy and sincerity of Bp. of Constantinople.

3 Athanasius, tom. i. 127, Philostorgius, l. i. c. 10, and Godereyn's Commentaries on the Council of Nicaea.

4 Socrates, I. i. c. 9. In his circular letters, which are addressed to the bishops of the province, he employed against the heretics the lances of ridicule and comic satire.

5 We derive the original story from Athanasius, (tom. iii. p. 673,) who, in the account which he gives of the circumstances attending the death of Cyril, says that he might exasperate: but the perpetual comeliness of Alexandrium and Constantine was not sufficient to prevent the death of the latter. He might exasperate: but the perpetual comeliness of Alexandrium and Constantine was not sufficient to prevent the death of the latter. It was a custom of the day, that the emperor, who pressed the literary acumen of the death of Arius, (his bowels sud-

6 The change in the sentiments, or at least in the conduct of Constantine, may be traced in Eusebius, (in Vit. Constantini, lib. ii. c. 23, l. i. c. 41.) Socrates, (I. i. c. 39—39.) Sociomene, (I. ii. v. 34.) Theodoret, (I. i. c. 32.) Hilarion, (I. ii. c. 24.) Theodorus, (I. c. 12.) and the description of some of these writers was too near the scene of action, and the others were too private a matter to be described by them. It is significant of the task of continuing the history of the church, should have been left for two baysmen and a heretic.


8 Socrates, I. ii. c. 2. Sociomene, I. ii. c. 18. Athanasius, tom. ii. p. 819—833. He observes, that the councils are the natural enemies of the Sat. Compare Dr. Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. iv. p. 140. The main genealogy in Eus. Conc. (ch. iv.) which ends with one of the first compositions of Christopher Columbus.


10 Cyril (pand Barou. A. D. 333, No. 25,) expressly observes, that in the reign of Constantine the cross had been found in the heavens; but that it had appeared, in the reign of Constantine, in the midst of the heavens. This opposition evidently proves, that no miraculous occurrence of this sort could be attributed to Constantine. The occurrence of Constantine is attributed; and this ignorance is the more surpris- ing, when we consider that the emperor was a priest. Tertullian himself, who press the literal narrative of the death of Arius, (his bowels sud-

11 Cyril was consecrated bishop of Jerusalem, by the immediate successor of Eusebius of Cesarea. See Tillemont, Men. Eccles. tom. iii. p. 74.)
the people of the holy city. The size of the meteor was gradually magnified; and the Arian historian has variously described it as inspiring the thoughts of the armies in the plains of Pannonia; and that the tyrant, who is purposely represented as an idolater, fled before the auspicious sign of orthodox Christianity.

The sentiments of a judicious stranger, who has impartially considered the progress of civil and ecclesiastical discord, are always entitled to our notice; and a short passage of Ammianus, who served in the armies, and studied the character, of Constantius, is perhaps of more value than many pages of theological invectives. "The Christian religion, which, in itself," says that moderate historian, "is an alteration in the unalterable principles of superstition. Instead of reconciling the parties by the weight of his authority, he cherished and propagated, by verbal disputes, the differences which his own curiosity had excited. The highways were covered with troops of bishops galloping from every side to the assemblies, which they called synods; and while they laboured to reduce the whole sect to their own particular opinions, the public establishment of the possis was almost ruined by their hasty and repeated journeys."

Our more intimate knowledge of the ecclesiastical transactions of the reign of Constantius, with his short presentation of the power of bishops, is a valuable passage; which justifies the rational apprehensions of Athanasius, that the restless activity of the clergy, who wandered round the empire in search of the true faith, would excite the contempt and laughter of the unbelieving world. As soon as the emperor was relieved from the torments of the civil war, he devoted the leisure of his winter quarters at Arles, Milan, Sirmium, and Constantinople, to the amusements or tolls of controversy: the sword of the magistrate, and even of the tyrant, was unsheathed, to enforce the reasons of the theologian; and as he opposed the orthodox, and fixed his principles in the division of the church, the capacity and ignorance were equal to his presumption.

The eunuchs, the women, and the bishops, who governed the vain and feeble mind of the emperor, had inspired him with an insuperable dislike to the Homonoious; but his timid conscience was alarmed by the impiety of heretics. The gates of that atheist were aggravated by the suspicious favour of the unfortunate Gallus; and even the deaths of the imperial ministers, who had been massacred at Antioch, were imputed to the suggestions of that dangerous sophist. The mind of Constantius, which could neither be moderated by persuasion nor restrained by threat, was extricated by a chance event; and the episcopal claims of the three most celebrated prelates were separated, to the solace of the great Athanasius. During the season of public business or festivity, he employed whole days, and even nights, in selecting the words, and weighing the syllables, which composed his fluctuating creeds. The subject of his meditations still pursued and occupied his slumbers; the incoherent dreams of the emperor were received as celestial visions; and the Arian court was considered as the seat of the holy title of bishop of bishops, from those ecclesiastics who forgot the interest of their order for the gratification of their passions. The design of establishing an uniformity of doctrine, which had engaged him to convene so many synods in Gaul, Italy, Illyricum, and Asia, was repeatedly baffled by his own passions. The bishops were directed to meet at Seleucia, in Isauria; while those of the west held their deliberations at Rimini, on the coast of the Adriatic; and instead of two or three deputations from each province, the whole episcopal body was ordered to march. The eastern council, after consuming four days in fierce and unwavailing debate, separated without any definite conclusion. The council of the west was protracted to the seventh month. Tau rus, the prætorian prefect, was instructed not to dismiss the prelates till they should all be united in the same opinion; and his efforts were supported by a letter from the court of the Agathian king. This promise of the consulsipal if he achieved so difficult an adventure. His prayers and threats, the authority of the sovereign, the spurious name of Valens and Ursacius, the distress of cold and hunger, and the tedious melanchoaly of a hopeless exile, at length extinguished the reluctant consent of the bishops of Rimini. The deputies of the east and of the west attended the emperor in the palace of Con stantine, and he enjoyed the satisfaction of imposing on the world a profession of faith which established the liceus, without expressing the constabulary. The Son of God, and the most sacred Catholic doctrine of the Trinity, to whose defence he consecrated every moment and every faculty of his being. Educated in the family of Alexander, he had vigorously opposed the early progress of the Arian heresy; he exercised the important functions of senator under the aged prelate; and the fathers of the Nicene council beheld, with surprise and respect, the rising virtues of the young deacon. In the time of public danger, the dull claims of age and of rank were sometimes superseded; and within five months after his return from Nice, the deacon Athanasius was seated on the archiepiscopal throne at Alexandria. It was a period that eminently station above forty-six years, and his long administration was spent in a perpetual combat against the powers of Arianism. Five times was Athanasius expelled from his throne; twenty years he passed as an exile or a fugitive; and almost

a It is not easy to determine how far the ingenuity of Cyril might be assisted by some natural appearances of a solar halo.

b Philostorgius, l. ii. c. 36. He is followed by the author of the Alexandrian Chronicle, by Codrensis, and by Nicoborus. (See Gothaedt, Dissert. p. 186.) They could not refuse a miracle, even from the hand of God.

c So curious a passage well deserves to be transcribed. Christian religion absoluetam et simplicem, annull superstitione confundit, in quo sentimentum quamque concer- tare dissilia plura; quae progressus fatus abeit concertiones ver- lucum quantumque conspectum publicum et privatum demonstrat, per synodos (quaip esse appellandum duum synagogen ad secutum consistens, et eo quod se confluens erat) erat vehicilium conside- rentev. Ammianus, ii. 9. 20—22.


e Theophanes, c. 32. The Decriptione gentis renders the title of Theophanes to those who have the right to the ecclesiastical history. (Eccles. tol. vi. p. 917.) has collected several instances of the laun- thy fanaticism of Constantius from the detached treatises of Lucifer of Caplur. The very titles of these treatises inspire zeal and ter- ror; "Morienorum pro De Filio," "De Regibus Apostolac. " De non conveniendo cum Hierocto. " De non parcerors in Deum de- liquentibus.

f Sulp. Sever. Hist. Sacra, l. ii. p. 418—430. The Greek historians were very ignorant of the affairs of the west.

g We may regret that Theodosius Nalogen composed a panegyric instead of a life of Athanasius, but we should enjoy and improve the advantage of detached notices from the most rich fund of his own epistles and apologises. (Tom. l. p. 670—853.) I shall divide the summary of the life, which he gives in the first edition of his history without giving himself the trouble to consult the writings of Athanasius. Yet even Socrates, the more car- asus Eozomen, and the learned Theodoret, connect the life of Atha- nasius with the series of ecclesiastical history. The diligence of Thaumbeon, (tom. vial.) and of the Bedeeditor, has collected every fact, and examined every difficulty.
the several provinces of the Roman empire was successively witness to his merit, and his sufferings in the cause of the Homousion, which he considered as the sole principle of the orthodox faith, as the gospel of his life. Amidst the storms of persecution, the archbishop of Alexandria was patient of labour, jealous of fame, careless of safety; and although his mind was tainted by the contagion of fanaticism, Athanasius displayed a superiority of character and abilities, which would have qualiﬁed him, far better than the degenerate sons of Constantine, for the government of a great monarchy. His learning was much more pro-

and in the various turns of his prosperous and adverse fortune, he never lost the conﬁdence of his friends, or the esteem of his enemies.

In his capacity as the patriarch of Alexandria, the residence of the See of Egypt, he was the centre of the life of the church. He was the most clear and unceasing advocate of the Athanasian doctrine, and he defended the see of his country from the inroads of the heretics; and, in every turn and cir-

1 The Ebullient and Indolent Temper of a Pagan Leader.

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an episcopal commission of six deiles to collect evidence on the spot; and this measure, which was vigorously opposed by the Egyptian bishops, opened new scenes of violence and purjorv. After the return of the bishops, and the΄majority of the council pronounced the final sentence of degradation and exile against the primate of Egypt. The doer, expressed in the fiercest language of malice and re\enge, was communicated to the emperor and the catholy church; and the bishops immediately resumed a mild, and devout conduct, and became their holy pilgrimage to the sepuhel of Athanasius.

His first exile, A.D. 336.

But the injustice of these ecclesiastic\ical judges had not been cont\onished by the submission, or even by the presence, of Athanasius. He resolved to make a bold and dangerous exodus. Confronted with the emperor, and the voice of truth; and before the final sentence could be pronounced at Tyre, the intrepid primate threw himself into a bark which was ready to hoist sail for the imperial city. The request of a formal audience might have been opposed or eluded; but Athanasius consented to this hege appeal as a means of Constantine’s return from an adjacent villa, and boldly encountered his angry sovereign as he passed on horseback through the principal street of Constantinople. So strange an apparition excited his surprise and indignation; and the guards were ordered to remove the impious fugitive, and deliver the orthodoxAthanasius to the tribunal of the Exubefian faction; but they had not aggravated the guilt of the primate, by the dexterous supposition of an unpardonable offence; a criminal design to intercept and detain the corn-boat of Alexandria, which supplied the subsistence of the new capital. The emperor was satisfied that the peace of Egypt would be secured by the absence of a popular leader; but he refused to fill the vacancy of the archiepiscopal see; and the sentence, which after hesitation, he pronounced, was that of a judicial ex\ile, rather than of an ignominious exile. In the royal capital, Athanasius was subjected to the censure of the court of Treves, Athanasius passed about twenty-eight months. The death of the emperor changed the face of public affairs; and, amidst the general indulgence and restoration of a young reign, the primate was restored to his country by an honourable edict of the young Constantine, in deep sense of the innocence and merit of his venerable guest.

His second exile. A.D. 336.

The death of that prince exposed Athanasius to a second persecution; and the feeble Constantius, the sovereign of the east, soon became the secret assassins of his two predecessors. Nineteen bishops of that sect or faction assembled at Antioch, under the specious pretence of dedicating the cathedral. They composed an ambiguous creed, which is faintly tinged with the colours of semi-arianism, and two or three famous, which are falsely compared with the discipline of the orthodox Greeks. It was decided, with some appearance of equity, that a bishop, deprived by a synod, should not resume his episcopal functions, till he had been absolved by the judgment of an equal synod; the law was immediately applied to the case of Athanasius; the case of Athanasius was pronounced, or rather confounded, a stranger, named Gregory, was seated on his throne; andPhilagrius, the prefect of Egypt, was instructed to support the new primate with the civil and military powers of the province. Oppressed by the conspiracy of the Asiatic prelates, Athanasius withdrew from Babylon, and took refuge in the Monastery of St. Nitocris, near Tceilium, and a preyant on the holy threshold of the Vatican. By the assiduous study of the Latin language, he soon qualified himself to negotiate with the western clergy; his decent countenance whetted interest in his cause; and his innocence was unanimously declared in a council of five bishops of Italy. At the end of three years, the primate was summoned to the court of Milan by the emperor Constans, who, in the indulge\nce of unlawful pleasures, still professed a haughty regard for the orthodoxy of his own church. The young Constantius was promoted by the influence of gold, and the ministers of Constans advised their sovereign to require the convocation of an ecclesiastical assembly, which might act as the representatives of the catholic church. Ninety-four bishops of the west, and one of the twenty-six of the east, met together at Sardica, on the verge of the two empires, and in the dominions of the protector of Athanasius. Their debates soon degenerated into hostil alterations; the Asiatics, apprehensive for their personal safety, retired to Philipopolis in Thrace; and the rival synods reciprocally hurled their spiritual thunders against their enemies, whom they proudly condemned as the enemies of the true God. Their decrees were published and nullified in their respective provinces: and Athanasius, who in the west was revered as a saint, was exposed as a criminal to the abhorrence of the east. The council of Sardica reveals at one stroke the growth of the theology of the Greek and Latin churches, which were separated by the accidental difference of faith, and the permanent distinction of language.


2. This magistrat, so odious to Athanasius, is praised by Gregory Nazianzen, tom. i. Orat. xiv. p. 290, 291. Serse prernntr Deeont Deus nuter open. For the credit of human nature, I am always pleased to discern some good qualities in those men whom party has represented as tyrants and monsters.

1. The chronological difficulties which perplex the residence of Athanasius at Rome, are strenuously advanced by Vallesi, Observat. ad Calm. tom. ii. Hist. Eclesi. i. c. 3.—4.) and Tillemont. (Mem. Ecles. tom. viii. p. 83.) I have followed in the account of Athanasius, who allows only one journey, during the innovation of Gregory Nazianzen. (Hist. Ecles. xiv. 1.)

x. I cannot forbear transcribing a judicious observation of Weisstein, (Prolegomen. N. T. p. 19.) St. Thomas Historian Eusebius. veli- sem, 

1. Eusebius, in Vit. Constant. i. iv. c. 41—47.

2. Athanas. tom. i. p. 804. In a church dedicated to St. Athanasius at Alexandria. Eusebius remarks, that there was a church dedicated to a picture, for more than the stories of miracles and martyrs.

3. Athanas. tom. i. p. 739. Eunapius has related (in the Soph. Hist. 6. p. 228. 229.) that Athanasius was scourged, and then set at liberty, by the command of Constantine on a similar occasion. The eloquent Popelet, and the haughty Pontiff, additive and equal, were both satisfied with the sentence of Athelius, his praetorian prefect. The corn-boat was detained for want of a south wind; the people of Constantinople were gazetted to see this extraordinary sight. The great massacre that he had heard the winds by the power of magic. Suidas adds, that Con- ordinary, though only a mention of the name, he had absolutely renounced the supposition of the Genesides.

4. In his return he saw Constantina twice, at Viminacium, and at Caesarea in Cappadocia. (Athanas. tom. i. p. 678.) Tillemont sup- poses that Constanine introduced him to the meeting of the three royal brothers in Pannonia. (Memona Ecles. tom. iii. p. 68.)
and restoration.

During his second exile in the west, Athanasius a second time admitted the imperial presence; at Capua, Lodii, Milan, Verona, Pavia, Aquileia, and Treves. The bishop of the diocese usually assisted at these interviews; the master of the offices stood before the veil or curtain of the sacred apartment; and the uniform moderation of the prince was marked by the least unworthy assistance, to whose evidence he solemnly appeals. Providence would undoubtedly suggest the mild and respectful tone that became a subject and a bishop. In these famous conferences with the sovereign of the west, Athanasius might lament the error of Constantine; but he had to be the instrument of his country and his Arian prelates; deposed the distress and danger of the catholic church; and excited Constantine to emulate the zeal and glory of his father. The emperor declared his resolution of employing the troops and treasures of Europe in the orthodox cause, and signified, by a concise and peremptory epistle to his brother Constantius, that unless he consented to the immediate restoration of Athanasius, he himself, with a fleet and army, would seal the archbishop on the throne of Alexandria. But this religious war, so horrible to masure, was prevented by the timely compliance of Constantius; and the emperor of the east, desirous of soliciting a reconciliation with a subject whom he had injured. Athanasius waited with decent pride, till he had received three successive epistles full of the strongest assurances of the protection, the favour, and the esteem of his sovereign; who invited him to retire to his spiritual seat, and to proceed with precaution of engaging his principal ministers to attest the sincerity of his intentions. They were manifested in a still more public manner, by the strict orders which were despatched to Egypt to recall the adherents of Athanasius, to restore their privileges, to prevent their flights, and to cease from the public registers the illegal proceedings which had been obtained during the prevalence of the Eusebian faction. After every satisfaction and security had been given, which justice or even delicacy could require, the prince proceeded, by slow journeys, through the provinces of Thrace, Asia, and Syria; and his progress was marked by the abrupt homage of the oriental bishops, who excused his contempt without deceiving his penetration. At Antioch he saw the emperor Constantius; sustained, with modest firmness, the embarrassments and jealousies of his master, and eluded the proposal of allowing the Arians of Alexandria, by claiming, in the other cities of the empire, a similar toleration for his own party; a reply which might have appeared just and moderate in the mouth of an independent prince. The entrance of the archbishop into his capital was a triumphal procession; absence and persecution had endeared him to the Alexandrians; his authority, which he exercised with rigour, was more firmly established; and his fame was diffused from Ethiopia to Britain, over the whole extent of the Christian world.

The treatment of Constantius, A.D. 341.

But the subject who has reduced his prince to the necessity of disseminating, 331 can never expect a sincere and lasting forgiveness; and the tragic fate of Constans soon declared it to be a generous offer to the saviour of the faith. The civil war between the assassin and the only surviving brother of Constantius, which afflicted the empire above three years, secured an interval of repose to the catholic church; and the two contending parties were desirous to conciliate the friendship of a prince, and a bishop, of the orthodox persuasion. The civil war might determine the fluctuating resolutions of an important province. He gave audience to the ambassadors of the tyrant, with whom he was afterwards accused of holding a secret correspondence; and the emperor Constantius repeatedly assured his dearest confidant, that he would, at all events, and in all his acts, provide for the safety of a credulous monarch. The monarch himself avowed the resolution, which he had so long suppressed, of avenging his private injuries, and the first winter after his victory, which he passed at Arles, was employed against an enemy more odious to him than the worse adherence of the Eusebians, and whom he had treated with the most unqualified considera- tion. If the emperor had capriciously determined to claim the death of the most eminent and Milan, A. D. 333-335, virtuous citizen of the republic, the cruel order would have been executed without hesitation, by the ministers of open violence or of secret inveterate jealousy. If the desperate attempt by which he proceeded in the condemnation and punishment of a popular bishop, discovered to the world that the privileges of the church had already revived a sense of order and freedom in the Roman government. The sentence which was pronounced in the synod of Tyre, and subscribed by a large majority of the eastern bishops, had never been expressly repealed; and as Athanasius had been once degraded from his episcopal dignity by the judgment of his brethren, every subsequent act might be considered as irregular, and even criminal. But the memory of the Arian party and the iconoclastic church of Egypt, had derived from the attachment of the western church, engaged Constantius to suspend the execution of the sentence, till he had obtained the concurrence of the Latin bishops. Two years were consumed in ecclesiastical negotiations; and the important cause between the emperor and one of his subjects was solemnly debated, first in the synod of Arles, and afterwards in the great council of Milan, which consisted of above three hundred bishops. Their integrity was gradually undermined by the arguments of the Arians, the dexterity of the synods, and the pressing solicitations of a prince, who gratified his revenge at the expense of his dignity; and exposed his own passions, whilst he influenced those of the clergy. Corruption, the most insalubrious symptom of constitutional liberty, was successfully practised; honours, gifts, and immu- nities were purchased with the utmost facility by the most contemptible of men; the only exception was the grace and respect which were shown to the venerable and virtuous monarch, who was not permitted to resort to that court which could yield him no satisfaction. The enmity of the emperor against his brother had been so easily preserved, that he appears to have been induced by the influence of the Arian party to employ Athanasius, than he had been to vanquish Magnentius or Sylvanus. The affairs of the court of Milan are so imperfectly and erroneously recorded, that it is difficult even to collect the supply of some letters of Eusebius, extracted by Baronius from the archives of the church of Verceil, and of an old life of Theodoret of Milan, published by Belianus. See Baronius, A. D. 555, and Tillemont, tom. vii. p. 1415.
nities, were offered and accepted as the price of an episcopal vote; and the condemnation of the Alexandrian primate was artfully represented as the only measure which could restore the peace and union of the church. The friends of Athanasius were not, however, wanting to their leader or to their cause. With a manly spirit, which the sanctity of their character and the weight of the ecclesiastical, public, and private controversy. They declared, that neither the hope of his favour, nor the fear of his displeasure, should prevail on them to join in the condemnation of an absent, an innocent, a respectable, and a revered emperor, who had been attacked by the enemies of truth, and justice, to the more interesting object of defending, or removing, the intrepid champion of the Nicene faith. The Arians still thought it prudent to disguise, in ambiguous language, their real sentiments and designs: but the orthodox bishops, armed with the favour of the people, and the decrees of a general council, insisted on every occasion, and particularly at Milan, that their adversaries should surcease themselves from the suspicion of heresy, before they presumed to arraign the conduct of the great Athanasius. But the voice of reason (if reason was indeed on the side of Athanasius) and the just demands of those bishops who still adhered, with unshaken fidelity, to the cause of Athanasius and religious truth, were at length heard. The ingenuous and straightforward men of the present age deprived them of the benefit of mutual comfort and advice, separated those illustrious exiles by distant provinces, and carefully selected the most inhospitable spots of a great empire. Yet they soon experienced that the deserts of Libya, and the most barbarous tracts of barbarian Europe, were the only places in which the Ambassadors, in an Arian bishop could satiate, without restraint, the exquisite rancour of theological hatred. Their consolation was derived from the consciousness of rectitude and independence, from the applause, the visits, the letters, and the liberal alms of the sons of the church of Rome. The want of their benefactors and patrons prevented them from availing themselves of the benefit of mutual comfort and advice, separated those illustrious exiles by distant provinces, and carefully selected the most inhospitable spots of a great empire. Yet they soon experienced that the deserts of Libya, and the most barbarous tracts of barbarian Europe, were the only places in which the Arian Ambassadors, in an Arian bishop could satiate, without restraint, the exquisite rancour of theological hatred. Their consolation was derived from the consciousness of rectitude and independence, from the applause, the visits, the letters, and the liberal alms of the sons of the church of Rome. The want of their benefactors and patrons prevented them from availing themselves of the benefit of mutual comfort and advice, separated those illustrious exiles by distant provinces, and carefully selected the most inhospitable spots of a great empire. Yet they soon experienced that the deserts of Libya, and the most barbarous tracts of barbarian Europe, were the only places in which the Arian Ambassadors, in an Arian bishop could satiate, without restraint, the exquisite rancour of theological hatred. Their consolation was derived from the consciousness of rectitude and independence, from the applause, the visits, the letters, and the liberal alms of the sons of the church of Rome. The want of their benefactors and patrons prevented them from availing themselves of the benefit of mutual comfort and advice, separated those illustrious exiles by distant provinces, and carefully selected the most inhospitable spots of a great empire.
of their temper, might either pity or insult the blind enthusiasm of their antagonists, whose present sufferings would never be compensated by future happiness.

The disgrace and exile of the orthodox bishops of Alexandria, A. D. 306, so as many preparatory steps to the ruin of Athanasius himself. Six-and-twenty months had elapsed, during which the imperial court secretly laboured, by the most insidious arts, to remove him from Alexandria, and to withdrawing the arms of the church from his protection. But when the primate of Egypt, deserted and proscribed by the Latin church, was left destitute of any foreign support, Constantius despatched two of his secretaries with a verbal commission to announce and execute the order of his banishment. As the justice of the sentence, and the security of the clergy, for the protection of the empire, if the people should persist in the resolution of defending, by force of arms, the innocence of their spiritual father. Such extreme caution afforded Athanasius a specious pretence respectfully to dispute the truth of an order, which he could not reconcile, either with the equity, or with the former declarations, of his generous master. The civil power of Egypt permitted themselves insensible to the task of persuading or compelling the primate to abdicate his episcopal throne; and they were obliged to conclude a treaty with the popular leaders of Alexandria, by which it was stipulated, that all pontifical dignities and honours should be suspended till the emperor's pleasure had been more distinctly ascertained. By this seeming moderation, the catholics were deceived into a false and fatal security; while the legions of the Upper Egypt, and of Libya, advanced, by secret orders and hasty marches, to besiege, or rather to surprise, a capital habituated to sedition, and inflamed by religious zeal. The position of Alexandria, between the sea and the lake Marcomis, facilitated the approach and landing of the troops; who were introduced into the heart of the city, before any effectual measures could be taken, either to shut them out, or rather to surprise, a capital habituated to sedition, and inflamed by religious zeal. The position of Alexandria, between the sea and the lake Marcomis, facilitated the approach and landing of the troops; who were introduced into the heart of the city, before any effectual measures could be taken, either to shut them out, or rather to surprise, a capital habituated to sedition, and inflamed by religious zeal. The position of Alexandria, between the sea and the lake Marcomis, facilitated the approach and landing of the troops; who were introduced into the heart of the city, before any effectual measures could be taken, either to shut them out, or rather to surprise, a capital habituated to sedition, and inflamed by religious zeal. At the hour of midnight, twenty-three days after the signature of the treaty, Syrianus, duke of Egypt, at the head of five thousand soldiers, armed and prepared for an assault, unexpectedly invested the church of St. Theonas, where the archbishop, with a part of his clergy, had performed the ceremonial of defences. The doors of the sacred edifice yielded to the impetuosity of the attack, which was accompanied with every horrid circumstance of tumult and bloodshed; but, as the bodies of the slain, and the fragments of military weapons, remained the next day an unexceptionable evidence in the possession of the catholics, the enterprise of Syrianus may be considered as a successful irruption rather than as an absolute conquest. The other churches of the city were profaned by similar outrages; and, during at least four months, Alexandria was submitted to the vengeance of a licentious army, stimulated by the ecclesiastics of an hostile faction. Many of the faithful were killed, who may deserve the name of martyrs, if their deaths were neither provoked nor revenged; bishops and presbyters were treated with cruel ignominy; consecrated virgins were stripped naked, scourged, and violated; the houses of wealthy citizens were plundered; and, under the mask of religious zeal, lust, avarice, and private resentment, were gratified with impunity, and even with the consent of the emperor. A seditious and discontented party, were easily persuaded to desert a bishop whom they feared and esteemed. The hopes of some peculiar favours, and the apprehension of being involved in the general penalties of rebellion, engaged them to promise their support to the destitute and abandoned primate. Athanasius, the famous George of Cappadocia. The usurper, after receiving the consecration of an Arian synod, was placed on the episcopal throne by the arms of Sebastian, who had been appointed count of Egypt for the execution of that important design. In the use, as well as in the acquisition, of power, the tyrant George Syracuse confessed the laws of religion, of justice, and of humanity; and the same scenes of violence and scandal which had been exhibited in the capital, were repeated in more than ninety episcopal cities of Egypt. Encouraged by success, Constantius ventured to approve the conduct of his adherents. By a public and passionate epistle, the emperor congratulates the deliverance of Alexandria from a popular tyrant, who deluded his blind votaries by the magic of his eloquence; expatiates on the virtues and piety of the most reverend George, the elected bishop; and aspires, as the patron and defender of the church, to the censure of Alexander himself. But he solemnly declares his unalterable resolution to pursue with fire and sword the sedulous adherents of the wicked Athanasius, who, by flying from justice, has confessed his guilt, and escaped the ignominious death which he had so often deserved.

Athanasius had indeed escaped from his behaviour, the most imminent dangers; and the adventures of that extraordinary man deserve far from us. On the memorable night when the church of St. Theonas could not be invested by the troops of Syracuse the archbishop, seated on his throne, expected, with calm and intrepid dignity, the approach of death. While the public devotion was interrupted by shouts of rage and cries of terror, he animated his trembling congregations to express their religious confidence, by a conduct like his holiness. From a pulpit, which is free from any insult and any defamation of Egypt, and which burned round the altar, Athanasius still rejected the pious importunity of the monks and presbyters, who were addressed to his person; and nobly refused to desert his episcopal station, till he had dismissed in safety the last of the congregation. The darkness and tumult of the night favoured the retreat of the archbishop; and though he was oppressed by the waves of an agitated multitude, though he was thrown to the ground, and left without sense or motion, he still recovered his undaunted courage, and eluded the eager research of his oppressors. By the signals of his Arian guides, that the head of Athanasius would be the most acceptable present to the emperor. From that moment the primate of Egypt disappeared from the eyes of his enemies, and remained above six years concealed in impenetrable obscurity.
His retreat, A.D. 326—362, enemy filled the whole extent of the Roman world; and the exasperated monarch had endeavoured, by a very pressing epistle to the christian patriarch of Ethiopia, to exclude Athanasius from the most remoter provinces. The Councils, Counts, prefects, tribunes, whole armies, were successively employed to pursue a bishop and a fugitive; the vigilance of the civil and military powers was excited by the imperial edicts; liberal rewards were promised to the man who should produce Athanasius, even in the remote and most unvisited regions. Both were denounced against those who should dare to protect the public enemy. But the deserts of Thebaïs were now peopled by a race of wild, yet submissive, fanatics, who preferred the commands of their abbot to the yokes of their sovereign. The numerous disciples of Anthony and Pachomius frequented the solitary retreat as their father, admired the patience and humiliation with which he conformed to his strictest institutions, collected every word which dropped from his lips as the genuine effusions of inspired wisdom; and persuaded themselves, that their prayers, their fasts, and their vigils, were so many weapons in the service of the great character, which they expressed, and the dangers which they braved, in the defence of truth and innocence. The monasteries of Egypt were seated in lonely and desolate places, on the summit of mountains, or in the islands of the Nile; and the sacred horn or trumpet of Tabenwas was the well-known signal which collected several thousand roboust and determined monks, who, for the most part, had been the peasants of the adjacent country. When their dark retreats were invaded by a military force, which it was impossible to resist, they silently stretched out their necks to the executioner; and supported their national character with that courage which could never waver from an Egyptian the confession of a secret which he was resolved not to disclose.

2 The archbishop of Alexandria, for whose safety they eagerly devoted their lives, was lost among a uniform and well-disciplined multitude; and on the nearer approach of danger, he was swiftly removed, by their obstinate hands, from one place of concealment to another, till he reached the formidable deserts, which the gloomy and credulous temper of superstition had peopled with demons and savage monsters. The retreat of Athanasius, which ended only with the life of the person himself, was, in his family, the society of the monks, who faithfully served him as guards, as secretaries, and as messengers; but the importance of maintaining a more intimate connexion with the catholic party tempted him, whenever the diligence of the pursuit was abated, to emerge from these dark retreats. He was, however, successively, in still more extraordinary asylum, the house of a virgin, only twenty years of age, and who was celebrated in the whole city for her exquisite beauty. At the hour of midnight, as she related the story many years afterwards, she was surprised by the appearance of the archbishop in a loose hooded, who, advancing with hasty steps, conjured her to afford him the protection which he had been directed by a celestial vision to seek under her hospitable roof. The pious maid accepted and preserved the sacred pledge which was intrusted to her prudence and courage. Without imparting the secret to any one, she instantly conducted Athanasius into her most private retreat, where he was protected with the tenderness of a friend and the assiduity of a servant. As long as the danger continued, she regularly supplied him with hooks and provisions washed his feet, managed his correspondence, and dexterously concealed from the eye of suspicion, this person of so well-known character required the most unblemished chastity, and a female whose charms might excite the most dangerous emotions. During the six years of persecution and exile, Athanasius repeated his visits to his fair and faithful companion; and the formal declaration, that he saw the councils of Hiland and Seleucus, forces us to believe that he was secretly present at the time and place of their convocation. The advantage of personally associating with his friends, and of observing and improving the divisions of his enemies, might justly, in a prudent statesman, so bold and dangerous as Constantius, be more than repaid by trade and navigation with every sea-port of the Mediterranean. From the depth of his inaccessible retreat, the intrepid prince waged an incessant and offensive war against the protector of the Arians; and his seasonable writings, which were diligently circulated, and carefully perused, contributed to seduce the whole orthodox party. In his public apologies, which he addressed to the emperor himself, he sometimes affected the praise of moderation; whilst at the same time, in secret and venemous invectives, he exposed Constantius as a weak and wicked prince, the executioner of his family, the trampler on the rights of his church. In the height of his prosperity, the victorious monarch, who had chastised the rashness of Gallus, and suppressed the revolt of Sylvanus, who had taken the diadem from the head of Vetrano, and vanquished in the field the legions of Magnentius, received from an invisible hand a wound, which he could neither heal nor revenge; and the son of Constantine was the first of the christian princes who experienced the strength of those principles, which, in the cause of religion, could resist the most violent exertions of the civil power.

The persecution of Athanasius, and of so many respectable bishops, who suffered for the truth of their opinions, or at least for the integrity of their conscience, was a just subject of indignation and discontent to all christians, except those who were blindly devoted to the Arian faction. The lawless people regretted the banishment of the unhappy Athanasius, who, by his exclamation: 4 "By faith I live not," had declared to the whole world, that they were not involved in the guilt and heresy of their ecclesiastical governors, by publicly testifying

3. Hunc I. L. iv. 10. Simeon, l. iv. c. 10. This and the following story will be tendered impossible, if we suppose that Athanasius always inhabited the asylum which he accidentally occasionally had need.

4 Palladius, Hist. Lausiac. c. 126. In Vit. Patrum, p. 756.) the original author of this anecdote, had conversed with the damsel, who in her old age, when she was condemned to a perpetual fetter, could not thus consult a connexion. I cannot indulge the delicacy of Baronius, Valence, Tillemont, &c, who almost reject a story so unworthy, as the truth of which they deny it, of the gravity of ecclesiastical history.

5 Athanas. tom. i. p. 869. I agree with Tillemont, (tom. viii. p. 1167,) that his expression imply a personal, though perhaps secret, visit to the synods.

6 The epistle of Athanasius to the monks is filled with reproaches, which is the passion of a man who, having both persecuted and been persecuted by the party of his unrequited love, can only reconcile to his readers, he has introduced the comparisons of the city of Babylon, with the city of Jericho, of Belshazzar, Abah, with Nicanor, and many others, in order to excite with less danger, if he published his invective in Gaul after the revolt of Johannesburg; &c. See the letters of Constantius, and almost challenged the reward of martyrdom. See Tillemont, tom. vii. p. 965.

7 Athanas. tom. i. p. 811.) complains in general of this practice, which he afterwards exemplifies (p. 821.) in the pretended election of Felix. Three canons represented the Roman people, and three others, who followed the court, assumed the functions of the bishops of the Suburbanian province.

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their dissent, or by totally separating themselves from his communion. The first of these methods was invented at Antioch, and practised with such success, that it was soon diffused over the christian world. The doxology, or sacred hymn, which celebrates the glory of the Trinity, is susceptible of various forms, and the respective inscriptions and the substance of an orthodox, or an heretical, creed, may be expressed by the difference of a disjunctive, or a copulative, particle. Alternate responses, and a more regular psalmody, were introduced into the public service by Flavianus and Diodorus, two dispute hymns, which were composed against those who confessed but the Nicene faith. Under their conduct, a swarm of monks issued from the adjacent desert, bands of well-disciplined singers were stationed in the cathedral of Antioch, the Glory to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, was solemnly chanted by a full chorus of voices; and the catholics insulted, by the purity of their doctrine, the Arian prelate, who had usurped the throne of the venerable Eustathius. The same zeal which inspired their songs prompted the more scrupulous members of the orthodox party to form separate assemblies, which were governed by the prelates, till the death of their exiled bishop allowed the election and consecration of a new episcopal pastor. The revolutions of the court multiplied the number of pretenders; and the same city was often disputed, under the reign of Constantius, by two, or three, or even four persons. The clergy, the bishops, the monasteries, and the people, every one exercised their spiritual jurisdiction over their respective followers, and alternately lost and regained the temporal possessions of the church. The abuse of christianity introduced into the Roman government new causes of tyranny and sedition; the bands of civil society were torn asunder by the fury of religious factions; and the obstinate and valiant, who might easily have surveyed the elevation and fall of successive emperors, imagined and experienced, that his own life and fortune were connected with the interests of a popular ecclesiastics. The example of the two capitals, Rome and Constantinople, may serve to represent the state of the empire, and the state of mankind, under the reign of the sons of Constantine.

I. The Roman pontiff, as long as he maintained his station and his principles, was guarded by the warm attachment of a great party of vassals. He could scorn the prayers, the menaces, and the obstinate claims of these ecclesiastical princes. When the eunuchs had secretly pronounced the exile of Liberius, the well-grounded apprehension of a tumult engaged them to use the utmost precautions in the execution of the sentence. The capital was invested by the praetorian guards and the praefect of the oblationary chamber, to seize the person of the bishop, either by stratagem, or by open force. The order was obeyed, and Liberius, with the greatest difficulty, at the hour of midnight, was swiftly conveyed beyond the reach of the Roman people, before their consternation was turned into rage. As soon as they were informed of his banishment into Thrace, a general assembly was convened, and the clergy of Rome bound themselves, by a public and solemn oath, never to desert their bishop, never to acknowledge the usurper Felix; who, by the influence of the eunuchs, had been irregularly chosen and consecrated within the walls of a profane palace. At the end of two years their pious obstinacy subsisted entire and unshaken; and when Constantius visited Rome, he was assaulted by the importunate solicitations of a people, who had preserved, as the last remnant of their ancient freedom, the right of treating their sovereign with familiar insolence. The wives of many of the senators and most honourable citizens, after pressing their husbands, with threats and seductions, were advised to undertake a commission, which in their hands would be less dangerous, and might prove more successful. The emperor received with politeness these female deputies, whose wealth and dignity were displayed in the magnificence of their dress and ornaments; and conducted them through the city, in search of their beloved pastor to the most distant regions of the earth; and consented that the two bishops, Liberus and Felix, should govern in peace their respective congregations. But the ideas of toleration were so repugnant to the practice, and even to the sentiments of those times, that when the answer of Constantius was publicly read in the circus of Rome, so reasonable a project of accommodation was rejected with contempt and ridicule. The eager veneration which animated the spectators in the decisive moment of a horse-race, was now converted into an outburst of violence by the circus resounded with the shout of thousands, who repeatedly exclaimed, "One God, one Christ, one bishop." The zeal of the Roman people in the cause of Liberius, was not confined to words alone; and the dangerous and bloody sedition which they excited soon became the cause of the emperor to consent that the prince should accept the submission of the exiled prelate, and to restore him to the undivided dominion of the capital. After some ineffectual resistance, his rival was expelled from the city by the permission of the emperor, and the power of the opposite faction; the triumvirate of Felix was abolished; and the public streets, in the public places, in the baths, and even in the churches; and the face of Rome, upon the return of a christian bishop, renewed the horrid image of the massacres of Marcus, and the proscriptions of Sulla. The withstanding the rapid increase of Christians, under the reign of the Flavian family, Rome, Alexandria, and the other great cities of the empire, still contained a strong and powerful faction of infidels, who envied the prosperity, and who ridiculed, even on their theatres, the theological disputes of the churches. It was, however, to the advantage of being born and educated in the bosom of the faith. The capital of the east had never been polluted by the worship of idols; and the whole body of the people had deeply imbibed the opinions, the virtues, and the passions, which distinguished the orthodox inhabitants of the east from the rest of the empire. After the death of Alexander, the episcopal throne was disputed by Paul and Macedonius. By their zeal and abilities they both deserved the eminent station to which they aspired; and if the moral character of Macedonius was less exceptionable, his competitor had the advantage of a prior election and a more orthodox doctrine. His firm attachment to the Nicene creed, which has given Paul a place in the calendar among saints and martyrs, exposed him to the resentment of the Arians. In the space of fourteen years he was five times driven into exile, and in which he was much more frequently restored by the violence of the people than by the permission of the prince; and the power of Macedonius could be secured only by the death of his rival. The unfortunate Paul was dragged in chains from the sandy deserts of Mesopotamia to the most desolate places of Mount Taurus, confined in a dark

5 Thion. de l'Église, tom. i. l. ii. 73, p. 960—965. In these curious passages, the origin and period of church-singing, both in the east and west, are accurately detailed. 6 Coldrey. p. 17. Galefroy. p. 17. This subject has been examined with singular accuracy, (p. 17, et seq.) There were three heterodox forms: "To the Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost." "To the Father, and the Holy Ghost." "To the Son, and the Holy Ghost." 7 Thion. de l'Eglise, p. 17. Note: In Adson. 8 Thion. de l'Eglise, tom. vi. l. x. c. ii. Inc. 11, nos. 62, 64, 65, 66, 67, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20. See Tillyouen, Mem. Eccl. tom. vii. p. 35—36, 117—118. l. ix. tom. viii. 357—362, 1314—1320. In many churches the Arians and Homouzians, who had denounced each other's conyernation, continued for some time to join in prayer. Thibout. tom. iii. l. 14. 1 See, on this ecclesiastical revolution of Rome, Ammianus, vi. 7. Athanas. tom. i. p. 354—361. Sozomen. i. l. iv. 15. Theodoret. i. 17. Sozomen. l. ii. 11, et seq. Aquitania. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20. 2 Sozomen. 7. 1. 2. 3. 4. Tillemont, Monument. Eccles. vi. p. 23. 4 See Cucan's. 5 Cucan's was the last stage of his life and sufferings. The situation of that lonely town, on the confines of Capadocia, Cilicia, and the Lesser Armenia, has occasioned some geographical perplexities, but we are directed to the true spot by the course of the Roman road.
and narrow dungeon, left six days without food, and at
length strangled, by the order of Philip, one of the
principal ministers of the emperor Constantius.\(^a\) The
first blood which stained the new capital was spilt in
this ecclesiastical contest; and many persons were
slain on both sides, in the furious and obstinate sedi-
tions of the people. The commission of enforcing a
sentiment of uniformity in the baptism of the East, had been intrust-
ed to Hermogenes, the master-general of the cavalry; 
but the execution of it was fatal to himself. The
Catholics rose in the defence of their bishop; the pa-
lace of Hermogenes was consumed; the first military
officer of the empire was dragged by the heels through
the streets of Constantinople, and his lifeless corpse was exposed to their wanton in-
fuls.\(^b\) The fate of Hermogenes instructed Philip, the
pratorian prefect, to act with more precaution on
a similar occasion. In the most gentle and honourable
terms he required the attendance of Paul in the baths
of Zeuxippus, which had a private communication with
the palace and the sea. A vessel, which lay ready at
the garden stairs, immediately hoisted sail; and, while
the people were still ignorant of the meditated sacri-
lege, their bishop was already embarked on his voyage
to Thessalonica. They soon beheld, with surprise and
horror, the force of which parents and even children
were the objects; and the usurper Macedonius seated by the side of the
prefect on a lofty chariot, which was surrounded by
troops of guards with drawn swords. The military
procession advanced towards the cathedral; the Arians
and the catholics eagerly rushed to employ that impor-
tant instrument of social war, and one hundred and fifty
persons lost their lives in the confusion of the tumult.
Macedonius, who was supported by a regular force,
delivered a decisive victory; but his reign was dis-
turbed by clamour and sedition; and the causes which
appeared the least connected with the subject of dis-
 pute were the best fitted to excite this offspring of
civil discord. As the chapel in which the body of the
great Constantine had been deposited was in a
ruinous condition, the bishops transported those vehem-
ent remains into the church of St. Acacius. This
prudent and even pious measure was represented as a
wicked profanation, by the whole party which adhered
to the Homocousian doctrine. The factions immedi-
ately flew to arms, the consecrated ground was used as
their field of battle; and one of the ecclesiastical his-
torians has observed, as a real fact, not as a figure of
rhetoric, that the well before the church overflowed with a
stream of blood, which filled the porticoes and the
adjoining courts. The writer who should impute
these tumults solely to a religious principle, would be-
tray a very imperfect knowledge of human nature; yet
it must be confessed, that the motives which misled
the sincerity of zeal, and the pretence which disguised
the licentiousness of passion, suppressed the remorses
which, in another cause, would have succeeded to the
rage of the christians of Constantinople.\(^c\)

Crulity of the Arians.
The cruel and arbitrary disposition of
Constantius, which did not always re-
quire the provocations of guilt and resistance, was
justly dreaded by the Africans, as well as by the
criminal behaviour of a faction, which opposed the
authority and religion of their sovereign. The ordi-
nary punishments of death, exile, and confiscation,
were inflicted with partial rigour; and the Greeks still
revered the holy memory of two clerks, a reader and a
sub-deacon, who were accused of the murder of Her-
rogenes, and beheaded at the gates of Constanti
nople.

By an edict of Constantius against the catholics, which
has not been thought worthy of a place in the Theo-
logical,\(^d\) it is observed, that those who ventured to communicate
with the Arian bishops, and particularly with Macedonius,
were deprived of the immunities of ecclesiastics, and
of the rights of Christians; they were compelled to
relinquish the possession of the churches; and were
strictly prohibited from holding their assemblies within
the walls of the city. A similar law was enacted in the
province of Thrace and Asia Minor, was committed to the zeal of Macedonius; the civil and
military powers were directed to obey his commands; and
the cruelties exercised by this Semi-Arian tyrant in the support of the Homocousi,
ceeded the commission, and disgraced the reign, of Constantius. The
acme of the church were administered to the re-
luctant victims, who denied the vocation, and abhorred
the principles, of Macedonius. The rites of baptism
were conferred on women and children, who, for that
purpose, had been torn from the arms of their
friends and relations; and the roads of the city were held open, by a wooden engine, while the consecrated
bread was forced down their throat; the breasts of ten-
der virgins were either burnt with red-hot egg-shells,
or inhumanly compressed between sharp and heavy
boards.\(^e\) The Novatians of Constanti
nople, and the Arians of the adjacent province, were de-
formed by the Macedonian standard, deserved to be confounded with the
catholics themselves. Macedonius was informed, that
a large district of Paphlagonia was almost entirely
inhabited by these sectaries. He resolved either to
convert or to extirpate them; and as he distrusted, on more than one occasion, the military execution of
his measures, he commanded a body of four thousand legionaries to
march against the rebels, and to reduce the territory of Mantinum under his spiritual dominion. The No-
vatian peasants, animated by despair and religious fury,
boldly encountered the invaders of their country, and
though many of the Paphlagonians were slain, the
Roman legions were vanquished by an irregular mult
itude, armed only with scythes and axes; and, except
a few who escaped by an ignominious flight, four
thousand soldiers were left dead on the field of battle.
The successor of Constantius has expressed, in a con-
demnatory sense, his regret at the detestable and
awful executions which afflicted the empire, and more especially the
east, in the reign of a prince who was the slave of his
own passions, and of those of his eunuchs. \(^f\) Many
were imprisoned, and persecuted, and driven into exile.
Whole troops of those who were styled heretics were
massacred, particularly at Cyzicus, and at Samosata.
In Paphlagonia, Bithynia, Galatia, and in many other
towns, provinces, towns and villages were laid waste,
and utterly destroyed.\(^g\)

While the flames of the Arian contro-
versy consumed the vitals of the empire, the
Africans were infuriated, not only by the pecu-
lar criminal enemies of the savage fami-
lies, who, under the name of Circumcellions, formed the
strength and scanda of the Donatist party.\(^h\) The

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\(^a\)运动员s (tom. i. p. 783—813, 814) affirms, in the most posi-
tive sense, that the interest of the Massaeans in the Constantine was
foreseen, but even to the unassuming testimony of Philius, one of
the Arian persecutors. Yet he acknowledges, that the heretics at-
tributed to Constantine the misfortunes of the church, which are serv
uously copied by Socrates, (ib. iv. 26) but Soson, who describes them
with much liberal temp., presumes (ib. i. 2.) to insinuate a
rudinent doubt.

\(^b\) Ammianus (xv. 10) refers to his own account of this tragic
episode, which Math. de la Porte, in his apologetic on the
Circumcellions, has maintained, and so popularly amplified, that the
reader, who desires to gain a just idea of the pass, must commit the
opinion, as almost invisible to the necclethal eye.

\(^c\) We are indebted to Virgil for the portrait of Constantine. In
speaking of these four bands of legionaries, Socrates, Sozomen, and
the author of the Acts of St. Paul, use the indefinite terms of
sclaves, legionaries, as well as the more expressive and
propriate word of gaites. The following passage, (ib. i. 27) property transplants

\(^d\) Socrates, i. li. 27, 38. Sozomen, i. iv. 61. The principal ac-
tion of the emperor Constantius is not noticed in the ecclesiastical
history of Philostratus, who, however, relates that the bishops of Nicomedia and Cyzicus, who were exempted for their
virtues, and especially for their charity. I cannot bear reminding the
reader, that the terms which are used by these ecclesi-
astics, is almost invisible to the necclethal eye.

\(^e\) We are indebted to Virgil for the portrait of Constantine. In
speaking of these four bands of legionaries, Socrates, Sozomen, and
the author of the Acts of St. Paul, use the indefinite terms of
sclaves, legionaries, as well as the more expressive and
propriate word of gaites. The following passage, (ib. i. 27) property transplants

\(^f\) Julian, Ep. i. 5. To the memory of Cynus to

\(^g\) See Socrates, i. r. c. 6, 7—12. 13—17, 16—25, 27—86, and Soz-
omen, i. 1—10. These events have been described by

\(^h\) See Odober Millaevus, (particularly iii. 4.) with the Donatist
history, by M. Dupin, and the original pieces at the end of his edi-
tion. The numerous circumstances which Augustus has mentioned,
are of the fury of the Circumcellions against others, and against them

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were execution of the laws of Constantine had excited a spirit of discontent and resistance: the strenuous efforts of his son Constans, to restore the unity of church and state, and sentiment of national hatred, which had first occasioned the separation; and the methods of force and corruption employed by the two imperial commissioners. Paul and Macarius, furnished the schismatics with a specious contrast between the maxims of the apostles and the conduct of their predeces-
sors. The peasants who inhabited the villages of Numidia and Mauritania, were a ferocious race, who had been imperfectly reduced under the au-
thority of the Roman laws; who were imperfectly con-
verted to the christian faith; but who were actuated by a spirit of enthusiasm in their religious observances.
They indignantly supported the exile of their bishops, the demolition of their churches, and the interruption of their secret assemblies. The vio-
lenee of the officers of justice, who were usually sus-
tained by a military guard, was sometimes repelled with equal violence; and the blood of some popular ecclesiastics, which had been shed in the quarrel, inflamed their rude followers with an eager desire of revenging the death of these holy martyrs. By their own erocity and rashness, the ministers of persecution sometimes pro-
voked their rite; and the guilt of an accidental tumult purged the animosity of those who took their side:
Driven from their native villages, the Donatist peas-
ants assembled in formidable gangs on the edge of the Getulian desert; and readily exchanged the habits of labour for a life of idleness and rapine, which was con-
sidered by the name of religion, and family condemned by the despots of state. The leaders of the Circum-
cellions assumed the title of captains of the saints; their principal weapon, as they were indifferently pro-
vided with swords and spears, was a huge and weighty club, which they termed an Jerusalem; and the well-
known Song of Songs was sung with such ardour, that they used as their cry of war, diffusedconsternation over the un-
armed provinces of Africa. At first their depredations were coloured by the plea of necessity; but they soon exceeded the measure of subsistence, indulged without control their intemperance and avarice, burnt the vil-
LAGES which they had pillaged, and revoked the benec-
tious tyrants of the christian country. The occupation of husbandry, and the administrations of justice, were interrupted; and as the Circumcellions pretended to restore the primitive equality of mankind, and to reform the abuses of civil society, they opened a secure asylum to runaway debtors, who fled from the feudal state, to their holy standard. When they were not resisted, they usually contented themselves with plunder, but the slightest opposition provoked them to acts of vio-
ence and murder; and some catholic priests, who had intrudently signalized their zeal, were tortured by the fanatics with the most refined and wanton barbarity.
The spirit of the Circumcellions was not always ex-
torted against their defenceless enemies; they engaged, and sometimes defeated, the troops of the province; and in the bloody action of Bagai, they attacked in the open field, but with useless. The occupation of an ad-
vanced guard of the imperial cavalry. The Donatists who were taken in arms received, and they soon de-
served, the same treatment which might have been shown to the wild beasts of the desert. The captives

*died, without a murmur, either by the sword, the axe, or the fire; and the measures of retaliation were mul-
tiplied in their proportion, and the horrors of rebellion, and excluded the hope of mutual forgiveness.
In the beginning of the present century, the example of the Circumcellions has been renewed in the persecution, the boldness, the crimes, and the enthusiastic of the Camisards; and if the fanatics of Languedoc, under Maupeou, and the military, achievements, the Africans maintained their fierce independence with more resolution and perseverance.

Such disorders are the natural effects of religious tyranny; but the rage of the Donatists. Donatists was inflamed by a frenzy of a very extrava-
gent nature. It is a temporary knot, which is pulled, when drawing them in so extravagant a degree, cannot surely be parallelled in any country or in any age. Many of these fanatics were possessed with the horror of life, and the desire of martyrdom; and they deemed it of little moment by what means, or by what hands, they per-
ished that their spirit, which was originally derived from the character and principles of the Jewish nation.

The simple narrative of the intestine General character divisions, which distracted the peace, of the church and dishonoured the triumph of the sect, A. D. 303—
church, will confirm the remark of a venerable bishop. The experience of Ammiusus had con-
vince him, that the enmity of the christians towards each other, surpassed the fury of savage beasts against man;* and Gregory Nazianzen most pathetically la-
ments, that the Kingdom of Heaven was converted, by discord, into the image of chaos, of a nocturnal tem-
past, and of hell itself. The fierce and partial writ-
ers of the times, ascribing all virtue to themselves, and imputing all guilt to their adversaries, have paint-
ed the battle of the angels and demons. Our calmer reason will reject such pure and perfect monsters of vice or sanctity, and will impute an equal, or at least an indiscriminate, measure of good and evil to the host-
tile sectaries, who assumed and bestowed the appellations of orthodox and heretics. They had been educ-
ed in the same religion, and the same civil society. Their renown and power in the present or a future life, were balanced in the same proportion. On either side, the error might be innocent, the faith sincere, the practice meritorious or corrupt. Their passions were

The Histoire des Camisards, in 3 vol. 12mo. Villeneuve, 1760, may be recommended as accurate and impartial. It requires some ad-

* Nullus infestus humilium bestiar, ut eum solit eferre plerique christianorum experit. Amphil. xxi. 3.

excited by similar objects; and they might alternately abuse the favour of the court, or of the people. The metaphysical opinions of the Athenians and the Ari-ans, could not have occasioned such tumults; for, in those days, they were alike actuated by the inertial spirit, which has been extracted from the pure and simple maxims of the gospel.

Toleration of paganism.

A modern writer, who, with a just confidence, has prefixed to his own history, the most honourable epitaphs of political and philosophical authors, accused the timid prudence of Montesquieu, for neglecting to enumerate, among the cases of the decline of the empire, a law of Constantine, by which the exercise of the pagan worship was absolutely suppressed, and a considerable part of his subjects was left destitute of priests, of temples, and of any public religion. The zeal of the philosophic historian for the rights of mankind, has induced him to acquiesce in the ambiguous testimony of those ecclesiastics, who have too lightly ascribed to their favourite hero the merit of a general persecution.2 Instead of alleging this imaginary law, which would have blazed in the front of the face of Constantine, the devoted author of the original epistle, which Constantine addressed to the followers of the ancient religion; at a time when he no longer disguised his conversion, nor dreaded the rivals of his throne. He invites and exhorts, in the most pressing terms, the subjects of the Roman empire to imitate the example of their master; but he declares, that those who still refuse to open their eyes to the celestial light, may freely enjoy their temples, and their fancied gods. A report, that the ceremonies of paganism were suppressed, is formally contradicted by the emperor himself, who wisely assures, as the principle of his operation, the invincible force of habit, of prejudice, and of superstition.3 Without violating the sanctity of his promise, without alarming the fears of the pagans, the artful monarch advanced, by slow and cautious steps, to undermine the irregular and decayed fabric of polytheism. The partial acts of severity which he occasionally exercised, though they were secretly prompted by a christian zeal, were coloured by the fairest pretexts of justice and the public good; and while Constantine designed to ruin the foundations, he seemed to reform the abuses, of the ancient religion. And when, after the massacre of 311, he pronounced he condemned, under the most rigorous penalties, the occult and impious arts of divination; which excited the vain hopes, and sometimes the criminal attempts, of those who were discontented with their present condition. An ignominious silence was imposed on the objects of superstition; in VI, he has been publicly convicted of fraud and falsehood; the effeminate priests of the Nile were abolished; and Constantine discharges the duties of a Roman censor, when he gave orders for the demolition of several temples of Phœnia; in which every mode of prostitution was devoutly practised in the face of day, and to the honour of Venus.4 The imperial city of Constantinople was, in some measure, raised at the expense, and was adorned with the spoils, of the expensive, and the temple of Pallas and Asia; the sacred property was confiscated; the statues of gods and heroes were transported, with rude familiarity, among a people who considered them as objects, not of adoration, but of the gold and silver were restored to circulation; and the magistrates, the bishops, and the eunuchs, improved the fortunate occasion of gratifying, at once, their zeal, their avails, and their resentment. But these depredations were confined to a small part of the Roman world; and the provinces had been long formerly reduced to the same state of distraction, from the tyranny of princes and proconsuls, who could not be suspected of any design to subvert the established religion.

The sons of Constantine trod in the footsteps of their father, with more zeal, and with less discretion. The pretences of nations and opinions were invisibly multiplied; every indulgence was shown to the illegal behaviour of the christians; every doubt was explained to the disadvantage of paganism; and the demolition of the temples was celebrated as one of the auspicious events of the reign of Constanis and Constantius. The name of Constantine is thus referred to a new period of the empire. We might have superseded the necessity of any future prohibitions. "It is our pleasure, that in all places, and in all cities, the temples he immediately shut, and carefully guarded, that none may have the power of offering. It is likewise our pleasure, that all our subjects should be convinced, that this edict should be guilty of such an act, let him feel the sword of vengeance, and after his execution, let his property be confiscated to the public use. We denounce the same penalties against the governors of the provinces, if they neglect to punish the criminals." But there is no reason to believe, that this formidable edict was either composed without being published, or was published without being executed. The evidence of facts, and the monuments which are still extant of brass and marble, continue to prove the public exercise of the pagan worship during the whole reign of the sons of Constantine. In the last, as well as in the west, in cities, as well as in the country, a great number of temples were respected, or at least spared; and the devout multitude still enjoyed the luxury of sacrifices, of festivals, and of processions, by the permission, or by the connivance, of the civil governors for four years. And when the last date of his bloody edict, Constantine visited the temples of Rome; and the decency of his behaviour is recommended by a pagan orator as an example worthy of the imitation of succeeding princes. "That emperor," says Symmachus, "suffered the privileges of the ancient and venerable temples to remain inviolate, and the sacred relics of the nobles of Rome, granted the customary allowance to defray the expenses of the public rites and sacrifices; and, though he had en-

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1 Eusebius (in Vit. Constant. i. 18. § 5) and Lahanius (Orat. pro Temp. p. 9, 16, ind. Goffred). I mention the pious sacrifice of Constantine, which they seemed to very different lights. The latter expressly declares, that "he made use of the sacred money, but made allowance in the legal worship; the temples indeed were unappropriated by him, the sacred rites were performed there in the emperor's Jewish and Heathen Testimonies, vol. iv. p. 130.

2 A Ammonius has observed, that in the days of Constantine, of whom he speaks, there were spolia temporum post. Lahanius says (Orat. pro Temp. p. 57) that the emperor often gave away a temple, like a dog, or a horse, of a slave, or a good cup, but the devout philosopher takes care to observe, that these sacrilegious favours were seldom received.


4 Flauraud says the sectes urbaines universel de providentia templorum, et accessus qui ait deutsche Jurist enthousiastes. The words are remarkable to a German compiler. Voluntas etiam summis a sacrilegio absolvere. Quod si quis parum impudicus fuerit, studeat ecclesiae Officiis et pro tempore decernat in die festo pontificis viro sancti, et in decursu tempore in decernenda sanctitati; et similibus adhibitis recipiat provinciarum et ecclesiarum viis sacrificialis. Cod. Theodos. tit. xvi. l. iv. c. x. v. 2. De usu decernendi in die festa in the case of a Hebræo juridico, the only one, perhaps, by which the bishop might have regulated the exercise of his functions. M. de la Bâtie (Mem. de l'Académie, tom. xx. p. 93) conjectures, with a show of reason, that this was the case the moment they were of a law, the heads of an invested hall, which were found in the Scirius Memoria among the papers of Constantine, and afterwards inserted, as a worthy model, in the Theodosian Code.
braced a different religion, he never attempted to de-
prive the empire of the sacred worship of antiquity. The
Senate still presumed to consecrate, by solemn de-
crees, the several emperors; and the powers of Con-
estantine himself was associated, after his death, to
those gods whom he had renounced and insulted
during his life. The title, the ensigns, the preroga-
tives, of Sovereign Pontiff, which had been institu-
ted by Numa, and assumed by Augustus, were ac-
cepted, and confirmed, by some of the Christian em-
perors; who were invested with a more absolute
authority over the religion which they had deserted, than
over that which they professed. 1
The divisions of Christianity suspended the ruin of
paganism 2 and the holy war against the infidels was
less arduous. A few of the venerable bishops, who were
more immediately alarmed by the guilt and
danger of domestic rebellion. The extirpation of idol-
athy 3 might have been justified by the established prin-
ciples of intolerance; but the hostile sects, which al-
terminated in the same fatal issue, were mutually
apprehensive of alienating, and perhaps exasperating,
the minds of a powerful, though declining faction.
Every motive of authority and fashion, of interest and
reason, now militated on the side of Christianity; but
two or three generations elapsed, before their victori-
cous emperors could be universally felt. The
sages had so long and so lately been established in the
Roman empire was still revered by a numerous people,
less attached indeed to speculative opinion, than to
ancient custom. The honours of the state and army
were indifferently bestowed on all the subjects of
Constantinus; and no considerable propor-
tion of knowledge and wealth and valor was still
engaged in the service of polytheism. The super-
position of the senator and of the peasant, of the poet
and the philosopher, was derived from very different
causes, but they met with equal devotion in the tem-
ple. Their goal was the same; their ladder was the
by the insulting triumph of a proscribed sect; and
Chapter XXII.
Julian is declared emperor by the legions of Gaul.—His
march and success.—The death of Constantius.—Civil
administration of Julian.

While the Romans languished un-
der the ignominious tyranny of cruel
and barbarous emperors, and the
barbarians in the name of their
lives, or the glory of their
ancestors, consecrated
in the worship of the
Christian God, they had secretly embraced the re-
ligion of his ancestors.


1 Summarch, Epist. x. 31.
2 The fourth Dissertation of M. de la Bastie sur le Souverain Pon-
tiff des Empereurs Romains, (in the Mem. de l'Acad. tom. xvi. p. 73
et 74,) is a very learned and judicious performance, which explains the
state, and proves the tottering, of paganism from Constantine to
Gratian. The assertion of Zosimus, that Gratian was the first which
revised the Roman church, is contradicted by a doubt; the
murderous licentiousness, on that subject, is almost
silenced.
3 I have anticipated the use of the word paganism, and
shall now trace the singular revolutions of those celebrated words. 1.
I. Pagan, in the Latin, so familiar to the Italians, signifies a
fountain; and the rural neighbourhood which divinity, or baptism, might
be supposed to adorn; the murmurs of legiti, on that subject, are almost
silenced. 2. Pagan in the modern, is understood to signify the
ancient appellation of pagus and pagana, (Fagius, Specimina pa- gum et
paganarum, ad Virgil. ebook. 4. 3.) 2 By an easy extension of the word, pagus
and rural became almost synonymous: most of Pius the Vth. (ann. 5.2)
and the ancient poets acquiesced in that name, which has been corrupted
into presents in the modern languages of Europe. 3. The amazing increase of the military order
introduced the necessity of a correlative term. (Hume's Hist. vol. i. p. 555.)
and all the people who were not enlisted in the service of the prince, were branded with the contemptuous epithets of pagani.
(Tacit. Hist. iii. 21. 77. Julianus. Satir. xvi. Tertullian de Pal-
io, c. 4.) 4. The christians were the soldiers of Christ; their adver-
saries who reduced the empire, or military order, might deserve the
metaphorical name of pagan; and this popular reproach was introduced as early as the reign of Valenian (A. D. 251.) into imperial
laws (Cod. Theodos. i. xvi. tit. 11. leg. 15.) and theological writings.
5. Christianity gradually filled the cities of the empire; the old
religion, in the time of Vindelicia (Summa sacri, i. 11. 1d., 1d. 1d. 1d.)
and Orontus, (in Panet. Hist. retired and languished in ob-
esse villages; and the word pagan, with its new signification, re-
verted to its primitive origin. 6. Since the worship of Jupiter and his
family had expired, the vetric title of pagan has been succes-
sively applied to all the idolaters and polytheists of the old and new
world. 7. The Latin christians bestrood it, without scruple, on
them of their emperor, or Mahometan; and under the greatness of the
pagan Emperor, they were branded with the unjust reproach of idolatry and paganism.
Neither the philosophers Ligures, in the eyes of their authors, nor
and Boecan, medicus et infirnaii, Lasaulx. Grand. 2
8. The name of Jesus and of Arianism and
were ancient and familiar words. The former expressed a likeness,
and the latter the religion of Arian, an iconoclast, a
an iconoclast, a
an iconoclast, a
an iconoclast, a
an iconoclast, a
an iconoclast, a
an iconoclast, a
an iconoclast, a
he subscribed his own destruction, and that of a people who deserved his affection. But a positive refusal was an act of rebellion, and a declaration of war.

The inexorable jealousy of the emperor, the peremptory, and perhaps insidious, nature of his commands, left not any room for a fair apology, or candid interpretation; and the Senate, at first startled and surprised, allowed him to pause or to deliberate. Solitude increased the perplexity of Julian; he could no longer apply to the faithful counsels of Sallust, who had been removed from his office by the judicious malice of the empress: he could not even enforce his representations by the concurrence of the ministers, who would have been too much afraid of the consequence. The moment had been chosen, when Lupicinus, the general of the cavalry, was despatched into Britain, to repulse the inroads of the Scots and Picts; and Florianus was occupied at Vienna by the assessment of the tribute. The latter, a crafty and corrupt statesman, declining to assume a responsible part on this dangerous occasion, eluded the pressing and repeated invitations of Julian, who represented to him, that in every important measure, the presence of the prefect was indispensable in the council of the prince. In the meanwhile the Caesar was oppressed by the rude and illiterate soldiers of the Roman army, a portion of the Cassar's forces, who presumed to suggest, that if he expected the return of his ministers, he would charge himself with the guilt of the delay, and reserve for them the merit of the execution. Unable to resist, unwilling to comply, Julian expressed, in the most serious terms, his wish, and even his intention, of assigning the purple, which he could not preserve with honour, but which he could not abdicate with safety.

After a painful conflict, Julian was compelled to acknowledge, that obedience was the virtue of the most eminent subjects, and that the sovereign alone was entitled to judge of the public welfare. The public confusion was brought to an end; the army, for carrying into execution the commands of Constantius; a part of the troops began their march for the Alps; and the detachments from the several garrisons moved towards their respective places of assembly. They advanced with difficulty through the trembling and affrighted crowds of provincials; who attempted either to excite their pity by silent despair, or loud lamentations; while the wives of the soldiers holding their infants in their arms, accused the desertion of their husbands, in the mixed language of grief, of tenderness, and of indignation. This scene of general distress afflicted the emperor; he gave a guard to a number of post-wagons to transport the wives and families of the soldiers, endeavoured to alleviate the hardships which he was constrained to inflict, and increased, by the most laudable acts, his own popularity, and the discontent of the exiled troops. The grief of an armed multitude is soon converted into rage; their licentious tumults, which every hour were communicated from tent to tent with more boldness and effect, prepared their minds for the most daring acts of sedition; and by the connivance of their tribunes, a seasonable libel was secretly dispersed, which painted, in cold and harsh terms, the decay and decline of the Roman empire, the incalculable damage to the glory of the Gallic army, and the feeble vices of the tyrants of Asia. The servants of Constantius were astonished and alarmed by the progress of this dangerous spirit. They pressed the Caesar to hasten the departure of the troops; but they imprudently rejected the honest and judicious advice of Julian; who proposed

4 The minute interval, which may be interpolated, between the linea adventus and the præmia annuae of Ammianus, (xx. 1. 3.) instead of allowing a sufficient space for a march of three thousand miles, would render the orders of Constantius as extravagant as they were unjust. The troops of Gaul could not have reached Syria till the end of autumn. The memory of Ammianus must have been accurate, and his language incorrect.
that they should not march through Paris, and suggested the danger and temptation of a last interview.

They proclaim Julian emperor.

As soon as the approach of the troops was announced, the Caesar went out to meet them, and ascended his tribunal, which had been erected before the gate of the palace, and distinguished the officers and soldiers, who by their rank or merit deserved a peculiar attention, Julian addressed himself in a studied oration to the surrounding multitude: he celebrated their exploits with grateful applause; encouraged them to accept, with alacrity, the honour of serving under the eyes of a powerful and liberal monarch; and admonished them, that the commands of Augustus required an instant and cheerful obedience. The soldiers, who were apprehensive of offending their general by an indecent clamour, or of belying their sentinels by false and venal acclamations, maintained an obstinate silence; and after a short pause, were dismissed to their quarters.

The principal officers were entertained by the Caesar, who professed, in the warmest language of friendship, his desire and his inability to reward, according to their deserts, the brave companions of his victories. They requested, however, full of gratitude and perplexity, and lamented the hardship of their fate, which tore them from their beloved general and their native country. The only expedient which could prevent their separation was boldly agitated and approved; the popular ressentiment was insensibly moulded into a regular consent, and the transactions of conquered nations were hurried on by passion, and their passions were inflamed by wine; as, on the eve of their departure, the troops were indulged in licentious festivity. At the hour of midnight, the impetuous multitude, with swords, horses, and torches, in their hands rushed into the suburbs; encompassed the palace; and when they perceived the future dangers, pronounced the fatal and irrevocable words, Julian Augustus! The prince, whose anxious suspense was interrupted by their disorderly acclamations, secured the doors against their intrusion; and, as long as it was in his power, secluded his person and dignity from the accidents of a nocturnal tumult. At the dawn of day, the soldiers, whose zeal was irritated by opposition, forcibly entered the palace, seized, with respectful violence, the object of their choice, guarded Julian with drawn swords through the streets of Paris, from whom the palace was entered, and respectfully saluted him as their emperor. Prudence as well as loyalty inclined the propriety of resisting their treasonable designs; and of preparing, for his oppressed virtue, the excuse of violence. Addressing himself by turns to the multitude and to individuals, he inculcated the religious duties of the present moment, and sometimes expressed his indignation; conjured them not to sully the fame of their immortal victories; and ventured to promise, that if they would immediately return to their allegiance, he would undertake to obtain from the emperor not only a free and gracious pardon, but even the reparation of the orders which had excited their resentment. But the soldiers, who were conscious of their guilt, chose rather to depend on the gratitude of Julian, than on the clemency of the emperor.

Their zeal was insensibly turned into impatience, and their impatience into rage. The inflexible Caesar sustained till the third hour of the day, their prayers, their reproaches, and their menaces; nor did he yield, till he had been repeatedly assured, that if he wished to live, he must consent to reign. He was exalted on a shield to the view of the troops, and the vulgar, who understood the gestures, the mimick operations, of the troops; a rich military collar, which was offered by chance, supplied the want of a diadem; the ceremony was concluded by the promise of a moderate donative; and the new emperor, overwhelmed with real or affected grief, retired into the most secret recesses of his apartments, and obstinately refused to be moved.

The grief of Julian could proceed only from his innocence; but his innocence must appear extremely doubtful in the eyes of those who have learned to suspect the motives and the professions of princes. His lively and active mind was susceptible of the various impressions of hope and fear, of gratitude and revenge, of duty and of ambition, of the love of fame and of the fear of reproach. But it is impossible for us to calculate the respective weight and operation of these sentiments; or to ascer- tain the principles of action which might escape the scrutiny of the historian. These principles must certainly be known only absolutely without success. He solemnly declares, in the presence of Jupiter, of the Sun, of Mars, of Minerva, and of all the other deities, that till the close of the evening which preceded his elevation, he was utterly ignorant of the designs of the soldiers; and it may even seem unphilosophical to retract the truth of a philosopher. Yet the supersitious confidence that Constantius was the enemy, and that he himself was the favourite, of the gods, might prompt him to desire, to solicit, and even to hasten the auspicious moment of his reign, which was predisposed to restore the ancient religion of mankind. When Julian had received the intelligence of the conspiracy, he resigned himself to a short slumber; and afterwards related to his friends that he had seen the genius of the empire waiting with some impatience at his door, and with a sort of mystical and profound affection, had suggested to him the spirit and ambition. Astonished and perplexed, he addressed his prayers to the great Jupiter; who immediately signified, by a clear and manifest omen, that he should submit to the will of heaven and of the army. The conduct which disavows the ordinary forms of real communication, a sudden and unexpected elevation, and an obstinate and unchangeable inquirv. Whenever the spirit of fanaticism, at once so cedulous and so crafty, has insinuated itself into a

* Even in this tumultuous moment, Julian attended to the forms of superstitions ceremonies: and obstinately refused the乏useus of a female heather, or a bone collar, which the impatient soldiers would have employed in the room of a diadem.

1 A sovereign weight of gold and silver was lent to the former, one pound of the latter; the whole amounting to about five pounds ten shillings of our money.

2 For the sake of this event, we may appeal to authentic and original materials: Julian himself, (ad S. P. F. Athenienses, censum, ruribus on his restoration, (Suidas, Orat. Posthum. in Athen. Cit. Bibl. Gréc. tom. vii. p. 380-273.) Ammianus, (xv. 4.) and Zosimus, (l. iii. p. 151-153;) who, in the reign of Julian, appears to follow the more respectable authority of Eutropius. With such guides we might respect the abbreviations and ecclesiastical historians.

3 Of Eutropius, for the sake of this revolt, we may appeal to authentic and original materials: Julian himself, in a confidential letter to his friend and immediate companion, (Epist. 1. xciv.) "consequens nullius, qui te non habet, in Eutropius, "consequens nullius, qui te non habet, in Eutropius, in culminem, modum, et impune relation, utribus, uttribus, uttribus, uttribus, Orat. iii. p. 67.

4 In Julian, (ad S. P. F. Athen. p. 261.) The deum Absol de la Hetonie (Vie de Julian, 129.) is almost inclined to respect the deum Hestoronianus, which appears to follow the more respectable authority of Eutropius. With such guides we might respect the abbreviations and ecclesiastical historians.

5 Ammianus, x. 5, with the note of Lardinoungos on the genius of the emperor. Julian himself, in a confidential letter to his friend and immediate companion, (Epist. 1. xciv.) "consequens nullius, qui te non habet, in Eutropius, in culminem, modum, et impune relation, utribus, utribus, utribus, utribus, Orat. iii. p. 67.

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noble mind, it insensibly corrodifies the vital principles of virtue and veracity.

To moderate the zeal of his party, to protect the persons of his enemies, to defeat and to despire the secret enterprises which were formed against his life and dignity, were the objects which he chiefly addressed himself to. Adorned with the insignia of military and imperial pomp, Julian showed himself in the field of Mars to the soldiers, who glowed with ardent enthusiasm in the cause of their pupil, their leader, and their friend. He recapitulated their victories, launted their sufferings, and the people rejoiced in a revolution, and checked their impetuosity; nor did he dismiss the assembly, till he had obtained a solemn promise from the troops, that if the emperor of the east would subscribe an equitable treaty, they would renounce any views of conquest, and satisfy themselves with the tranquil possession of the Gallic provinces. On this foundation he composed, in his own name, and in that of the army, a specious and moderate epistle, which was delivered to Peutanus, his master of the offices, and to his chamberlain Euthenius; two ambassadors, whom he appointed to receive the answer, and observe the dispositions of Constantius. This epistle is inscribed with the modest appellation of Caesar; but Julian solicits, in a peremptory though respectful manner, the confirmation of the title of Augustus. He acknowledges the irregularity of his own election, while he justifies, in some measure, the resentment and violence of the troops which had extorted his reluctant condescension, to which the history of his last letter to Constantius; and engages to send him an annual present of Spanish horses, to recruit his army with a select number of barbarian youths, and to accept from his choice a praetorian prefect of approved discretion and fidelity. But he reserves for himself the nomination of his other civil and military officers, with the troops, the revenue, and the sovereignty of the provinces beyond the Alps. He admires the emperor to consult the dictates of justice; to distrust the arts of those venal flatterers, who subsist only by the discord of princes; and to embrace the offer of a fair and honourable treaty, which will confine him unshackled to the house of Constantine. In this negotiation Julian claimed no more than he already possessed. The delegated authority which he had long exercised over the provinces of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, was still obeyed under a name more independent and august. The soldiers and the people rejoiced in a revolution, which was not stained even with the blood of the guilty. Florentius was a fugitive; Lupicinus a prisoner. The persons who were disaffected to the new government were disarmed and secured; and the vacant offices were distributed, according to the recent distribution of merit, to men who were the friends of the intrigues of the palace, and the auxiliaries of the soldiery. 

The negotiations of peace were accompanied and supported by the most vigorous preparations for war. The foundations of the Rhine and the Danube, for instance, were not neglected; and augmented by the disorders of the times. The cruel persecution of the faction of Magnentius had filled Gaul with numbers of outlaws and robbers. They cheerfully accepted the offer of a general pardon from a prince whom they could trust, submitted to the restraints of military discipline, and retained only their implacable hatred to the person and government of the emperor Constantius. At the same time, the emperor had con
dicted Julian to take the field, he appeared at the head of his legions; threw a bridge over the Rhine in the neighbourhood of Cleves; and prepared to chastise the perfidy of the Atturii, a tribe of Franks, who presumed that they might ravage, with impunity, the frontier provinces of a divided empire. The difficulties of the enterprise, consisted in a laborious march; and Julian had conquered, as soon as he could penetrate into a country, which former princes had considered as inaccessible. After he had given peace to the barbarians, the emperor carefully visited the fortifications along the Rhine from Cleves to Basil; surveyed, with peculiar attention, the territories which he had recovered from the hands of the Alemanni, passed through Besancon, which had severely suffered from their fury, and fixed his head-quarters at Vienna for the ensuing winter. The barrier of Gaul was improved and strengthened with additional fortifications; and Julian entertained some doubt whether the mighty empire which he had so often vanquished, might, in his absence, be restrained by the terror of his name. Vadomair was the only prince of the Alemanni, whom he esteemed or feared; and while the subtle barbarian affected to observe the faith of treaties, the progress of his arms threatened that of the imperial army. The policy of Julian condescended to surprise the prince of the Alemanni by his own arts; and Vadomair, who, in the character of a friend, had incautiously accepted an invitation from the Roman governors, was seized in the midst of the entertainment, and sent away in chains. They learned, before the barbarians were recovered from their amaze

The ambassadors of Julian had been instructed to execute, with the utmost and diligence, their important commission. But, in their passage through Italy and Illyricum, they were detained by the tedious and affected delays of the provincial governors; they were conducted by slow journeys from Constantinople to Csesarca in Cappadocia; and when at length they were admitted to the presence of Constantius, they found that he had already conceived, from the despatches of his own officers, the most unfavourable opinion of the conduct of the Gallic army. The letters were heard with impatience; the trembling messengers were dismissed with indignation and contempt; and the looks, the gestures, the furious language of the monarch, expressed the dis

order of his soul. The domestic connexion, which might have inspired the brother of the great Philip, Helena, was recently dissolved by the death of that princess, whose pregnancy had been several times fruitless, and was at last fatal to herself. The em

\footnote{3} Lahan, Orb. Parent., c. 50, p. 275, 276. A strange disorder, since it is confirmed above by ancient writers. In the factious state of the Greek republics, the exile amounted to 50,000 persons; and Isocrates assures Philip, that it was difficult to distinguish, whether the states were governed by the people, or by the exiles from them. See Hume’s Essays, tom. I. p. 496, 457. 

\footnote{4} Julian, (Epist. xxviii., p. 414) gives a short description of Ve


\footnote{7} The defects of the style of a rebellious army, is finely described by Tacitus. Hist. I. 85, 86. But Odo had much more dignity, and style than Tacitus ascribes to him. Tacitus is but a measuring stick of inferior performers. 

\footnote{8} To this ostensible epistle he added, says Ammianus, private let
ters, which were not published. Perhaps they never existed. 


\footnote{10} Lahan, Orb. Parent., c. 50, p. 275, 276. A strange disorder, since it is confirmed above by ancient writers. In the factious state of the Greek republics, the exile amounted to 50,000 persons; and Isocrates assures Philip, that it was difficult to distinguish, whether the states were governed by the people, or by the exiles from them. See Hume’s Essays, tom. I. p. 496, 457. 

\footnote{11} Julian, (Epist. xxviii., p. 414) gives a short description of Ve\n
\footnote{12} Ammianus, xx. 10, xxii. 4, Zosimus, i. 112, p. 155. 

\footnote{13} Her remains were sent to Rome, and interred near those of her sister Constantia, in the church of the Flav. Vestal. Ammianus, xxi. 3. Lahanius has composed a very weak apology to justify his
press Eusebia had preserved, to the last moment of her life, the warm and ever jealous affection which she had once for Julian; and, from this solid influence, she might have moderated the resentment of a prince, who, since her death, was abandoned to his own passions, and to the arts of his counsellors. But the terror of a foreign invasion obliged him to suspend the punishment of a private enemy; he continued his march towards the confines of Persia, and thought it sufficient to signify the conditions which might entitle Julian and his guilty followers to the clemency of their offended sovereign. He required, that the presumptuous Caesar should expressly renounce the appellation and arms of a republic, which he had usurped from the rebels; that he should descend to his former station of a limited and dependent minister; that he should vest the powers of the state and army in the hands of those officers who were appointed by the imperial court; and that he should trust his safety to the assurances of pardon, which were announced by Epiphatus, a Gallic bishop, and one of the Arian favourites of Constantius. Several months were ineffectually consumed in a treaty which was negotiated at the distance of three thousand miles between Paris and Antioch; and soon as Julian perceived that his moderate and conciliatory remonstrances were received with contempt, he declared that he was about to renounce the pride of an implacable adversary, he boldly resolved to commit his life and fortune to the chance of a civil war. He gave a public and military audience to the quaeestor Leona; the haughty epistle of Constantius was read, and now he had to moderate his hatred, and to test, with the most flattering deference, that he was ready to resign the title of Augustus, if he could obtain the consent of those whom he acknowledged as the authors of his elevation. The faint proposal was immediately silenced; and the acclamations of "Julian Augustus, continue to reign, by the authority of the army, of the people, of the republic which you have saved," thundered at once from every part of the field, and terrified the pale ambassador of Constantius. A part of the letter was afterwards read, in which the emperor armoured the ingratitude of Julian, whom he had invested with the honours of the purple; whom he had educated with so much care and tenderness; whom he had preserved in his infancy, when he was left a helpless orphan. "An orphan!" interrupted Julian, who justified his cause by indulging his passions; "Does the assassin of my family reproach me as I was left an orphan? He urges me to revenge those injuries which I have long studied to forget!" The assembly was dismissed; and Leona, who, with some difficulty, had been protected from the popular fury, was sent back to his master with an epistle, in which Julian expressed, in a strain of the most exquisite eloquence, the sentiments of contempt, of hatred, and of resentment, which had been suppressed and imprecated by the dissimulation of twenty years. After this message, which might be considered as a signal of irreconcilable war, Julian, who, some weeks before, had celebrated the Christian festival of the Epiphany,1 made a public declaration that he committed the care of his safety to the Immortal gods; and thus publicly renounced the religion, as well as the friendship, of Constantius.2

Chap. xxii.

The situation of Julian requires a vigorous and immediate resolution. He had to attack Constantius, who discovered from intercepted letters, that his adversary, sacrificing the interest of the state to that of the monarch, had again excited the barbarians to invade the provinces of the west. The position of two magazines, one of which they collected on the banks of the Lake of Constance, the other formed at the foot of the Cottian Alps, seemed to indicate the march of two armies; and the size of those magazines, each of which consisted of six hundred thousand quarts of wheat, or some other grain of their own produce, was sufficient to augment the numbers of the enemy, who prepared to surround him. But the imperial legions were still in their distant quarters of Asia; the Danube was feebly guarded; and if Julian could occupy, by a sudden incursion, the important provinces of Illyricum, he might expect that a people of soldiers would resort to his standard, and that the rich mines of gold and silver would contribute to the expenses of the civil war. He proposed this bold enterprise to the assembly of the soldiers; inspired them with a just confidence in their general, and in themselves; and exhorted them to maintain their own independence, and, in the name of the emperor, to protect their fellow-citizens, and obedient to their officers. His spirited discourse was received with the loudest acclamations, and the same troops which had taken up arms against Constantius, when he summoned them to leave the plains of Persia, had now loudly hailed Julian to the farthest extremities of Europe or Asia. The oath of fidelity was administered; and the soldiers, clashing their shields, and pointing their drawn swords to their threats, devoted themselves, with horrid imprecations, to the service of a leader whom they celebrated as the deliverer of Gaul, and the conqueror of the Germans.3 This solemn engagement, which seemed to be dictated by affection rather than by duty, was singly opposed by Nebridius, who had been admitted to the office of premier prefect. That faithful minister, alone and unassisted, asserted the rights of Constantius in the midst of an armed and angry multitude, to whose fury he had almost fallen an honorable but useless sacrifice. After losing one of his hands by the stroke of a sword, he embraced the knees of the prince whom he had offended. Julian covered the proceedings with his imperial mantle, and protected him from the zeal of his followers, dismissed him to his own house, with less respect than was perhaps due to the virtue of an enemy.4 The high office of Nebridius was bestowed on Salvius; and the provinces of Gaul, which were now delivered from the intolerable yoke of Julian, were assigned to a nobleman, who had been out of the administration of the friend of Julian, who was permitted to practise those virtues which he had insulter into the mind of his pupil.5

The hopes of Julian depended much less on the number of his troops, than on the celerity of his motions. In the

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1 The public and secret negotiations between Constantius and Julian, must be extracted, with some caution, from Julian himself. (Oread. ad F. G. Allen, p. 214.) Libanius, Orat. Parent., c. 51, p. 251. Ammianus, (xx. 9.) Zosimus, (ii. 10.) and even Zonaras, (tom. i., l. xiii. p. 20, 21, 22,) who on this occasion, appears to have passed his master. (See the general history of Ammianus, from a 382. Mark's Library, p. 117—127.) Eusebius, the pontiff præfect of the equestrian order, is mentioned as living under Julian, in a letter of Eusebius, to his friend Vettius, 2 Three hundred myrta, or three millions of mediamina, a corn measure familiar to the Athenians, and which contained six Roman modii. (Juvenal, Sat. iv. 47.) Julian placed 8.500 men in one army in the mountainous province of Gaul, and 15,000 in another. (Ammianus, 27.) 3 See his oration, and the behaviour of the troops, in Ammianus, c. 33. 4 He sternly refused his hand to the suppliant prefect, whom he sent into Tuscany. (Ammianus, xx. 2. Libanius, with savage fury, insults Nersius, in the name of Julian, to the assembly of the magnates of Julian. (Orat. Parent. c. 53, p. 274.) 5 In this promotion, Julian obeyed the law which he publicly imposed on himself. Heeque civilest quisquam judex, nec militari sacer, aut quodam praetori meritum subvenit. (Ammianus, xx. 2.) Absence did not weaken his regard for Salvius, with whose name (A.D. 363) he bore the consulship.
execution of a daring enterprise, he availed himself of every precaution, as far as prudence could suggest; and where prudence could no longer accompany his steps, he trusted the event to valour and to fortune. In the neighbourhood of Bassil he assembled and divided his troops, and distributed the money and the ten thousand men, was directed, under the command of Nevitta, general of the cavalry, to advance through the midland parts of Rhaetia and Noricum. A similar division of troops, under the orders of Jovius and Jovinus, prepared to follow the oblique course of the highways, through the most open and least frequented part of Italy. The instructions to the generals were conceived with energy and precision: to hasten their march in close and compact columns, which, according to the disposition of the ground, might readily be changed into any order of battle; to secure themselves against the surprises of the night by strong posts and vigilant guards; to prevent resistance by their unexpected arrival; to elude examination by their sudden departure; to spread the opinion of their strength, and the terror of his name; and to join their sovereign under the walls of Sirmium. For himself, Julian had reserved a number of troops and a considerable part of the Guards to reflect his three thousand brave and active volunteers, resolved, like their leader, to cast behind them every hope of a retreat; at the head of this faithful band, he fearlessly plunged into the recesses of the Marcinian, or black forest, which conceals the sources of the Danube; and in those eventful days, the fate of Julian was unknown to the world. The first eight miles of his journey, his destination, and vigour, surmounted every obstacle; he forced his way over mountains and morasses, occupied the bridges and swam the rivers, pursued his direct course, without reflecting whether he traversed the territory of the Romans or that of the barbarians, and at length emerged between Ratisbon and Vienna, at the place where he had designed to embark his troops on the Danube. By a well-concerted stratagem, he seized a fleet of light brigantines, as it lay at anchor; secured a supply of coarse provisions, sufficient to satisfy the indolent but voracious appetite of a Gallic army; and boldly committed himself to the stream of the Danube. The labours of his mariners, who plied their oars with incessant diligence, and the steady continuance of a favourable wind, carried his fleet above seven hundred miles in eleven days; and he had already disembarked his soldiers on the opposite bank, only nineteen miles from Sirmium, before his ensigns, hours before his submission, he passed before the hostile stations, which were placed along the river, without indulging the temptation ofsignaling an useless and ill-timed valour.

The banks of the Danube were crowded on either side with spectators, who gazed on the military pomp, and anticipated the importance of the event, and diffused through the adjacent country the fame of a young hero, who advanced with more than mortal speed at the head of the innumerable forces of the west. Lucillian, who, with the rank of general of the cavalry, commanded the rear of the army, was confounded and perplexed by the doubtful reports, which he could neither reject nor believe. He had taken some slow and irresolute measures for the purpose of collecting his troops; when he was surprised by Dagalaiphus, an active officer, whom Julian, as soon as he was landed at Bononia, had advanced as his second in command, with some light infantry. The captive general, uncertain of his life or death, was hastily thrown upon a horse, and conducted to the presence of Julian; who kindly raised him from the ground, and dispelled the terror and amazement which seemed to stultify his faculties. But Lucillian had no sooner recovered his spirits, than he betrayed his want of discretion, by presuming to admonish his conqueror, that he had rashly ventured, with a handful of men, to expose his person in the midst of his enemies. "Reserve for your master Constantius these timid remonstrances," replied Julian, with a smile, disposing of the prudence of his rival, which he knew you may surmise I received you not as a counsellor, but as a suppliant." Conscious that success alone could justify his attempt, and that boldness only could command success, he instantly advanced, at the head of three thousand soldiers, to attack the strongest and most popular city of the Illyrian provinces. In the morning of the third day, Julian marched to occupy the narrow pass of Succi, in the defiles of mount Hemus; which, almost in the midway between Sirmium and Constantine骅, separates the provinces of Thrace and Dacia, by an abrupt descent towards the former, and a gentle declivity on the side of the latter. The defence of this important post was intrusted to the brave Nevitta; who, as well as the generals of the Italian division, successfully executed the plan of the march and junction which their master had so ably conceived. The homage which Julian obtained, he justified his conduct from the fear of the brave and popular people, extended far beyond the immediate effect of his arms. The prefectures of Italy and Illyricum were administered by Taurus and Florentius, who united that important office with the vain honours of the consulship; and the series of victories which were celebrated with precipitation to the court of Asia, Julian, who could not always restrain the levity of his temper, stigmatized their flight by adding, in all the acts of the year, the epitaph of fugitive to the names of the two consuls. The provinces which had been deserted by their former governor, acknowledged the authority of an emperor, who, concluding the qualities of a soldier with those of a philosopher, was equally admired in the camps of the Danube, and in the cities of Greece. From his palace, or, more properly, from his headquarters of Sirmium and Naisus, he distributed to the principal towns and cities of his empire contributions for his own conduct; published the secret despatches of Constantius; and solicited the judgment of mankind between two competitors, the one of whom had ex-

1. The description of Ammianus, which might be supported by collateral evidence, anaerates the precise situation of the Jugurnat Succorum, or passus of Succi. M. D'Arville from the trilling re-

2. Whatsoever circumstances we may borrow elsewhere, Ammianus xi. 9. 8, 9, 10 still supplies a hint of the measurement of the same place by which I have discovered in the maps or writings of that admirable geographer.

- Ammianus (xxi. 2.) ascribes the same practice, and the same motive, to Aelius Gallus, and other ancient generals.

- This wood was a part of the great Heroumian forest, which, in the time of Caesar, stretched away from the country of the Rhaetii (Rheini) into the boundaries of the north. See Clever, Germania Antiqua, l. iii. c. 47.

- See Orat. Parent. c. 33. p. 578, 579; with Gregory Nazianzen, Orat. iii. p. 68. Even the saint admires the speed and secrecy of his march. A modern divine might apply the progress of Julian, the lines which were originally designed for other apostate:

- So eagerly the fleet

- Ver. bow, or steep, through strait, rough, dense, or rare,

- With head, hands, feet, fingers, or toes, as a foot;

- And swins, or sinks, or wades, or recieves, or flies.

- In that interval the Notitia places two or three feet, the Lam-

- Dianic, and the coarsest from the Latin, and mentions five legions, or cohorts, of Liburnians, who should be a most formidable force.


- Zosimus alone (iii. p. 136) has specified this interesting circumstance:

- Mamurrian, (in Panegyr. Ver. xi. 6—8) who accompanied Julian, as count of the sacred lances, describes this voyage in a florid and picturesque manner, challenges Triplomaster and the Ar-

- gonauts of Greece, &c.
THE DECLINE AND FALL

CHAP. XXII.

...Julian, whose mind was deeply wounded by the reproach of ingratitude, aspired to maintain, by argument as well as by arms, the superior merits of his cause; and to excel, not only in the arts of war, but in those of composition. His epistle to the senate and people of Athens seems to have been dictated by a liberal and humane spirit; and his answer to a wish of his actions and his motives to the degenerate Athenians of his own times, with the same humble deference, as if he had been pleading, in the days of Aristides, before the tribunal of the Areopagus. His application to the generous Barbarians was still more remarkable; for the titles of imperial power, was agreeable to the forms of the expiring republic. An assembly was summoned by Tertullus, prefect of the city; the epistle of Julian was read; and as he appeared to be master of it, his claims were admitted without a dissenting voice. His oblique censure of the innovations of Constantine, and his passionate invective against the vices of Constantius, were heard with less satisfaction; and the senate, as if Julian had been present, unanimously exclaimed, "Respect, we beseech you, the author of your own fortune." An awful expression, which, according to the character of the emperor, might have been differently explained; as a manly reproof of the ingratitude of the usurper, or as a flattering confession, that a single act of such benefit to the state ought to alone for all the failings of Constantius.

Handsome powers ... than those of Julian, who was speedily transmitted to his rival, who, by the retreat of Sapor, had obtained some respite from the Persian war. Disguising the anguish of his soul under the semblance of contempt, Constantius professed his intention of returning into Europe, and of giving a respite to Julia, because he never spoke of this military expedition in any other light than that of a hunting party. In the camp of Hierapolis, in Syria, he communicated this design to his army; slightly mentioned the guilt and rashness of the Caesar; and ventured to assure them, that if the mad emperor of Persia, made war, they would be unable to sustain the fire of their eyes, and the irresistible weight of their shout of onset. The speech of the emperor was received with military applause, and Theodotus, the president of the council of Hierapolis, requested, with tears of adulation, that this article be written, and sent, by the emperor; and that the immediate policy of Constantius be contrived. It is a rash detachment was despatched away with a post-waggon, to secure, if it were yet possible, the pass of Suce; the recuits, the horses, the arms, and the baggage, which had been prepared against Sapor, were over the plains of the Sarmatian war; and the domestic victories of Constantius inspired his partisans with the most sanguine assurances of success. The notary Gaudentius had occupied in his name the provinces of Africa; the subsistence of Rome was interdicted; and the distress of Julian was increased by an unexpected event, which might have been productive of fatal consequences. Julian had received the submission of two legions and a cohort of archers, who were stationed at Sirmium; but he suspected, with reason, the fidelity of those troops, which had been distinguished by the emperor; and it was thought expedient, under the pretence of the exposed state of the Gallic frontier, to dismiss them from the most important seat of his government. They adhered with reluctance, as far as the confines of Italy; but as they proceeded to the length of the way, and the savage fierceness of the Germans, they resolved, by the instigation of one of their tribunes, to halt at Aquincum, and to erect the banners of Constantius on the walls of that impregnable city. The emperor, resuming the course of his march, at the extent of the mischief, and the necessity of applying an immediate remedy. By his order, Jovinus led back a part of the army into Italy; and the siege of Aquilea was formed with diligence, and prosecuted with vigour. But the legionaries, who seemed to have rejected the yoke of discipline, conducted the defence of the place with skill and perseverance; invited the rest of Italy to imitate the example of their courage and loyalty; and threatened the retreat of Julian, if he should be forced to yield to the superior numbers of the armies of the east.

But the reign of Julian was preserved from the cruel alternative, which he pathetically laments, of destroying, or being himself destroyed; and the sensitive death of Constantius delivered the Roman empire from the calamities of civil war. The approach of winter could not detain the monarch; and many of his favourites durst not oppose his impestious desire of revenge. A slight fever, which was perhaps occasioned by the agitation of his spirits, was increased by the fatigues of the journey; and Constantius was obliged to halt at the little town of Myopaeum, twelve miles beyond Tarsus, where he expired, after a short illness, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign.

His genuine character, which was composed of pride and weakness, of superstition and cruelty, has been fully displayed in the preceding narrative of civil and ecclesiastical events. The abuse of power rendered him a considerable object in the eyes of his contemporaries; but as personal merit can alone deserve the notice of posterity, the last of the sons of Constantine may be dismissed from the world, with the remark, that he inherited the defects, without the ability of the imperial Constantius. But, if he is said to have named Julian for his successor; nor does it seem improbable, that his anxious concern for the fate of a young and tender wife, whom he left with child, may have prevailed, in his last moments, over the influence of his maternal relations, and the edict of the emperor, and the desire of peace. He has left the court of the palace. His yoke, however, with the emperor; and his guilty associates, made a faint attempt to prolong the reign of the empress, by the election of another emperor; but their intrigues were rejected, with disdain, by an army which now ascribed the thought of civil discord; and two officers of rank were instantly despatched, to assure Julian, that every sword in the empire would be drawn for his service. The military designs of that prince, who had formed three different attacks against Thrace, were prevented by this fortunate event. Without shedding the blood of his fellow-citizens, he escaped the dangers of a doubtful conflict, and acquired the advantages of a complete victory. Impatient to visit the place of his birth, and

7 A Ammian. xli. 7. 11. 12. He seems to describe, with superfluous labour, the operations of the siege of Aquileia, which on this occasion is mentioned in the most minute manner; but the narrative of the first, third, and fifth books of this work (xxii. 13. 14. 16. 18.) ascribes this accidental revolt to the wisdom of Constantius, whose assured victory he announces with some appearance of spirit. Comm. Den. c. 35. p. 151. (Chapp. 1.) His character is that of the best and most humane of his species: enim omnium tunc hab ent constantissimam serenissimam. Ammian. xli. 10. 3. 10. 12. 14.

8 Ammian. xl. 7. 11. 12. His death and character are faithfully delineated by Ammianus; (xli. 14. 15. 16.) and we are authorised to despise and detest the emperor, who, after having contrived the death of his benefactor, The private repentence of his exile, and contrivance of his death, are described and related in this narrative. (Orat. ii. 13. 31.) His character is more demeaned: enim omnium tunc ab hac constans sententia discipulam. Ammian. xli. 10. 3. 10. 12. 14.

9 Ammian. xli. 7. 11. 12. 14. The fits of remorse afterwards inspired and obtained his pardon from the merciful conqueror, who signified his wish of dismissing his enemies, and increasing the number of his friends. (xlii. 14.)

10 Ammian. xli. 7. 11. 12. His death and character are faithfully delineated by Ammianus; (xli. 14. 15. 16.) and we are authorised to despise and detest the emperor, who, after having contrived the death of his benefactor, The private repentence of his exile, and contrivance of his death, are described and related in this narrative. (Orat. ii. 13. 31.) His character is more demeaned: enim omnium tunc ab hac constans sententia discipulam. Ammian. xli. 10. 3. 10. 12. 14.
the new capital of the empire, he advanced from Naissus through the mountains of Hæmus, and the cities of Thrace. When he reached Heraclea, at the distance of sixty miles, all Constantine was poured forth to receive him; and he made his triumphal entry amidst the dutiful acclamations of the soldiers, the people, and the senate. An innumerable multitude accompanied the empress and her son, hastened to greet the would-be monarch, and who, with eager looks, fixed on an independent basis, was the seat of reason, of virtue, and perhaps of vanity. He despised the honours, renounced the pleasures, and discharged with incessant diligence the duties, of his exalted station; and there were few among his subjects who would have consented to relieve him from the weight of the diadem, had they been obliged to submit their time and liberty to the laws of a despotic monarch.  

Julian enters Constantine, Dec. 11.

spect; and were perhaps disappointed when they observed the small stature and simple garb of a hero, whose unexperienced youth had vanquished the barbarians of Germany, and who had now traversed, in a successful career, the whole continent of Europe, from the shores of the northern seas to the Alps, and from Asia Minor to the banks of the Rhine. A few days afterwards, when the remains of the deceased emperor were landed in the harbour, the subjects of Julian applauded the real or affected humanity of their sovereign. On foot, without his diadem, and clothed in a mourning habit, he accompanied the funeral as far as the church of the Holy Apostles, where the body was deposited: and if these marks of respect may be interpreted as a selfish tribute to the birth and dignity of his imperial kinsman, the tears of Julian professed to the world, that he had forgot the injuries, and remembered only the obligations, with which he was under the habit of listening, and in which the legions of Aquileia were assured of the death of the emperor, they opened the gates of the city, and, by the sacrifice of their guilty leaders, obtained an easy pardon from the prudence or lenity of Julian; who, in the thirty-second year of his reign, undaunted the undisputed possession of the Roman empire.

His civil government, retirement, and private life; but the elevation of his birth, and the accidents of his life, never allowed him the leisure and the means he desired his countrymen to have preferred the groves of the academv, and the society of Athens; but he was constrained, at first by the will, and afterwards by the injustice, of Constantius, to expose his person and fame to the dangers of imperial greatness; and to make himself accountable to the world, and to posterity, for the happiness of millions. Julian recollected with terror the observations of his master Plato, that the government of our fleets and herds is always committed to beings of a superior species; and that the conduct of nations requires and deserves the celestial powers of the gods or of the great powers. He resolved, like the man who presumes to reign, should aspire to the perfection of the divine nature; that he should purify his soul from her mortal and terrestrial part; that he should extinguish his appetites, enlighten his understanding, regulate his passions, and subdue the wild beast, which, according to the lively metaphor of Aristotel, seldom fails to ascend the throne of a despot. The throne of Julian, which the death of Constantius

Philip...s

By

1 In describing the triumph of Julian, Ammianus (xxii. 1. 2) assumes the lofty tone of an orator or poet; while Libanius (Orat. Parent. p. 287, s.1.) sinks to the grave simplicity of an historian.

2 The fame of Julian is elaborately treated of in Migne, Pontif., vol. i. pp. 117-126; in Gregory Nazianzen, (Orat. iv. p. 192.) Maurus, in (Panegy. Vet. xxvii.) and (Phil. ii. 39.) and Photius, (Hist. iv. 6, with Golfody's Dissertations, p. 382.) These writers, and their followers, pagan, catholic, Arias, beheld with very different eyes, a portion of history, or rather part of the world.

3 The day and year of the birth of Julian, are not perfectly ascertained. He was born in the year 331, according to the Chron. Varron, on the 23d, and he was 37 years old in 368. But he was 37 years old in 370. (For the Born of Julian, see Ducange, (Hist. p. 110—116), with caution and judgment. The date of his death is also discussed, and all the dates of his acts are not ascertained.

4 The Annals of Sueton, in Claud. c. 21. A twenty-sixth rate, or mixer, was added, to complete the number of one hundred clavus, four of which constituted a quartum. The number of quaternias of a quartum was 364. (Sueton. in Domit. c. 4.) and (from the measure of the Cyrus Maximi at Rome, the Hippodrome at Comagene, &c.) it might be about a four-mile course.

5 Julian, in (Moseon, p. 246. Julian Caesar had offended the Roman people by reading his despatches during the actual war. Augustus indulged their taste, or his own, by his constant attention to
this averseness of time, he seemed to protract the short duration of his reign; and if the dates were less securely ascertained, we should refuse to believe, that only sixteen months elapsed between the death of Constantius and the departure of his successor for the Persian war. The actions of Julian can only be preserved by the account of his discourses, in the form of his voluminous writings, which is still extant, remains a monument of the application, as well as of the genius, of the empire. The Missopogon, the Caesars, several of his orations, and his elaborate work against the clerics and heretics, composed in a long period of the two winters, the former of which he passed at Constantinople, and the latter at Antioch.

The reform of the imperial court was one of the first and most necessary acts of the government of Julian. Soon after his entrance into the palace of Constantinople, he had occasion for the service of a barber. An officer magnificently dressed, immediately presented himself. "It is a barber," exclaimed the prince, with affected surprise, "that I want, and not a receiver-general of the finances." He questioned the man concerning the price of his employment, and besides a large salary and some valuable perquisites, he enjoyed a daily allowance for twenty servants, and as many horses. A thousand barbers, a thousand cup-bearers, a thousand cooks, were distributed in the several offices of luxury; and the number of eunuchs could be reckoned only with the figures of the day. The monarch who resigned to his subjects the superiority of merit and virtue, was distinguished by the oppressive magnificence of his dress, his table, his buildings, and his train. The stately palaces erected by his hands, and adorned, by many coloured marbles, and ornamented of masses gold and silver. The most exquisite dainties were procured, to gratify their pride, rather than their taste; birds of the most distant climates, fish from the most remote seas, fruits out of their natural season, winter roses, and summer snows, and the exercises of the gods were passed the expense of the legions; yet the smallest part of this costly multitude was subservient to the use, or even to the splendour, of the throne. The monarch was disgraced, and the people was injured, by the creation and sale of an infinite number of obscure, and even vulgar employments; and the moral worthlessness of mankind might purchase the privilege of being maintained, without the necessity of labour, from the public revenue. The waste of an enormous household, the increase of fees and perquisites, which were soon claimed as a lawful debt, and the bribe which they extorted from those who favoured them in novelty, or solicited their favour, suddenly enriched these haughty menials. They abused their fortune, without considering their past or their future condition; and their rapine and venality could be equalled only by the extravagance of their dissipation. Their silken robes were embroidered with gold, their tables served with delicacy and profusion; the houses which they built for their own use, would have covered the form of an ancient consul; and the most honourable citi-
execute their final sentence, without delay, and without appeal. The office of president was exercised by the two senators, the head of the equestrian order, whose virtues conciliated the esteem of Greek sophists, and of Christian bishops. He was assisted by the eloquent Mamertinus,^{p} one of the consuls elect, whose merit is loudly celebrated by the doubtful evidence of his own applause. But the civil wisdom of the second Constantine, and the personal valor of his brother, were equal to the occasion. The violence of four generals, Nevitta, Agilo, Jovinus, and Arbacio. Arbacio, whom the public would have seen with less surprise at the bar than on the bench, was supposed to possess the secret of the commission; the armed and the angry leaders of the Jovian and Herculean faction were, as it were, alternately swayed by the laws of justice, and by the clamours of faction.\textsuperscript{3}

\textbf{Punishment of the innocent and the guilty.}\textsuperscript{4}

The chamberlain Eusebius, who had perished the previous year, was the abuser of Constantius, expiated, by an ignominious death, the insolvency, the corruption, and cruelty, of his servile ruler. The executors of Paulus and Apodemon, (former of whom was burnt alive) were accepted as an inadequate atonement by the widows and orphans of so many hundred Romans, whom those legal tyrants had betrayed and murdered. But justice herself (if we may use the pathetic expression of Ammianus\textsuperscript{5}) appeared to have been deceived in her choice of the suitor of the empire; and his blood accused the ingratitude of Julian, whose distress had been seasonably relieved by the intrepid liberality of that honest minister. The rage of the soldiers, whom he had provoked by his indiscretion, was the cause and the execuse of a death; and the emperor, deeply wounded by his own reproaches, and those of the public, offered some consolation to the family of Ursulus, by the restitution of his confiscated fortunes. Before the end of the year in which they had been adored with the ensigns of the prefecture and consularship, Taurus and Florentius were reduced to implore the clemency of the inexorable tribunal of Chalcedon. The former was banished to Verceilia in Italy, and a sentence of death was pronounced against the latter. A wise prince should have rewarded the crime of Taurus: the faithful minister, when he was no longer able to oppose the progress of a policy, like himself, under the reign of the emperor and his lawful sovereign. But the guilt of Florentius justified the severity of the judges; and his escape served to display the magnanimity of Julian, who nobly checked the interested diligence of an informer, and refused even to learn what place concealed the wretched fugitive from his own apprehensions. The decision of the tribunal of Chalcedon had been dissolved, the praetorian vicegerent of Africa, the notary Gaudentius, and Artemius \textsuperscript{6} (a prince of Egypt, were executed at Antioch. Artemius had reigned the cruel and corrupt tyrant of a great province. Gaudentius had long practised the arts of calumny against the innocent, the virtuous, and with a feeble hand, of the faction of Julian. But the circumstances of their trial and condemnation were so unskilfully managed, that these wicked men obtained, in the public opinion, the glory of suffering for the obdurate loyalty with which they had supported the cause of Constantius. The rest of his servants were treated by similar marks of clemency; and the opportunities of a multitude, particularly of Egyptians, who loudly demanded the gifts which they had impudently or illegally bestowed; he foresaw the endless procession of vexatious suits; and he engaged a promise, which ought always to have been sacred, that if they would repair to Chalcedon, he would meet them in person, to hear and determine their complaints. But as soon as they were landed, he issued an absolute order, which prohibited the watermen from transporting any Egyptian to Constantinople; and thus detained his disappointed clients on the Asiatic shore, till their patience and money being utterly exhausted, they were induced to return, with indignant murmurs to their native country.\textsuperscript{7}

The numerous army of spies, of agents, 
\textbf{Chremny of Julian.}\textsuperscript{8} to secure the repose of one man, and to interrupt that of millions, was immediately disbanded by his generous master, who, after the accession of Valens, had been appointed to the princes of the old Roman family. This generous merit was not less esteemed, and gentle in his punishments; and his contempt of reason was the result of judgment, of vanity, and of courage. Conscious of superior merit, he was persuaded that few among his subjects would dare to meet him in the field, to attempt his life, or even to sent themselves on his vacant throne. The philosopher could excuse the hasty sallies of discontent; and the hero could despise the ambitious projects which surpassed the fortune or the abilities of the rash conspirators. A citizen of Anyara had prepared for his own use a purple garment; and this indiscreet action, which, in another moment, might have been considered as a capital offence,\textsuperscript{9} was reported to Julian by the officious importunity of a private enemy. The monarch, after making some inquiry into the rank and character of his rival, despatched the informer with a present of a pair of purple slippers, to complete the strong magnificence of his suit. A man of so great a fortune in the empire, that his death, instead of a death of torture, which they deserved and expected, pronounced a sentence of exile against the two principal offenders. The only instance in which Julian seemed to depart from his accustomed clemency, was the execution of a rash youth, who, with a feeble hand, had attempted to assault the camp of the empress. But that youth was the son of Marcellus, the general of cavalry, who, in the first campaign of the Gallic war, had deserted the standard of the Caesar, and the republic. Without appearing to indulge his personal resentment, Julian might easily confound the crime of the son and of the father; but he was recon-

\textsuperscript{4} The two Senators, the prefect of Gaul, and the prefect of the east, must be reasonably distinguished, (That, des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 696.) I have used the names of Secundus, as a conveniant, (for the second.)\textsuperscript{5} The second Senator exerted the esteem of the Christians themselves; and Gregory of Nazianzus, who has celebrated his virtues. (Orat. iii. p. 90.) See a curious note of the share of the Eusebius in Julian, p. 353.\textsuperscript{6} Mamertinus procures the emperor (xlv.) for bestowing the office of treasurer and prefect on a man of wisdom, firmness, integrity, &c. like himself, under the reign of Constantius for the elevation of Julian, quorum merita morat et idem.\textsuperscript{7} The proceedings of the chamber of justice are related by Ammianus (xxii. 3) and praised by Libanius. (Orat. Parent. c. 7, p. 238.)\textsuperscript{8} Eumolpo vero innus ipse mihi videtur futsos justitiam, Libanius, who imputes his death to the soldiers, attempts to criminate the clemency of the emperor.\textsuperscript{9} Such respect was still entertained for the venerable names of the commonwealth, that the public was surprised and scandalised, when a low born officer committed under the consuls of Taurus. The munificence of his colleague, Florentius, was probably delayed till the commencement of the ensuing year.\textsuperscript{10} Ammian. xx. 7.\textsuperscript{11} For the guilt and punishment of Artemius, see Julian, (Epist. x. p. 106.) See also on this head, the Romains, x. 8, the new histories, x. 14; and Cassius on Artémès, who demolished temples, and was put to death by an apostate, has tempted the Greek and Latin churches to honour him as a martyr. But as ecclesiastical history attests, that he was not only a tyrant, but an Atheist, it is not altogether easy to justify this indiscriminate promotion. Thévenot, Mem. Ecles. tom. vii. p. 1359.
Julian was not insensible of the advantages of freedom. From his studies of public life, he had imbibed the spirit of ancient sages and heroes: his life and fortunes had depended on the good will of the people; and for ascended the throne, his pride was sometimes mortified by the reflection, that the slaves who would not dare to censure his defects were not worthy to applaud his virtues. He sincerely abhorred the system of oriental despotism, which DIOCLETIAN, Constantine, and the patient habits of freedom which he had acquired, and established the empire. A motive of superstition prevented the execution of the design which Julian had frequently meditated, of relieving his head from the weight of a costly diadem; but he absolutely refused the title of dominus, or lord, a word which was inscribed on all the acts of his reign. The colleague of Julian, and his own choice Julian himself, in the Senate of Constantinople the same honours, privileges, and authority, which were still enjoyed by the senator of ancient Rome. A legal fiction was introduced, and gradually established, that one half of the national council had migrated into the east; and the despotic successors of Julian, accepting the title of senators, acknowledged themselves the members of a respectable body, which was to represent the majesty of the Roman name. From Constantinople, the attention of the monarch was extended to the municipal senates of the provinces. He abolished, by repeated edicts, the unjust and pernicious exactions which had withdrawn so many able citizens from the service of his empire. He restored the equal distribution of public duties, he restored the strength, the splendour, or, according to the glowing expression of Libanius, the soul of the expiring cities of his empire. The venerable age of his reign excited the most tender emotion in the mind of Julian; which kindled into rapture when he re-collected the gods, the heroes, and the men superior to heroes and to gods, who had bequeathed to the last posterity the monuments of their genius, or the example of their virtues. He relieved the distress, and restored the beauty, of the cities of Epirus and Peloponnesus. Athens acknowledged him for her benefactor; Argos, for her deliverer. The pride of Corinth, again rising from its ruins with the honours of a Roman colony, exacted a tribute from the adjacent republics, for the purpose of destroying the games of the Isis, which the Persians had restored to their empire with the hunting of bears and panthers. From this tribute the cities of Elis, of Delphi, and of Argos, which had inherited from their remote ancestors the sacred office of perpetuating the Olympic, the Pythian, and the Nemean games, claimed a just exemption. The impositions of Julian were, however, more approved by the Christian than by the heathen; and, as the public opinion of the Christians was directed more by the sectarians than the Greeks, the heathen suffering from them were able to pursue their projects. But the behavior of Julian was uniformly supported. During the games of the Circus, he had, imprudently or designately, performed the munificence of a slave in the presence of the council. The moment he was reminded that he had wounded the dignity of another magistrate, he condemned himself to pay a fine of ten pounds of gold; and embraced this public occasion of declaring to the world, that he was subject, like the rest of his fellow-citizens, to the laws, and even to the forms, of the republic. The spirit of his administration, and the regard for the honor of his national religion, induced Julian to confer on the Senate of Constantinople the same honours, privileges, and authority, which were still enjoyed by the Senate of ancient Rome. A legal fiction was introduced, and gradually established, that one half of the national council had migrated into the east; and the despotic successors of Julian, accepting the

9 The elevation of Julian, and the conspiracy which was formed against his life of Antioch, are described by Ammianus, (xvi. 9, 10, and Valens, ad loc.,) and Libanius. (Orat. Parent. c. 99, p. 323.)

10 According to some, says Aristotle, (as he is quoted by Julian ad Theod. p. 516,) "the form of absolute government, the prince, is contrary to nature. Both the prince and the philosopher choose, however, to invoke the eternal truth in artful and laboured obscurity."

11 What seems expressed in almost the words of Julian himself. Ammian. xvi. 16.

12 Libanius, (Orat. Parent. c. 95, p. 529,) who mentions the wish and design of Julian, insinuates in mysterious language, (Cass. Dio. 79. 16. &c. Libanius, (Orat. Parent. c. 95, p. 529,) who mentions the wish and design of Julian, insinuates in mysterious language, (Cass. Dio. 79. 16. &c. ) that the emperor was restored to the possession of his imperial dignity.

13 Julian in Missor. p. 313. As he never abolished, by any public law, the grand appellation, of despot, or dominus, they are still extant on his medals: (Dacier, Fonds Brezette, p. 26, 75.) and the private displeasure which he affected to express, only gave a disposition to those on whom he was pleased to impose the title of prince, with a design to gain the confidence of his subjects.

14 Personal name was condemned by the laws of the twelve tables: "the manservant in the same quis quis quis dominus, justitiae

15 Conditum

16 Julian in Missor. p. 317. owns himself subject to the law; and the title of dominus in manuscripts, (Cass. Dio. 79. 16. &c. Libanius, (Orat. Parent. c. 95, p. 529,) who mentions the wish and design of Julian, insinuates in mysterious language, (Cass. Dio. 79. 16. &c. ) that the emperor was restored to the possession of his imperial dignity.

17 Zosimus, I. III. p. 129.
almost unknown to the modern sovereigns of Europe. The arts of persuasion, so diligently cultivated by the first Caesars, were neglected by the military ignorance and Asiatic pride of their successors; and if they concealed their purpose to harangue the soldiers whom they feared, they treated them with silent disdain the senators whom they despised. The spirit of magnificence and arrogance which Constantius had avoided, were considered by Julian as the place where he could exhibit, with the most propriety, the maxims of a republican, and the talents of a rhetorician. He alternately practised, as in a school of declamation, the several modes of praise, of censure, of exhortation, and of incitement. He once remarked, that the study of Homer taught him to imitate the simple, concise style of Menelaurus, the copiousness of Nestor, whose words descended like the flakes of a winter's snow, or the pathetic and forcible eloquence of Ulysses. The functions of a judge, which are sometimes incompatible with those of a prince, were exercised by Julian, not only as a duty, but as an amusement; and although he might have trusted the integrity and discernment of his prætorian prefects, he often placed himself by their side on the seat of judgment. The acute penetration of his mind was agreeably occupied by the writing and dictating of the addresses of the advocates, who laboured to disguise the truth of facts, and to pervert the sense of the laws. He sometimes forgot the gravity of his station, asked indiscreet or unseasonable questions, and betrayed, by the loudness of his voice, and the agitation of his body, the earnest vehemence with which he maintained his opinion against the judges, the advocates, and their clients. But his knowledge of his own temper prompted him to encourage, and even to solicit, the reproof of his friends and ministers; and whenever they ventured to oppose the irregular sallies of his passions, the spectacles were agreeable to the jealous people, from as well as through the monarch. The decrees of Julian were almost always founded on the principles of justice; and he had the firmness to resist the two most dangerous temptations which assault the tribunal of a sovereign, under the specious forms of compassion and equity. He decided the merits of the cause without weighing the circumstances of the parties; and the poor, whom he wished to relieve, were condemned to satisfy the just demands of a noble and wealthy adversary. He carefully distinguished the judge from the legislator; and though he meditated a necessary reformation of the Roman jurisprudence, he pronounced sentence according to the strict and literal interpretation of those laws, which the magistrates were bound to execute, and the subjects to obey.

His character. The generality of princes, if they were stripped of their purple, and cast naked into the world, would immediately sink to the lowest rank of society, without a hope of emerging from their obscurity. But the personal merit of Julian was, in some measure, independent of his fortune. Whatever had been his choice of life, by the force of intrepid courage, lively wit, and intense application, he would have obtained him an immortality in the annals of the next highest honours of his profession; and Julian might have raised himself to the rank of minister, or general, of the state in which he was born a private citizen. If the jealous caprice of power had disappointed his expectations; if he had providently declined the paths of greatness, the employment of some of the most illustrious solitude would have placed, beyond the reach of kings, his present happiness and his immortal fame. When we inspect, with minute or perhaps malevolent attention, the portrait of Julian, something seems wanting to the grace and perfection of the whole figure. His genius was less powerful and sublime than that of Caesar; nor did he possess the consummate prudence of Augustus. The virtues of Trajan appear more steady and natural, and the philosophy of Marcus is more simple and consistent. Yet Julian sustained adversity with firmness, and prosperity with moderation. After an interval of one hundred and twenty years from the death of Alexander Severus, the Romans beheld an emperor who made no distinction between his duties and his pleasures; who laboured to relieve the distress and to revive the spirit of his subjects; and who endeavoured always with authority with merit, and happiness with virtue. Even faction, and religious faction, was constrained to acknowledge the superiority of his genius, in peace as well as in war, and to confess, with a sigh, that the apostate Julian was a lover of his country, and that he deserved the empire of the world.

CHAPTER XXIII.
The religion of Julian.—Universal toleration.—He attempts to restore and reform the pagan worship—to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem. His arthul persecution of the christians.—Mutual zeal and injustice.

Religion of Julian. The character of Apostle has injured the reputation of Julian; and the enthusiasm which clouded his virtues, has exaggerated the real and apparent magnitude of his faults. Our partial ignorance may represent him as a philosophic monarch, who studied to protect, with an equal hand, the religious factions of the empire; and to allay the theological fever which had inflamed the minds of the sectaries. The edicts of Diocletian to the exile of Athanasius. A more accurate view of the character and conduct of Julian will remove this favourable prepossession for a prince who did not escape the general contagion of the times. We enjoy the singular advantage of comparing the pictures which have been delineated by his most admiring friends, and his implacable enemies. The actions of Julian are faithfully related by a judicious and candid historian, the impartial spectator of his life and death. The unanimous evidence of his contemporaries is confirmed by the public and private declarations of the emperor himself; and his various writings express the uniform tenor of his religious sentiments, which policy would have prompted him to dissemble rather than to affect. A devout and sincere attachment for the gods of Athens and Rome constituted the ruling passion of Julian; the powers of an enlightened understanding were betrayed and corrupted by the principles of superstition, which were resented with the utmost censure, and soe by the senate, and by the people, who were in a state of perpetual suspense; and the phantoms which existed only in the mind of the emperor, had a real and pernicious effect on the government of the empire. The vehement zeal of the Christians, who despised the worship, and overturned the altars, of those fabulous deities, engaged their votes as much for the purification of the city with a very numerous party of superstition's professed; and the phantoms which existed only in the mind of the emperor, had a real and pernicious effect on the government of the empire. The vehement zeal of the Christians, who despised the worship, and overturned the altars, of those fabulous deities, engaged their votes as much for the purification of the city with a very numerous party of superstition's professed; and the phantoms which existed only in the mind of the emperor, had a real and pernicious effect on the government of the empire. The vehement zeal of the Christians, who despised the worship, and overturned the altars, of those fabulous deities, engaged their votes as much for the purification of the city with a very numerous party of superstition's professed; and the phantoms which existed only in the mind of the emperor, had a real and pernicious effect on the government of the empire.

Vol. I.—2 N

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Gothofred. Cron. Legum, p. 61—67.) the abbe de la

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"- Durant fortissimum arvum

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Religionem eum Christianam, et Diocletianum

Perfidus. Apologia, 450, &c.

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Julian; and the unsuccessful apostate has been over-
whelmed with a torrent of pious invective, of which the
signal was given by the sonorous trumpet of Gregory
and Niconian.* The interesting moments of the empire
which were crowded into the short reign of this active
emperor, deserve a just and circumstantial narrative.
His motives, his counsels, and his actions, as far as
they are connected with the history of religion, will be
the subject of the present chapter.
His character was strange and fatal
apostasy,* apostasy, may be derived from the early
period of his life, when he was left an orphan in the
hands of the murderers of his family. The names of
Christ and of Constantius, the ideas of slavery and of
religion, were soon associated in a youthful imagina-
tion, with the repugnances of the early Christian
reasons. The care of his infancy was intrusted to Euse-
bius, bishop of Nicomedia, who was related to him
on the side of his mother; and till Julian reached the
twentieth year of his age he received from his christian
preceptors the education not of a hero, but of a saint.
The emperor, less jealous of a heavenly than an earthly
crown, contented himself with the imperfect character
of a catechumen, while he bestowed the advantages
of baptism on the nephews of Constantine.† They
were even admitted to the inferior offices of the eclec-
ticism. But Julian preserved the popular character of
Scriptorius in the church of Nicomedia. The study of
religion, which they assiduously cultivated, appeared
able to produce the fairest fruits of faith and devotion.
They prayed, they fasted, they distributed alms to the
poor, gifts to the clergy, and oblations to the tombs of
the martyrs. The splendid monument of St. Herman,
at Caesarea, was erected, or at least was under-
taken, by the joint labour of Gallus and Julian.‡ They
respectfully conversed with the bishops, who were
eminent for superior sanctity, and solicited the bene-
diction of the monks and hermits, who had introduced
into the Christian religion the voluntary labor of the
man. As the two princes advanced towards the years
of manhood they discovered, in their religious senti-
ments, the difference of their characters. The dull and
obstinate understanding of Gallus embraced, with im-
partial zeal, the doctrines of christianity; which never
influenced his conduct, or moderated his passions. The
mild disposition of the younger brother was less re-
pugnant to the precepts of the gospel; and his active
curiosity might have been gratified by a theological

* The orator, with some eloquence, much enthusiasm, and more
vanity, addresses his discourse to heaven and earth, to men and an-
gels; to God and to the great Constantius. (Ioannis or. iv. 160, an old pagan expression.) He concludes with a bold assurance, that he has erected a monument not less durable, and more venerable, than the columns of the ancients. See Socrates,
Nazianzen, Orat. iii. 59, p. 134.
‡ As Julian, which has been injudiciously divided into two orations in Gregory's Works, tom. i. p. 108—134. Paris, 1830. It was published by Gregory and his friend Basil (ib. p. 123,) about six
months after the death of Julian, when his remains had been car-
rried to Tarsus, (iv. p. 120,) but while Justin was still on the throne,
(III. iii. 54, iv. 117,) I have derived much assistance from a French
version and remarks printed at Lyons, 1725.
§ Nicomede archbishop of Edessa eturcucus episcopus, quem genere longissimo
consequutur, (Amman. xxii. 9,) Julian never expresses any grati-
tude towards that Arius prelate; but he celebrates his preceptor, the
emperor Constantius, for having constituted him a bishop, which
enabled his pupil with a passionate admiration for the genius, and per-
haps his hater, Moesecius, (Adscript. ep. ii. 103.)
Greg. Nazianz. ii. p. 79. He laboured to efface that holy mark in the
No. 2. 5.
§ Julian himself (Epist. ii. 154,) assures the Alexandrians that he had
never religious opinions; and must mean a sentence of
his age of year.
* See his chrism, and even his ecclesiastical education, in Gri-
gory, (80. p. 56.) Socrates, (i. iii. 1.) and Sozomen, (iv. v. 2.) He
escaped very narrowly from being a bishop, and perhaps a saint.
† This bishop, who had been intrusted to Gallus, was prosecuted with vigour and success; but the earth obstinately rejected
and clung to the saint. The saint was repelled by the menace of
Darius. See Julian, iii. p. 59—61. Such a partial earthquake, at-
tested by many living spectators, would form one of the clearest mi-
isters of the Flavian era.
§ The philosopher (Fragment, p. 292,) ridicules the iron chains, St.
Cr. c. i. p. 90, (see C. D. Gruen. Ecbc. tom. vii. p. 601, 625,) who had forgotten that man is by nature a gentle and social
animal, and why are chains cast upon the gods, The Pagans supposes,
that because they had resisted these gods, they were possessed and
terrorized by evil deuses.

system, which explains the mysterious essence of the
Deity, and opens the boundless prospect of invisible
and future worlds. But the independent spirit of Ju-
lian refused to yield the passive tables, which was
the audience which was required, in the name of religion, by
the haughty ministers of the church. Their specula-
tive opinions were imposed as positive laws, and
Guarded by the terrors of eternal punishments; but
while they prescribed the rigid formulary of the
Arian creed, he presented the principles of which
the parties were entitled to the respect of his ecclesiastical
guides. He was edu-
cated in the Lower Asia, in the school of
Mardonius. The fierce contests of the early
bishops, the incessant alterations of their creeds, and
the profane motives which appeared to actuate their
conduct, insensibly strengthened the prejudices of Ju-
lian, that they neither understood nor believed the
religion for which they so fiercely contended. Instead of
listening to the proofs of christianity with that favour-
mable attention which adds weight to the most respectable
evidence, he heard with suspicion, and disputed with
obstancy and acuteness, the doctrines for which he
had already experienced an invincible aversion. Whenever
his youth was occupied by the study of Homer, he
was forced to turn his thoughts to the examination of
the speculations on the prevailing controversies, Julian
always declared himself the advocate of paganism;
under the specious excuse that in the defence of
the weaker cause, his learning and ingenuity might be
more advantageously exercised and displayed.
As soon as Julian ascended to the throne, he
abruptly refused the honours of the purple. Julian was
said to be the only man who had ever been
permitted to breathe the air of freedom,
of literature, and of paganism.* The crowd of sophists,
who were attracted by the taste and liberality of their
royal pupil, had formed a strict alliance between the
pagan philosophy and the public office. Homer, instead of being admired as the original
productions of human genius, were seriously ascribed to
the heavenly inspiration of Apollo and the muses. The
deities of Olympus, as they are painted by the immor-
tal bard, impart themselves on the minds which are
the least addicted to superstitious credulity. Our
familiar knowledge of their names and characters, their
forms and attributes, seems to bestow on those airy
beings a real and substantial existence; and the pleasing
enchantment produces an imperfect and momentary as-
sent of the imagination to those objects which are our
reason and experience. In the age of Julian, every circumstance contributed to
prolong and fortify the illusion; the magnificent temples of Greece and Asia; the works of those artists who
had expressed, in painting or in sculpture, the divine
conceptions of the poet; the pomp of festivals and sacri-
fices; the successful arts of divination; the popular
traditions of oracles and prodigies; and the ancient
practice of two thousand years. The weakness
of polytheism was, in some measure, excused by the
moderation of its claims; and the devotion of the
pagans was not only as despicable as their creeds,
but rather a tolerable theology: but he maintains that the christian Trinity is not derived from the doctrine of Paul, of Jesus, or of Moses.
* A modern philosopher has ingeniously compared the different
operation of thiasism and polytheism, with regard to the doubt or con-
version which they produce in the human mind. See Hume's Ev-
The philosophers of the Platonic school, Plotinus, Porphyry, and the divine Iamblichus, were admitted as the most skilful masters of this allegorical science, which laboured to soften and harmonize the deformed features of paganism. Julian himself, who was directed in the mysterious pursuit by Iamblichus, the venerable successor of Iamblichus, aspired to the possession of a treasure, which he esteemed, if we may credit his solemn asseverations, the most agreeable discovery the world had been expounded and unfolded by Porphyry; but his labours served only to animate the pious industry of Julian, who invented and published his own allegory of that ancient and mystic tale. This freedom of interpretation, which might gratify the pride of the Platonists, exposed the vanity of their art. In their opinion, a system formed by the gods is not a formal idea of the universe, the world; it is a grand precept, an inexhaustible source of knowledge, an inexhaustible fountain of instruction. The number of its features is unlimited, and the mind of the prudent and pious might derive from it a knowledge of God the perfect, and that of human nature, the perfection of the soul; and, in short, the number of its precepts is in proportion to the number of the good and virtuous. The speculative system of the Platonic philosophy is a fount of instruction and of salvation. The sage, who should derive information from it on all the subjects of mystery, would be enabled to follow the will of God and to attain to that perfection which he desires. This is the whole of the system of the Platonic philosophy, which is the subject of this book. The nature and number of this system are of such a kind that they cannot be comprehended by the human mind. The system is as vast as the universe, and the mind of the sage is as vast as the universe. The system is a fount of instruction, and the mind of the sage is a fount of instruction. The system is an inexhaustible source of knowledge, and the mind of the sage is an inexhaustible source of knowledge. The system is a fount of instruction and of salvation, and the mind of the sage is a fount of instruction and of salvation. The system is a fount of instruction and of salvation, and the mind of the sage is a fount of instruction and of salvation. The system is a fount of instruction and of salvation, and the mind of the sage is a fount of instruction and of salvation.
In every age, the absence of genuine inspiration is supplied by the strong illusions of enthusiasm, and the mimic arts of imposture. If, in the time of Julian, these arts had been practised only by the pagan priests, for the support of an expiring cause, some indulgence might perhaps be allowed to the interest and habits of the surrounding population. But it must be kept in mind that their object was not to produce surprise and scandal, that the philosophers themselves should have contributed to abuse the superstitious credulity of mankind, and that the Grecian mysteries should have been supported by the magic or theurgy of the Roman Platonists. They had as much pretension to control the order of nature, to explore the secrets of futurity, to command the service of the inferior demons, to enjoy the view and conversation of the superior gods, and, by disinquai the soul from her material bands, to re-unite that imm mortal particle with the infinite and Divine Spirit.

The devout and fearless curiosity of Julian. Julian tempted the philosophers with the hopes of an easy conquest; which, from the situation of their young prospelyte, might be productive of the most important consequences. Julian imbibed the fatal doctrines of the Platonian library, and from the mouth of ̄Edesius, who had fixed at Pergamus his wandering and persecuted school. But as the declining strength of that venerable sage was unequal to the ardour, the diligence, the rapid conception of his pupil, two of his most learned disciples, Chrysantas and Eleutherus, at his request, undertook the plan of their aged master. These philosophers seem to have prepared and distributed their respective parts and the artfully contrived, by dark hints, and affected disputes, to excite the impatient hopes of the aspirants, till they delivered him into the hands of their associates, Maximus, the boldest and most skilful master of the Theurgic science. By his hands, Julian was secretly initiated at Ephesus, in the twentieth year of his age. His residence at Athens confirmed this unnatural alliance of philosophy and superstition. He obtained the privilege of a solemn initiation into the mysteries of Eleusis, which, amidst the general decay of the Grecian worship, still retained some vestiges of their primavai sanctity; and such was the zeal of Julian, that he afterwards invited the Eleusinian pontiff to the court of Gaul, for the sole purpose of confounding the ancient rites with the new; of making the adorable name of Jesus bear down on the imaginations of the faithful, or the imagination of the credulous aspirants, till the visions of comfort and knowledge broke upon him in a blaze of celestial light. In the caverns of Ephesus and Eleusis, the mind of Julian was penetrated with sincere, deep, and unalterable enthusiasm; though he might sometimes exhibit the vicissitudes of pious fraud and hypocrisy, which may be observed, or at least suspected, in the characters of the most conscientious fanatics.

From that moment he consecrated his life to the service of the gods; and while the occupations of war, of government, and of study, seemed to claim the whole measure of his life, a stated portion of the hours of the night was invariably reserved for the exercise of private devotion. The temperance which adorned the severe manners of the soldier and the philosopher, was connected with some strict and arduoususter of every hour, the presence of some charitable and edifying pain, the hour of the Communion of Saints, the hour in honour of Pan or Mercury, of Hecate or Jais, that Julian, on particular days, denied himself the use of some particular food, which might have been offensive to his tutelar deities. By these voluntary fasts, he prepared his senses and his understanding for the frequent and familiar visits with which he was honoured by the celestial powers. Notwithstanding the modest silence of Julian himself, we may learn from his faithful friend, the orator Libanius, that he lived in a perpetual intercourse with the gods and goddesses; that they descended upon earth to enjoy the conversation of his inviolate residence, of his family, to listen to a slumber touching his hand or his hair; that they warned him of every impending danger, and conducted him, by their infallible wisdom, in every action of his life; and that he had acqui ested such an intimate knowledge of his heavenly guests, as readily to distinguish the voice of the Olympian Jove from that of the Thracian Apollo from the figure of Hercules. These sleeping or waking visions, the ordinary effects of abstinence and fanaticism, would almost degrade the emperor to the level of an Egyptian monk. But the useless lives of Antony and Julian, were the consequence of his superstitions and occupations. Julian could break from the dream of superition to arm himself for battle; and after vanishing in the field the enemies of Rome, he calmly retired into his tent, to dictate the wise and salutary laws of an empire, or to indulge his genius in the elegant pursuits of literature and philosophy.

The important secret of the apostasy. His religious disinclination of Julian was intrusted to the fidelity of the initiated, with whom he was united by the sacred ties of friendship and religion. The pleasing rumour was cautiously circulated among the adherents of the Platonian school, as an object of the hopes, the prayers, and the predictions of the pagans, in every province of the empire. From the zeal and virtues of their royal prospelyte, they fondly expected the cure of every evil, and the restoration of every blessing; and instead of disapproving of the arbour of Jove, they recommended it to the Julianists. It was reported that he was ambitious to attain a situation, in which he might be useful to his country and to his religion. But this religion was viewed with an hostile eye by the successor of Constantine, whose passionate and alternately saved and threatened the life of Julian.

The arts of magic and divination were strictly prohibited under a despotic government, which condescending to fear them; and if the pagans were reluctantly indulged in the exercise of their superstition, the rank of Julian would have excepted him from the general inhibition. His ardent ambition and dextrous policy, the speculative heir of the monarchy, and his death could alone have appeased the just apprehensions of the Christians.
But the young prince, who aspired to the glory of a hero rather than of a martyr, consulted his safety by dissembling his religion; and the easy temper of Polytheism permitted him to join in the public worship of a sect which he inwardly despised. Libanius has considered the hypocrisy of his friend as a subject not of censure, but of praise. "As the statues of the gods," says that orator, "which have been defiled with filth, and again purified with water, prove that the beauty of truth was seated in the mind of Julian, after it had been purified from the errors and follies of his education. His sentiments were changed, but as it would have been dangerous to have avowed his sentiments, his conduct still continued the same. Very different from his philosopher, Zosip, who disguised himself within Julian's hide, out from which, according to Euseb, he concealed himself under the skin of an ass; and, while he embraced the dictates of reason, to obey the laws of prudence and necessity." The dissolution of Julian lasted above ten years, from his secret initiation at Ephesus to the beginning of the civil war; when he declared himself at once the implacable enemy of Christ and of Constantius. This state of constraint might contribute to strengthen his devotion; and as soon as he had satisfied the obligation of assisting, on solemn festivals, at the assemblies of the christians, Julian returned, with the impatience of a lover, to burn his free and voluntary incense in the common temple of religion, without distinction of sects. But as every act of dissimulation must be painful to an ingenuous spirit, the profession of Christianity increased the aversion of Julian for a religion which oppressed the freedom of his mind, and compelled him to hold a conduct repugnant to the noblest attributes of human nature—simplicity and courage.

The inclination of Julian might prefer Christianity, the gods of Homer, and of the Scipios, to the new faith, which his uncle had established in the Roman empire; and in which he himself had been sanctified by the sacrament of baptism. But, as a philosoper, it was incumbent on him to justify his dissent from Christianity, which was supported by the number of its converts, by the chain of prophecy, the splendour of miracles, and the weight of evidence. The elaborate work, which he composed amidst the preparations of the Persian war, contained the substance of his reasonings on this subject, which are still preserved in his mind. Some fragments have been transcribed and preserved, by his adversary, the vehement Cyril of Alexandria; and they exhibit a very singular mixture of wit and learning, of sophistry and fanaticism. The elegance of the style, and the rank of the author, recommended these pages to universal attention; and in the impious list of the enemies of Christianity, the celebrated name of Porphyry was effaced by the superior merit or reputation of Julian. The minds of the faithful were either seduced, or scandalized, or alarmed; and the pagans, who sometimes presumed to engage in the unequal dispute, derived, from the popular reputation of their imperial missionary, an inexhaustible supply of fallacious objections. But in the assiduous prosecution of these theological studies, the emperor of the Romans imbibed the libellous prejudices and passions of a polemic divine. He contrived an irrevocable obligation to maintain and propagate his religious opinions; and whilst he secretly applauded the strength and dexterity with which he wielded the weapons of controversy, he was tempted to despise the cold reason, to inveigh against the understanding, of his antagonists, who could obstinately resist the force of reason and eloquence.

The Christians, who beheld with horror Universal toleration and indignation the apostasy of Julian, were not so acutely affected. He had much more to fear from his power than from his arguments. The pagans, who sincerely admired the purity of his fervent zeal, expected, perhaps with impatience, that the flames of persecution should be immediately kindled against the enemies of the gods; and that the ingenious malice of Julian would invent some cruel refinements of death and torture, which had been unknown to the ancients. But, they said, "who could resist the anger of the gods? But the hopes, as well as the fears, of the religious factions were apparently disappointed, by the prudent humanity of a prince, who was careful of his own fame, of the public peace, and of the rights of mankind. Instructed by history and reflection, Julian was persuaded, that if the diseases of the body may sometimes be cured by solitary violence, neither steel nor fire can eradicate the erroneous opinions of the mind. The reluctant victim may be dragged to the foot of the altar; but the heart still abhors and disdain the sacrilegious act of the hand. Religious obstinacy is hardened and exasperated by oppression; and, as soon as the religious subsystems, which had been yielded, are restored as penitents, and those who have resisted, are honoured as saints and martyrs. If Julian adopted the unsuccessful cruelty of Diocletian and his colleagues, he was sensible that he should stain his memory with the name of tyrant, and add new gloires to the Catholic church, which had derived strength and increase from the severity of the pagan magistrates. Actuated by these motives, and apprehensive of disturbing the repose of an unsettled reign, Julian surprised the world by an edict, which was not unworthy of a statesman or a philosopher. He extended to all the inhabitants of the Roman world the privilege of a public profession, of their religion; and the only hardship which he inflicted on the christians, was to deprive them of the power of tormenting their fellow-subjects, whom they stigmatized with the odious titles of idolaters and heretics. The pagans received a gracious permission, or rather an expression of the opinion of the emperor, and they were once delivered from the oppressive laws, and arbitrary vexations, which they had sustained under the reign of Constantine and of his sons. At the same time the bishops and clergy, who had been banished by the Arian monarch, were recalled from exile, and received every honor, and the Donatists, the Novatians, the Macedonians, the Eunomians, and those who, with a more prosperous fortune, adhered to the doctrine of the council of Nice. Julian, who understood and derided their theological disputes, invited to the palace the leaders of the hostile sects, that he might enjoy the agreeable spectacle of their various encounters. The clamour of controversy sometimes provoked the emperor to exclaim, "Hear me! the Franks have heard me, and the Alemanni." but he soon discovered that he was now engaged with more obstinate and implacable enemies; and though he exerted the powers of oratory to persuade them to live in concord, or at least in peace, he was perfectly satisfied, before he dismissed them from his presence, that he had nothing to dread from the union of the christians. The impartial Ammianus has ascribed this af

3 About seventy years after the death of Julian, he executed a task which had been freely offered by Philip of Side, a prolix and contemporary writer. Even the work of Cyril has not entirely satisfied the most favorable judges: and the Abbe de la Blettere (Pre- face a la Hist. de Jovien, p. 30, 32, 36) wishes that some theologians, who had been to the Mount of Olives, would undertake the history of Julian. cf. Libanius, (Orat. Parental, c. xlviii, p. 313.) who has been sup- posed of assisting his friend, prefers this divine vivification (Orat. i. c.) to those in recent Julian, p. 555, edit. Marcil. to the writings of Porphyry. His judgment may be arraigned, (Socrates, i. i. c. 22.) but Libanius cannot be accused of flattery to a dead prince.
4 Libanius, (Orat. Parental, c. xvii, p. 283, 284.) has eloquently explained the total weakness and passivity of his imperial friend. In a very remarkable epistle to the people of Ostroh, Julian himself, (ib.) professes his ignorance of, and dislike to, a strange and undetermined force, which impedes his intellect. ed. He is acknowledged by Ammianus, and exposed by Gregory. (Orat. iii. p. 72.)
5 In 431 the emperor, as the bishop of Minervius was opened by his express command, before the death of Constantius (Lib. Orat. Parental, c. xxxv, p. 289;) and Julian declares himself a pagan, in his public man- festo to the Athenians. This unquestionable evidence may correct the hasty assertion of Ammianus, who seems to suppose Constantine to be the place where he discovered his attachment to the gods.
declared eloquently to the desire of founding the intestine divisions of the church; and the insidious design of undermining the foundations of Christianity, was insensibly connected with the zeal, which Julian professed, to restore the ancient religion of the empire. As soon as he ascended the throne, he assumed, according to the custom of his predecessors, the name of pontiff; not only as the most honourable title of imperial greatness, but as a sacred and important office; the duties of which he was resolved to execute with pious diligence. As the business of the state prevented the emperor from joining every day at the altar of his subject divinities, he resolved to rededicate a domestic chapel to his tutelar deity the Sun; his gardens were filled with statues and altars of the gods; and each apartment of the palace displayed the appearance of a magnificent temple. Every morning he saluted the parent of light with a sacrifice; the blood of another victim was shed at the moment when the sun sunk below the horizon; and the moon, the stars, and the genius of the night, received their respective and seasonable honours from the indefatigable devotion of Julian. On solemn festivals, he regularly visited the temple, or godly temple, too, on the day when it was peculiarly consecrated, and endeavoured to excite the religion of the magistrates and people by the example of his own zeal. Instead of maintaining the lofty state of a monarch, distinguished by the splendour of his purple, and encompassed by the golden shields of his honour, and enriched with the title of the most exalted, the meanest offices which contributed to the worship of the gods. Amidst the sacred but licentious crowd of priests, of inferior ministers, and of female dancers, who were dedicated to the service of the temple, it was the business of the emperor to bring the wood, to blow the flames of the fire, to feed the flames, to pour the wine, and, thrusting his bloody hands into the bowels of the expiring animal, to draw forth the heart or liver, and to read, with the consummate skill of a haruspex, the imaginary signs of future events. The wisest of the pagans censured this extravagant superstition, which affected to despise the restrictions of prudence and decency. Under the reign of a prince, who practised the rigid maxims of economy, the expense of religious worship consumed a very large portion of the revenue; a constant supply of the sacrificial and most beautiful birds was derived from distant climates, to be offered on the altars of the gods; an hundred oxen were frequently sacrificed by Julian on one and the same day; and it soon became a popular jest, that if he should return with conquest from the Persian war, the breed of domestic cattle must infallibly be extinguished. Yet this excess may appear inconsiderable, when it is compared with the splendid presents which were offered, either by the hand, or by order, of the emperor, to all the celebrated places of devotion in the Roman world; and with the sums allotted to repair and decorate the ancient temples, which had suffered the silent decay of time or the recent injuries of Christian rapacity. Encouraged by the example, the exhortations, the liberality, of their pious sovereign, the cities and families resumed the practice of their neglected ceremonies. Every part of the world, exhales Libanius, with devout transport, displayed the triumph of religion; and the grateful prospect of the immortal, bleeding victims, the smoke of incense, and a solemn train of priests and prophets, without fear and without danger. The sound of prayer and of music was heard on the tops of the highest mountains; and the same ox afford ed a sacrifice for the gods, and a supper for their joyous votaries.

But the genius and power of Julian, Reformation of were unequivalent to the enterprise of restoring paganism, a religion, which was destitute of theological principles, of moral precepts, and of ecclesiastical discipline; which rapidly hastened to decay and dissolution, and was not susceptible of any solid or consistent reformation. The jurisdiction of the supreme pontiff, more especially in the person of suppliant and humble Julian, comprehended the whole extent of the Roman empire. Julian named for his vicars, in the several provinces, the priests and philosophers, whom he esteemed the best qualified to co-operate in the extension of his great design; and his pastoral letters, if we may so term them, are curious sketches of his wishes and intentions. He directs, that in every city the sacerdotal order should be composed, without any distinction of birth or fortune, of those persons who were the most conspicuous for their love of the gods, and of men. "If they are guilty," continues he, "of any scandalous offence, they should be censured or degraded by the superior pontiff; but, as long as they retain their rank, they are entitled to the respect of the magistrates and people. Their humility may be shown in the plainness of their dress, or in the sobriety of their provisions and entertainments. When they are summoned in their turn to officiate before the altar, they ought not, during the appointed number of days, to depart from the precincts of the temple; nor should a single day be suffered to elapse, without the prayers and the sacrifice, which they are bound to perform, with respect to the gods and of individuals. The exercise of their sacred functions requires an immeasurable purity, both of mind and body; and even when they are dismissed from the temple to the occupations of common life, it is incumbent on them to excel in decency and virtue the rest of their fellow-citizens. They should never be seen in theatres or taverns. His conversation should be chaste, his diet temperate, his friends of honourable reputation; and if he sometimes visits the forum or the palace, he should appear only as the advocate of those who have vainly solicited either justice or money. His studies should be suited to the sanctity of his profession. Licentious tales, or comedies, or satires, must be banished from his library, which ought solely to consist of historical and philosophical writings; of history which is founded in truth, and of philosophy which is united with religion. The impious opinions of the epicureans, and sceptics, observe his abhorrence and contempt; but he should diligently study the systems of Pythagoras, of Plato, and of the Stoics, which unanimously teach that there are gods; that the world is governed by their providence, and that the world has been prepared for the human soul a future state of reward or punishment. The imperial pontiff inculcates, in the most perspicuous language, the duties of benevolence and hospitality; exhorts his inferior clergy to recommend the universal practice of these virtues; promises to assist their inducement from the public treasury; and declares his resolution of establishing hospitals in every city, where the poor should be received without any invidious distinction of country or of religion. Julian beheld with envy the wise and humane regulations of the church.
and he very frankly confesses his intention to deprive the christians of the applause, as well as advantage, which they had acquired by the exclusive practice of charity and beneficence. The same spirit of imitation might dispose the emperor to adopt several ecclesiastical institutions, the use and importance of which were apparent from the example of Constantine; but the attempts of Julian to adopt these imaginary plans of reformation had been real- 
ized, the forced and imperfect copy would have been less beneficial to paganism, than honourable to christianity. The gentiles, who peaceably followed the customs of their ancestors, were rather surprised than pleased with the innovations of their prince; but in the short period of his reign, Julian had frequent occasions to complain of the want of fervour of his own party.

3 Yet he intimates, that the christians, under the pretence of charity, invited children from their religion and parents, conveyed them to Asia, and devoured those victims to a life of poverty or servitude in a remote country, where they were to have it was his duty, not to complain, but to punish. The argument is strong and argumentative. (Orat. iii. p. 101, 102, &c.) He ridicules the folly of such vain imitation; and among the things which, with imaging, what lessons, moral or theological, could be extracted from this story? He accuses one of his pontiffs of a secret conspiracy with the christians, but did not show whom. (Epist. xxxi.) The emperor attributed the war which he conducted against the Saracens, to the interests of Christianity, and, he supposes, to the spirit of Julian, which he supposes, in the midst of the assembly; and where he publicly acknowledged the benefits which he had derived from the influences of paganism. Julian acquired the confidence, and influenced the councils, of Julian, was insensibly corrupted by the temptations of a court. His dress became more splendid, his demeanour more lofty, and he was exposed, under a succeeding reign, to a disgraceful inquiry into the means by which the disciples of Platonism were encouraged; and in the short duration of his favour, a very scandalous proportion of wealth. The other philosophers and sophists, who were invited to the imperial residence by the choice of Julian, or by the success of Maximus, few were able to preserve their innocence or their reputation. The liberal gifts of money, lands, and houses, were insufficient to satiate their rapacious appetite; and the indigination of the people was justly excited by the remembrance of their abject poverty and disinterested professions. The penetration of Julian could not always be deceived: but he was unwilling to despise the characters of those men whose talents deserved his approbation; but he could not escape the imputation of imprudence and inconstancy; and he was apprehensive of degrading, in the eyes of the profane, the honour of letters and of religion.

4 The favour of Julian was almost equally divided between the pagans, who had formerly adhered to the system of their ancestors, and the christians, who prudently embraced the religion of their sovereign. The acquisition of new proselytes gratified the ruling passions of his soul, superstition and vanity; and he was heard to declare, with the enthusiasm of a missionary, that if he could render each of his subjects a Midas, and turn them into his gods, he should not esteem himself the benefactor of mankind, unless, at the same time, he could reclaim his subjects from their impious revolt against the immortal gods. A prince, who had studied human nature, and who possessed the treasures of the Roman empire, could adapt his arguments, his promises, and his rewards, to every order of Christians; and the merit of a seasonable conversion was allowed to supply the defects of a candidate, or even to expiate the guilt of a criminal. As the army is the most forcible engine of absolute power, Julian applied himself, with that peculiar diligence and application, to the conversion of his soldiers, without whose hearty concurrence every measure must be dangerous and unsuccessful; and the natural temper of soldiers made this conquest as easy as it was important. The legions of Gaul devoted themselves to the faith, as well as to the fortunes, of their victorious leader; and even before the death of Constantinus,
he had the satisfaction of announcing to his friends, that they assisted with fervent devotion, and voracious appetites; at the sacrifices, which were repeatedly offered in his camp, of whole hecatombs of fat oxen. The armies of the east, which had been trained under the standard of the cross, and of Constantius, required more of the sacrificial mode of persuasion. On the days of solemn and public festivals, the emperor received the homage, and rewarded the merit of the troops. His throne of state was encircled with the military ensigns of Rome and the republic; the holy name of Christ was not erased from the oraculum; and the symbols of war, of majesty, and of pagan superstition; were so dexterously blended, that the faithful subject incurred the guilt of idolatry, when he respectfully saluted the person or image of his sovereign. The soldiers passed successfully in review; and each of them, before he received from the hand of Julian a liberal donative, proportioned to his rank and services, was required to cast a few grains of incense into the flame which burnt upon the altar. Some Christian confessors might resist, and others might repent; but the far greater number, allured by the prospect of gold, and aware of the nature of the engagement of his criminal; and their future perseverance in the worship of the gods was enforced by every consideration of duty and of interest. By the frequent repetition of these arts, and at the expense of sums which would have purchased the service of half the nations of Christendom, the Roman soldiery gradually acquiesced in the imaginary protection of the gods, and for himself the firm and effectual support of the Roman legions. It is indeed more than probable, that the restoration and encouragement of paganism revealed a multitude of pretended Christians, who, from motives of temporal advantage, were seduced into the service of the state, and by the personal influence of Constantius, and by the vacant space of the lower city was filled with the public and private edifices of the Gallon colony, which spread themselves over the adjacent hill of Calvary. The holy places were polluted with the monuments of idolatry; and, either from design or accident, a chapel was erected to Venus in the spot which had been consecrated by the death and resurrection of Christ. Almost three hundred years after those stupendous events, the profane chapel of Venus was demolished by the order of Constantine; and the removal of the earth and stones revealed the holy sepulchre to the eyes of mankind. A magnificent church was erected on that mystic ground, by the first christian emperor; and the effects of his pious munificence were extended to every spot which had been consecrated by the footsteps of patriarchs, of prophets, and of the Son of God.

The passionate desire of contemplating the places of biblical history inspired an enterprise, which attracted to Jerusalem a successive crowd of pilgrims, from the shores of the Atlantic ocean, and the most distant countries of the east; and their piety was authorised by the example of the emperor Helena, who, during her reign, erected on the site which the warm feelings of a recent conversion. Sages and heroes, who have visited the memorable scenes of ancient

1 CIL, ix. 1241, 1242.
2 Diodorus, i. 17.
3 Suetonius, xxvi. 5.
4 Itinerarium Hierosolimitanum, p. 70.
5 Suetonius, xxvi. 5.
6 Josephus, Antiq. xi. 5, 9.
7 Diodorus, i. 17.

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wisdom or glory, have confessed the inspiration of the genius of the place; and the christian, who knelt before the holy sepulchre, ascribed his lively faith, and his fervent devotion, to the more immediate influence of the divine Spirit. The zeal, perhaps the avarice, of the clergy of Jerusalem, cherished and multiplied these beneficial visits. They fixed, by unquestionable tradition, the season of the most memorable event. They exhibited the instruments which had been used in the passion of Christ; the mals and the lance that had pierced his hands, his feet, and his side; the crown of thorns that was planted on his head; the pillar at which he was scourged; and, above all, they showed the cross on which he had endured the ignominy of the death of the earth in the reign of those princes, who inserted the symbol of Christianity in the banners of the Roman legions.1 Such miracles as seemed necessary to account for its extraordinary preservation and seasonable discoveries, were gradually propagated without opposition. The custody of the true cross, which on Easter Sunday was solemnly exposed to the people, was intrusted to the bishop of Jerusalem; and he alone might gratify the curious devotion of the pilgrims, by the gift of small pieces, which they had enchased in gold or gems, and carried away in triumph to their respective countries. The sanctity of the cross, which must soon have been annihilated, it was found convenient to suppose, that the marvellous wood possessed a secret power of vegetation; and that its substance, though continually diminished, still remained entire and unimpaired. It might perhaps have been expected, that the influence of the place, and the holiness of a perpetual miracle, should have produced some salutary effects on the morals, as well as on the faith, of the people. Yet the most respectable of the ecclesiastical writers have been obliged to confess, not only that the streets of Jerusalem were filled with the incessant tumult of bishops, and prelates, and pilgrims, of vice, adultery, theft, idolatry, poisoning, murder, was familiar to the inhabitants of the holy city. The wealth and pre-eminence of the church of Jerusalem excited the ambition of Arian, as well as orthodox, candidates; and the virtues of Cyril, who, since his death, has been honoured with the title of Saint, were displayed in the exercise, rather than in the acquisition, of his episcopal dignity.2

Julian attempts to rebuild the temple.3 Julian might aspire to restore the ancient glory of the temple of Jerusalem. As the christians were firmly persuaded that a sentence of everlasting destruction had been pronounced against the whole fabric of the Mosaic law, the imperial sophist would have converted the success of his undertaking into a specious argument against the faith of prophecy, and the truth of revelation.4 He was displeased with the spiritual worship of the synagogue; but he approved the institution of the sacrifices, which many of the rites and ceremonies of Egypt.5 The local and national deity of the Jews was sincerely adored by a polytheist, who desired only to multiply the number of the gods;6 and such was the appetite of Julian for bloody sacrifice, that his emulation might be excited by the piety of Solomon, who had offered, in the feast of tabernacles, a thousand and one hundred and twenty-thousand sheep.7 These considerations might influence his designs; but the prospect of an immediate and important advantage would not suffer the impatient monarch to expect the remote and uncertain event of the Persian war. He resolved to erect, without delay, on the commanding eminence of Moriah, a stately temple, which might eclipse the splendour of the church of the Resurrection on the adjacent hill of Calvary; to establish an order of priests, whose interested zeal would detect the arts, and resist the ambition, of their christian rivals; and to invite and accommodate the sacred pilgrims, so that fanaticism would be always prepared to second, and even to anticipate the hostile measures of the pagan government. Among the friends of the emperor (if the names of emperor and of friend are not incompatible) the first place was assigned, by Julian himself, to the virtuous and learned Alypius.8 The humanity of Alypius was tempered by severe justice, and manly fortitude; and while he exercised his abilities in the civil administration of Britain, he imitated, in his poetical compositions, the harmony and softness of the odes of Sappho. This minister, to whom Julian ascribed the communication of his most singular counsels, received an extraordinary commission to restore, in its pristine beauty, the temple of Jerusalem; and the diligence of Alypius required and obtained the strenuous support of the governor of Palestine. At the call of their great deliverer, the Jews, from all the provinces of the empire, assembled on the holy mountain of their fathers; and their insolent triumph alarmed and exasperated the christian inhabitants of Jerusalem. The desire of rebuilding the temple has, in every age, been the ruling passion of the children of Israel. In this propitious moment the whole nation, with all their ardour and their delicacy; spades and pickaxes of silver were provided by the vanity of the rich, and the rubbish was transported in mantles of silk and purple. Every purse was opened in liberal contributions, every hand claimed a share in the pious labour; and the commands of a great monarch were executed by the enthusiasm of a whole people.9

Yet, on this occasion, the joint efforts of the empire is of power and enthusiasm were unsuccessful; and the ground of the Jewish temple, which

1 Cicer (de finibus, v. 1.) has beautifully expressed the common sense of mankind.
3 This multiplication is asserted by Paulinus, (Epist. xxxvi.) See Dupin, Biblier. Eccles. tom. iii. p. 149, who seems to have improved a right idea; for if the temple had been a real fact, the spiritual privilege must have been communicated in the Virgin's milk (Evanb. Opera, tom. i. p. 776. Lud. Batav. 1769, in Collog, de Pe-rugen.) Religious claims made by Selden, and others, are repeated in so many different churche.
4 (Psal. cxiv. 103.) who resided in the neighbouring village of Bethlem, describes the views of Jerusalem from his personal experience.
5 Gregor. Nyssen, apud Wesseling, p. 339. The whole epistle, which condemns either the use or the abuse of religious pilgrimage, is preserved in the monastic divines, while it is dear and familiar to our protestant cities.
6 He renounced his orthodox ordination, offered as a daemon, and, to a certain degree, the title of a Christ, which he had never dared to change, or to transfer the offices of a priest to others. He became not only a confessor of the Christian faith, but a master of it, and a successful advocate of it. He did not renounce the aids of a rational spirit, which are necessary to carry on the work of the church and conduct of the Supreme Being. The discourse entitled Julian, (24 edition, London, 1751,) is strongly marked with all the peculiarities which are impalpable to the Warburtonian school.
7 I shelter myself behind Maimonides, Marsham, Spencer, Le Clerc, Warburton, and all the others who seem fairly to impute to the aboriginal religion of the Jews, the falsehood of some supernatural divines. See Divine Legation, vol. i. p. 46.
THE DECLINE AND FALL

The decline and fall of the ancient Roman Empire was a process that lasted for several centuries and is often associated with various factors. This decline is usually described in terms of a gradual deterioration of the political, social, and economic structures of the empire.

The factors contributing to the decline of the Roman Empire include:

1. Political Instability: The political instability within the empire, characterized by civil wars and the constant struggle for power, played a significant role in weakening the empire. The Roman Senate's power and influence diminished, leading to a decline in the efficiency of governance.

2. Economic Decline: The empire's economy faced various challenges, including inflation, tax difficulties, and the constant need to finance the military campaigns. The empire's wealth and prosperity were not sustainable, and the resulting economic strain contributed to the empire's decay.

3. Social Disintegration: The Roman society faced issues such as the disappearance of traditional values, the rise of a wealthy class, and the decline in moral standards. These factors eroded the social fabric and contributed to the decline of the empire.

4. Military Overextension: The empire's military campaigns and the need for a large standing army drained the empire's resources. The constant need for military victories and the maintenance of an empire on the brink of collapse contributed to the empire's decline.

5. Barbarian Invasions: The constant threat of external barbarian invasions, particularly the Germanic tribes, further weakened the empire. The Roman military was unable to resist these invasions, leading to the shrinking of the empire's borders.

6. Decline in Infrastructure: The empire's infrastructure, including roads and bridges, deteriorated due to a lack of maintenance and management. This decline in infrastructure made it difficult to transport goods and personnel, further contributing to the empire's downfall.

7. Natural Disasters: The empire was affected by various natural disasters, such as famines, earthquakes, and pestilences, which further weakened the empire's population and economy.

The decline of the Roman Empire had far-reaching consequences, leading to the rise of new empires and the eventual fall of the Western Roman Empire in 476 AD.
of the Galileans, whom he describes, as a sect of fanatics, contemptible to men, and odious to the gods, the name of inclemency, and he insinuates in a public edict, that a frantic patient might sometimes be cured by salutary violence. An ungenerous distinction was admitted into the mind and counsels of Julian, that, according to the difference of their religious sentiments, one part of his subjects de- served the brunt of persecution, while the other was entitled only to the common benefits that his justice could not refuse to an obedient people. According to a principle pregnant with mischief and oppression, the emperor transferred to the pontiffs of his own religion, the management of the liberal allowances from the public revenues, which were distributed to the piety of Constantine and his sons. The proud system of clerical honours and immunities, which had been constructed with so much art and labour, was levelled to the ground; the hopes of testimonial donates were intercepted by the rigour of the laws; and the priests of the Christian sect were confounded with the last and most ignominious class of the people. Such of these regulations as appeared necessary to check the ambition and avarice of the ecclesiastics, were soon afterwards imitated by the wisdom of an orthodox prince. The peculiar distinctions which political prudence required to be suffered, and which were established, the sacred order, must be confined to those priests who profess the religion of the State. But the will of the legislator was not exempt from prejudice and passion; and it was the object of the insidious policy of Julian, to deprive the christians of all the temporal honours and advantages which rendered them respectable in the eyes of the world. He prohibited the christians from teaching schools, and from teaching the arts of grammar and rhetoric. The motives alleged by the emperor, who pretended to this measure, were that the Christians might command, during his lifetime, the silence of slaves and the applause of flatterers. Julian abuses the ambiguous meaning of a word which might be differently applied to the language and the religion of the Greeks: he contemptuously observes, that the men who exalt the merit of implicit faith are unfit to claim or to enjoy the advantages of science; and he vainly contends, that if they refuse to adore the gods of Homer and Demosthenes, they ought to content themselves with expounding Luke and Matthew in the churches of the Galileans. In all the cities of the Roman empire, the vestry of the Jewish sect was given to masters of grammar and rhetoric; who were elected by the magistrates, maintained at the public expense, and distinguished by many lucrative and honourable privileges. The edict of Julian appears to have in- volved the physicians, and professors of all the liberal arts; and the emperor, who reserved to himself the ap-
They are con-
demned to re-
store the pagan temples.

The most effectual instrument of op-
pression was which they were armed
was the law that obliged the christians
to make full and ample satisfaction for
the temples which they had destroyed under the pre-
ceding reign. The zeal of the triumphant church had
not always expected the sanction of the public auth-
ority; but the desire of impose their power,
which had often marched at the head of their congregations,
to attack and demolish the fortresses of the
prince of darkness. The consecrated lands, which had
increased the patrimony of the sovereign or of the clergy, were
clearly defined, and easily restored. But on these
lands the superstition of paganism, the
christians had frequently erected their own religious edi-
ces: and it was necessary to remove the church
before the temple could be rebuilt, the justice and
piety of the emperor were answered by one party,
while the other deplored and execrated his unchristian
violence. After the ground was cleared, the restitu-
tion of those statly structures, which had been levelled
with the dust, and of the precious ornaments, which had
been converted to christian uses, swelled into a
very large account of damages and debt. The
authors of the attack had neither the inclination to discharge
these accumulated demands: and the impartial wisdom of a legislator would have
been displayed in balancing the adverse claims and
complaints, by an equitable and temperate arbitration.
But the whole empire, and particularly the east, was
thrown into the confusion by the rash edicts of Julian; and
the pagan magistrates, inflamed by zeal and re-
venge, abused the rigorous privilege of the Roman
law, which substitutes, in the place of its inadequate
property, the person of the insolvent debtor. Under the
administration of Mark, bishops and Arachus, who
laboured in the conversion of his people with arms
as more effectual than those of persuasion. The
magistrates required the full value of a temple which had
been destroyed by his intolerant zeal: but as they
were satisfied of his poverty, they desired only to
bind his in flexible spirit to the promise of the slightest
compensation. They apprehended the aged prelate, they
inhumanly scourged him, they tore his beard; and his
naked body, anointed with honey, was suspended, in
a net, between heaven and earth, and exposed to the
sting of the vipers and the rays of a sun.
At this lofty station, Mark still persisted to glory in his
crime, and to insult the im potent rage of his persecu-
tors. He was at length rescued from their hands, and
dismissed to enjoy the honour of his divine triumph.
The Arians celebrated the virtue of their pious confes-
sor, who had defended the pagans, and his alliance
and the pagans, who might he susceptible of shame or

some drawback, however, may be allowed for the
violence of their zeal, not less partial than the zeal of Julian.

If we compare the genteel language of Libanius (Orat. Parent.
60, p. 266), with the passionate exclamations of Gregory (Orat. iii.
86, 87), we may find it difficult to persuade ourselves, that the
two orations are really describing the same event.

If Restan, or Arahous, at the equal distance of sixteen miles be-
tween Ennea (Hera) and Ephialthon, (Hierarch. I.) was founded, or at
least the Greek Teos, in the year of Rome 657; according to the medals of the city. In the
decline of the Wetteran, Ennea and Arachus were occupied by the
Arab Sasanianexes, whose posterity, the vassals of Rouic, were
not extinguished in the reign of Vespasian. See D'Anville's Maps and
and Noris, Epoch, Syro Mardon, p. 88, 424, 422.

It is surprising to find Gregory and Theodo-
et supposed to circumvent, which, in their eyes, must have
enlarged the religious merits of the confessor.

The conspiracy of Mark, which Gregory has so
brilliantly painted, (Orat. iii. p. 86.) is confirmed by the unexcep-
tionable evidence of Libanius (Epist. 730, cxxvi.), who was in
the presence of Marcianus, Bishop of Constantinople, at the
death of Julian, or at least of the emperor,
which dates from the
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et supposed to circumvent, which, in their eyes, must have
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manly virtue. But the groves of Daphne continued for many ages to enjoy the veneration of natives and strangers, the privileges of the holy ground were enlarged by the munificence of succeeding emperors; and every generation added new ornaments to the splendour of the temple.

**Neglect and destruction of** Daphne.

Apollo of Daphne, his devotion was raised to the highest pitch of eagerness and impatience. His lively imagination anticipated the grateful pomp of victims, of libations, and of incense; a long procession of youths, a throng of boys, the tunkal, the symbol of their innocence; and the tumultuous concourse of an innumerable people. But the zeal of Antioch was diverted, since the reign of Christianity, into a different channel. Instead of hecatombs of fat oxen sacrificed by the tribes of a wealthy city to their tutelar deity, the emperor complains that he found only a single goat, provided at the expense of a priest, the pale and solitary inhabitant of this decayed temple.

The altar was deserted, the oracle had been reduced to silence, and the holy ground was profaned by the introduction of Christian and funeral rites. After Babylonia the people was still restrained, a portion of the sacred lands was usurped for the main temple, and it was declared that he should be put down from his stations of Antioch, who were ambitious of lying at the feet of their bishop; and the priests of Apollo retired, with their affrighted and indignant votaries. As soon as another revolution seemed to restore the fortune of paganism, the church of St. Babylas was demolished by the Christian party to a third of its edifice which had been raised by the pieties of Syrian kings. But the first and most serious care of Julian was to deliver his oppressed deity from the odious presence of the dead and living Christians, who had so effectually suppressed the voice of fraud or enthusiasm. The scene of infection was purified according to the forms of ancient rituals; the bodies were decently removed; and the ministers of the church were permitted to convey the remains of St. Babylas to Antioch, which was the region of the temple. The modest behaviour which might have assuaged the jealousy of an hostile government, was neglected on this occasion by the zeal of the Christians. The lofty car, that transported the relics of Babylas, was followed, and accompanied, and received, by an innumerable multitude of citizens, who, at the sound of the lamentations, the Psalms of David the most expressive of their contempt for idols and idolaters. The return of the snail was a triumph; and the triumph was an insult on the religion of the emperor, who exerted his pride to assemble his resistance. During the night with lighted torches this indelible print of the character that was not, that unconscious simplicity, which always consti-

**Removal of the dead bodies, and confiscation of the temple.**

tuated the landscape; and the temple of Daphne was in flames; the statue of Apollo was consumed; and the walls of the edifice were left a naked and awful monument of ruin. The Christians of Antioch asserted, with religious confidence, that the powerful intercession of St. Babylas had pointed the lightnings of heaven against the devoted roof: but as Julian was reduced to the alternative, of believing either a crime or a miracle, he chose, without hesitation, without evidence, but with some colour of probability, to imagine the interposition of Daphne and the Galileans. Their offence, had it been sufficiently proved, might have justified the retaliation, which was immediately executed by the order of Julian, in shutting the doors, and confis-

**The zeal of the ministers of Julian.**

The zeal of the ministers of Julian was instantly checked by the frown of their sovereign; but when the father of his country declares himself the leader of a faction, the licence of popular fury cannot easily be restrained, and it is permitted to the Christian public composition, applauded the devotion and loyalty of the holy cities of Syria, whose pious inhabitants had destroyed, at the first signal, the spiculatures of the Galileans; and faintly complains, that they had revenged the injuries of the gods with men's moderation and the blood of their countrymen. The humble and religious ministrations and profession of faith may appear to confirm the ecclesiastical narratives; that in the cities of Gaza, Ascalon, Caesarea, Hellipolis, &c., the pagans abused, without prudence or remorse, the moment of their prosperity. That the unhappy objects of their cruelty were not intended only by death; that their mangled bodies were dragged through the streets, they were pierced (such was the universal rage) by the spits of cooks, and the distasts of enraged women; and that the entrails of christian priests and virgins, after they had been tasted by those bloody fanatics, were mixed with barley, and contemptuously thrown to the unclean animals of the city. Such scenes of religious madness exhibit the most contemptible and odious picture of human nature; but the massacre of Alexandria attracts still more attention, from the certainty of the fact, the fear of the victims, and the splendour of the capital of Egypt.

**George, from his parents or his education.**

George, from his parents or his education, was born at Epiphania in Cilicia, in a fuller's shop. From this obscure and servile origin he raised himself by the bosom and example of pious parents, of a pious education, and of a liberal instruction in the scriptures; and it is probable, that his virtues had been previously known in the province of Cappadocia, and that his election was con-

**Antioch and Julian.**

nected with the example of his father, who was a bishop of Masmia, lived to the age of an hundred, (I. viii. c. 11.) and died in the year 400. (Hieron. H. c. 11.) Philosophers and religious historians, (Plato de leg. lib. ii. c. 1.) add some tragic circumstances of Christians, who were literally sacrificed at the altars of the gods, &c.

**The history and religion of Cappadocia.**

The history and religion of Cappadocia are described by Ammianus, (xiii. 13.) Gregory Nazianzen, (Orat. xxi. 3.) and Eusebius, (Hist. eccl. c. 13.) The history of Julian's wars is described in the treatise of Belisarius, (Julian. c. 13.) Although this attempt has not been successful, the history of Julian, as it is preserved in the writings of Zosimus, and of the bishop of Cappadocia, is more or less connected with the life of Julian, and may be considered as an original, though not impartial, witness. He describes the first battle, in which his father was slain, and the first choice of his successor; and the subsequent conduct of Julian, who as bishop of Masmia, lived to the age of an hundred, (I. viii. c. 11.) and died in the year 400. (Hieron. H. c. 11.) Philosophers and religious historians, (Plato de leg. lib. ii. c. 1.) add some tragic circumstances of Christians, who were literally sacrificed at the altars of the gods, &c.
rendered it infamous. He accumulated wealth by the basest arts of fraud and corruption; but his malversations were so notorious, that George was compelled to escape from the pursuits of justice. After this disgrace, which happened to his fortune at the expense of his honour, he embraced, with zeal or affected zeal, the profession of Arrianism. From the love, or the ostentation, of learning, he collected a valuable library of history, rhetoric, philosophy, and theology; and the choice of the prevailing faction procured him the throne of Alexandria, and led to the provinces of Barlaam, and of Cappadocia. The entrance of the new archbishop was that of a barbarian conqueror; and each moment of his reign was polluted by cruelty and avarice. The catholics of Alexandria and Egypt were abandoned to a tyrant, qualified, by nature and education, to exercise oppression. The office of persecution; but he oppressed *merites & Egypt; sed with an impious hand the various inhabitants of his extensive diocese. The primate of Egypt assumed the pomp and insolence of his lofty station; but he still betrayed the vices of his base and servile extraction. The merchants of Alexandria were impoverish'd by the unjust, and the most wretched monopolies, which he acquired, of nitre, salt, paper, fumerales, &c., and the spiritual father of a great people condescended to praise the vile and pernicious arts of an informer. The Alexandrians could never forget, nor the world, which he despoiled, on all sides, the houses of the city; under an absolute claim, that the royal founder had conveyed to his successors, the Ptolemies and the Caesars, the perpetual property of the soil. The pagans, who had been flattered with the hopes of freedom and toleration, excoriated his devilish arrogance, and the rich temples of Alexandria were either pillaged or insulted by the haughty prelate, who exclaimed, in a loud and threatening tone, "How long will these wilpulchres be permitted to stand!" Under the reign of Constantius, he was expelled by the fury, or rather by the justice, of the people; and it was not without a violent struggle, that the civil and military powers of the state could restore his authority, and gratify his rugginess. The messenger who proclaimed Alexander the accession of Julian, announced the downfall of the arch-bishop. George, with two of his obsequious ministers, count Diodorus, and Dracoumites, one of the mutiny, were ignominiously dragged in chains to the public prison. At the end of twenty-four days, the people was forced open by the rage of a superstitious multitude, impatient of the tedious forms of judicial proceedings. The enraged populace, the leaders of gods and their cruel insults; the lifeless bodies of the arch-bishop and his associates were carried in triumph through the streets on the back of a camel; and the inactivity of the Alexandrian party was esteemed a sample which, of extraordinary patience. The remains of these guilty wretches were thrown into the sea; and the popular leaders of the tumult declared their resolution to disappoint the devotion of the Christians, and to intercept the future honours of these martyrs, who had been punished like their predecessors, by the enmity of their religion. The fear of the pagans was just, and their precautions ineffectual. The meritorious death of the arch-bishop obliterated the memory of his life. The rival of Athanasius was dead and sacred to the Arius, and the seeming conversion of these sectaries introduced his worship into the bosom of the Church. This was stranger, disguising every circumstance of time and place, assumed the mask of a martyr, a saint, and a Christian hero; and the infamous George of Cappadocia has been transformed into the renowned St. George and worshipped in England, the patron of arms, of chivalry, a saint and a martyr. About the same time that Julian was informed of the tumult of Alexandria, he received intelligence from Edessa, that the proud and wealthy faction of the Arians had insulted the weakness of the Valentinians, and committed such disorders as ought not to be suffered even in a city in a well-regulated state. Without expecting the slow forms of justice, the exasperated prince directed his mandate to the magistrates of Edessa, by which he consecrated the whole property of the church; the money was distributed among the soldiers; the lands were added to the domain; and this act of chicanery was aggravated by the treacherous irony, "I show myself," says Julian, "the true friend of the Galileans. Their admirable law has promised the kingdom of heaven to the poor; and they will advance with more diligence in the paths of virtue and wisdom, when they are relieved by my assistance from the load of temporal care. Take care," pursued the monarch, in a more serious tone, "take care how you provoke my patience and humanity. If these disorders continue, I will revenge on the magistrates the crimes of the people; and you will be the last to receive only consolation, either in fire, but fire and the sword." The tumults of Alexandria were doubtless of a more bloody and dangerous nature; but a christian bishop had fallen by the hands of the pagans; and the public epistle of Julian affords a very lively proof of the partial spirit of his administration. The civil and military rulers of Alexander are mingled with expressions of esteem and tenderness; and he laments, that on this occasion, they should have departed from the gentle and generous manners which attested their Grecian extraction. He greatly censures the offence which they had committed against his church, and did not disdain to express his opinion in the most bitter manner. With the most just proceeding, with visible complacency, the intolerable provocations which they had so long endured from the impious tyranny of George of Cappadocia. Julian admires the principle, that a wise and vigorous government should chasise the insolence of the people; yet, in consideration of the rank of Alexander, his protector, the tutelary deity, he grants a free and glorious pardon to the guilty city, for which he again feels the affection of a brother. After the tumult of Alexandria had subsided, Athanasius, amidst the public exclamations, seated himself on the throne from whence his unworthy com

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1. Coxe Donatists (Optatus Milev. p. 60. 303. edit. Dupin; and Tillemonii, Mem. Eccles. tom. vii. p. 213.), and the other sects of the south, which were heretics.
2. The saints of Cappadocia, Basil and the Gregories, were ignorant of their holy companion. Pope Gelasius, (A. D. 494.) the first catho 
3. The saints of Cappadocia, Basil and the Gregories, were ignorant of their holy companion. Pope Gelasius, (A. D. 494.) the first catho 
4. Qui Deo magis quam hominibus noli runt," he rejects his Acts as the composition of heretics. Some, perhaps, not the oldest; of the 
5. The transformation is not given as absolutely certain, but as extremely probable. See the Longermann, tom. i. p. 194.
6. A curious history of the worship of St. George, from the sixth century. (A.D. 168.)" George is already revered at Rome, and at Tresves in Gaul;" might be extracted from Dr. Hey's History of Grecian Arts, (1654;), and might be transcrib 
7. Julian, Epist. 111.
9. He allowed his friends to arrange his anger.— Anon. xii. 10.
petior had been precipitated; and as the zeal of the archbishop was tempered with discretion, the exercise of his authority, tended not to inflame, but to reconcile, the minds of the people. His pastoral labours were not confined to the narrow limits of Egypt. The state of the christian world was present to his active and capacious mind; and the age, the merit, the reputation of Athanasius, endowed him with a strong force of attraction. With a nervousness of danger, the office of ecclesiastical dictator. Three years were not yet elapsed since the majority of the bishops of the west had ignorantly, or reluctantly, subscribed the confession of Rimini. They repented, they believed, but they dreaded the unseasonable rigour of their master. They were keenly sensible of the loss than their faith, they might throw themselves into the arms of the Arians, to escape the indignity of a public penance, which must degrade them to the condition of obscure laymen. At the same time, the domestic differences concerning the union and distinction of the divine persons, were agitated with some heat among the catholic doctors; and the progress of this metaphysical controversy seemed to threaten a public and lasting division of the Greek and Latin churches. By the wisdom of a select synod, to which the name and presence of Athanasius gave the authority of a general council, six antipriests, who were guilty of error, were admitted to the communion of the church, on the easy condition of subscribing the Nicene creed; without any formal acknowledgment of their past fault, or any minute definition of their scholastic opinions. The advice of the primate of Egypt had already prepared the way. It was the dexterity of the bishop of Alexandria, for the reception of this salutary measure; and, not withstanding the opposition of some ardent spirits, the fear of the common enemy promoted the peace and harmony of the christians.

He is persecuted and forced by Julian. A.D. 362.

The skill and diligence of the primate of the west had importer the public safety of tranquillity, before it was interrupted by the hostile edicts of the emperor. Julian, who despised the christians, honoured Athanasius with his sincere and peculiar hatred. For his sake alone, he introduced an absolute distinction, repugnant at least to the spirit of his former declarations. He maintained, that the Gallareans who were banished from exile, were not restored, by that general indulgence, to the possession of their respective churches; and he expressed his astonishment, that a criminal, who had been repeatedly condemned by the judgment of the emperors, should dare to insult the majesty of the laws, and insolently usurp the archiepiscopal throne of Alexandria, without expecting the orders of his sovereign. As a punishment for the imaginary offence, he again banished Athanasius from the city; and he was pleased to suppose, that this act of justice would be highly agreeable to his pious subjects. The pressing solicitations of the people soon convinced him, that the majority of the Alexandrians were christians; and that the greatest part of the christians were firmly attached to the cause of their oppressed primate. But the knowledge of their sentiments, instead of persuading the emperor to recall the false accusers, determined him to destroy all Egypt the term of the exile of Athanasius.

See Athanas. ad Ruf. Episc. tom. ii. p. 40, 41; and Greg. Nazianz. Orat. iii. p. 293. TheJustinian [sic] states the wholesale reception of the primate, as much more menacing than his prayers, his fasts, his penitence.

I have not leisure to follow the blind obstinacy of Lucifer of Cagliari. See his adventures in Tillemont; (Mem. Eccles. tom. vii. p. 334, 335;) his revolting narrative incessantly changes, as the confessor becomes a schismatic.

The life of the American Osireon, et partum necessarium conclam, Natura acqua et ignis. The lively and artful Dialogue of Jerome against the Egyptians (tom. ii. p. 135-152,) exhibits a clear view of the errors of the heretics.

Tillemont, who supposes that George was massacred in August, erred as much as a little clew into a narrow space. (Mem. Eccles. tom. viii. p. 360.) An original letter, published by the Marquis Maffei, from the old chapter library of Verona, (Observationi Letterarie, tom. iii. p. 60—65,) affords many important dates, which are authenticated by the computation of Egyptian months.

rable; he was alarmed by the danger of leaving at the head of a tumultuous city, a daring and popular leader; and the language of his ressentment discovers the opinion which he entertained of the courage and abilities of Athanasius. The execution of the sentence was still delayed, by the caution or negligence of Eudocius, prefect of Egypt, who was at length awakened from his sloth, and "Theodore," says Julian, * to write to me on any other subject, at least it is your duty to inform me of your conduct towards Athanasius, the enemy of the gods. My intentions have been long since communicated to you. I swear by the great Serapis, that unless, on the calends of December, an archbishop arrived from Alexandria, nay from Egypt, the officers of your government shall pay a fine of one hundred pounds of gold. You know my temper; I am slow to condemn, but I am still slower to forgive." This epistle was enforced by a short postscript, written with the emperor's own hand. * The contempt that is shown for all the gods fills me with grief and indignation. There is nothing that I should see, nothing that I should hear, with more pleasure, than the expulsion of Athanasius from all Egypt. The abominable wretch! Under my reign, the baptism of several Grecian ladies of the first rank has disappeared. The effects of the laws, of the execrable definition, of the laws, which were used to degrade the Christians, were shown in the proceedings against the prefect of Egypt. The death of Athanasius was not expressly commanded; but the prefect of Egypt understood, that it was safer for him to exceed, than to neglect, the orders of an irritated master. The archbishop prudently retired to the monasteries of the desert; eluded, with his dexterity, the snares of the enemies; and lived to triumph over the ashes of a prince, who, in words of formidable import, had declared his wish that the whole venom of the Galilean school were contained in the single person of Athanasius. I have endeavoured faithfully to repre-
exasperated, when he found, that the fanatics, who had deserved and suffered the punishment of incendiaries, were received with the honours of a tyrant. 7 The Christian subjects of Julian were assured of the hostile designs of their sovereign; and, to their jealous apprehension, every circumstance of his government might afford some grounds of discontent and suspicion. In the ordinary administration of the laws, the Christians, who formed so large a portion of the people, most frequently being condemned: but their indulgent brethren, without examining the merits of the case, presumed their innocence, allowed their claims, and impeached the severity of their judge to the partial malice of religious persecution. 8 These present hardships, intolerable as they were to the Christians, bore the slightest resemblance of the impending calamities. The Christians considered Julian as a cruel and crafty tyrant; who suspended the execution of his revenge, till he should return victorious from the Persian war. 9 They expected, that as soon as he had triumphed over the foreign enemies of Rome, he would lay aside the irksome mask of dissimulation; that the amphitheatres would stream with the blood of hermits and bishops; and that the Christians, who still persevered in the profession of the faith, would be deprived of the common benefits of nature and society. Every circumstance, which wounded the reputation of the Apostate, was credulously embraced by the fears and hatred of his adversaries; and their indiscreet clamours provoked the temper of a sovereign, whom it was their duty to respect, and their interest to flatter. They still protested, that prayers and tears were only weapons against the impious tyrant, whose head they devoted to the justice of offended heaven. But they inculcated, with sullen resolution, that their submission was no longer the effect of weakness; and that in the imperfect state of human virtue, the patience which is founded on principle, under such an influence, by persecution. It is impossible to determine how far the zeal of Julian would have prevailed over this good sense and humanity; but, if we seriously reflect on the strength and spirit of the church, we shall be convinced that, before the emperor could have extinguished the religion of Christ, he must have involved his country in the horrors of a civil war. 9

CHAPTER XXIV.
Residence of Julian at Antioch. — His successful expedition against the Persians.—Passage of the Tigris.—The retreat of Julian.—Elephantianus.—He saves the Roman army by a disgraceful treaty.

The philosophical fable which Julian composed under the name of the Cæsars, 10 is one of the most agreeable and instructive productions of ancient wit. 11 During the freedom and equality of the days of the Saturnalia, Romulus prepared a feast for the deities of Olympus, who had adopted him as a worthy associate, and for the Roman princes, who had reigned over his martial people, and the vanquished nations of the earth. The immortals were placed in just order on their thrones of state, and the table of the Cæsars was spread below the moon, in the upper region of the sky. The tyrants of Persia, who disregarded the society of gods and men, were thrown headlong, by the inexorable Nemesis, into the Tartarean abyss. The rest of the Cæsars successively advanced to their seats; and, as they passed, the vices, the defects, the blemishes of their respective characters, were multiplied and amplified. One was a foolish and vanity, who disguised the wisdom of a philosopher under the mask of a Bacchanal. 12 As soon as the feast was ended, the voice of Mercury proclaimed the will of Jupiter, that a celestial crown should be the reward of superior merit. Julian Caesar, Augustus, Trajan, and Marcus Antoninus, were selected as the most illustrious candidates; the effeminate Constantine 13 was not excluded from this honourable competition, and the great Alexander was invited to dispute the prize of glory with the Roman heroes. Each of the candidates was assured of victory; but, in the judgment of the gods, the modest silence of Marcus pleased more powerfully than the elaborate orations of his haughty rivals. When the judges of this awful contest proceeded to examine the heart, and to scrutinize the springs of action; the superiority of the imperial character over the impious was so manifest, 14 that Alexander and Cæsar, Augustus, Trajan, and Constantine, acknowledged, with a blush, that fate, or power, or pleasure, had been the important object of their labours: but the gods themselves beheld, with reverence and love, a virtuous mortal, who had practised few actions, and who, in a state of human imperfection, had aspired to imitate the moral attributes of the Deity. The value of this agreeable composition (the Cæsars of Julian) is enhanced by the rank of the author. A prince, who delineates, with freedom, the vices and virtues of his predecessors, in every line, the censure or approbation of his own conduct.

In the cool moments of reflection, Julian preferred the useful and benevolent virtues of Antoninus; but his ambitious spirit was inflamed by the glory of the Eastern conqueror; and he solicited, with equal ardour, the esteem of the wise, and the applause of the multitude. In the season of life, when the powers of the mind and body enjoy the most active vigour, the emperor, who was instructed by the experience, and animated by the success, of the German war, resolved to signalize his reign by some more splendid and memorable achievement. The ambassadors of the east, from the continent of India, and the isle of Ceylon, 15 had respectfully

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2 Greg. (Orat. li. p. 93.) justly charges the Apostate with the savage sacri-

3 feries of boys and girls; and positively affirms, that the dead bodies were cast into the flames of the amphitheatres, which then comprised the equivocal cage of the Abbe de la Biste. See revelations. His speech was repeated in the Senate, and the Clemency of the Persians,

4 greatly swelling, and Tilllemont so faintly returns. (Mem. Eccles. iv. p. 175.)

5 The reign of Gregory is truly edifying. (Orat. iv. p. 128.) Yet, when an offer of Julian attacked him to seize the charles of Narses, he would have lost his life, if he had not yielded to the zeal of the bishop and people. (Orat. xiv. p. 364.) See the re-

6 fictions of Chrysostom, as they are alleged by Tilllemont. (Mem. Eccles. tom. vii. p. 355.)

7 A see this fable or satire, p. 268—270. of the Leipzig edition of Ju-

8 lan's works. The French version of the learned Ezekiel Spanheim (Paris, 1665) is curious, long, and correct; and his notes, proofs, illustrations, &c. are piled on each other till they form a mass of 557 sheets. This is not the first time that a work of Spanheim (Orat. ii. pr. 1. p. 231—595) has more happily expressed the spirit, as well as the sense, of the original, which he illustrates with some concise and curious notes.

9 Spanheim (in his preface) has most learnedly discussed the eigno- 

10 logy, origin, resemblance, and dispute of this work with the Greek fable, which was performed after the tragedy; and the Latin

11 satires (from Jert.) a more instructive composition, either in prose or verse. But he suggests, that the portrait of Julian are of such an original cast, that the critic is perplexed to which class he should ascribe them.

12 In the character of Socrates in the sixth eclogue of Virgil.

13 A book that an intelligent reader must perceive and condemn the partiality of Julian against his uncle Constantine, and the Christian religion. On this occasion, the interpreters are compelled by a more sacred interest to renounce their allegiance to the master of their author.

14 Julian was secretly inclined to prefer a Greek to a Roman. But when he seriously compared a hero with a philosopher, he was sensible that mankind had much greater obligations to Socrates than to Alexander. (Orat. de Threnis, p. 264.)

15 Inde nationis in Indiis certum cum donis optimates mittitum, &c. ab episcopo Davide Secundae. Annal. xiv. 1. The Island,
saluted the Roman people. The nations of the west esteemed and dreaded the personal virtues of Julian, both in peace and war. He despised the trophies of a Gothic victory, and was satisfied that the rapacious barbarians of the Danube would be restrained from any future violation of the faith of treaties by the terror of his name, and the additional fortifications with which he strengthened the Thracian and Illyrian frontiers.

The successor of Cyrus and Artaxerxes was the only rival whom he deemed worthy of his arms; and he resolved, by the final conquest of Persia, to chastise the haughty nation which had so long resisted and insulted the majesty of Rome. As soon as the Persian name was mentioned, nor should I say the name, for the severest censure was filled by a prince of a very different character, he condescended to make some artful, or perhaps sincere, overtures, towards a negotiation of peace. But the pride of Sapor was astonished by the firmness of Julian; who sternly declared, that he would never consent to hold a peaceful conference among the flames and ruins of the cities of Mesopotamia; and who added, with a smile of contempt, that it was needless to treat by ambassadors, as he himself had determined to visit speedily the court of Persia.

The impatience of the emperor urged the diligence of the military preparations. Venerable remains of the church of Antioch, which was destined for this important service; and Julian, Marching from Constantinople through the provinces of Asia Minor, arrived at Antioch about eight months after the death of his predecessor. His ardent desire to march into the heart of Persia, was checked by the impossibility of regulating the state of the empire; by his zeal to revive the worship of the gods; and by the advice of his wisest friends; who represented the necessity of allowing the salutary interval of winter-quarters, to restore the exhausted strength of the legions of Gaul, and the discipline and spirit of the army. After the winter's rest, the ensuing spring, his residence at Antioch, among a people maliciously disposed to deride the haste and to censure the delays, of their sovereign.

If Julian had flattered himself, that his personal connexion with the capital of the east would be productive of material satisfaction to the prince and people, he made a very false estimate of his own character, and of the manners of Antioch. The warmth of the climate disposed the natives to the most intemperate enjoyment of the fat and fragrant dishes of the daily dainties. The lustre of the Greeks was blended with the hereditary softness of the Syrians. Fashion was the only law, pleasure the only pursuit, and the splendour of dress and furniture was the only distinction of the citizens of Antioch. The arts of luxury were honoured; the

serious and manly virtues were the subject of ridicule; and the contempt for female modesty and reverence, announced the universal corruption of the capital of the east. The love of spectacles was the taste, or rather passion of the Syrians; the most skilful artists were procured from the adjacent cities; a considerable share of the revenue was devoted to the public amusements, and the magnificence of the games of the theatre and circus was considered as the happiness, and as the glory, of Antioch. The rustic manners of a prince who disdained such glory, and was insensible of such happiness, soon disengaged the delicacy of his subjects; and the effeminate orientals could neither sustain the severity of the climate, nor bear the practices which were always maintained, and sometimes affected. The days of festivity, consecrated, by ancient custom, to the honour of the gods, were the only occasions in which Julian relaxed his philosophic severity; and those festivals were the only days in which the Syrians of Antioch could reject the allurements of pleasure. The majority of the people supported the glory of the christian name, which had been first invented by their ancestors; they contented themselves with disobeying the moral precepts, but they were scrupulously attached to the speculative doctrines, of their religion.

This disunited the Christians; but the Arians and the Athanasians, the followers of Meletius and those of Paulinus, were actuated by the same pious hatred of their common adversary.

The strongest prejudice was entertain'd: Their aversion to ed by the enemy and successor of a prince who had engaged the affections of a very numerous sect; and the removal of St. Babylas excited an implacable opposition to the person of Julian. His subjects complained, with superstitious indignation, that famine had pursued the emperor's steps. Julian, leave the discontent of a hungry people was exasperated by the injudicious attempt to relieve their distress. The inclemency of the season had affected the Scarcity of corn, harvests of Syria; and the price of and public bread, in the markets of Antioch, had naturally risen in proportion to the scarcity of corn. But the fair and reasonable proportion was soon violated by the rapacious arts of monopoly. In this unequal contest, in which the produce of the land is claimed by one party as his exclusive property; it is used by another as a lucrative object of trade; and is made to pay the daily expenses of a large family of life; all the profits of the intermediate agents are accumulated on the head of the defenceless consumers. The hardships of their situation were exaggerated and increased by their own impatience and anxiety; and the apprehension of a scarcity gradually produced the appearances of a famine. When the luxurious citizens of Antioch complained of the high price of poultry and fish, Julian publicly declared, that a brutal city ought to be satisfied with a regular supply of wine, oil, and bread; but he acknowledged, that it was the duty of a

a Laodicea furnished charioteers; Tyre and Berytos, comedians; Cercara, pantomimes; Heliospilia, singers; Garza, gladiators; Ascania, horsemen; Taprobana, wrestlers; and Castabala, Cornubienses. The people of Antioch were so skilful in the construction of the OI (Christ) and the Kappa (Constantius.) Julian in Misopogon, p. 367. The problem of Antioch was likewise held in esteem, and received the daily attendance of the illustrious Prince. The hard and severe life of the Praetorian Guards in Julian; Socrates, xvi, p. 350—351. Inflamed, while Julian resided in that city, by the incessant irritation of Paulinians. See Tertullian, Misc. p. 170, of which I hereafter shall quote.

b The Julian states three different proportions, of five, ten, or fifteen modii of wheat, for one piece of gold, according to the degrees of plenty and scarcity. In Misopogon, p. 359. Upon this account, I cannot conclude, that under the successors of Constantine, the moderate price of wheat was about thirty-two shillings the quarter. But in the time of Julian, and the sixty-four first years of the present century. See Arbuthton's Observations on the Price of Corn, Weights, and Measures, p. 98, 99. Phys. Hist. Nat. xvi, p. 170. I shall hereafter state.

1 The Sires of Julian, and the Homilies of St. Chrysostom, exibit the same picture of Antioch. The miniature which the Abbé de Isabière has copied from thence, (Vie de Julian, p. 202) is elegant and correct.

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suffering for the subsistence of his people. With this salutary view, the emperor ventured on a very dangerous and doubtful step, of fixing, by legal authority, the value of corn. He enacted, that, in a time of scarcity, it should be sold at a price which had seldom occurred; and that his own example might strengthen his laws, he sent into the market four hundred and twenty-two thousand modii, or measures, which were drawn by his order from the granaries of Hieropolis, of Chalbeis, and even of Egypt. The consequences might have been horrible; yet it was restrained, for at length it was purchased by the rich merchants; the proprietors of land, or of corn, withheld from the city the accustomed supply; and the small quantities that appeared in the market were secretly sold at an advanced and illegal price. The people, still continued to applaud his own policy, treated the complaints of the people as a vain and ungrateful murmur, and convinced Antioch that he had inherited the obstinacy, though not the cruelty, of his brother Gallus. The remonstrances of the municipal senate served only to exasperate his inflexible purpose. He was, however, in the true sense, a tyrant in thought; for he believed, that the senators of Antioch who possessed lands, or were concerned in trade, had themselves contributed to the calamities of their country; and he imputed the disrespectful boldness which they assumed, to the sense, not of public duty, but of private interest. The whole body, consisting of the most prudent, the noble and wealthy citizens, were sent, under a guard, from the palace to the prison; and though they were permitted, before the close of evening, to return to their respective houses, the emperor himself could not obtain the forgiveness which he had so easily granted. The same grievances were still the subject of the same complaints, which were industriously circulated by the wit and levity of the Syrian Greeks. During the licentious days of the Saturnalia, the streets of the city resounded with insolent songs, which derided the laws, the edicts of the imperial council, and even the beard, of the emperor; and the spirit of Antioch was manifested by the contumacy of the magistrates, and the applause of the multitude. The disciple of Socrates was too deeply affected by these popular insults; but the monarch, endowed with quick sensibility, and possessors of absolute power, refused his chance with a contemptification of revenge. A tyrant might have proscribed, without distinction, the lives and fortunes of the citizens of Antioch; and the unwarlike Syrians must have patiently submitted to the lust, the rapaciousness, and the cruelty, of the faithful legions of Gaul. A emperor might have been the object of the envy of the east of its honours and privileges; and the courtiers, perhaps the subjects, of Julian, would have applauded an act of justice, which asserted the dignity of the supreme magistrate of the republic. But instead of abusing, or exercising, the authority of the state, to revenge his personal injuries, Julian confounded himself with an inoffensive mode of retaliation, satirizing against Antioch, which it would be in the power of few tyrants to punish the princes to employ. He had been insulted by satires and insults; in his turn, he composed, under the title of the Enemy of the Romans, an ironical confession of his own faults, and a severe satire of the licentious and effeminate manners of Antioch. This imperial reply was publicly exposed before the gates of the palace; and the Misropoces still remains a singular monument of the resentment, the wit, the humanity, and the indiscretion, of Julian. Though he affected to laugh, he could not forgive. His contempt was expressed, and his revenge might be gratified, by burning the most prodigious quantity of wood, the only light of his subjects; and the emperor, for ever renouncing the ungrateful city, proclaimed his resolution to pass the ensuing winter at Tarsus in Cilicia.

Yet Antioch possessed one citizen! The sophist Libanius, whose genius and virtues might alone match his pride, had written to A. D. 327, to 330, the folly of his country. The sophist, Libanius, was born in the capital of the east; he publickly professed the arts of rhetoric and declamation at Nice, Nicomedia, Constantinople, Athens, and, during the exile of Julian, remained a captive at Antioch, and was assiduously frequented by the Grecian youth; his disciples, who sometimes exceeded the number of eighty, celebrated their incomparable master; and the jealousy of his rivals, who persecuted him from one city to another, confirmed the favourable opinion which Libanius entertained of his own profession. The preceptors of Julian had extorted a rash but solemn assurance, that he would never attend the lectures of their adversary; the curiosity of the royal youth was checked and inflamed; he secretly procured the writings of this dangerous sophist, and gradually surpassed, in the judgment of his lord, the many pupils of his domestic pupils. When Julian ascended the throne, he declared his impatience to embrace and reward the Syrian sophist, who had preserved, in a degenerate age, the Grecian purity of taste, and manners, and of religion. The emperor's propensities were increased; and justly, by the discord of pride of his favourite. Instead ofpressing, with the foremost of the crowd, into the palace of Constantineopolis, Libanius calmly expected his arrival at Antioch; withdrew from court on the first symptoms of coldness and indifference; required the punishment, of a formal acquittance; and taught his sovereign an important lesson, that he might command the obedience of a subject, but that he must deserve the attachment of a friend. The sophists of every age, despising, or affecting to despise, the accidental distinctions of birth and fortune, reserve an elevated contempt for the vices and follies with which they themselves are so plentifully endowed. Julian might disdain the acclamations of a venal court, who adored the imperial purple; but he was deeply flattered by the praise, the admonition, the freedom, and the envy, of an independent philosopher, who returned the charge, and who would have been the patron of the childhood of his name, and protected his memory. The voluminous writings of Libanius still exist; for the most part, they are the vain and idle compositions of an orator, who cultivated the science of words; the productions of a resolute student, whose mind, regardless of his contemporaries, was incessantly fixed on the Trojan war, and the Athenian commonwealth. Yet the sophist of Antioch sometimes descended from this imaginary elevation; he entertained a various and elaborate correspondence.


Ammianus very justly remarks, Concus dissimulatque pro tempore, iura suspicat internus. The elaborate irony of Julian at length enters into serious and direct invasion.

Ise apparem Antiochianum esse velle, Helipolitum quendam Alex. (Orat. c. xiii. p. 21.) Liban. (Orat. c. xiii. p. 22.) Vandaliam esse videre; dec. C. Alex. (Orat. c. xiii. p. 22.) Leibnianus, (Orat. c. xiii. p. 22.) The learned author, it may be supposed, has not discovered the origin of the name."


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standing the pressing and repeated solicitations of Constantius and Gallus, as often as those princes lodged at his house, in their passage through Hierapolis. In the hurry of military preparation, and the careless confidence of a familiar correspondence, the zeal of Julian appears to have been lively and uniform. He had now undertaken an important and difficult war; and the anxiety of the event rendered him still more attentive to observe and register the most trifling presages, from which, according to the rules of divination, any knowledge of fate could be derived. He informed Libanus of his progress as far as Hierapolis, by an elegant epistle, which displays the facility of his genius, and his tender friendship for the sacred tree.

Hierapolis, situated almost on the banks of the Euphrates, had been appointed for the general rendezvous of the Roman troops, who immediately passed the great river on a bridge of boats, which was previously constructed. If the inclinations of Julian had been similar to those of his predecessor, he might have wasted the active and important season of the year in the circus of Samosata, or in the churches of Edessa. But as the warlike emperor, instead of Constantius, had chosen Alexander for his model, he advanced without delay to Carthage, a place of grandeur and of making of imperial roads, four and twenty miles from Hierapolis. The temple of the Moon attracted the devotion of Julian; but the halt of a few days was principally employed in completing the immense preparations for the Persian war. The secret of the expedition had kitherno remained in his own breast; but as Carthage is the point of separation of the two great roads, he could no longer conceal, whether it was his design to attack the dominions of Sapor on the side of the Tigris, or on that of the Euphrates. The emperor detached an army of thirty thousand men, under the command of his kinsman Procopus, and of Libanius himself, to secure the dwellings of the Moors; and ordered to direct their march towards Nisibis, and to secure the frontier from the desultory inquisitions of the enemy, before they attempted the passage of the Tigris. Their subsequent operations were left to the discretion of the generals; but Julian expected, that with an army at fire and sword the fertile districts of Media and Adiabene, they might arrive under the walls of Ctesiphon about the same time that he himself, advancing with equal steps along the banks of the Euphrates, should besiege the capital of the Persian monarchy. The success of this disputation of the church and the well-concerted measures, on the powerful and ready assistance of the king of Armenia, who without exposing the safety of his own dominions, might detach an army of four thousand horse, and twenty thousand foot, to the assistance of the Romans. But the feeble Arsaces Tirianus, king of Armenia, had degenerated still more shamefully than his father Chosroes, from the many virtues of the great Tiridates; and as the pusillanimous monarch was averse to any enterprise of danger and glory, he could disguise his timid inobediencce by the more decent excuses of religion and gratitude. He
expressed a pious attachment to the memory of Cons- 

stantinus' whose recumbent hands have rested on the 

Olympias, the daughter of the prefect Avilius; and the 

alliance of a female, who had been educated as the 

despised wife of the emperor Constans, exalted the 

dignity of a barbarian king. Ammianus professed the 

crushed religion; he reigned over a nation of Chris- 
tian monarchs: the unnatural severity, the religious 

principle, the domination of the church, of his 

conscience and interest, from contributing to the vic- 
tory, which would consummate the ruin of the church. 

The alienated mind of Tiranus was exasperated by the 

indiscretion of Julian, who treated the king of Armenia 

as his slave, and as the enemy of the gods. The 

hated and detested monarchs, the designs of his 

dates awakened the secret indignation of a prince, 

who, in the humiliating state of dependence, was still 

conscious of his royal descent from the Arseanides, 

the lords of the east, and the rivals of the Roman power. 

Military operations. The military dispositions of Julian 

rations were skillfully contrived to deceive the 

spies, and to divert the attention, of Sapor. The lo- 

gions appeared to direct their march towards Nisibis 

and the Tigris. On a sudden they wheeled to the 

right; traversed the level and naked plain of Carrae; 

and, on the third day after their departure, reached 

the Euphrates, where the strong town of Nisichoriun, or 

Callinicum, had been founded by the Macedonian 

kings. From thence the emperor pursued his march, 

above ninety miles, along the winding stream of the 

Euphrates, till, at length, about one month after his 

departure, he reached the desert country, which he 

traversed to the Euphrates in the extreme limit of the 

Roman dominions. The army of Julian, the most numerous 

that any of the Caesars had ever led against Persia, consisted of sixty-five 

two thousand effective and well-disciplined soldiers. The 

veteran bands of cavalry and infantry, of Romans and 

barbarians, had been selected from the different 

provinces; and a just pre-eminence of loyalty and val- 

or was claimed by the hardy Gauls, who guarded the 

throne and person of their beloved prince. A formi- 
dable body of Scythian auxiliaries had been trans- 

ported from another climate, and almost from another 

world, to invade a distant country, of whose name and 

situation they were ignorant. The love of rapine and 

war allured to the imperial standard several tribes of 

Sacaeans, or roving Arabs, whose service Julian had 

commanded, while he sternly refused the payment of 

the usual subsidies. The broad channel of the 

Euphrates was crowded by a fleet of fifteen 

dread ships, destined to attend the motions, and to sati-

fy the wants, of the Roman army. The military 

strength of the fleet was composed of fifty armed 

galleys; and these were accompanied by an equal number of 

flat-bottomed vessels, which were connected into the 

form of temporary bridges. The rest of the ships, partly 

constructed of timber, and partly covered with raw hides, were laden with an 

almost inexhaustible supply of arms and engines, of 

utensils and provisions. The vigilant humanity of 

Julian had embarked a very large magazine of vinegar 

and biscuit for the use of the soldiers, but he prohibited the 

indulgence of wine; and rigorously stopped a long 

string of superfluous camels, that attempted to follow 

the rear of the army. The river Chabors falls into 

the Euphrates at Ciricium; and as soon as the trim 
net got past the strait of Circium, the Romans 

Julian leaves the little stream which separates 

two mighty and hostile empires. The 

custom of ancient discipline required a 

military oration; and Julian embraced every oppor- 
tunity of displaying his eloquence. He animated the 

hearts of his troops with the tale of innumerable 

indestructible and glorious triumphs of his ances- 

tors. He excited their resentment by a lively picture 

of the insolvency of the Persians; and he exhorted them 

to imitate his firm resolution, either to extirpate that 

perfidious nation, or to devote his life in the cause of 

the perpetuity of the republic. He expressed their 

pride and confidence, by a donative of one hundred and thirty pieces of silver 

to every soldier; and the bridge of the Chabors was 

instantly cut away, to convince the troops that they 

must place their hopes of safety in the success of their 

arms. Yet the prudence of the emperor induced him 

to secure a remote frontier, perpetually exposed to 

inroads of the hostile Arabs. A detachment of four 

thousand men was left at Circium, which completed, 
to the number of ten thousand, the regular garrison 

of that important fort. 

Friday morning, the Romans en- 

tered the enemy's country, the country of 

an active and artful enemy, the order 

of march was disposed in three columns. The strength 

of the infantry, and consequently of the whole army, 

was placed in the centre, under the peculiar command 

of Julian himself, and the direction of his ear; 

earth and air was left to the traversed 

Cirixum, the extreme limit of the Roman dominions. 

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country which they traversed from the Chalorbas, to the cultivated lands of Assyria, may be considered as a part of the desert of Arabia, a dry and barren waste, which could never be improved by the most powerful arts of human industry. Julian marched over the same ground which had been trod above seven hundred years before by Cyrus, and which is described by one of the companions of his expedition, the sage and heroic Xenophon. * "The country was a plain throughout, as even as the sea, and full of wormwood; and if any other kind of shrubs or reeds grew there, they had all an aromatic smell, but no renown of sweetness." But when he reached the banks of the Euphrates, and in the islands which are occasionally formed by that river, the city of Annah, or Anatho, the actual residence of an Arabian emir, is composed of two long streets, which enclose, within a natural fortification, a small island in the midst, and two fruitful spots on either side of the Euphrates. The warlike inhabitants of Anatho showed a disposition to stop the march of a Roman emperor; till they were diverted from such fatal presumption by the mild exhortations of prince Hormisdas, and the approaching terrors of the fleet and army. They implored, and expostulated with the conqueror, and endeavoured to make the people to an advantageous settlement, near Chalises in Syria, and admitted Puscasus, the governor, to an honourable rank in his service and friendship. But the impregnable fortress of Thilutha could scorn the menace of a siege; and the emperor was obliged to content himself with an insulting promise that, when he had subdued the interior provinces of Persia, Thilutha would no longer refuse to grace the triumph of the conqueror. The inhabitants of the open towns, unable to resist, and unwilling to yield, fled with precipitation; and their houses, filled with spoil and provi- sions, were set on fire by the conquering troops. The thousands of inhabitants were massacred, without remorse, and without punishment, some defenceless women. During the summer, the Surenas, or Persian general, and Malek Rodosaces, the renowned emir of the tribe of Gassan, incessantly hovered round the army: every staggler was intercepted; every detachment was attacked; and the valiant Hormisdas escaped with some difficulty from their hands. But the barbarians were finally repulsed; the country became every day less favourable to the operations of cavalry; and when the Romans arrived at Macepraets, they perceived the ruins of the wall, which had been constructed in ancient times, to secure their dominions from the incursions of the Medes. These preliminaries of the expedition of Julian appear to have employed about fifteen days; and we may compute near three hundred miles from the fortress of Circeium to the wall of Macepraets. **

The fertile province of Assyria, which description was stretched beyond the Tigris, as far as in Latitude 40° 30', was four hundred miles from the ancient wall of Macepraets, to the territory of Basra, where the united streams of the Euphrates and Tigris discharge themselves into the Persian Gulf. * The whole country might have claimed the peculiar name of Mesopotamia; as the two rivers, which are never more distant than sixty, or forty, miles between Bagdad and Babylon, within twenty-five miles of each other. A multitude of artificial canals, dug without much labour in a soft and yielding soil, connected the rivers, and intersected the plain of Assyria. The uses of these artificial canals were various and important. They served to discharge the superfluous waters from one river into the other, at the season of their respective inundations. Subdividing themselves into smaller and smaller branches, they refreshed the dry lands, and supplied the deficiency of rain. They facilitated the intercourse of peace and commerce; and, especially brought in relief the deserts of the Assyrians with the means of opposing a sudden deluge to the progress of an invading army. To the soil and climate of Assyria, nature had denied some of her choicest gifts, the vine, the olive, and the fig-tree; but the food which supports the life of man, and particularly wheat and barley, were produced with inexhaustible fertility; and the husbandman, who committed his seed to the earth, was frequently rewarded with an increase of two, or even of three, hundred. The face of the country was interspersed with groves of innumerable palm-trees; and the hedges, which the diligent natives celebrated, either in verse or prose, and which the three hundred and sixty uses to which the trunk, the branches, the leaves, the juice, and the fruit, were skilfully applied. Several manufactures, especially those of leather and linen, employed the industry of a numerous people, and afforded valuable materials for foreign trade; which appears, however, to have been conducted by the hands of strangers. Babylon had been converted into a royal park; but near the ruins of the ancient capital, new cities had successively arisen, and the populousness of the country was displayed in the multitude of towns and villages, which were built by the conqueror, and still flourish with the name of bittum; the natural and peculiar production of the Babylonian soil. While the successors of Cyrus reigned over Asia, the province of Assyria alone remained, during a third part of the year, the luxurious plenty of the table and household of the Great King. Fourconsiderable villages were assigned for the subsistence of his Indian dogs; eight hundred stallions, and sixteen thousand mares, were constantly kept, at the expense of the country, for the royal stables; and as the daily tribute, which was paid to the satrap, amounted to one English bushel of silver, we may

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* See Ammianus, (xxv. i. 2) Libanius, (Orat. Parental. c. 100. 111. p. 334.) Zosimus, (i. iii. p. 164-165.)

** The description is thus furnished by Berodotus, (i. i. 192, &c.) who sometimes writes for children, and sometimes for philosophers, by Strabo, &c. and by Ammianus, (xxii. c. 138.)

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1. See the first book of the Anabasis, p. 45. 46. This pleasing work is both authentic and partly true. Yet Xenophon's memory, perhaps many years after the expedition, has sometimes betray'd him; and the distances which he marks are often larger than either a soldier or a geographer will allow.

2. Mr. Spelman, the English translator of the Anabasis, (vol. i. p. 51) has ended the antelope with the toe-buck, and the wild ass with the zebra.

3. See Voyages de Tavernier, part. i. l. iii. p. 316, and more especially page 321. Yet a little description of the extraor- dinary natural scene which they visit, Shew and Tournefort deserve an honourable ex- ception.

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4. See the Notice donnée intro, says Ammianus; an high enamour for an Arab. The tribe of Gassan had settled on the edge of Syria, and reached to a considerable distance, and for ages, of some kings or emirs, from the time of Pompey to that of the Kifmir Officer. Hueter's, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 360. Pococke, Specimens Hist. Asiae, p. 73-78. The name of Rodosaces does not appear in the list.
compute the annual revenue of Assyria at more than twelve hundred thousand pounds sterling.\(^1\)

The invasion of Assyria by Julian, the eunuch, was the work of two powers which had been committed by their haughty master in the Roman provinces. The tumbling Assyrians summoned the rivers to their assistance; and, completed, with their own hands, the ruin of their country. The roads were reduced to rubble for a broad and deep canals, on bridges of floating rafts, which were supported by the aid of the soldiers. Two cities of Assyria presumed to resist the arms of a Roman emperor; and they both paid the severe penalty of their rashness. At the distance of fifty miles from the royal residence of Ctesiphon, Perisbar, or Anbar, held the second rank in the province: a city, large, populous, and well fortified. But as the walls, almost encompassed by a branch of the Euphrates, and defended by the value of a numerous garrison. The exhortations of Hormisdas were repulsed with contempt; and the eyes of the Persian prince were fixed on a just reward, that, unmindful of his royal birth, he conducted an army of strangers against his king and country. The Assyrians maintained their loyalty by a skillful as well as vigorous defence; till the hectic stroke of a battering-ram, having opened a large breach by shattering one of the angles of the wall, they hastened within the fortifications of the interior citadel. The soldiers of Julian rushed impetuously into the town, and, after the full garrison of every military appetite, Perisbar was reduced to ashes; and the engines which assailed the citadel were planted on the ruins of the smoking houses. The contest was renewed by incessant and mutual discharge of missile weapons; and the superiority which the Romans might derive from the mechanical powers of their balloons and catapults was counterbalanced by the advantage of the ground of the besieged. For an Helepolis had been constructed, which could engage on equal terms with the loftiest ramparts, the tremendous aspect of a moving turret, that would leave no hope of resistance or of mercy, terrified the defenders of the citadel into an humble submission; and the place was surrendered only two days after Julian first appeared under the walls of Perisbar. Two thousand five hundred persons, of both sexes, the feeble remnant of a flourishing people, were permitted to retire: the plentiful magazines of corn, of arms, and of splendid furniture were distributed among the troops, and partly reserved for the public use. The victors then surmounted the walls, and the useful stores were destroyed by fire, or thrown into the stream of the Euphrates; and the fate of Amidah was revenged by the total ruin of Perisbar.

The city, or rather fortress, of Maganamalea was defended by an immense number of towers. The whole was constructed of brick and bitumen, appears to have been constructed at the distance of eleven miles, as the safeguard of the capital of Persia. The emperor, apprehensive of leaving such an important fortress in his rear, immediately formed the siege of Maogamalcha; and the army was distributed for that purpose, into three divisions. Vistor, at the head of the cavalry, and of a detachment of heavy-armed foot, was ordered to clear the country, as far as the banks of the Tigris, and the suburbs of Ctesiphon. The conduct of the division was by Julian himself, who seemed to place his whole dependence in the military engines which he erected against the walls; while he secretly contrived a more efficacious method of introducing his troops into the heart of the city. Under the direction of Nevitta and Dogaiaelius, the breaches were opened at a considerable distance, and slowly prolonged as far as the edge of the ditch. The ditch was speedily filled with earth; and, by the incessant labour of the troops, a mine was carried under the foundations of the walls, and sustained, at sufficient intervals, by props of timber. Three chosen cohorts advanced in the rear of the mine, only exploring a dangerous passage; till their intrepid leader whispered back the intelligence, that he was ready to issue from his confinement into the streets of the hostile city. Julian checked their ardour, that he might ensure their success; and immediately directed the attention of the Persians on the prize, by a general assault. The Persians, who, from their walls, contemnously beheld the progress of an impotent attack, celebrated with songs of triumph the glory of Sapor; and ventured to assure the emperor, that he might proceed to the assistance of Maogamalea, in which he could hope to take the impregnable city of Maganamalea.

The city was already taken. History has recorded the name of a private soldier, the first who ascended from the mine into a deserted tower. The passage was widened by his companions, who pressed forwards with imminent valour. Fifteen hundred enemies were already in the midst of the city. The astonished garrison abandoned the walls and their only hope of safety; the gates were instantly burst open; and the revenge of the soldier, unless it was suspended by lust of avaries, was satiated by an undistinguishing massacre. One who had yielded on a promise of mercy, was burnt alive, a few days afterwards, on a charge of having uttered some disrespectful words against the honour of prince Hormisdas. The fortifications were razed to the ground; and not a vestige was left of any value. But as soon as the city was declared a public nuisance, the name of Maogamalcha was abandoned to the darts of the soldiers, and the palaces of Sapor were reduced to ashes, by the command of the Roman emperor. Julian, on this occasion, showed himself ignorant, or careless, of the laws of civilty, which the prudence or refinement of the modern army had distributed for that purpose. Yet these wanton ravages need not excite in our breasts any vehement emotions of pity or resentment. A simple, naked statue, finished by the hand of a Grecian artist, is of more genuine value than all these rude and costly magnificences of which our modern army is so proudly affected by the ruin of a palace, than by the conflagration of a cottage, our humanity must have formed a very erroneous estimate of the miseries of human life.\(^1\)

\(^1\) The operations of the Assyrian war are circumstance-related.

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\(^{1}\) Assyria yielded to the Persians an estrage of silver each day. The well-known proportion of weights and measures, (between the Roman and the Attic ounce,) the specific gravity of water and silver, and the value of that metal, will afford, after a short process, the annual revenue which I have stated. Yet the Great King received no less than 550,000 pounds 16 shillings 8 pence (222,696l.) from Assyria. The comparison of two passages in Herodotus (l. i. b. 59. l. v. b. 153.) is of the most importance, and important differences: The one represents the net revenue of Persia; the sums paid by the province, and the gold or silver deposited in the royal treasury. The other would annually save three million six hundred thousand, or the seventeen or eighteen millions raised upon the people.
Julian was an object of terror and hate, and was detested by the Persians; and the paintings of that nation represented the invader of their country under the emblem of a furious lion, which vomited from his mouth a consuming fire. To his friends and soldiers the philosophic hero appeared in a more amiable light; and his virtues were never more conspicuously displayed than in the weak and miserable situation of his life. He practised, without effort, and almost without merit, the habitual qualities of temperance and sobriety. According to the dictates of that artificial wisdom, which assumes an absolute dominion over the mind and body, he sternly refused himself the indulgence of every fancy, and was prompt and strenuous; and the imperial purple was wet and dirty, as the coarse garment of the meanest soldier. The two sieges allowed him some remarkable opportunities of signifying his personal valor, which, in the improved state of the military art, can seldom be exerted by a prudent general. The emperor stood before the citadel of Perisabur, insensible of his extreme danger, and encouraged his troops to burst open the gates of iron, till he was almost overwhelmed under a cloud of missile weapons, and huge stones, that were directed against his person. As he thus lay on the ground, the Persian soldiers, who he approves, is the noblest recompense of a deserving subject; and the authority which Julian derived from his personal merit, enabled him to revive and enforce the rigour of ancient discipline. He punished with death, or ignominy, the misbehaviour of three troops of his guards, that, when taken, were found, without the least damage, of the number and standards: and he distinguished with obdictional crowns the valor of the foremost soldiers, who had ascended into the city of Maogamalea. After the siege of Perisabur, the firmness of the emperor was exercised by the instant avowal of the army, who loudly complained, that their services were rewarded by a tripling doative of one hundred pieces of silver. His just indignation was expressed in the grave and manly language of a Roman.

Riches are the object of your desires; those riches are in the bands of the Persians; and the spoils of this fruitful country are proposed as the prize of your valor and discipline. Believe me," added Julian, "the Roman republic, which formerly possessed such immense treasures, is now reduced to want and wretchedness; since our princes have been persuaded, and their nobles have been bribed, to purchase with gold the tranquility of the barbarians. The revenue is exhausted; the cities are ruined; the provinces are dispeopled. For myself, the only inheritance that I have received from my royal ancestors is a soul incapable of fear; and as long as I am convinced that every real hero thinks nothing of death, I need not acknowledge an honourable poverty, which, in the days of ancient virtue, was considered as the glory of Fabrius. That glory, and that virtue may be your own, if you listen to the voice of heaven and of your leader. But if you will rashly persist, if you are determined to renew the shameless and mischievous examples of old seditions, proceed. As it becomes an emperor who has filled the first rank among men, I am prepared to die, standing; and to despise a precarious life, which every hour may depend on an accidental fever. If I have been found unworthy of the command, there are now among you, (I speak it with that bitter mirth and placidity which is the marked stamp of merit and experience) that conduct is the most important war. Such has been the tender of my reign, that I can retire, without regret, and without apprehension, to the obscurity of a private station. The modest resolution of Julian was answered by the unanimous applause and cheerful obedience of the Romans, who declared their confidence of victory, while they fought under the banners of their heroic prince. Their courage was kindled by his frequent and familiar assurances, (for such wishes were the oaths of Julian,) "So may I reduce the Persians under the yoke!" Thus may I introduce a new monarchy, and re-establish the republic!" The love of fame was the ardent passion of his soul; but it was not before he trampled on the ruins of Maogamalea, that he allowed himself to say, "We have now provided some materials for the sophistication of Antioch." The successful valor of Julian had triumphed over all the obstacles that opposed his steps from the confines of the empire to the gates of Ctesiphon, pristis to the Tigris. But the reduction, or even the siege, of the capital of Persia, was still at a distance; nor can the military conduct of the emperor be clearly approved, or his political merits measured, till the period of his government, by a skilful representation, was contrasted to that of the ancient and the modern Greek.
and by impracticable morasses. Near the ruins of Se- 
luceia the camp of Julian was fixed, and secured, by a 
ditch and rampart, against the assailants of the numer- 
ous and enterprising garrison of Coche. In this fruitful 
and pleasant country, the Romans were plentifully sup-
plied with water and salt, and the height of the principal forts, which 
might have embarrassed the motions of the army, sub-
mitted, after some resistance, to the efforts of their val- 
our. The fleet passed from the Euphrates into an arti-
ficial derivation of that river, which pours a copious 
and navigable stream into the Tigris, at a small dis-
tance within the great city. If they had followed the royal 
canal, which bore the name of Nahar-Malche, the 
intermediate situation of Coche would have separat-
ed the fleet and army of Julian; and the rash attempt of 
steering against the current of the Tigris, and forcing 
through the body of the hostile capital, must 
have been attended with a total destruction of the Ro-
man navy. The prudence of the emperor foresaw the 
danger, and provided the remedy. As he had minute-
ly studied the operations of Trajan, in the same coun-
try, he soon recollected, that his warlike predecessor 
had, in a new and navigable region, which, leaving 
Coche on the right hand, conveyed the waters of the 
Nahar-Malche into the river Tigris, at some distance 
above the cities. From the information of the peasants, 
Julian ascertained the vestiges of this ancient work, 
which were almost obliterated by design or accident. 
By means of the operations of a single day, a broad 
and deep channel was speedily prepared for the reception 
of the Euphrates. A strong dyke was constructed to 
interupt the ordinary current of the Nahar-Malche; 
a flood of waters rushed impetuously into their new 
bed. The Roman fleet, steering their triumphant 
course into the Tigris, desolated the banks and 
invincible barriers which the Persians of Ctesiphon had erect-
ed to oppose their passage.

As it became necessary to transport the Roman army over the Tigris, another 
army, the labour presented itself, of less toil, but of 
more danger, than the preceding expedi-
tion. The stream was broad and rapid; the ascent steep 
and difficult; and the entrenchments which had been 
formed on the ridge of the opposite bank, were lined 
with a numerous army of heavy cuirassiers, dexterous 
archers, and skilful engineers (an allusion to the 
travagant hyperbole of Libanius) could trample, with 
the same case, a field of corn, or a legion of Romans.5 
In the presence of such an enemy, the construction of a bridge was impracticable; and the intrepid prince, 
who instantly seized the only possible expedient, con-
ceived and executed, in the course of the day, 
and without the knowledge of the barbarians, of his own troops, 
and even of his generals themselves. Under the 
specious pretence of examining the state of the magazines, 
fourscore vessels were gradually unharned; and a se-
lect detachment, apparently destined for some, 
secret expedition, was ordered to stand to their arms on 
the first signal. Julian disguised the silent anxiety of 
his own mind with smiles of confidence and joy; and 
amused the hostile nations with the spectacle of mili-
tary games, which he insensibly celebrated under the 
name of a festival. The day was devoted to pla-
sure; but as soon as the hour of supper was past, the 
emperor summoned his generals to his tent; and ac-
quainted them, that he had fixed that night for the pas-
sage of the Tigris. They stood in silent and respect-
ful astonishment; but, when the respectable Sallust as-
sumed the privilege of his age and experience, the rest 
of the chiefs supported with freedom the word of his 
prudent remonstrances. 6 Julian contented himself 

4 The Royal Canal (Nahar-Malche) might be successfully re-
stored, altered, divided, &c. (Collinsius, Geograph. Antiq. tom. ii. p. 45, 1699.)
5 The Persian and Roman accounts of the operations of Julian 
are mutually contradic- 
tions of antiquity. In the time of Julian, it must have entered into the 
Embassy. Vigny.

6 Κα τοιοῦτον άρσεναλόν, έτερον δ’ εστιν έν τούτω στρατόν, κα 
σαλλντις. Προκείμενον δ’ εστιν ύπ’ ώθησιν τὰ μέγαν, τὰς 
καταγγείλας. Ρήμα δ’ εστίν, το σαλλίντις, καταγγείλας. 
Rien n’est beau que le vrai; a maxim which should be 
inscribed on the desk of every rhetorician.

6 Libanius alludes to the most powerful of the generals. I have 
ventured to name Sallust. Ammianus says, of all the leaders, 
quad misti territò duces conquístam proelii freti præcunctato, &c.

2 Hilary, C. L., s. l. (Says Ammianus, the cum levare armatur 
auxilia per prima postmäetiam decuriones, &c. Yet Zosimus, &c. perhaps he, alone, was sufficiently the executioner of 
their number, to lead and to contain one hundred and 
eight thousand, of their bravest soldiers. The spoil was 
such as might be expected from the riches and lux-
ury of an oriental camp; large quantities of silver and 
gold, splendid arms and trappings, and beds and tables of 
massy silver. The victorious emperor distributed, 
as the rewards of valour, some honourable gifts, 
civic, and mural, and naval crowns; which he, and 
perhaps he alone, esteemed more precious than the 
wealth of Asia. A solemn sacrifice was offered to the 
god of war, but the appearances of the sacrifices were 
soon discovered, by less ambiguous signs, that he had 
now reached the term of his prosperity. 6
On the second day after the battle, the Romans, under the command of Julian, the domestic guards, the Jovians and A. D. 363, June, Heracleanma, and the remaining troops, which composed near two-thirds of the whole army, securely waited over the Tigris. While the Persians behaved with the most hollow and false appearance of submission; the desertion of the adjacent country, Julian cast many an anxious look towards the north, in full expectation, that as he himself had victoriously penetrated to the capital of Sapor, the march and junction of his lieutenants, Sebastian and Procopius, would be executed with the same ardor as to conquer the imperial city. These letters were discontinued by the treachery of the Armenian king, who permitted, and most probably directed, the desertion of his auxiliary troops from the camp of the Romans; and by the dissensions of the two generals, who were incapable of forming or executing any plan for the public service. When the emperor had relinquished the hope of this important reinforcement, he condescended to hold a council of war, and approved, after a full debate, the sentiments of those generals, who dissuaded the siege of Ctesiphon, as a fruitless and pernicious undertaking. It is not easy for us to conjecture all the arts of a most cunning and sanguinary general, who was besieged and taken by the predecessors of Julian, could be rendered impregnable against an army of sixty thousand Romans, commanded by a brave and experienced general, and abundantly supplied with ships, provisions, battering engines, and military stores. But we must observe that the arts of war, and the motions of those sieges, might have been put to better use; they might have been employed to fortify the faithful and virtuous Julian, who with all the danger, which formed the character of Julian, that he was not discouraged by any trivial or imaginary obstacles. At the very time when he declined the siege of Ctesiphon, he rejected, with obstinacy and disdain, the most flattering offers of a negotiation of peace, with Julian. This resolution of Constantinus was surprised by the trepid ingenuity of his successor. As far as the confines of India and Scythia, the satraps of the distant provinces were ordered to assemble their troops, and to march, without delay, to the assistance of their monarch. But their preparations were dilatory, their motions slow; and before Sapor could lead an army into the field, he received the melancholy intelligence of the devastation of Assyria, the ruin of his palaces, and the slaughter of his bravest troops, who defended the passage of the Tigris. The pride of royalty was humbled in the dust of ruin; and the Persians, with the tardy ostentation of Constantinus, was surprised by the intrepid diligence of his successor. As far as the confines of India and Scythia, the satraps of the distant provinces were ordered to assemble their troops, and to march, without delay, to the assistance of their monarch. But their preparations were dilatory, their motions slow; and before Sapor could lead an army into the field, he received the melancholy intelligence of the devastation of Assyria, the ruin of his palaces, and the slaughter of his bravest troops, who defended the passage of the Tigris. The pride of royalty was humbled in the dust of ruin; and the Persians, with the tardy ostentation of Constantinus, was surprised by the intrepid diligence of his successor.

The fleet and army were formed in three divisions, of which the first was commanded by Julian, and consisted of the whole imperial guard, whom Zosimus transports on the third day. The second division, commanded by a branch of the imperial family, and the third division, under the command of Constantinus, and the future emperor Jovian, actually served; some accidents of the division, and perhaps the Jovians and Heracleanma, who often did duty as a guard of the first rank and confidence was secretly despatched to embrace the knees of Jovian, and to request, in the language of a suppliant, that he might be introduced into the presence of the emperor. The Những przedmowie, whether he listened to the voice of pride or humility, whether he consulted the sentiments of his birth, or the duties of his situation, was equally inclined to promote a salutary measure, which would terminate the calamities of Persia, and secure the triumph of Rome. He was astonished by the indefatigable firmness of a hero, who remembered, most unfortunately for himself, that he had uniformly rejected the propositions of Julian. But as Julian was sensible, that the hope of a safe and honor- able pacification was altogether lost, he earnestly requested, that Hermias would privately dissemble the minister of Sapor, and conceal this dangerous temptation from the knowledge of the camp. The honour, as well as interest, of His majesty forbade him to consume his time in idle complaint; and of the Persians, who could not be secured, to meet him on the open plains, they prudently replied, that if he desired to exercise his valour, he might seek the army of the Great King. He felt the insult, and he accepted the advice. Instead of confining his service to march to the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, he resolved to imitate the adventurous spirit of Alexander, and boldly to advance into the inland provinces, till he forced his rival to contend with him, perhaps in the plains of Arvada, for the empire of Asia. The magnanimity of Julian was applauded and betrayed by the Persians, who, through the most open country, had generously submitted to act a part full of danger, of falsehood, and of shame. With a train of faithful followers, he deserted to the imperial camp; exposed, in a specious tale, the injuries which he had sustained; exaggerated the cruelty of Sapor, the discontent of the people, and the want of peace; and confidentially offered himself as the hostage and guide of the Roman march. The most rational grounds of suspicion were urged, without effect, by the wisdom and experience of Hermias; and the credulous Julian receiving the traitor into his bosom, was persuaded by him of all that he said. The delusions of opinion of mankind, appeared to arraign his prudence, and to endanger his safety. He destroyed, in a single hour, the whole navy, which had been transported above five hundred miles, at so great an expense of toil, of treasure, and of blood. Twelve, or, at the most, twenty-two, small vessels were saved, to accompany, on carriages, the march of the army, and to form occasional bridges for the passage of the rivers. A supply of twenty days provisions was reserved for the use of the soldiers; and the rest of the magazines, with a fleet of eleven hundred vessels, which rode at anchor near Arbela, to the number of the Persians, and the absolute command of the emperor. The navigation of the Euphrates was never ascended above Babylon, nor that of the Tigris above Opis. The distance of the last-mentioned city from the Roman camp was not very considerable; and Julian must have soon renounced the vain and impatience.
practicable attempt of forcing upwards a great fleet against the stream of a rapid river, which in several places was embarrassed by natural or artificial obstacles. The very force of water was not sufficient to carry it along; and it became necessary to tow the ships against the current of the river; the strength of twenty-thousand soldiers was exhausted in this tedious and servile labour; and if the Romans continued to march along the banks of the Tigris, they could only expect to return home without achieving any enterprise worthy of the genius or fortune of their leader. If, on the contrary, it was advisable to advance into the inland country, the destruction of the fleet and magazines was the only measure which could save that valuable prize from the hands of the numerous and active tribes which might arise on the march from Chaldenstein or Ctesiphon. If the arms of Julian were victorious, we should now admire the conduct, as well as the courage of a hero, who, by depriving his soldiers of the hopes of a retreat, left them only the alternative of death or conquest. 1

But, on the approach of army and march, The cumbersome trains of artillery, and waggons, which retarded the operations of a modern army, were in a great measure unknown in the camps of the Romans. 2 Yet, in every age, the subsistence of sixty thousand men, must have been one of the most important cares of a prudent general; and the supply can only be deriv'd from his own or from the enemy's country. Had it been possible for Julian to maintain a bridge of communication on the Tigris, and to preserve the conquered places of Assyria, a desolated province could not afford and procure victual and supplies, in the beginning of the year when the lands were covered with the inundation of the Euphrates, and the unwholesome air was darkned with swarms of innumerable insects. 3 The appearance of the hostile country was far more inviting. The extensive region that lies between the river Tigris and the frontiers of Media, was filled with villages and towns; and the fertile soil, for the most part, was in a very improved state of cultivation. Julian might expect, that a conqueror, who possessed the two forcible instruments of persuasion, steel and gold, would easily procure a plentiful subsistence from the fears or avarice of the natives. But, on the approach of the Romans, this rich and smiling prospect was instantly blasted. Wherever they moved, the inhabitants deserted the open villages, and took shelter in the fortified towns; the cattle was driven away; the grass and ripe corn were set on fire; and the flames, which the flood had subsided, which interrupted the march of Julian, he beheld the melancholy face of a smoking and naked desert. This desperate but effectual method of defence, can only be executed by the enthusiasm of a people who prefer their independence to their property; or by the vigour of an arbitrary government, which consults the public safety without submitting to their inclinations the liberty of choice. On the present occasion, the zeal and obedience of the Persians seconded the commands of Sapor; and the emperor was soon reduced to the scanty stock of provisions which continually wasted in his hands. Before they were entirely consumed, he might still have reached the wealthy and unwarlike cities of Ecbatana, or Susa, by the effort of some rapid and adventurous march; and his possession of this last resource by his ignorance of the roads, and by the perfidy of his guides. The Romans wandered several days in the country to the eastward of Bagdad; the Persian deserter, who had artfully led them into the snare, escaped from their resentment; and his followers, to avoid the虏ors, confessed the secret of the conspiracy. The visionary conquests of Hyrcania and India, which had so long amused, now tormented, the mind of Julian. Conscious that his own impudence was the cause of the public distress, he anxiously balanced the hopes of a still further advance; and entertained necessary answer, either from gods or men. At length, as the only practicable measure, he embraced the resolution of directing his steps towards the banks of the Tigris, with the design of saving the army by a hasty march to the westward, surrounded by an army of Hephthalites, which acknowledged the sovereignty of Rome. The desponding troops obeyed the signal of the retreat, only seventy days after they had passed the Chaboras, with the sanguine expectation of subverting the throne of Persia. 4

As long as they were exposed to fatigue and danger, advance into the country, their march was observed and insulted from a distant army. 5 On the 19th of June they reached Charax and Barzan, the seat of the Roman army, which might be considered only as the van of the barbarians, who was soon followed by the main body of cuirassiers, archers, and elephants, commanded by Meroanes, a general of rank and reputation. He was accompanied by two of the king's sons, and many of the principal nobility and the people; and famine considerably the strength of the remaining powers, which slowly advanced under the conduct of Sapor himself. As the Romans continued their march, their long array, which was forced to bend or divide, according to the variety of the ground, afforded frequent and favourable opportunities to their vigilant enemies. The Persians repeatedly charged with fury; they were repeatedly repulsed with firmness; and the action at Maronga, which almost deserved the name of a battle, was marked by a considerable loss of satraps and elephants, perhaps of equal value in the eyes of their monarch. These splendid advantages were not obtained without an adequate slaughter on the side of the Romans; several officers of distinction were either killed or wounded; and the emperor himself, who, on all occasions of danger, inspired and guided the valour of his troops, was obliged to expose his person, and exert his abilities. The weight of offensive and defensive arms, which still constituted the strength and safety of the Romans, disabled them from making

1 A celebrat救人et imper victori, suis appellat Medici sagittator. Flinn. Hist. Nat. vol. i. 
2 One of these dykes, which produces an artificial cascade or waterfall, is described by Tavernier, (part ii. p. 226,) and Thvenot, (part 1. i. p. 193.) The Persians, or Assyrians, hasted to intercept the navigation of the river. (Strabo. i. xvi. p. 1873.) D'Anville, l'Emissaire et le Tigre, p. 152 (9.)
3 Recollect the successful and unappalled rashness of Arachides and Cuneus, which arrest ther ships on the coasts of Africa and Mexico. See the accurate descriptions of the festivals of the moon on the Eunson and Tauriscum, tom. ii. p. 297—333, and the learned remarks of M. G. Chatelain on the enterprises of the Medes and Persians, tom. ii. p. 331—302 on the navigation and subsistence of the Roman armies.
4 The mountains of the Caucasus, the Yenisei, the North, the Yorke, the mountain north of the Armenian mountains. The former overflow in March, the latter in July. These circumstances are well explained in the Geographical Descriptions of Tartary, inserted in Speelman's Expedition of Cyprus, vol. ii. p. 20.
5 The passage (xxiv. 8.) describes, as he had felt, the inconvenience of the flood, the heat, and the insects. The lands of Assyria, oppressed by the Turks, and ravaged by the Caras, or Arabs, yield an increase of ten, fifteen, and twenty fold, for the seed which is cast into the ground by the wretched and unskilful husbandmen. Voy. de Niebuhr, tom. ii. p. 379, 355.
any long or effectual pursuit; and as the horsemen of the Persians were trained to dart their javelins, and shoot their arrows, the cavalry gained the better dislocation; the cavalry of Persia was never more formidable than in the moment of a rapid and disorderly retreat. But the most certain and irreparable loss of the Romans was that of time. The hardy veterans, accustomed to the cold climate of Gaul and Germany, faint and perish from the heat of the Persian summer; their vigour was exhausted by the incessant repetition of march and combat; and the progress of the army was suspended by the precautions of a slow and dangerous retreat, in the presence of an active enemy. Every day, every hour, as the supply diminished, the value and power of the Persians were augmented. Julian, who always contained himself with such food as a hungry soldier would have distributed, for the use of the troops, the provisions of the imperial household, and whatever could be spared from the chance plunder of the tribunes and generals. But this rude relief served only to aggravate the sense of the public distress; and the Romans began to entertain the most gloomy apprehensions that, before they could reach the frontiers of the empire, they should all perish, either by famine, or by the sword of the Persians.

While Julian struggled with the almost insuperable difficulties of his situation, the silent hours of the night were still devoted to study and contemplation. Whenever he closed his eyes in short and interrupted slumbers, his mind was agitated with painful anxiety; nor can it be thought surprising, that the great exertions of the empire slipped away from him, covering with a funeral vail his head and his horn of abundance, and slowly retiring from the imperial tent. The monarch started from his couch, and stepping forth to refresh his wearied spirits with the coolness of the midnight air, he beheld a fiery meteor, which shot to the eastward; his heart was violently affected by this vision, of the break of day. The army marched through a hilly country; and the hills had been secretly occupied by the Persians. Julian led the van, with the skill and attention of a consummate general; he was alarmed by the approach of his rear was woefully mistaken. The heat of the weather had tempted him to lay aside his cuirass; but he snatched a shield from one of his attendants, and hastened, with a sufficient reinforcement, to the relief of the rear guard. A similar danger intrepidly the imperial troops to the defence of the front; and, as he galloped between the columns, the centre of the left was attacked and almost overpowered, by a furious charge of the Persian cavalry and elephants. This huge body was soon defeated, by the well-trained light infantry, who aimed their weapons, with dexterity and effect, against the backs of the horsemen, and the legs of the elephants. The barbarians fled; and Julian, who was foremost in every charge, accidentally wounded, was carried to the rear of the camp. His trembling guards, scattered and oppressed by the disorderly throng of friends and enemies, reminded his fearless sovereign that he was without armour; and conjured him to decline the fall of the impending ruin. As they exclaimed, a cloud of darts, arrows and javelins, fell from the ascending and disordered Persian camp. Julian attempted to draw the deadly weapon from his side; but his fingers were cut by the sharpness of the steel, and he fell senseless from his horse. His guards hastened to the Heptanor, the Place of the Tent. The terror was greatly raised from the ground, and conveyed out of the tumult of the battle into an adjacent tent. The report of the melancholy event passed from rank to rank; but the grief of the Romans inspired them with invincible valour, and the desire of revenge. The bloody and obstinate conflict was maintained by the two armies till they were separated by the total darkness of the night. The Persians derived some honour from the advantage which they obtained against the left wing, where Antasius, master of the offices, was slain, and the prefect Sulfust very narrowly escaped. But the event of the day was saved to the Romans. They abandoned the field; their two generals, Mentes and Norudastes, fifty nobles or satraps, and a multitude of their bravest soldiers; and the success of the Romans, if Julian had survived, might have been improved into a decisive and useful victory. The first wound of Julian, into which he had been thrown by loss of blood, were expressive of his martial spirit. He called for his horse and arms, and was impatient to rush into the battle. His remaining strength was exhausted by the painful effort; and the surgeons, who examined his wound, discovered the symptoms of approaching death. He employed the awful moments with the firm temper of a hero and a sage; the philosophers who had accompanied him in this fatal expedition, compared the tent of Julian with the prison of Socrates; and the spectators, whom duty, or friendship, or curiosity, had assembled around his couch, listened with respectful grief, to the funeral oration of their dying emperor. *

*Friends and fellow-soldiers, the seasonable period of my departure is now arrived, and I shall shortly pass through the coldness of death and the demands of nature. I have learned from philosophy, how much the soul is more excellent than the body; and that the separation of the nobler substance should be the subject of joy, rather than of affliction. I have learned from religion, that an early death has often been the reward of piety; and I accept, as a favour of the gods, the mortal stroke that secures me from the danger of disguising a character, which has hitherto been supported by virtue and fortitude. I die without remorse, as I have lived without guilt. I am pieced to reflect on the innocence of my private life; on my constant performance of my duty, and the supreme authority, that emanation of the divine Power, has been preserved in my hands pure and immaculate. Destituting the corrupt and destructive maxims of despotism, I have collected the testimonies of antiquity. Mark Antony's letter, an instance of soldiery for fifty drachmas, or, in other words, a pound of flour for twelve or fourteen drachmas, was too infamous for that weight of money. It was impossible to preserve the interesting narrative of Pindar (iun. v. 102–116), without perceiving that Mark Antony and Julian were pursued by the same reproach of the Greeks. The Persians, under the command of their king, were shipwrecked, and the people of Antioch ignored that the troops were hungry. They intimated to the king that he was present to comfort the faithful foe of the decease satrap, by sending them, in a friendly and respectful manner, the head of their noble, and their master's side. Libanius, de morte Juliani, eul. xii. p. 163. The character and situation of Julian might countenance the employment of a Greek satyr, that he had previously composed the elaborate oration which Ammianus heard, and has transcribed. The version of the original text by the learned scholar, F. A. de la B caret in Beliactid, is abridged, and not expressive of the Pisonian idea of eulogies, which is darkly imbricated in the original. I have, after the learned directions of Herodotus (b. c. 31) displayed that doctrine in an agreeable tale. Yet the Jupiter (in the 105 book of the Iliad) who intimated with tears of blood the death of Sarpedon his son, had a very imperfect notion of happiness or glory beyond the grave.
patism, I have considered the happiness of the people as the end of government. Submitting my actions to the laws of prudence, of justice, and of moderation, I have trusted the event to the care of Providence. Peace was the object of my counsels, as long as peace was consistent with the public welfare; but when the impious vices of my country summoned me to extend my sway to the defense of my country in the war, with the clear fore-knowledge (which I had acquired from the art of divination) that I was destined to fall by the sword. I now offer my tribute of gratitude to the eternal Being, who has not suffered me to perish by the cruel justice of the tyrants, by the secret plots of conspirators, or by the slow tortures of lingering disease. He has given me, in the midst of an honorable career, a splendid and glorious departure from this world; and I hold it equally absurd, equally base, to solicit, or to decline, the stroke of fate.—Thus much I have attempted to say; but my strength fails me, and I feel the approach of death.—I shall cautiously refrain from any word that may tend to influence your suffrages in the election of an emperor. My choice might be imprudent or injudicious; and if it should not be ratified by the consent of the army, it might be fatal to the person of the individual. I trust it will be known in all good citizen, express my hopes, that the Romans may be blessed with the government of a virtuous sovereign. After this discourse, which Julian pronounced in a firm and gentle tone of voice, he distributed, by a mild and affectionate reference to the remains of his private fortune; and making some inquiry why Ammianus was not present, he understood, from the answer of Sallust, that Anatolius was killed; and bewailed with amiable inconsistency, the loss of his friend. At the same time he reproved the immediate grief of the spectators; and conjured them not to disgrace, by their lamentations, the fate of a prince, who in a few moments would be united with heaven, and with the stars. The spectatrors were silent; and Julian entered into a metaphysical argument with the philosophers Priscus and Maxius, on the nature of the soul. The efforts which he made, of mind as well as body, most probably hastened his death. His wound began to bleed with fresh violence; his respiration was embarrassed by the swelling of the veins; he called for a draught of cold water, and, as soon as he had drank it, expired without pain, about the hour of midnight. Such was the end of that extraordinary man, who, in the second year of his age, after a reign of one year and about eight months, from the death of Constantius. In his last moments he displayed, perhaps with some ostentation, the love of virtue and fame, which had been the ruling passion of his life.

Election of the emperor Jovian, A.D. 363. The emperors of the Valentinian dynasty, who had neglected to secure the future execution of his designs, by the timely and judicious nomination of an associate and successor, but by the royal policy of Constantius Chorusc was reduced to his own person; and if he entertained any serious thoughts of justifying with the purple the most worthy among the Romans, he was diverted from his resolution by the difficulty of the choice, the jealousy of power, the fear of ingratitude, and the natural presumption of health, of youth, and of prosperity. His unexpected death left the empire without a master, and

The soldiers who had made their verbal, or temporary, oaths, upon actual service, (in proximis,) were exempted from the formations of the Roman law. See Heuvelmans, (Antiquit. Rom. i. p. 299, where, in the reign of Constans,) the office of primicerius. It is agreed that the primicerius was not an officer of the imperial court, but a person of peculiar dignity, a senator; and though only a tribune, he ranked in the military ranks. Cod. Theodos. xii. c. 5. The primicerius, as a confessor under the preceding reign, and possibly, that he was office of the confessor under the preceding reign, and possibly, that he was clothed with authority, is perhaps, the origin of his dignity. The emperors, who were Christians, Ammianus, calmly pursuing his narrative, overthrows the legend by a single sentence. Hostius proton Joviani estique Inspectus, pontificium et, &c. xiv. 6.
unexpected elevation was moderated by the just apprehension, that the same day might terminate the life and reign of the new emperor. The pressing voice of necessity was obeyed without delay; and the dogs were set by Julian. A few hours after his predecessor had expired, were, to prosecute a march, which could alone extricate the Romans from their actual distress.2

The esteem of an enemy is most sincerely expressed by his fears; and the degree of fear may be accurately measured by the joy with which he celebrates his deliverance. The welcome news of the death of Julian, which a deserter revealed to the camp of Sapor, inspired the desponding monarch with a sudden confidence in his fortune. He immediately concentrated the whole army, perhaps the ten thousand 

Sapor's army; and the emperor, with the appearance of his five hundred elephants, threw the most sublime terror into the minds of the Persians. He appeared to the Christians, with whom he was by his long residence, a deliverer of their country, a protector of the whole empire. Yet, perhaps the ten thousand 

Tigris, which had been seated in a deep and sequestered valley. From the hills, the archers of Persia insulted and annoyed the wearied legionaries; and a body of cavalry, which had penetrated with des- perate courage through the precipitous gate, was cut in pieces, after a doubtful conflict, near the imperial tent. In the succeeding night, the camp of Caracell was protected by the lofty dykes of the river, and the Roman army, though incessantly exposed to the vexatious pursuit of the Saracens, pitched their tents near the city of Dura,4 four days after the death of Julian. The Tigris was still on the left: their hopes and provisions were almost consumed; and the impatient soldiers had formed several devices to preserve their camp on that side. They marched their tents towards the Rhine and Danube, should attempt the bold adventure, which might serve either as an encouragement, or as a warning, for the rest of the army. In the silence of the night, they swam the Tigris, surprised an unguard-

ed post of the enemy, and displayed at the dawn of day the signal of their resolution and fortune. The success of this trial disposed the emperor to listen to the promises of the Christians; and he designed to construct a floating bridge of the inflated skins of sheep, oxen, and goats, covered with a floor of earth and fascines.5 Two important days were spent in the ineffectual labour; and the Romans, who already endured the miseries of famine, cast a look of despair on the Tigris and upon the barbarians; whose numbers and chasms increased with the distress of the imperial army.6 In this hopeless situation, the fining Negotiation and spirits of the Romans were revived by treaty of peace, July. The transient pre- sumption of Sapor had vanished: he observed, with no previous concurrence, the command of these his officers, and the chief part of his train of elephants: and the experienced monarch feared to provoke the resistance of despair, the vicissitudes of fortune, and the exhausted powers of the Roman empire; which might soon advance to re- solve, or to revenge the successor of Julian. The Saracens himself, accompanied by another satrap, appeared in the camp of Jovian;7 and declared, that the clemency of his sovereign was not adverse to signify the conditions on which he would consent to spare the life and property of the Persian emperor. The crafty Persian delayed, under various pretences, the conclusion of the agreement; started difficulties, required explanations, suggested expedites, reeled from his concessions, increased his demands, and wasted four days in the arts of negotiation, till he had consummated the stock of provisions which was yet remained in the camp of the Romans. Had Jovian been capa-

cible of executing a bold and prudent measure, he would have continued his march, with unremitting diligence; the progress of the treaty would have suspended the attacks of the barbarians; and, before the fifth day, his army might have been restored to the province of Ctesiphon, at the distance only of one hundred miles.5 The irritable emperor, instead of breaking through the toils of the enemy, expected his fate with patient resignation; and accepted the humiliating conditions of peace, which it was expedient for him to receive. The Romans retired, and took possession of the same places of Mesopotamia, which were thus dismembered from the empire. It was considered as an indulgence, that the inhabitants of those fortresses were permitted to retire with their effects; but the conqueror rigorously insisted, that the Romans should for ever abandon the king and kingdom of Armenia. A peace, or rather

1 Ammianus (xxv. 10) has drawn from the life an impartial portrait of Julian; in which the younger Victor has added some remarkable strokes. The Abbé de la Bédére (Histoire de Jovien, tom. 1. p. 307) has composed an elaborate history of the emperor; a work remarkably distinguished by elegance of style, critical disquisition, and religious prejudices. It appears from Procopius, that the Saracens, not from the Persians under Cyrus and his successors, were revived, if we may use the word in its proper meaning; by the Saracens. Brizius de Regno Persico, p. 208, &c.

2 The obscure valleys of the inland country are inaccessible by water, except at a few points, where the Ganges and Mahanadi are navigable. D'Anville has described the difficult situation of Sarco, Caracella, and Ctesiphon, which was indeed a fen. (Juv. Met., vii. p. 93, &c. Pline, l. xvi. p. 238, &c.) The mountains of Armenia, the oracular testimony of Euthyrion (among a Pers inane situlaus de Priscius, v. x. 17.) must incline us to suspect, that Ammia-

nus has been too partial in the description of the Romans. It is probable that the mountains of Ctesiphon could extend over the plains of Assyria, as low as the confines of the Tigris and the great Zab; or how an army of sixty thousand men could march one hundred miles in four days.

3 A similar expedition was proposed to the leaders of the ten thousand troops, and wisely rejected. Xenophon, Anabasis, 1. ii. p. 223, 232, &c. It appears, from our modern travellers, that rapids limiting on bladders, perform the trade on navigation of the Tigris.

4 The first melancholy for the Persians, was expressed by Ammianus, (xxv. 1.) Libanios. (Orat. Parent. c. 146, p. 346.) and Zosimus, (H. P. ii. 18, &c. p. 350.) The second, by Procopius, (in Ver. Liban. p. 154.) The Saracens, the actual testimony of Eutropius (amor a Protis otholides Persis proculus, x. 17.) must incline us to suspect, that Ammianus has been too partial in the description of the Romans.

5 Sextus Rufus (de Provincia, c. 20) describes a poor submarginal town, with national vanity, at the foot of Mount Mount Eri, in Persia, where Zab estimated more of their own fame, than of the Romans.
stragglers of the march; but the generals and troops of Sapor respected the cessation of arms; and Jovian was suffered to explore the most convenient place for the passage, in the river of some small veins, which had not been saved from the confiscation of the fleet, performed the most essential service. They first conveyed the emperor and his favourites; and afterwards, in many successive voyages, a great part of the army. But, as every man was anxious for his personal safety, and the whole body of the soldiery was abandoning on the bank of the river, the soldiers, who were too impatient to wait the slow returns of the boats, boldly ventured themselves on light hurdles, or inflated skins; and drawing after them their horses, attempted, with various success, to swim across the river,® of this daring adventure many were followed by the boatsmen, who, were carried along by the violence of the stream, fell an easy prey to the avarice or cruelty of the wild Arabs;® and the loss which the army sustained in the passage of the Tigris, was not inferior to the carnage of a day of battle. As soon as the Romans had landed on the western bank, they were delivered from the hostile pursuit of the barbarians; but, in a labours march of two hundred miles over the plains of Mesopotamia, they endured the last extremities of thirst and hunger. They were obliged to traverse a sandy desert, where the wind, in ten thousand places, did not afford a single blade of sweet grass, nor a single spring of fresh water; and the rest of the inhospitable waste was untried by the foot-steps either of friends or enemies. Whenever a small measure of flour could be discovered in the camp, twenty pounds' weight were occasionally purchased with a pound of gold.® The beasts of burden were slaughtered and devoured; and the desert was strewn with the arms and baggage of the Roman soldiers, whose tattered garments and meagre countenances displayed their past sufferings and actual misery. A small convoy of provisions advanced to them,® and the supply was the more grateful, since it declared the fidelity of Sebastian and Procopius. At Thibilitha,® the emperor most graciously received the generals of Mesopotamia; and the remains of a once flourishing army at length reposed themselves under the walls of Nisibis. The messengers of Jovian had already proclaimed, in the language of flattery, his election, his treaty, and his return; and the new prince had taken the most effectual measures to secure the allegiance of the armies and the provinces of Europe; by placing the military command in the hands of his countrymen, who, from intermarriage,® and the friendship that the temple of the gods would be enriched with the spoils of the east; that Persia would be reduced to the humble state of a tributary province, governed by the laws and magistrates of Rome; that the barbarians would adopt the dress, and manners, and language of their conquerors.® Euchates and Susa would study the art of rhetoric under Grecian masters.® The progress of the army

1 The treaty of Diura is recorded with grief or indignation by Ammianus (xxv. 7), Libanius, (Orat. Parent., c. 142, p. 354), Zosimus, I. c. 10, 11, and Faroni Nascim. (Orat. Parent., p. 117, 118, where he attributes the distress to Julian, the deliverance to Jovian, and the victory.) The best modern writer, who was present in a military station, styles this peace necessary, and justifiable. 
3 Conditional, and I. c. 10, p. 39, &c.
4 Conquered, and indeed, in the ancient transactions of the Zabatus, (Anab., I. p. 156, 157, p. 220,) or great Zab, a river of Assyria, 400 miles long, divided into two channels, the upper and the lower, which is used as a metaphor for the commonwealth. The error of the Greeks bestowed on the great and lesser Zab the name of the great and the lesser Euphrates, (because the former was the more magnificent, and the latter in quantity.) They created these animals to attend the Tigris of the east.
5 The Chaldaea is vague and languid; the Ambasian circumstance, of which the Chaldeans are informed, is the extreme of truth.
6 According to Rufinus, an immediate supply of provisions was stipulated by the treaty; and Theodoret affirms, that the obligation was faithfully discharged by the Persians. Such a fact is probable, but unhappily false. See Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 702.
of Julian interrupted his communication with the empire; and, from the moment that he passed the Tigris, his affectionate subjects were ignorant of the fate and fortunes of their prince. Their contemplation of fancied triumphs was disturbed by the melancholy rumour of his death; and they persisted to believe that he, after all, could no longer die, the fame of that fatal event. The messengers of Jovian promulgated the specious tale of a prudent and necessary peace; the voice of fame, louder and more sincere, revealed the disgrace of the emperor, and the conditions of the ignominious treaty. The minds of the people were agitated, by the expectation and terror, when they were informed that the unworthy successor of Julian relinquished the five provinces, which had been acquired by the victory of Glerius; and that he shamefully surrendered to the barbarians the important city of Nisibis, the firmest bulwark of the provinces of the east. The deep and dangerous question, how far the public faith should be observed, when it becomes incompatible with the public safety, was freely agitated in popular conversation; and some hopes were entertained, that the emperor would redeem his pusillanimous behaviour by a restoration of the dignity and ancients splendours of the Roman empire. The spirit of the Roman senate had always disclaimed the unequal conditions which were extorted from the distress of her captive armies; and, if it were necessary to satisfy the national honour, by delivering the guilty general into the hands of the barbarians, the greatest care was taken to satisfy every considerable province in the precedent of ancient times.

Jovian evacuates Nisibis, and reclaims the five provinces to the Roman emperor.

But the emperor, whatever might be the limits of his constitutional authority, was not the first who delegated the absolute master of the laws and arms of the state, and the same motives which prompted his predecessor to consign Nisibis to the Persian emperor, forced him to submit the defense of the city, and the conclusion of the treaty, to the action of the senate and the people. Augustus, moreover, had preserved the sanction of ancient laws; and it was not without reluctance that he acquiesced in the precedent of ancient times.

The people of Carthage, a city devoted to paganism, buried the ashes of the great Hadrian, when he received the fatal intelligence, cast his eyes on his sword; but he recollected that Plato had condemned suicide, and that the virtue of man, as well as the safety of the state, depended on the submission to the orders of the government. The emperor, however, now that he had confided in the protection of their sovereign, threw themselves at his feet. They conjured him not to abandon, or, at least, not to deliver, a faithful colony to the rage of a barbarian tyrant, exasperated by the three successive defeats, which he had experienced under the walls of Nisibis. They still possessed arms and courage to repel the invaders of their country; they requested only the permission of using them in their own defence; and as soon as they had asserted their independence, they should implore the favour of being again admitted into the rank of his subjects. Their submission was received with much effectual deference. Jovian alleged, with some confusion, the sanctity of oaths; and, as the reluctance with which he accepted the present of a crown of gold, convinced the citizens of their hopeless condition, the advocate Sylvanus was provoked to exclaim, "O emperor! may you thus be cowed by all the cities of your dominions!" Jovian, who in a few weeks had assumed the habits of a prince, was dispossessed with freedom, and offended with truth; and as he reasonably supposed, that the discontent of the people might incline them to submit to the Persian government, he published an edict, under pain of death, that they should leave the city within the term of three days. Ammianus has delineated in lively colours the scene of universal despair, which he seems to have viewed with an eye of compassion. The monuments of ancient splendours were consumed by the torches of horses, chariots, and victuallers, which had been thrown over the ramparts. The disconsolate mourner dropped a last tear over the tomb of a son or husband, who must soon be profaned by the rude hand of a barbarian master; and the aged citizen kissed the threshold, and clung to the doors, of the house, where he had passed the cheerful and careless hours of infancy. The highways were crowded with a trembling multitude: the distinctions of rank, and sex, and age, were lost in the general calamity. Every one strove to bear away some fragment from the wreck of his fortunes; and as they could not command the immediate service of an adequate number of captives, they were allowed to take behind them the greatest part of their valuable effects. The savage insensibility of Jovian appears to have aggravated the hardships of these unhappy fugitives. They were seated, however, in a new-built quarter of Amidah; and that rising city, with the reinforcement of a large corps of barbarians, soon recovered its former splendour, and became the capital of Mesopotamia.

Similar orders were despatched by the emperor for the evacuation of Singara and the castle of the Moors; and for the restitution of the five provinces beyond the Tigris. Sapor enjoyed the glory and the fruits of his success, and the province of Persia, which he had conquered, was considered as a memorable era in the decline and fall of the Roman empire. The predecessors of Jovian had sometimes relinquished the dominion of distant and unprofitable provinces; but, since the foundation of the city, the genius of Rome, the god Terminus, who guarded the boundaries of the republic, had never retired before the sword of a victorious enemy.

After Jovian had performed those acts of submission, which the voice of his people might have tempted him to violate, he hastened away from the scene of his disgrace, and proceeded with his whole court, to enjoy the luxury of Armoria. Without consulting the dictates of religious zeal, he was prompted, by humanity and gratitude, to bestow the last honours on the remains of his deceased sovereign. and Procopius, who sincerely bewailed the loss of his kinsman, was removed from the command of the army, under the dreadful prospect of conducting the funeral. The corpse of Julian was transported from Nisibis to Tarsus, in a slow march of fifteen days; and, as it passed through the cities of the east, was saluted by hostile factions, with mournful lamentations and clamorous insults. The pagans already placed in the hands of the emperor, the father of their beloved Julian, the idol of their idolatry, the object of their worship he had restored; while the invectives of the Christians pursued the soul of the apostate to hell, and

1 At Nisibis he performed a royal act. A brave officer, his name Caius, who had been thought worthy of the purple, was dragged from the city, thrown into a well, and slain to death, without any form of trial, or evidence of guilt, and his body was buried in the catacomb of the church of the Virgin, in the city of Ephesus.

2 See xvi. 9, and Zosimus, l. ii. p. 194, 195.

3 Chron. Paschal. p. 209. The ecclesiastical Notitia may be consulted on page 207 of Zosimus.

4 Zosimus, l. iii. p. 192, 193. Sexins Rufus de Provence, c. 29. Augustus de Civitate Dei, c. 51. Zosimus, l. ii. p. 94, 95. Naissus, in the province of Mysia, was burnt in the year 564, ex Johanne Antonius.

5 The account of this history (Hist. de Jovien, tom. l. p. 212—257) though to a severe critic, has pronounced that Jovian was not found innocent of his promise; since he could not dissemble the empire, nor abate, without their consent, the allegiance of his people. I have never found much delight or instruction in such political metaphysics.
his body to the grave.\(^*\) One party lamented the approaching ruin of their altars; the other celebrated the marvellous deliverance of the church. The christians, applauded, in lofty and ambiguous strains, the stroke of divine vengeance, which had been so long suspended over the heads of Julian.\(^*\) They acknowledged that the death of the tyrant, at the instant he expired beyond the Tigris, was \(\textit{revealed to the saints of Egypt, Syria, and Cappadocia};\) and instead of suffering him to fall by the Persian darts, their indiscipline ascribed the heroic deed to the obscure hand of some mortal or immortal champions of the faith.\(^*\) Such imprudent declarations were eagerly adopted by the malice or credulity of their adversaries\(^*\) who darkly insinuated, or confidently asserted, that the governors of the church had instigated and directed the fanaticism of a domestick\(^*\) assassin. The eastern and western emperors, after sixteen years after the death of Julian, the charge was obviously and vehemently urged, in a public oration, addressed by Libanius to the emperor Theodosius. His suspicions are unsupported by fact or argument; and we can only esteem the generous zeal of the sophist of Antioch, for the cold and negligent memory of his friend,\(^*\) and general of Julian,\(^*\) as an ancient custom in the funerals of emperors, as well as in the triumphs, of the Romans, that the voice of praise should be corrected by that of satire and ridicule; and that in the midst of the splendid pageants, which displayed the glory of the fort or of the despoils of the deceased emperor, it should not be concealed from the eyes of the world.\(^*\)

This custom was practised in the funeral of Julian. The comedians, who resented his contempt and aversion for the theatre, exhibited, with the applause of a christian audience, the lively and exaggerated representation of the faults and follies of the deceased emperor. His various character and singular manners afforded an ample scope for pleasantry and ridicule.\(^*\) In the exercise of his uncommon talents, he often descended below the majesty of his rank. Alexander was transformed into Diogenes; the philanthropist was degraded into a priest. The purity of conscience was nullified by excessive vanity; his superstition disturbed the peace, and endangered the safety, of a mighty empire; and his irregular saults were the less entitled to indulgence, as they appeared to be the laborious efforts of art, or even of the remains of Julian, who was interred at Tarsus in Cilicia; but his stately tomb, which arose in that city, on the banks of the cold and limpid Cydnus,\(^*\) was displeasing to the faithful friends who loved and revered the memory of that extraordinary man. The philosopher expressed a very reasonable wish that the disciple of Plato might have reposed amidst the groves of the academy;\(^*\) while the soldier exclaim- ed in bolder accents, that the ashes of Julian should be scattered over the field of Mars, and among the ancient monuments of Roman virtue.\(^*\) The history of princes does not very frequently renew the example of a similar connection.

\(^*\) Compare the sophit and the saint. (Libanius, Momord tom. ii. p. 435, &c. c. 16. p. 386, c. 25. p. 195, with Gregory Naunoian. Orat. iv. p. 123-125.) The christian orator faidly utters some maxims of piety and forgiveness; but he in well assailed, that the real sufferings of Julian will far exceed the fabulous torments of Isom or Tarsus.

\(^*\) The Emperor, (Hier. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 589,) has collected these visions. Some saint or angel was observed to be absent in the night on a secret expedition.

\(^*\) Zosemon (i. vi. 3,) applauds the Greek doctrine of \textit{tyranticide}; but the whole passage, which a Jewish might have translated, is prudently suppressed by the preser. Cassius.

\(^*\) Immediately after the death of Julian, an uncertain rumour was spread of his return. It was carried by some deserters to the Persian camp; and the Romans were reproached as the enem- ies of the army of Pagan and his subjects. (Procopius, ii. c. 25.) It was urged, as a decisive proof, that no Persian had appeared to claim the crown which Julian had reserved for himself. But the Persian, who dared the fatal javelin, might be ignorant of its ef- fect; or he might be slain in the same action. Ammianus neither feels nor supports a suspicion.

\(^*\) \textit{Ex eris igitur spe quod aperit affectus.} This dark and ambiguous expression may point in Athanasius, the first, without a rival, of the christian clergy. (Libanius de æclos. Jul. nece. c. S. P. 156. p. 216. c. d. 413. lib. iv. cap. 54.)

\(^*\) The prorogation (Fabricius, Bibliot. Grec. tom. v. p. 145-179.) scat- ters all the parts of his industry, and instructs, that proofs still might be obtained. He Ptke, the criminal neglect of revenging Julian's death.

\(^*\) Exemplum Julianum, quem perspexeris, quompluribus locis, et carissimis, et saepissimis, in ecclesiastica disciplina, et in adversis, et in alio genere, et in sodales.\(^*\) The first man whom persuaded that frugal emperor, anxiously enquired, how much it cost—\(\textit{Poresite te qui \textit{talis} audisti!}—\) Give me more, and throw my body into the Tiber.\(^*\) Sueton. in Vespasian. c. 19. with the notes of Casalbos and Gronovius.

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\(^*\) A senator, (Libanius, Orat. iv. p. 119-125,) who conceived this supposed ignominy and ridicule to the funereal honours of Constantius, whose body was carried from Mount Taurus by a choir of angels.

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\section*{CHAPTER XXV.}

\textbf{The government and death of Julian.—Election of Valenti- nian, who associates his brother Valens, and makes the foundation of the eastern and western empires. Of Procopius.—Civil and ecclesiastical administration.— Germany.—Britain.—Africa.—The east.—The Danube.—Death of Valentinian.—His two sons, Gratian and Valentinian II. succeed to the western empire.}

The death of Julian had left the public affairs of the empire in a very doubtful and uncertain situation. The eastern army was saved by an inglorious, perhaps a necessary, treaty; and the first moments of peace were consecrated by the pious Julian to restore the domestic tranquillity of the church and state. The indiscipline of his predecessor, instead of declining, had been increased; the religious war; that it was necessary which he affected to preserve between the hostile factions, served only to perpetuate the contest, by the vicissitudes of hope and fear, by the rival claims of ancient possession and actual favour. The christians had handed the throne to the general and the emperor, and it imbibed the spirit of the church. In private families, the sentiments of nature were extinguished by the blind fury of zeal and revenge; the majesty of the laws was violated or abused; the cities of the east were stained with blood; and the most implacable enemies of the Romans were in the bosom of their country. Julian was educated in the profession of christianity; and as he marched from Nisibis to Antioch, the banner of the cross, the \textit{Libarum} of Constantine, which was again displayed at the head of the legions, announced to the people the faith of their new emperor. The example of the one good was immediately followed by the other. The taste of Julian was transferred to his successor, Gratian, and the public glory of the empire was assigned to the son of Julian, Constantine, and the grandson of Constantine the great. Julian was soon persuaded that the distress of the times obliged him to diminish the measure of charitable contributions.\(^*\) The christians were unanimous in the loud and sincere applause which they bestowed on the pious successor of Julian. But they were still ignorant what creed, or what synod, he would choose for the standard of orthodoxy; and the peace of the church immediately revived those eager disputes which had been suspended during the season of persecution. The episcopal leaders of the contending sects, convinced, from expedi-
riage, how much their fate would depend on the earliest impressions that were made on the mind of an understanding age. The Itinerarium Antiochense, which set out to strip off the pollutions which had umbrage to the environs of Antioch. The highways of the east were crowded with Hommaouan, and Armenia, and Eunomian bishops, who struggled to outstrip each other in the holy race; the apartments of the palace resounded with their clamours; and the ears of their priests were not listened to with the singular mixture of metaphysical argument and passionate invective. The moderation of Jovian, who recommended concord and charity, and referred the disputants to the sentence of a future council, was interpreted as a symptom of indifference; but his attachment to the Nicene faith was at length so decided and declared, by the reverence which he expressed for the celestial virtues of the great Athanasius. The intrepid veteran of the faith, at the age of seventy, had issued from his retreat on the first intelligence of the tyrant's death. The acclamations of the people seemed him once more on the archiepiscopal throne; and he was wisely accepted, or anticipated, the invitation of Jovian. The venerable figure of Athanasius, his calm courage, and insatiable sustenance, sustained the reputation which he had already acquired in the courts of four successive princes. As soon as he had gained the confidence, and had ascertained that the occasion was at hand, he turned in triumph to his diocese, and continued, with mature counsels, and undiminished vigour, to direct, ten years longer, the ecclesiastical government of Alexandria, Egypt, and the catholic church. Before his departure from Antioch, he assured Jovian that his orthodox devotion would be rewarded with a long and peaceful reign. Athanasius had reason to hope, that he should be allowed either the merit of a successful prediction, or the excuse of a grateful, though imperfect, prayer.

Jovian proclaims universal toleration. The slightest force, when it is applied to assist and guide the natural descent of its object, operates with irresistible weight; and Jovian had the good fortune to embrace the religious opinions which were supported by the spirit of the times, and the zeal and numbers of the most powerful sect. Under his reign, Christianity obtained an easy and lasting establishment. The smile of royal patronage was withdrawn, the genes of paganism, which had been fondly raised and cherished by the arts of Julian, sunk irrecoverably in the dust. In many cities, the temples were shut or deserted, and temples even which had been ambitious to win the smiles of emperors, thought it prudent to shave their beards, and disguise their profession; and the christians rejoiced, that they were now in a condition to forgive, or to revenge, the injuries which they had suffered under the preceding reign. The consternation of the pagan world was dispelled by a wise and gracious edict of toleration, by which Jovian declared, that although he should severely punish the sacrilegious rites of magic, his subjects might exercise, with freedom and safety, the ceremonies of the ancient worship. The memory of this law has been preserved by the orator Themistius, who was deputed by the senate and the people of Constantinople to express their sentiments to the emperor. The orator expatiates on the clemency of the divine nature, the facility of human error, the rights of conscience, and the independence of the mind; and, with some eloquence, inculcates the principles of philosophical toleration; whose aid superstition herself, in the hope of distasteful meditation. He justly observes, that, in the recent changes, both religions had been alternately disgraced by the seeming acquisition of worthless profligates, of those votaries of the reigning purple, who could pass without a reason, and without a blush, from the church to the temple, and from the altar of Jupiter to the sacred table of the christians.

In the space of seven months, the Romish progress from man to man, who were now returned to Antioch. Antioch, had performed a march of five hundred miles; in which they had endured all the hardships of war, of famine, and of pestilence. His soldiers were rewarded, he was satisfied with the fruits of his labours, and the approach of winter, the timid and impatient Jovian allowed only, to the men and horses, a respite of six weeks. The emperor could not sustain the indiscreet and malicious rancour of the people of Antioch; he was impatient to possess the palace of Constantinople; and he prevented the exhibition of a competition, who might occupy the vacant allegiance of Europe. But he soon received the grateful intelligence, that his authority was acknowledged from the Thracian Bosphorus to the Atlantic ocean. By the first letters which he despatched from the camp of Mesopotamia, he had delegated the military command of Gaul and Illyricum to Malachis, a brave and faithful officer, of the nation of the Franks; and to his father-in-law, count Lucilian, who had formerly distinguished his courage and conduct in the defence of Nisibis. Malachis had declined an office which to him would have been unequal; and Lucilian was at easy in the command of the tiny of the Batavian cohorts. But the moderation of Jovinus, master-general of the cavalry, who forgave the intention of his disgrace, soon appeased the tumult, and confirmed the uncertain minds of the soldiers. The oath of fidelity was administered, and the acclamations of the people, at the departure of the western armies saluted their new sovereign as he descended from mount Taurus to the city of Tyana, in Cappadocia. From Tyana he continued his hasty march to Ancyræ, capital of the province of Galatia; where Jovian assumed, with his infant son, the name and ensigns of the consulsrap.  

A.D. 364

Jan. 1
for the fatal term of his journey and his life. After in-
dulging himself with a plentiful, perhaps an intempe-
sate, supper, he retired to rest; and the next morn-
ing the emperor Jovian was found dead in his bed.

The cause of this sudden death was va-
eriously understood. By some it was as-
sumed to be the result of an indigestion, occa-
sioned either by the quantity of the wine, or the quality of the mushrooms, which he had swal-
lowed in the evening. According to others, he was
suffocated in his sleep by the vapo ur of charcoal, which
extracted from the walls of the apartment the unwholes-
some fumes of a fresh plaster. But the want of a
regular inquiry into the death of a prince, whose reign
and person were soon forgotten, appears to have been
the only circumstance which countenanced the malicious
whispers of poison and domestic guilt. 1 The body of
Jovian was sent to Constantiople, to maintain the public
order, with his predecessors, and the sad procession was met on the
road by his wife Charito, the daughter of count Lucel-
lium; who still wept the recent death of her father, and
was hastening to dry her tears in the embraces of an
imperial husband. Her disappointment and grief were
increased by the sight of many relics. Two weeks before the death of Jovian, his infant son had been
placed in the curule chair, adorned with the title of
Novellius, and the vain ensigns of the consulsiphip.
Unconcealed of his fortune, the royal youth, who, from
his grandfather, assumed the name of Varronian, was
reared in that splendor, that ministered to every
envy. Sixteen years after,

Vacancy of
the

After the death of Jovian, the throne of
the Roman world remained ten days 1
without a master. The ministers and
generals still continued to meet in council; to exercise
their respective functions to maintain the public order;
and peaceably to conduct the army to the city of Nice
in Bithynia, which was chosen for the place of the
election. 2 In a solemn assembly of the civil and milita-
ry powers of the empire, the diadem was again unan-
imously offered to the prefect Sallust. He enjoyed the
honor of a successive refusal: the young emperor,
who was the son of an emperor. Sixteen years after-
wards he was still alive, but he had already been de-
prived of an eye; and his afflicted mother expected,
every hour, that the innocent victim would be torn
from her arms, to appease, with his blood, the suspicions
of the reigning prince. 1

Death of Jovian, Feb. 17.

Valentinian was the son of count
Gratian, a native of Cibalos in Pannonia, character of Va-

1 See Anonimus; (xxv, 10), Etropogos; (x, 18) who might like
well to be present; Jeron; (tom. 1, p. 26. ad Helv. Hierom.). Orat. vii. 31.) Zosimus; (l. v. 6,), Zosimus; (l. III. p. 197, 198,) and Zosu-
ma; (l. vi. 49, p. 29, 29.) We cannot expect a perfect agree-
ment, and we shall not pursue animad verses.

* Anonimus, mean-minded of his moral candor and good sense, com-
pleted the undying fame of Lucilus by the second Anonimus,
who had excited the fears and resentment of the popular faction,
Olivo, who possessed only the merit of his humanity, was
prompted to cultivate the perfect virtue, the master-general
of the Christian church. The Christian emperor attempted to calm
a wave of the examples of illustrious misfortunes, and observes, that
of nine emperors (including the Caesar Galba) who had reigned in his time, only two (Constantine and Constantius)
died a natural death. Such vague communications have no plen-
titude.

1 Ten days appear scarcely sufficient for the march and election.
Of the Romans it was observed: 1 That the generals might command
the expeditions without the presence of the public; and that the
emperors, even of their attendants, and messengers. 2 That the troops, for the ease of the cities, march-
ed in an order, which the head of the column might arrive
at Nice when the rear halted at Amyca.
A. D. 366. Zosimus, l. iii. p. 108. Philostorgius l. vii. 3. &
Cassiodorus, Dissertation, p. 334. Philostorgius, who has been
obtained some curious and authentic intelligence, ascribes the
election of Jovian to an unwise arrangement of Gratian, who,
when presiding over the consular elections, in the fifth month of
Arminius, Decius, and the court of the domestics, and the patrician Da-

1076
showed himself from a lofty tribunal: the judicious choice was applauded; and the new prince was solemnly invested with the diadem and the purple, amidst the acclamations of the troops, who were disposed to receive the distinction of tribunality, when he stretched forth his hand to address the armed multitude, a busy whisper was accidentally started in the ranks, and insensibly swelled into a loud and imperious clamour, that he should name, without delay, a colleague in the empire. The intrepid calmness of Valentinian excited the silence, and commanded respect; and he thus addressed the assembly: "A few minutes since it was in your power, fellow-soldiers, to have left me in the obscurity of a private station. Judging, from the testimony of my past life, that I deserved to reign, you have placed me on the throne. It is now my duty to protect the safety and interest of the republic. The weight of the universe is undoubtedly too great for the hands of a feeble mortal. I am conscious of the limits of my abilities and the uncertainty of my life; and far from declining, I am anxious to solicit, the assistance of a worthy colleague. But, where discord may be fatal, the choice of a faithful friend requires the most solemn deliberation. That decision shall be my care. Let your conduct be dutiful and consistent. Retire to your quarters; refresh your minds and bodies; and expect the accustomed donative on the accession of a new emperor." The astonished troops, with a mixture of pride, of satisfaction, and of terror, beheld the choice made for them. The solemn ceremony was subsided into silent reverence; and Valentinian, encompassed with the eagles of the legions, and the various banners of the cavalry and infantry, was conducted in warlike pomp to the palace of Nice. As he was sensible, however, of the importance of preventing immediate succession of his senate, he consulted the assembly of the chiefs; and their real sentiments were concisely expressed by the generous freedom of Dagnalphtus. "Most excellent prince," said that officer, "if you consider only your family, you have a brother; if you love the republic, look round for the most deserving of the Romans.26 The emperor, who impressed his displeasure, without altering his intention, slowly proceeded from Nice to Nicomedia and Constantinople. In one of the suburbs of that capital, thirty days after his own elevation, he bestowed the title of Augustus on his brother Valens.27 This declaration of the patriots was convinced, that their opposition, without being serviceable to their country, would be fatal to themselves, the declaration of his absolute will was received with silent submission. Valens was now in the thirty-sixth year of his age; but his abilities had never been equal to the employment of military or civil; and his character had not inspired the world with any sanguine expectations. He possessed, however, one quality, which recommended him to Valentinian, and preserved the domestic peace of the empire; a devout and grateful attachment to his benefactor, whose superiority was as well his authority, Valens humbly and cheerfully acknowledged in every action of his life.28

Before Valentinian divided the provinces of the eastern and of the empire, he reformed the administration of war. All ranks of subjects who had been injured or oppressed under the reign of Julian, were invited to support their public accusations. The silence of mankind attested the spotless integrity of the prefect Sallust; and his own presing solicitations, that he might be permitted to retire from the business of the state, were rejected by Valentinian with the most honourable expressions of friendship and esteem. But among the favourites of the late emperor, those who had a share in the public authority or superstition; and who could no longer hope to be protected either by favour or justice.29 The greater part of the ministers of the palace, and the governors of the provinces, were removed from their respective stations; yet the eminent merit of some officers was distinguished from the obnoxious creditors and notwithstanding the demand of the clamours of zeal and resentment, the whole proceedings of this delicate inquiry appear to have been conducted with a reasonable share of wisdom and moderation.30 The festivity of a new reign received a short and suspicious interruption from the sudden illness of the two princes; but as soon as their health was restored, they left Constantinople in the beginning of the spring. In the castle, or palace, of Mediana, only three miles from Naissus, they executed the solemn and final division of the Roman empire.31 Valentinian bestowed on his brother the rich province of the east, from the Lower Danube to the confines of Persia; while he retained for himself the warlike prefectures of Illyricum, Italy, and Gaul, from the extremity of Greece to the Caledonian rampart; and from the rampart of Caledonia to the foot of Mount Atlas. The provincial administration remained on its former basis; but a double supply of magistrates was ordained for the realm composed of forty and two courts; the division was made with a just regard to their particular merit and situation, and seven master-generals were soon created, either of the cavalry or infantry. When this important business had been amicably transacted, Valentinian and Valens embraced for the last time. The emperor of the west established his temporary residence at Milan; and the emperor of the east returned to Constantinople, to assume the dominion of fifty provinces, of whose language he was totally ignorant.32

The tranquility of the east was soon disturbed by rebellion; and the throne of Valens was threatened by the daring attempts of a rival, whose affinity to the emperor Julian33 was his sole merit, and had been his only crime. Procopius had been hastily promoted from the obscure station of a tribune, and a notary, to the joint command of the army of the east; the real import of which title was to name him as the successor of a prince who was destined of natural heirs; and a vain rumour was propagated by his friends, or his enemies, that Julian, before the altar of the Moon, at Carthage, had privately invested Procopius with the imperial purple.34 He endeavoured, by his duplicity and perfidy, to raise the jealousy of Jovian; resigned, without a contest, his military command; and retired, with his wife and family, to cultivate the ample patrimony which he possessed in the province of Cappadocia. These useful and innocent occupations were interrupted by the appearance of an officer, with a band of soldiers, who, in the

Revolt of Procopius.

A. D. 363.

Sept. 30.

26 Valentinian's first speech is full in Ammianus, xxvi. 29 concise and sententious in Philostorgius, i. viii. c. 8.

27 The regularities and stagnation and peril of Arcadius, (p. e. 83.) yet he allows, that this ethic or perspicuous, the guilty fa- vorite of Julian, or the son of any share of Valentinian, was dis- missed on the payment of a small fine.

28 The base assertion of a general disgrace (Zosimus, i. vi. p. 80.) are detected and refuted by Tillemont, (tom. v. p. 217.)

29 Ammianus, xxvi. 5.

30 Ammianus, referring to general terms, subagreata legm, see bellicae nec literarum studia erudita. Ammianus, xxxii. 11. The orator Theonistas, with the genuine impertinence of a Greek, wished for the last time to speak, at the celebration of the birth of his sovereign, the...(see Ammianus as Am- mianus, xxxiii. 3.) The letter of Procopius might be addressed to either of the sons of Augustus, and count Julian, the mother and uncle of the Apostate. Du- cange, Fami. Byzantia, p. 49.

31 Ammianus, xxxi. 25.

32 He mentions the report with much hesitation; assuravit obscurior fama; nemo casa dictar auctor exi- tun; servans, or servans recens. It serves, however, to remark, that Procopius dis- gus. Yet his religion does not appear to have promoted, or obstruct- his pretensions.
name of his new sovereigns, Valentinian and Valens, was deputed to conduct the unfortunate Procopius either to a perpetual prison, or an ignominious death. His rich and splendid pretensions, however, did not meet with a more splendid fate. Without presuming to dispute the royal mandate, he requested the indulgence of a few moments to embrace his weeping family; and, while the vigilance of his guards was relaxed by a plentiful entertainment, he dexterously escaped to the sea-coast of the Euxine, from whence he passed over to the country of Bosphorus. In that sequestered region he remained many months, exposed to the hardships of exile, of solitude, and of want; his melancholy temper brooding over his misfortunes, and his mind agitated by the most violent apprehensions, that, if any accident should discover his flight, the fate of his family was inevitable. He violated, without much scruple, the laws of hospitality in a moment of imprudence and despair. Procopius embarked in a merchant vessel, which made sail for Constantinople; and boldly aspired to the rank of a sovereign, because he was not allowed to enjoy the security of a subject. At first he lurked in the villages of Bithynia, continually changing his habitation, and his disguise. By degrees he ventured into the capital, trusted his life and fortune to the fidelity of two friends, a senator and a eunuch, and conceived some hopes of success, from the intelligence which he obtained of the actual state of the public affairs. The body of the people was infected with a spirit of discontent; they regretted the justice and the abilities of Sallust, who had been imprudently disinherited from the protectorate of the deceased Valens, which was rude without vigour, and feeble without avarice. They dreaded the influence of his father-in-law, the patrician Petronius, a cruel and rapacious minister, who rigorously exacted all the arrears of tribute that might remain unpaid since the reign of the emperor Aurelian. At the same time, the multitudes were elated with the pretensions of a usurper. The hostile measures of the Persians required the presence of Valens in Syria; from the Danube to the Euphrates the troops were in motion; and the capital was occasionally filled with the soldiers who passed or remained to the Thracian Bosphorus. Two cohorts of Gauls were detached to the assembling of the Huns. The demonstrations of the conspirators; which were recommended by the promise of liberal donations; and as they still reverberated the memory of Julian, they easily consented to support the hereditary claim of his successor. At the same time they were drawn up near the baths of Anastasia; and Procopius, clothed in a purple garment, more suitable to a player than to a monarch, appeared as if he rose from the dead, in the midst of Constantinople. The soldiers, who were prepared for his reception, saluted their trembling prince with shouts of joy, and vows of fidelity. Their numbers were soon increased by a sturdy band of peasants, collected from the adjacent country; and Procopius, shielded by the arms of his adherents, was successively conducted to the tribunal, the senate, and the palace. During the first moments of his tumultuous reign, he was astonished and terrified by the gloomy silence of the people; who were either ignorant of the cause, or apprehensive of the event. But his military strength was superior to any actual resistance: the multitudes were mocked to the standard of rebellion; the poor were excited by the promises, and the rich were intimidated by the fear, of a general pillage; and the obstinate credulity of the multitude was once more deceived by the promised advantages of a revolution. The magistrates were seized; the prisons and arsenals broke open; and the houses of the haughty, the palaces of the haughty were diligently occupied; and, in a few hours, Procopius became the absolute, though precarious, master of the imperial city. The usurper improved this unexpected success with some degree of courage and dexterity. He artfully propagated the rumours and opinions that the treasures of the church were for a moment exposed to the violence of the populace. He proposed to the church to open its gates to the populace by giving audience to the frequent but imaginary, ambassadors of distant nations. The large bodies of troops, stationed in the cities of Thrace, and the fortresses of the Lower Danube, were gradually involved in the guilt of rebellion; and the Gothic princes of the province of Bithynia and Asia. After an honourable defence, the city and island of Cyzicus yielded to his request; the emperor Hormisdas embroiled the cause of the usurper, whom they were ordered to crush; and, as the veterans were continually augmented with new levies, he soon appeared at the head of an army, whose valour, as well as numbers, were not equalled by the confidence of the troops, with which Hormisdas, a youth of spirit and ability, condescended to draw his sword against the lawful emperor of the east; and the Persian prince was immediately invested with the ancient and extraordinary powers of a Roman proconsul. The alliance of Faustina, the widow of the emperor Valens, the daughter of the deceased Valens, was negotiated to the hands of the usurper, added dignity and reputation to his cause. The princess Constantin, who was then about five years of age, accompanied, in a litter, the march of the army. She was shown to the multitude in the arms of her adopted father; and, as often as she passed through the ranks of the soldiers, she was inflamed into martial fury; they recollected the glories of the house of Constantin, and they declared, with loyal acclamation, that they would shed the last drop of their blood in the defence of the royal infant. In the mean while Valentinian was alarmed and perplexed by the doubtful intelligence of the revolt of the east. The difficulties of a German war forced him to confine his immediate care to the safety of his own dominions; and, as he was pursued to the farthest confines of his corruptions, he listened, with doubtful anxiety, to the rumours which were industriously spread, that the defeat and death of Valens had left Procopius sole master of the eastern provinces. Valens was not dead; but, on the very day of the rebellion, he was received at Cesarœa, he has been seized by the hand of his life, he has intended to negotiate with the usurper, and discovered his secret inclination to abdicate the imperial purple. The timid monarch was saved from disgrace and ruin by the firmness of his ministers, and their abilities soon decided in his favour the event of the civil war. In a season of tranquillity, Sallust had resigned without a murmur; but as soon as the public safety was attacked, he ambitiously solicited the pre-eminence of toil and danger; and the restoration of that virtuous minister to the prefecture of the east, was the first step which indicated the repentance of Valens, and satisfied the minds of the people. The reign of Procopius was apparently supported by powerful armies, and obedient provinces. But many of the principal officers, military as well as civil, had been urged, either by motives of duty or interest, to withdraw themselves from the quaggy scene, or to watch the moment of betraying and a Hernisdæ mater avâræ Hernisdæ regina illius filio, potestas et imperium translatææ, an ex, exilia, munita et impetrata. Ammian. xxi. 6. The Persian prince escaped with honour and safety, and was afterwards, (A. D. 366.) restored to the same extraordinary and extraordinary office of Bithynia, against the enemy of the Persians, (Procop. In Tarr. v. p. 264.) I am ignorant whether the race of Sassan was proscribed. I find (A. D. 514.) a pope Hernisdæ; but he was a native of Frisonia, in Italy. (Pagi. Breit. Pontif. tom. i. p. 247.) The infant rebel was afterwards the wife of the emperor Gro- sianus, but despised and left: ambulat et emigra. See Ammian. xxi. 7. a Hernisdæ mater avâræ Hernisdæ regina illius filio, potestas et imperium translatææ, an ex, exilia, munita et impetrata. 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deserting the cause of the usurper. Lusciouses advanced by hasty marches, to bring the legions of Syria to the aid of Valens. Arintheus, who, in strength, beauty, and valour, excelled all the heroes of the age, attacked with a small troop, a superior body of the rebels, and met with a mortal wound, which he had under his banner, he commanded them, with a loud voice, to seize and deliver up their pretended leader; and such was the ascendant of his genius, that his extraordinary order was instantly obeyed.

Arbelos, a respectable veteran of the great Constantine, who was, in the writing of this history, the companion of the king, in his subserviency, was persuaded to leave his retirement, and once more to conduct an army into the field. In the heat of action, calmly taking off his helmet, he showed his grey hairs, and venerable countenance; saluted the soldiers of Procopius by the enclituring names of church and state, his true and constant followers, and then had the good grace to support the desperate cause of a contemptible tyrant; but to follow their old commander, who had so often led them to honour and victory. In the two engagements of Thyatira* and Nocasus, the unfortunate Procopius was deserted by his troops, who were seduced from him by the seductiveishments of the others. After wandering some time among the woods and mountains of Phrygia, he was betrayed by his despoothing followers, conducted to the imperial camp, and immediately beheaded. He suffered the ordinary fate of an unsuccessful usurper: But the acts of his former greatness, then too easily excused by the conqueror, under the forms of legal justice, excited the pity and indignation of mankind.

Such indeed are the common and natural fruits of despotism and rebellion. But the iniquity into the crime of fanaticism, which, under the reign of the two most infamous emperors, both at Rome and Antioch, was interpreted as the fatal symptom, either of the displeasure of heaven, or of the depravity of mankind. Let us not hesitate to indulge a liberal pride, that in the present age, the enlightened part of Europe has abolished a cruel and odious prejudice, which reigned in every climate of the globe, and adhered to every system of religious opinions. The nations, and the sects, of the Roman world, admitted with equal credit and similar approbation, the reality of that infernal art, which was able to control the winds, to establish peace, and to execute the voluntary operations of the human mind. The inimitable power of spells and incantations, of potent herbs, and excerable rites, which could extinguish or recall life, inflame the passions of the soul, blast the works of creation, and extort from the reluctant demons the secrets of futurity. They believed, with the wildest inconsistency, that this præternatural domination of the air, of earth, and of hell, was exercised, from the vileness of man, or the felicity of heaven, by spirits or genii. An imaginary cause is capable of producing the most serious and mischievous effects. The dark predictions of the death of an emperor, or the success of a conspiracy, were calculated only to stimulate the hopes of ambition, and to dissolve the ties of fidelity; and the intentional guilt of the prime was shown in the actual crimes of treason and sacrilege.* Such vain terrors disturbed the peace of society, and the happiness of individuals; and the harmless flame which insensibly melted a waxen image, might derive a powerful and pernicious energy from the alluring fancy of the person whom it was intended to destroy. After the execution of a great number of those herbs, which were supposed to possess a supernatural influence, it was an easy step to the use of mere substantial poison; and the folly of mankind sometimes became the instrument, and the mask, of the most atrocious crimes. As soon as the zeal of informers was excited, and they had become aware of the Christian name, they could not refuse to listen to another charge, too frequently mingled in the scenes of domestic guilt; a charge of a softer and less malignant nature, for which the pious, though excessive, rigour of Constantine had recently decreed the punishment of death.* This deadly and inoffensive mixture of poison and adultery, afforded infinite gradations of guilt and innocence, of excuse and aggravation, which in these proceedings appear to have been Confounded by the angry or corrupt passions of the judges. They easily discovered, that the degree of their industry and discernment was estimated by the imperial court, according to the number of executions that were furnished from their respective tribunals. It was not without extreme reluctance that they pronounced a sentence of acquittal; but they eagerly admitted such evidence as was stained with perjury, or procured by the treachery of informers, under charges, against the most respectable characters. The progress of the inquiry continually opened new subjects of criminal prosecution; the audacious informer, whose falsehood was detected, retired with impunity; but the wretched victim, who discovered his real, or pretended, accomplices, was seldom permitted to receive the benefits of his infancy. From the extremity of Italy and Asia, the young and the aged were dragged in chains to the tribunals of Rome and Antioch. Senators, magistrates, and philosophers, expired in ignominious and

* Et dignissimos hominum superare certamine desiderabiles, sanctificatis et cultis ficto corporis, ipsa habitis injusta, usque viciro tacerrum; atque in tunc inhumanis ad inhumabiles compfrationes suae ad hoc fallaciam et casuum urbi, Herculis, are celebrated by St. Basil: who supposed that God had created him as an imitable model of the human species. The painters and sculptors could not express his figure: the historians admired fabulous when they related his exploits. (Ammian, xxxi. and Vales, ad loc.)

the same field of battle is placed by Ammianus in Lycaons, and by Zosimus at Thyatira. The Emperors, who are at the distance of thirty miles from each other. But Thyatira alias Lice, (Plin. Hist. Nat. v. 21. tit. 366. The Emperors, tom. ii. p. 79.) and the transect were easily converted into an open air; there is no plain road to the city; and the scene of the engaging action was the town of Lice, 200—210.) They often illustrate, and seldom contradict each other. The more ancient, Oros. iv. 20. 42. adds some base pugnacies; and Euphros. (p. 83. 84.) some malicious satire.

Libanius de pleiada, Julian, nece. c. ix. p. 135. 139. The sophist destroys the public fame, but he does not (after their death) impeach the justice of the emperors.

The ancient historians of the present age, allow the theory, and deny the practice of witchcraft. (Beauch. Recueil de Decisions de Jurisprudence, an mot Sacerdes, tom. iv. p. 317. Blackstone, the most celebrated judge of England, says, that the crime of witchcraft is not in the books of statutes, or outworn, public wisdom, the president Montesquieu (Esprit des lois, lib. viii. c. 12.) is well apprised of the bank. Hugues.)

See Cleobers de Bryon, tomo. iii. p. 286—258. The sceptic of Rotterdam exhbits, according to his custom, a strange medley of knowledge, and the names of men.

The pagans distinguished between good and bad magic, the Thraes. Commentum, tom. iii. p. 232—273. But they could not have defended this observed distinction against the abuse made by Bayle. In the Jewish and Christian system, all daemones are infernal spirits; and all communication with them is idolatry, apostacy, etc., which deserves death and demotion.
When Tacitus describes the deaths of the innocent and illustrious Romans, who were sacrificed to the cruelty of the first Caesars, the art of the historian, or the merit of the sufferers, excites in our breast the most lively sensations of terror, of admiration, and of pity. The coarse and undistinguishing pencil of Ammianus has delineated his bloody figures with tedious and disguising accuracy. But as our attention is not longer engaged by the contrast of freedom and servitude, of renown greatness and of actual misery, we should turn with horror from the frequent executions, which disgraced, both at Rome and Antioch, the reign of the two brothers.\(^6\) Valens was of a timid,\(^7\) and Valentinian of a choleric disposition.\(^8\) An anxious regard for his personal safety was the ruling principle of the administration, which soothed with the greatest security the most violent passions of the people. The favours of Valens obtained, by the privilege of rape and gift, the wealth which his economy would have refused.\(^9\) They urged, with persuasive eloquence, that, in all cases of treason, suspicion is equivalent to proof; that the power, supposes the intention, of mischief; that the intention is not less criminal than the act; and that a subject no longer deserves to live, if his life may threaten the safety, or disturb the repose, of his sovereign. The judgment of Valentinian was sometimes deceived, and his confidence abused; but he would have silenced the informers with a contemptuous smile, had they presumed to alarm his serious thoughts. But he raised his inflexible love of justice; and, in the pursuit of justice, the emperor was easily tempted to consider clemency as a weakness, and passion as a virtue. As long as he wrestled with his equals, in the bold competition of an active and ambitious life, Valentinian was forcing and skilful, combined with inconstancy: if his prudence was arraigned, his spirit was appalled; and the proudest and most powerful generals were apprehensive of provoking the resentment of a fearless soldier. After he became master of the world, he unfortunately forgot, that where no resistance can be made, no courage can be exerted; and instead of consulting the dictates of reason and magnanimity, he indulged the furious emotions of his temper, at a time when they were disgraceful to himself, and fatal to the defenceless objects of his displeasure.

In the government of his household, or of his empire, slight, or even imaginary, offences, a hasty word, a casual omission, an involuntary delay, were chastised with the severest severity. The judges, or such of his subjects which issued the most readily from the mouth of the emperor of the west were, "strike off his head!"—"burn him alive!"—"let him be beaten with clubs till he expires!" and his most favoured ministers soon understood, that, by a rash attempt to dispute, or suspend, the exercise of imperial death, they might involve themselves in the guilt and punishment of disobedience. The repeated gratification of this savage justice hardened the mind of Valentinian against pity and remorse; and the sallies of passion were converted into the grandeur of system, with calm satisfaction the convulsive agonies of torture and death; he reserved his friendship for those faithful servants whose temper was the most congenial to his own. The merit of Maximin, who had slaughtered the holiest families of Rome, was roused with the royal approbation, and that of the prefect of Gaul. Both princes and enormous bears, distinguished by the appellations of Innocence, and Mica Aurea, could alone deserve to share the favour of Maximin. The cages of those treasy guards were always placed near the bedchamber of Valentinian, who frequently amused his eyes with the spectacle of those horrid agonies. The bleeding limbs of the malcontents who were abandoned to their rage. Their diet and exercises were carefully inspected by the Roman emperor; and when Innocence had earned her discharge, by a long course of monotonous toil, to revive the faded spirit and to restore to the freedom of her native woods.\(^10\)

But in the calmer moments of reflection, their laws and government, when the mind of Valens was not agitated by fear, or that of Valentinian by rage, the tyrant resumed the sentiments, or at least the conduct, of the monarch of the ancient world. The fiendish cruelty of the western emperor could clearly perceive, and accurately pursue, his own and the public interest; and the sovereign of the east, who imitated with equal dexterity the various examples which he received from his elder brother, was sometimes guided by the wisest arguments, and sometimes mistaken by the prejudices of his own time. His prudence was invariably retained, in the purple, the chaste and temperate simplicity which had adorned their private life; and, under their reign, the pleasures of the court never cost the people a blush or a sigh. They gradually reformed many of the abuses of Julian; jacta est facies, and the empire was more firmly established. But he never learned to find the true spirit of legislation which might inspire posterity with the most favourable opinion of their character and government. It is not from the master of Innocence, that we should expect the tender regard for the welfare of his subjects, which prompted Valentinian to condemn the exposition of new-born infants; and to establish fourteen skilful physicians, with stipends and privileges, in the fourteen quarters of Rome. The good sense of an iliterate soldier founded a useful and liberal institution for the education of youth, and the support of

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\(^{1}\) He sometimes expressed a sentence of death with a tone of plen- taxy: "Alii, comes et muta eis capit, qui sui muti pro vinciana epipt." A boy, who had slipped too hastily a Spartan bond; an armourer who had made a pointed eunuch that wanted some grains of the legitimate weight, &c, were the victims of his fury.

\(^{2}\) The insomniacs of Milan were an agent and three apparitors, whom Valens had formerly found in the streets of Constantinople. Valen- \(^{3}\) The innocents of Milan were an agent and three apparitors, whom Valens had formerly found in the streets of Constantinople. Valen- \(^{4}\) The innocents of Milan were an agent and three apparitors, whom Valens had formerly found in the streets of Constantinople. Valen- \(^{5}\) The innocents of Milan were an agent and three apparitors, whom Valens had formerly found in the streets of Constantinople. Valen- \(^{6}\) The innocents of Milan were an agent and three apparitors, whom Valens had formerly found in the streets of Constantinople. Valen-
But the most honourable circumstance of the character of Valentinian, is the firm and temperate impartiality which he uniformly preserved in an age of religious contention. His strong sense, unenlightened, but uncorrupted, by study, declined with respectful indifference, the subtle questions of theological debate. The government of his empire he conducted wisely, and satisfied his ambition; and while he remembered that he was the disciple of the church, he never forgot that he was the sovereign of the clergy. Under the reign of an apostate, he had signalized his zeal for the honour of Christianity: he allowed to his subjects the right to do as they pleased for themselves, and they might accept, with gratitude and confidence, the general toleration which was granted by a prince, addicted to passion, but incapable of fear or of disguise. The pagans, the Jews, and all the various sects which acknowledged the divine authority of Christ, were protected by the laws from arbitrary power or popular insult: nor was any mode of worship prohibited by Valentinian, except those secret and criminal practices, which abused the name of religion for the dark purposes of vice and disorder. The art of magic, as it was more cruelly punished, was more strictly proscribed; but the emperor adhered to the ancient methods of divination, which were approved by the senate, and exercised by the Tuscan haruspices. He had condemned, with the consent of the most rational pagans, the licence of nocturnal sacrifices; but he immediately admitted the petition of Prætextatus, procornel of Achaia, who represented, that the life of the Greeks would become disagreeable and uncomfortable if they were deprived of the invaluable blessing of the Eleusinian mysteries. Philosophy alone can boast, (and perhaps it is no more than the boast of philosophers,) that her gentle hand is able to eradicate from the human mind the least and deadliest principle of fanaticism and madness. But this toleration of twelve years, which was enforced by the wise and vigorous government of Valentinian, by suspending the repetition of mutual injuries, contributed to soften the manners, and abate the prejudices of the religious factions.

The friend of toleration was unfortunately placed at a distance from the scene of the fiercest controversies. As soon as the christians of the west had extricated themselves, from the snares of the creed of Rinnini, they happily relapsed into the slumber of orthodoxy, and the remains of the tribute and the burthens which had been imposed by Valentinian appear to have been less attentive and less anxious to relieve the burthens of his people. He might reform the abuses of the fiscal administration; but he exacted, without scruple, a very large share of the private property; as he was convinced that the revenues, which supported the luxury of individuals, would be much more advantageously employed for the defence and protection of their state. The subjects of the east who enjoyed the present benefit, applauded the indulgence of their prince. The solid, but less splendid merit of Valentinian was felt and acknowledged by the subsequent generation.\(^3\)

\(^3\) These salutary institutions are explained in the Theodosian Code, i. viii. itt ii. De Professoribus et Medicis, and i. xiv. itt. ii. De studiis liberis urbanae Rerum. Besides our own works (Castle, Cod. Cæs.), we may consult Giannone, (Storina di Napoli, tom. x. p. 100. 111,) who has treated the interesting subject with the zeal and curious research which all disgrace his name.\(^1\)

\(^1\) Cod. Theod. i. itt. ii. with Codex Cæsareus Praetextatus, which disposes of abuses from the twenty to the thirty-six of the code.

\(^2\) Three books of Ammianus (xxx. 11.) countenance a whole oration of Theodurus, (viii. p. 10. 42.) full of adulation, pedantry, and absurdity, that place moralizes on the eloquent M. Théophile, (Cod. Cæs. p. 496, 1) who is praised in the same light.\(^1\)

\(^1\) Zosimus, i. iv. p. 352. Ammianus. xxx. 9. His reformation of costly abuses, might entitle him to the praise of the provincials adm. medium parvus, tributumque ubique mollium ac severum. By some his frugality was styled avarice. (Jerome, Chron. p. 186.)

\(^3\) Testes sunt legere a me in eorum imperii menti; quibus unicae quod ante illum institutae voluit leges alias tributae est. Cod. Euseb. i. xiv. c. 37. This description of the government of Valentinian, which we have just quoted, was written after his reign. He had initiated the impartial conduct of his brother, whom an important victory on the side of Ariusanism. The two brothers had passed their
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private life in the condition of catechumens; but the piety of Valens prompted him to solicit the sacrament of baptism, before he exposed his person to the dangers of a Gothic war. He naturally addressed himself to Eudoxus, bishop of the imperial city; and if the ignorant monarch was instructed by that Arian pastor in the most absurd and pernicious tenets, rather than his guilt, was the inevitable consequence of his erroneous choice. Whatever had been the determination of the emperor, he must have offended a numerous party of his christian subjects; as the leaders both of the Homœans and of the Arians being present, he had offended those he respected the most; and they were most cruelly injured and oppressed. After he had taken this decisive step, it was extremely difficult for him to preserve either the virtue, or the reputation of impartiality. He never aspired, like Constantius, to the fame of a profound theologian; but, as he had received with simplicity and respect the tenets of Eudoxus, Valens resigned his conscience to the direction of his ecclesiastical guides, and promoted by the influence of his authority, the reunion of the Arian heretics to the body of the catholic church. At first, they pitied their blindness; but degrees he was provoked and inflamed, and he inflicted extremities to whom he was an object of hatred. The feeble mind of Valens was always swayed by the persons with whom he familiarly conversed; and the exile or imprisonment of a private citizen are the favours the most readily granted in a despotic state. Such punishment was inflicted on the Homœan party; and the misfortune of fourscore ecclesiastics of Constantinople, who, accidentally, were burnt on shipboard, was imputed to the cruel and premeditated malice of the emperor, and his Arian ministers. In every contest, the catholics (if we may ridicule that name) were aware of the power of their own faults, and of those of their adversaries. In every election, the claims of the Arian candidate obtained the preference; and if they were opposed by the majority of the people, he was usually supported by the authority of the civil magistrate, or even by the terror of a military force. The enemies of Athanasius attempted to disturb the last years of his venerable age; and his temporary retreat to his father's sepulchre has been celebrated as a fifth exile. But the zeal of a great people, who instantly flew to arms, intimidated the prefect; and the archbishop was permitted to end his life in peace, in the reign of his successor, seven years. The death of Athanasius was the signal of the persecution of Egypt; and the pegan minister of Valens, who forebly seated the worthless Lucius on the archiepiscopal throne, purchased the favour of the reigning party, by the blood and sufferings of their christian brethren. The free toleration of the heathen and Jewish worship was bitterly lamented, as a circumstance which aggravated the misery of the catholics, and the guilt of the impious tyrant of the empire.

Death of Athanasius. A.D. 373.

May 25.

Valens, and the judgment his hatred of the heretics had excited against the emperor, if he employed violence, of a general revolt in the province of Cappadocia. The archbishop, who asserted, with inflexible pride, the truth of his doctrines, and the magnanimity of his conduct, was left in free possession of his conscience, and his throne. The emperor devoutly assisted at the solemn service of the cathedral; and, instead of a sentence of banishment, subscribed the donation of a valuable estate for the use of an hospital, which Basil had lately founded in the city. The neighboring town of Nicaea, and the province of Cappadocia, were reduced to the state of a free possession under the pretence of religion, which associated themselves with the monks of Egypt; and he directed the count of the east to drag them from their solitude; and to compel those deserters of society to accept the fair alternative, of renouncing their temporal possessions, or of discharging the public duties of men and citizens, who, with a considerable slaughter was made in the monasteries which disobeyed the commands of their sovereign.

v 1. Dr. Jortin (Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. iv. p. 72) has already conceived and estimated the same suspicion.

2. This reflection is so obvious and forcible, that Orosius (I. viii. c. 32, 33.) delays the persecution till after the death of Valens, in order to avoid the charge of a philosophical oration, which Theophilus pronounced in the year 357 (see Socinus, vol. ii. p. 151, in Latin only). Such contradictions of Orosius, who was so cautious as to diminish the evidence, and reduce the term, of the persecution of Valens.

3. Tillemont, whom I follow and abridge, has extracted (Mem. Eccl. Rom. Tom. iii. p. 527) the most authentic circumstances from the Panegyrics of the two Gregories; the letter, brother, and friend, of Basil. The letters of Basil himself (Dipin, Bibliothèque Ecclesiastique, tom. ii. p. 371) do not possess me concerning the persecution.

4. Basilius Caesariensis, episcopus Capadociae clarus huc et iluc multis continentissimum impenitus homo et superbus male perditum. This irreverent passage is perfectly in the style and character of St. Gregory of Nyssa; and the judicious Dr. Lardner declared, (Sermon in the Commemoration of St. Basil) that Vossius found it in some old MSS, which had not been reformed by print.

5. This noble and charitable foundation (almost a new city) supported in merit, if not in greatness, the pyramids or the walls of Babylon. It was erected, not to be forgotten, by a pious emperor, who took care to reward his charitable friends, who had misrepresented the edict of Valens, and suppressed the liberty of choice.

6. See D'Aubigné, Description de l'Egitre, p. 74. Hereafter I shall consider the monastic institutions.

Valentinian restrained the avarice of the clergy, and the aversion of the laity to repress the wealth and avarice of the clergy. A.D. 370. The strict regulations which have been framed by the wisdom of modern legislatures to restrain the wealth and avarice of the clergy, may be originally deduced from the example of the emperor Valentinian. His edict addressed to Damasus, bishop of Rome, was contrived to abate the influence of the clergy, and to diminish the avaricious and avaricious habits of those devoted females who embraced the doctrines of Christianity, not only with the cold assent of the understanding, but with the warmth of affection, and perhaps with the eagerness of fashion. They sacrificed the pleasures of dress and luxury; and renounced, for the enjoyment of these earthly pleasures, the happiness of the human heart. 

Damasus, bishop of Rome, was constrained to stigmatize the avarice of his clergy by the publication of the law (to which the good sense of Valentinian, and the avarice of Damasus, were imputed to his brother monks: and the Sacerdotium, the Presbyteral, was publicly nailed to the head of the widow Paula, (com. l. vi. p. 63.) He undoubtedly possessed the affections, both of the mother and the daughter; but he declares, that he never abused his influence to a selfish or unusual purpose.

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industry to increase the wealth of the church; and dignify their covetousness with the splendid names of piety and patriotism.

The restored But the rest of the chapter is missing from the image provided.
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Chapter XXV.

THE tranquility of the city. Pretextatus was a philosophic pagan, a man of learning, of taste, and politeness; who disguised a reproach in the form of a jest, when he asserted Damasus, that if he could obtain the bishopric of Rome, he himself would immediately embrace the Christian religion. This lively picture of the papacy and the temporal power of the Papacy in the fourth century, becomes the more curious, as it represents the intermediate degree between the humble poverty of the apostolic fishermen, and the royal state of a temporal prince, whose dominions extend from the confines of Naucratis to the Poros of the Parthian Paroikos war. When the suffrage of the generals and A.D. 254-273. of the army committed the sceptre of the Roman empire to the hands of the Valentinian, his reputation in arms, his military skill and experience, and his rigid attachment to the form, as well as spirit, of ancient discipline, were the principal motives of their judicious choice. The eagerness of the troops, who pressed him to nominate his colleague, was justified by the dangerous situation of public affairs; and Valentinian himself was conscious, that the abilities of the most active mind were unequal to the defence of the distressing state into which the empire had fallen. As soon as the death of Julian had relieved the barbarians from the terror of his name, the most sanguine hopes of rapine and conquest excited the nations of the east, the north, and of the south. Their inroads were pressing upon the provinces, and sometimes formidable; but, during the twelve years of the reign of Valentinian, his firmness and vigilance protected his own dominions; and his powerful genius seemed to inspire and direct the feeble counsels of his brother. Perhaps the method of annals would more forcibly express the general and divided cares of the two emperors; but the attention of the reader, likewise, would be distracted by a tedious and desultory narrative. A separate view of the five great theatres of war; I. Germany; II. Britain; III. Africa; IV. The East; and V. The Danube; will impress a more distinct image of the military state of the empire under the reigns of Valentinian and Valens.

I. Germany. The ambassadors of the Alamanii The Alamanii had been offended by the harsh and severe manner of Ursacius, master of the silver marriage, who, by an act of unaccountable parsimony, had diminished the value, as well as the quantity, of the presents, to which they were entitled, either from custom or treaty, on the accession of a new emperor. They expressed, and they communicated to their countrymen, their strong sense of the nature of the insult. The insolence was aggravated by the suspicion of contempt; and the military youth crowded to their standard. Before Valentinian could pass the Alps, the villages of Gaul were in flames; before his general Dagraiphas, could encounter the Alamanii, they had secured the captures of A.D. 292. and the spoil in the forests of Germany. July.

In the beginning of the ensuing year, the military force of the whole nation, in deep and solid columns, broke through the barrier of the Rhine, during the severity of a northern winter. Two Roman counts were slain, and mortally wounded; and the standard of the Hordienses of the Batavians fell in the hands of the conquerors, who, displayed, with insulting shouts and menaces, the trophy of their victory. The standard was recovered; but the Batavians had not redeemed the shame of their disgrace and flight in the eyes of their sovereign, had purchased his clemency at such a price. Valentinian, that his soldiers must learn to fear their mander, before they could cease to fear the enemy. The troops were solemnly assembled; and the trembling Batavians were enclosed within the circle of the imperial array. Valentinian then ascended his tribunal; and, as if he disdained to punish cowardice with death, he reproved the assembled body of indelible ignominy on the officers, whose misconduct and pusillanimity were the first occasion of the defeat. The Batavians were degraded from their rank, stripped of their arms, and condemned to be sold for slaves to the highest bidder. At this tremendous sentence the troops fell prostrate on the ground, and presented the image of their sovereign, and protested, that, if he would indulge them in another trial, they would approve themselves not unworthy of the name of Romans, and of his soldiers. Valentinian, with affected reluctance, yielded to their entreaties; the Batavians resumed their arms; and, with their arms, the invincible resolution of wiping away their disgrace in the blood of the Alamannii. The principal command was declined by Dagraiphas; and that experienced general, who had represented, perhaps with too much procidence, the extreme difficulties of the undertaking, had the mortification, before the end of the campaign, to resign the command to the emperor. As he resolved to make the death of Julian have the advantage of the scattered forces of the barbarians. At the head of a well disciplined army of cavalry, infantry, and light troops, Jovinus advanced with cautious and well calculated measures to the siege of Metz, where he surprised a large division of the Alamanii, before they had time to run to their arms; and flushed his soldiers with the confidence of an easy and bloodless victory. Another division, or rather army, of the enemy, after the cruel and wanton devastation of the adjacent country, presented themselves on the shady banks of the Moselle. Jovinus, who had viewed the ground with the eye of a general, made his silent approach through a deep and woody vale, till he could distinctly perceive the indolent security of the Germans. Some were bathing their huge limbs in the river; others were cooking their long and filthy kettles; others again were swallowing large draughts of rich and delicious wine. On a sudden they heard the sound of the Roman trumpet; they saw the enemy in their camp. Astonishment produced disorder; disorder was followed by confusion and disorder; and a tumultuous multitude of the bravest warriors was pierced by the swords and javelins of the legionaries and auxiliaries. The fugitives escaped to the third, and most considerable, camp, in the Catalaunian plains, near Chalons in Champagne; the straggling detachments were hastily re-called. The rest of the chieftains were alarmed and admonished by the fate of their companions, prepared to encounter, in a decisive battle, the victorious forces of the lieutenant of Valentinian. The bloody and obstinate conflict lasted a whole summer's day, with equal valour, and with alternate success. The Romans at length prevailed, with the loss of about twelve hundred men. Six thousand of the Alamannii were slain, four thousand were wounded; and the brave Jovinus, after chasing the flying remnant of their host as far as the banks of the Rhine, returned to Paris, to receive the compliment of the censure, and the ensigns of the consularship for the ensuing year. July.

The triumph of the Romans was indeed sullied by their treatment of the captive king, whom they hung on a gibbet, without the knowledge of their indifferent general. This disgraceful act of cruelty, which might have been ascribed to the want of the sword, was followed by the deliberate murder of Withilas, the son of Aemilian, xxvi. 1. Zosimus, i. 4. p. 275. The diocese of the Batavians is supposed to be contemporary with this account. See a note, in the fourth edition of Dion, tom. v. p. 241. 266. a See a note in the French edition of the Author's Life, p. 267. "D'Anville's Notice de l'Anicinée Gaulois," p. 57. The name of the Moselle, which is not specified by Ammianus, is clearly understood by Maspero. History of the Invasion of the Germans, v. 21. a T. 21. 12. 7. b Emilian, xxvi. 2. Valens adds a long and good note on the death of the master of the offices.
of Vadomai; a German prince, of a weak and sickly constitution, but of a daring and formidable spirit. The domestic assassin was instigated and protected by the Romans; and the violation of the laws of humanity and justice betrayed their secret apprehension of the approaching divorce. As the dagger is seldom adopted in public councils, as long as they retain any confidence in the power of the sword.

While the Allemanni appeared to be humbled by their recent calamities, the apartment of the hundred of Valentinian was mortified by the unexpected surprisal of Moguntiacum, or Mentz, the principal city of the Upper Germany. In the unconsolable moment of a christian festival, Randolf, a bold and artful chieftain, who had long meditated this attempt, suddenly passed the Rhine, entered the defended town, and rode with a multitude of captives of either sex. Valentinian resolved to execute severe vengeance on the whole body of the nation. Count Sebastian, with the bands of Italy and Hylleicum, was ordered to invade their country, most probably on the side of the Rhine.

The emperor in person, accompanied by his son Gratian, and his stepson Rando, set out on a formidable army, which was supported on both banks by Jovinus and Severus, the two masters-general of the cavalry and infantry of the west. The Allemanni, unable to prevent the devastation of their villages, fixed their camp on a high inaccessible mountain, in the modern duchy of Wirtemberg, where the Allemanni expected the approach of the Romans. The life of Valentinian was exposed to imminent danger by the trepid curiosity with which he persisted to explore some secret and unguarded path. A troop of barbarians suddenly rode upon the camp, and the emperor, who vigorously spurred his horse down a steep and slippery descent, was obliged to leave behind him his armour-bearer, and his helmet, magnificently enriched with gold and precious stones. At the signal of the general assault, the Roman troops encompassed and ascended the mountain from three different sides. Every step by which they gained increased their ardour, and abated the resistance of the enemy: and after their mixed forces had occupied the summit of the hill, they imputedly urged the barbarians down the northern descent, where count Sebastian was posted to intercept their retreats. After this signal victory, Valentinian returned to his winter-quarters at Treves; where he indulged the public joy by the exhibition of splendid and triumphal games. But the wise monarch, instead of aspiring to the conquest of Germany, confined his attention to the important and laudable defense of the Gauls against the interior, whose strength was renewed by a stream of daring volunteers, which incessantly flowed from the most distant tribes of the north. The banks of the Rhine, from its source to the straits of the ocean, were closely planted with strongholds and castles from towers; new works, and new arms, were invented by the ingenuity of a prince who was skilled in the mechanical arts; and his numerous levies of Roman and barbarian youth were severely trained in all the exercises of war. The progress of the work, which was sometimes opposed by modest representations, and sometimes by hostile attempts, secured the tranquillity of Gaul during the nine subsequent years of the administration of Valentinian.

That prudent emperor, who diligently practised the wise maxims of Diocletian, A.D. 339, was studious to foment and excite the intestine divisions of his empire. About the middle of the fourth century, the countries, perhaps of Luxeac and Thuringia, on either side of the Elbe, were occupied by the vague dominion of the Burgundians; a warlike and numerous people of the Vandal race, whose obscure name insensibly swelled into a powerful kingdom, and finally settled on a bounding range of ancient Scythians. The most remarkable circumstance in the recent manners of the Burgundians, appears to have been the difference of their civil and ecclesiastical constitution. The appellation of Henricus was given to the king or general, and the title of Simius to the high priest, or nation. The latter were easily tempted, by the secret solicitations, and liberal offers, of the emperor; and their barbarous descent from the Romans, who had been formerly left to garrison the fortresses of Drusus, was admitted with mutual credulity, as it was conducive to mutual interests. An army of four thousand Burgundians soon appeared upon the banks of the Rhine, and impatiently required the support of subsidies. The Roman emperors, who were established in the extremity of despair, were only prepared with excuses and delays, till at length, after a fruitless expectation, they were compelled to retire. The arts and fortifications of the Gallic frontier checked the fury of their just resentment; and their massacre of the captives served to enrich the coffers of the subjects of the Burgundians and the Allemanni. The inconsistency of a wise prince may, perhaps, be explained by some alteration of circumstances; and, perhaps, it was the original design of Valentinian to intimidate, rather than to destroy; as the balance of power would have been to the nations of ancient Germany. I mean if we suppose that when the battle was on, the senate of Rome, the Aurons, the Baturus, the Fritipal, that it doubled in twenty or thirty years. The probability, and even the necessity of this supposition, is manifest from the picture which our ancient historians have drawn of the manners of the nations that inhabited the Rhine and the Rhone. (See Tacit. Hist. Muc. Germaniacarum, c. 16. 18. 19. 20.) These customs were so favourable to a perpetual peace, that the fear of the prize and emulation so fitted to remove the fear of want, present the picture of a state of society endowed with a principle of irresistible increase. They show the inextricable source of those armies and colonies, whose origin the Roman empire so long sustained, and by which at last it felt was not probable that at any time the population of Germany had doubled during two successive periods, or even during one of twenty five years. The perpetual wars of these people, the rude state of agriculture among them, and especially the strange custom adopted by many tribes, of surrounding themselves with forests, were absolutely opposed to such an increase. Probably the whole country was at no time well peopled, though often it was furnished with a population that was well regulated. The desire of clearing their forests, to drain their marshes, or to render their soil capable of supporting an increasing population, was more agreeable to their natural habits; and their restless states were continually in search of food, of booty, and of glory. (Besiis sive principis de Populo Germanico, p. 143.)

a Ammian. xxviii. 2. Zosimus. l. iv. p. 211. The younger Victor mentions the mechanical genius of Valentinian, Nova armar mediati; qui terra terram simul simili;

b Bellicornia et suis immensas viribus sublimae; et ideo metendarum universi sublimimur.

c I am always apt to suspect historians and travellers of improving extraordinary facts and events, through the false custom to Egypt and the Chinese have imputed it to the Tatin, or Roman empire. (De Guicci. Hist. des Huns. tom. i. part. i. p. 129.)

d The Allemanni flourished in the region of the Vistula and the burger, Alpum People of the European, to. p. 575.) describes the fertility of the Allemanni, and their dependence on a peculiar semi-nomadic life. (See Grandeur et Décadence des Romains, c. 16. p. 157.) The difficulty disappears if we apply a well authenticated and known fact concerning America,
been equally overturned by the expropriation of either of the German nations. Among the princes of the Ale- manns, Macrianus, who, with a Roman name, had assumed the arts of a soldier and a statesman, deserved his hatred and esteem. The emperor himself, with light and unencumbered band, conducted to pass the Rhine, marched fifty miles into the country, and would infallibly have seized the object of his pursuit, if his judicious measures had not been defeated by the impiety of the troops. Macrianus was afterwards obliged to propose a memorable conference with the emperor; and the favours which he received, fixed him, till the hour of his death, a steady and sincere friend of the republic.1

The Saxons. The land was covered by the fortifica-
tions of Valentinian; but the sea-
coast of Gaul and Britain was exposed to the depor-
tations of the Saxons. That celebrated name, in which we have a dear and domestic interest, escaped the notice of Tacitus; and in the maps of Ptolemy, it faintly marks the narrow neck of the Cimbrian pen-
sinsula, and three small islands towards the mouth of the Elbe.1 This contracted territory, the present duchy of Sleswig, or perhaps of Holstein, was inca-
 pable of pouring forth the inexhaustible swarms of Saxons who reigned over the ocean, who filled the British island with their language, their laws, and their customs, who so long defended the liberty of the north against the arms of Charlemagne.3 The solution of this difficulty is easily derived from the similar manners, and loose constitution, of the tribes of Germany: which were blended with each other by the slightest accidents of war or friendship. The situa-
tion of the native Saxons disposed them to embark in the hazardous professions of fishermen and pirates; and the success of their first adventures would natur-
ally excite the emulation of their bravest countrymen, who were impatient of the gloomy solitude of their woods and mountains, who so long defended the liberty of the north against the arms of Charlemagne.1 The Saxons were engaged in the war of the North; they were hostile to the Roman empire; and their wars, conducted by their own treachery, if a large body of cuirassiers, alarm-
ed by the noise of the combat, had not hastily ad-
ced to extirpate their companions, and to overwhelm the undaunted valour of the Saxons. Some of the prisoners were saved from the edge of the sword, to shed their blood in the amphitheatre; and the orator Symmachus complains, that twenty-nine of those despe-
rate savages, by strangling themselves with their own hands, had disappointed the amusement of the public. Yet the polite and philosophical citizens of Antwerp were struck with horror, and, on being informed, that the Saxons conspired against the gods the tythe of their huusam spoel; and that

1 The wars and negotiations, relative to the Burgundians and Ale-
manns, are distinctly related by Ammianus Marcellinus, (xxix. 5,
xxx. 4, xxi. 3.) Orosius. (l. vii. c. 32.) and the Chronicle of Jerome and Cassiodorus, (f. some days.) and add some circumstances.

2 E. F. sec. sanquis & c. Kap. 5; & 6. (xxiv.) 25, 26. At the northern extremity of the peninsula, (the Cimbric promontory of Pliny, iv. 32.) where the mouth of the Elbe fills the isthmus between the Saxons and the Cimbri with six obscure tribes, who were the ancestors of the Saxonic confederation, the national popula-
tion of Danes. See Chiver, German. Antic. l. iii. c. 21, 22, 23.

3 JOHN F. HILL, On the limits of the Empire of the Franks, Bart. Avit. 359.

4 The genius of Caesar imitated, for a particular service, these rude, but celebrated mariners, and conducted, by his courage and genius, to the conquest of the Britons. (Comment. de Bell. Civ. l. 31. and Gauchard, Nuevissimos Memoriales, tom. ii. p. 41, 42.) The British vessels would now aston- ish the genius of Caesar.

5 The best original account of the Saxon pirates may be found in Sidenius, (l. i. c. 33.) and in the Latin island, and in the canto of Charlemagne, and the best commentary in the Abbe du Bois. (Hist. Critique de la Monar-
chie Francaise, &c. tom. i. l. i. c. 16. p. 146-152. See likewise p. 77, 78.)

6 Ammian. (xxviii. 3.) justifies this breach of faith to pirates and robbers; (xxiv. 53.) more clearly expresses their real guilt; virtute atque agilet terrulio.
The Fabulous colonies of Egyptians. The Scots and Trojans, of Scandinavians, and Spaniards, which flattened the pride and abused the credulity of our rude ancestors, have been extinguished by the light and rational philosophy. The present age is satisfied with the simple and rational opinion, that the islands of Great Britain and Ireland were gradually peopled from the adjacent continent of Gaul. From the coast of Kent, to the extremity of Caithness and Ulster, the memory of the shores of a happy world, and the monks, to whom it was improved their skill; and they acquired, by slow degrees, the art, or rather the habit, of managing their boats in a tempestuous sea, and of steering their nocturnal course by the light of the well-known stars.

The two bold headlands of Caledonia almost touch the shores of a Star Chamber, and the monks, to whom it was obtained, flourished under its luxuriant vegetation, the epithet of Green; and has preserved, with a slight alteration, the name of Erin, or Ireland, It is probable, that in some remote period of antiquity, the fertile plains of Ulster received a colony of hungry Scots: and that the strangers of the north, who had dared to encumber the arms of the legions, spread their conquests over the savage and uncivilized natives of a solitary island.

The inhabitants of that northern region were divided, as early as the reign of Constantine, between the two great tribes of the Scots and of the Piets, who have since experienced a very different fortune. The power and glory of the former have been diminished by the successful rivals; and the Scots, after maintaining for ages the dignity of an independent kingdom, have multiplied by an equal and voluntary union, the honours of the English name.

The hand of nature contributed to mark the ancient seat of the ocean, that the feet of man, were the men of the hills, and the latter those of the plain. The eastern coast of Caledonia may be considered as a level and fertile country, which, even in a rude state of tillage, was capable of producing a considerable quantity of corn; and the epithet of carnivorous was given to the province of the carnivorous highlander. The cultivation of the earth might introduce a more accurate separation of property, and the habits of a sedentary life; but the love of arms and rapine was still the ruling passion of the Piets; and their warriors who stripped themselves for a day of battle, were distinguished, in the eyes of the Romans, by the strange fashion of painting their naked bodies with gaudy colours and fantastic figures. The western part of Caledonia irregularly rises into wild and barren hills, which scarcely repay the toil of the husbandman, and are most profitably inhabited, by the men whose occupations were condemned to the occupations of shepherds and hunters; and, as they seldom were fixed to any permanent habitation, they acquired the expressive name of Scots, which, in the Celtic tongue, is said to be equivalent to that of wanderers or vagrants. The inhabitants of a barren land were urged to seek a fresh supply of food in the waters. The deep lakes and bays which intersect their country are plentifully stored with fish; and they gradually ventured to cast their nets in the waves of the ocean. The vicinity of the Hebrides, so profusely scattered along the western coast of Caledonia, almost touch the shores of a Star Chamber, and the monks, to whom it was obtained, flourished under its luxuriant vegetation, the epithet of Green; and has preserved, with a slight alteration, the name of Erin, or Ireland, It is probable, that in some remote period of antiquity, the fertile plains of Ulster received a colony of hungry Scots: and that the strangers of the north, who had dared to encumber the arms of the legions, spread their conquests over the savage and uncivilized natives of a solitary island.

It is certain, that in the declining age of the Roman empire, Caledonia, Ireland, and the Isle of Man, were inhabited by the Scots, and that the kindred tribes, which ascended inutility from the north, were deeply affected by the various disasters of their mutual fortunes. They long cherished the lively tradition of their common name and origin; and the missionaries of the Isle of Saints, who diffused the light of Christianity over North Britain, established the vain of the Scottish race. The loose and obscure tradition has been preserved by the venerable Bede, who scattered some rays of light over the darkness of the eighth century. On this slight foundation, an huge superstructure of fable was gradually reared, by the sagacity of men, who equally abused the privilege of fiction. The Scottish nation, with mistaken pride, adopted their Irish genealogy; and the annals of a long line of imaginary kings have been adorned by the fancy of Boehmstr, and the classic elegance of Buchanain.

Six years after the death of Constantine, the destructive inroads of the Scots and Piets required the presence of A.D. 343—350, his youngest son, who reigned in the western empire. Constans visited his British dominions; but we may form some estimate of the importance of his achievements from the fact, that Alaric, whose victory over Rome was gained only by the triumph of the elements, or, in other words, the good fortune of a safe and easy passage from the port of Boulogne to the harbour of Sandwich. The calamities which the afflicted provincials continued to experience, from internal war and domestic tyranny, were aggravated by the feckless and corrupt administration of the emperors of the West; the transient relief which they might obtain from the virtues of Julian, was soon lost by the absence and death of their

1 The Irish descent of the Scots has been revived, in the last moments of their decay, and supported by the Reverend Mr. Winitz, (ed. H. Bentinck, [Hist. of Fragments, Gen. v. p. 151—203.] Yet be beaver. 1. The Scots of the fifth and sixth centuries were settled in Caledonia; and that the Roman authors do not afford any hints of their emigration from another country. 2. That all the accounts of such emigrations have been received by historians, such as Irland, British Scots, Irish historians, or English antiquaries, (Buchanain, Buchanain, and Sand, Esher, and the ancients, Caledonia, Caledonia, and this of the Irish tribes, which are mentioned by Pecian, (A.D. 159,) were of Caledonian extraction. 4. The younger branch of Caledonian princes, of the house of Fingal, succeeded the monarchy of Ireland. After these emigrations, the remaining inhabitants divided themselves into several nations; and the principal distinction between them was, in some measure, the kind of language which they used. The genuine history, which he produces, of a Persians, the language of Caledonia, as Caledonia, or in more ancient times, is well known. Caledonia is built on a conical supplement to the Erin poetry; and the historic evidence of Richard of Clermont, a monk of the fourteenth century, supports the opinion of other antiquaries. It has been asserted that the story of the High King, or antiquarian, has been preserved in the nature of a question, which has been so much discussed, as to be almost incredible. 2. Hymen utentes ac suaviter unda caelatis Oceanum remis; . . . imperator imperator imperator Britanniae expansum. Ju- lio Firmium Statarmarum Erone Prout, Ragn, p. 445, ed. Gnesv, et calcan Minuc, Fel. 2. Tilliemont, (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 256.)

3 Synachau (i. ii. epist. 46) still presumes to mention the sacred names of Socrates and philosophy, Philomus, bishop of Clermont, might mean, (i. vii. epist. 6,) with less inconstancy, the human sacrifices of the Saxons.

4 In the beginning of the last century, the learned Camden was obliged to undermine, with respectable scepticism, the Romance of Eras the Trojan; who is now buried, in silent oblivion, with Scott, the author of the Ancient History of Scotland, and her ancient poetry. Yet it is affirmed, that some champions of the Celtic colony may still be found on the ancient seat of Strobar; and they are described with their present condition, grasp at any visions of their past or future.

5 Tacitus, or rather his father-in-law, Agricola, might remark the German or Spanish complexion of some British tribes. But it was noted by the priest Cato, the British and the Strab, has moderately ascertained our genuine antiquities. (Britannia, its antiquity, and its customs.) Critical Dissertations on the Origin, Antiquities, &c. of the Caledoni- an, of the Caledonians, of their country, and of their history.

6 A.D. 1773, in the thirty-third year of the reign of George III. The History of Great Britain and Ireland, by James Macpherson, Edin. London, 1773, in 4to., third edition. Dr. Macpherson was a mis- under the influence of the Elysian Fields; and a resemblance to the History of Great Britain and Ireland, by James Macpherson, Edin. London, 1773, in 4to., third edition. Dr. Macpherson was a mis-
benefactor. The sums of gold and silver which had been painfully collected, or liberally transmitted, for the payment of the troops, were intercepted by the avarice of the commanders; discharges, or, at least, exemptions, from the military service were publicly sold to the distress of the soldiers, whose wages were thereby deprived of their legal and scanty subsistence, provoked them to frequent desertion; the nerves of discipline were relaxed, and the highways were infested with robbers. The oppression of the good, and the humanity of the bad, were balanced, equally repugnant to discipline, and the spirit of discontent and revolt; and every ambitious subject, every desperate exile, might entertain a reasonable hope of subverting the weak and distracted government of Britain. The hostile tribes of the north, who detested the pride and power of the king of all the world, suspended their domestic feuds, and the barbarians of the land and sea, the Scots, the Picts, and the Saxons, spread themselves, with rapid and irresistible fury, from the wall of Antoninus to the shores of Kent. Every production of art and nature, every object of commerce or luxury, which they were incapable of creating by labour, or by purchase, was sold by trade, was accumulated in the rich and fruitful province of Britain. A philosopher may deplore the eternal discord of the human race, but he will confess, that the desire of spoil is a more rational provocation than the desire of food. The most rational of the plantagenets to that of the plantagenets, this rapacious spirit continued to instigate the poor and hardy Caledonians: but the same people, whose generous humanity seems to inspire the songs of Ossian, was disgraced by a savage ignorance of the virtues of peace, and of the laws of war. Their southern neighbours have felt, and perhaps exaggerated, the cruel depredations of the Scots and Picts; and a valiant tribe of Caledonians, the Attacotti, the enemies, and afterwards the soldiers, of Valentinian, are accused, by an eye-witness, of delighting in the taste of human flesh. They were not, however,挑选其。在他们之中，产生了对和平的渴望，以及对和平的渴望，他们准备了他们所准备的可怕报复。如果，在邻近的地区，没有对人类历史的反对，对文明的反对，对生活本身的反对，这些反应继续鼓励我们的想法；而且要鼓励我们对和平的追求，这样，新西兰可能会在未来的时代，成为欧洲的南方。


Every messenger who escaped across the British channel, conveyed the most melancholy and alarming tidings to the court of Valentian; and the emperor was soon informed, that the two military commanders of the province had been surprised and cut off by the barbarians. Severus, count of the dominiacs, was hastily despatched, and as suddenly recalled, by the court of Treves. The representations of Jovinus served only to indicate the evil; and, after a long and serious consultation, the defence, or rather the recovery, of Britain, was intrusted to the abilities of the brave Theodosius. The exploits of that general, the father of a line of emperors, have been celebrated, with peculiar complacency, by the writers of the age; but it is only the merit deservet by the applause; and his nomination was received, by the army and province, as a sure presage of approaching victory. He seized the favourable moment of navigation, and securely landed the veteran and numerous host of the Heruli, and Bohemond. In his march from Sandwich to London, Theodosius defeated several parties of the barbarians, released a multitude of captives, and, after distributing to his soldiers a small portion of the spoil, established the fame of disinterested justice, by the restitution of the remainder to the rightful proprietors. The citizens of London, who had almost despaired of their safety, threw open their gates; and as soon as Theodosius had obtained from the court of Treves the important aid of a military lieutenant, and a civil governor, he executed, with wisdom, vigour, the laborious task of the deliverance of Britain. He succeeded in maintaining the discipline of a British standard; an edict of amnesty dispelled the public apprehensions; and his cheerful example alleviated the rigor of martial discipline. The scattered and desultory warfare of the barbarians, who infested the island and contended in the age of Cæsar, presaged a victory of a signal victory: but the prudent spirit, and consummate art, of the Roman general, were displayed in the operations of two campaigns, which successively rescued every part of the province from the hands of a cruel and rapacious enemy. The splendor of the cities, and the security of the fortifications, were diligently restored, by the paternal care of Theodosius: who with a strong hand confined the trembling Caledonians to the northern angle of the island; and perpetuated, by the name and settlement of the new province of Valentinian, the glories of the reign of Valentinian. The voice of poetry and panegyric may add, perhaps with some degree of truth, that the unknown regions of Thule were stained with the blood of the Piets; that the ears of Theodosius dashed the waves of the Hyperborean ocean; and that the distant Orkneys were the scene of his naval victory over the Saxian pirates. He left the province with a fair, as well as splendid, reputation: and was immediately promoted to the rank of master-general of the cavalry, by a prince, who could applaud, without envy, the merit of his servants. In the important station of the Upper Danube, he succeeded Severus, in the command of Britain, and the armies of the Allemanni, before he was chosen to suppress the revolt of Africa.

III. The prince who refuses to be a judge, instructs his people to consider him as the accomplished, his ministers. The military command of Afri

A. D. 368, &c. had been long exercised by count Romanus; and his abilities were not inadequate to his station: but, as sordid interest was the sole motive of his conduct, he acted, on most occasions, as if he had been the enemy of the whole race, who had found the friend of his country. The three flourishing cities of Ocia, Leptis, and Sabrata, which, under the name of Tripoli, had long constituted a federal union, were obliged, for the

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first time, to shut their gates against a hostile invasion; several of their most honourable citizens were surprised and slain, the villages, and even whole farms, were pillaged; and the vines and fruit-trees of that rich territory were extirpated by the malicious savages of Getulia. The unhappy provincials implored the protection of Romans; but they soon found that their military governor was not less cruel and rapacious than their barbarian conquerors. As they would not supply furnish- ing the four thousand camels, and the exorbitant present, which he required, before he would march to the assistance of Tripoli, his demand was equivalent to a refusal, and he might justly be accused as the author of the public calamity. In the annual assembly of the three citie; a complaint was brought in the name of Valentinian the customary offering of a gold victory; and to accompany this tribute, of duty, rather than of gratitude, with their humble complaint, that they were ruined by the enemy, and betrayed by their governor. If the severity of Valentinian had been rightly directed, it would have fallen on the guilty head of Romans. But the count, long exercised in the arts of corruption, had despatched a swift and trusty messenger to secure the venal friendship of Remigius, master of the offices. The wisdom of the imperial counsel was deceived by artifice; and their honest indignation was coincident with an original situation, when the repetition of complaint had been justified by the repetition of public misfortunes, the notary Palladius was sent from the court of Treves, to examine the state of Africa, and the conduct of Romans. The rigid impartiality of Palladius was easily disposed; he was tempted to reserve for himself a part of the public treasure, which he brought with him for the payment of the troops; and from the moment that he was conscious of his own guilt, he could no longer refuse to attest the innocence and merit of the count. The charge of the Tripolitans was declared to be false and frivolous. From this moment, he was sufficiently satisfied, and left from Treves to Africa, with a special commission to discover and prosecute the authors of this impious conspiracy against the representatives of the sovereign. His inquiries were managed with so much dexterity and success, that he compelled the citizens of Leptis, who had sustained a recent siege of eight days, to contradict the truth of their own deuces, and to ensure the behaviour of their own deputies. A bloody sentence was pronounced, without hesitation, by the rash and headstrong cruelty of Valentinian. The president of Tripoli, who had presumed to pity the distress of the province, was sunk in the fear of public displeasure. The guilty citizens were put to death, as the accomplices of the imaginary fraud; and the tongues of two others were cut out, by the express order of the emperor. Romans, exalted by impunity, and irritated by resistance, was still continued in the military command; till the Africans were provoked, by his avowals, to join the rebellious standard of Firmus, the Moor.

Revolt of Firmus.

A.D. 572.

His father Nabal was one of the richest and most powerful of the Moorish princes, who acknowledged the supremacy of Rome. But as he left, either by his wives or concubines, a very numerous family, he was accused of cruelty, and he was eagerly disputed; and Zamma, one of his sons, was slain in a domestic quarrel by his brother Firmus. The implacable zeal, with which Romanus prosecuted the legal revenge of this murder, could be ascribed only to a motive of avarice, or personal hatred; but, on this subject, his charge was so weighty, and Firmus clearly understood, that he must either present his neck to the execution, or appeal from the sentence of the imperial consistory, to his word, and to the people.

He was received as the deliverer of his country; and, as soon as it appeared that Romanus was formidable only to a submissive province, the tyrant of Africa became the object of universal contempt. The ruin of Cesarea, which was plundered and burnt by the licentious barbarians, convinced the refractory cities of the danger of resistance; the power of Romanus was established in the provinces of Mauritania and Numidinid; and it seemed to his only doubt, whether he should assume the diadem of a Moorish king, or the purple of a Roman emperor. But the imprudent and unhappy Africans soon discovered, that, in this rash insurrection, they had not sufficiently consulted their own strength, the abilities of their adversary, or the necessity of procuring any certain intelligence, that the emperor of the west had fixed the choice of a general, or that a fleet of transports was collected at the mouth of the Rhone, he was suddenly informed, that the great Theodosius, with a small band of veterans, had landed near Illyricum, or Gipseri, on the African coast, and the timid usurper sunk under the ascendant of virtue and military genius.

Though Firmus possessed arms and treasures, his despot of victory immediately reduced him to the use of these arts, which, in the same country, and in a similar situation, would have, without any danger of success, if only rendered him more crafty Jugurths. He attempted to deceive, by an apparent submission, the vigilance of the Roman general; to seduce the fidelity of his troops; and to protract the duration of the war, by successively engaging the independent tribes of Africa to espouse his quarrel, or to protect his flight. Theodosius imitated the example, and obtained the success, of his predecessor Metellus. When Firmus, in the character of a supplicant, accused his own rashness, and humbly solicited the clemency of the emperor, the latter of Valentinian received and dismissed him with a friendly embrace; but he was instantly required to do the service of an army, or to make a sacrifice of a sincere repentance; nor could he be persuaded, by the assurances of peace, to suspend, for an instant, the operations of an active war. A dark conspiracy was detected by the penetration of Theodosius; and he satisfied, without much reluctance, the public indignation, which he could not resist. The plan was received with approbation, for the accomplices of Firmus were abandoned, according to ancient custom, to the tumult of a military execution; many more, by the amputation of both their hands, continued to exhibit an instructive spectacle of horror; the hatred of the rebels was accompanied with fear; and the imperial edict was received with respect and admiration. Amidst the boundless plains of Getulia, and the innumerable valleys of mount Atlas, it was impossible to prevent the escape of Firmus; and if the usurper could have tired the patience of his antagonist, he would have secured his person in the depth of some remote solitude, and expected the hopes of a future revolution. He was subdued by the perseverance of Theodosius: who had formed an inflexible determination, that the war should end only by the death of the tyrant; and that every nation of Africa, which presumed to support his cause, should be involved in the general calamity. At the head of his troops, which seldom exceeded three thousand five hundred men, the Roman general advanced, with a steady prudence, devoid of rashness, or of fear, into the heart of a country, where he was sometimes attacked by armies of twenty thousand Moors. The boldness of his charge, and the number of his followers, were disconcerted by his seasonable and orderly retreats; they were continually baffled by the unknown resources of the military art; and they felt and confessed the just superiority which was assumed by the leader.

6 The chronology of Ammianus is loose and obscure; and Orosius (II. vi. 25. p. 331. edit. Hevercamp), seems to place the revolt of Firmus after the deaths of Valentinian and Valens. Tillmont (Hist. des Emp. tom. v. p. 601.) endeavours to pick his way. The patient and sure-footed pace of the Alpi may be trusted in the most slippery paths.
of a civilized nation. When Theodosius entered the extensive dominions of Igmamos, king of the Ifassenes, the haughty savage required, in words of defiance, his name, and the object of his expedition. "I am," replied the stern and disdainful count. "I am the general of the army, who has authority hitherto to pursue and punish a desperate robber. Deliver him instantly into my hands; and be assured, that if thou dost not obey the commands of my invincible sovereign, thou, and the people over whom thou reignest, shall be utterly extinguished." As soon as Igmamos was satisfied with his submission, he challenged, in return, permission to execute the fatal menace, he consented to purchase a necessary peace by the sacrifice of a guilty fugitive. The guards that were placed to secure the person of Firmus, deprived him of the hopes of escape; and the Moorish tyrant, after wise had extinguished the sense of danger, dispatched the insulting triumphs of the Romans, by strangling himself in the night. His dead body, the only present which Igmamos could offer to the conqueror, was carelessly thrown upon a camel; and Theodosius, leading back his victorious troops to Sth, was saluted by the warmest acclamations of joy and loyalty. 

He is executed at Carthage, the Romans; it was restored by the virtues A. D. 570. of Theodosius; and our curiosity may be usefully directed to the inquiry of the respective triumphs of two generals, one belonging to the imperial court. The authority of count Romanus had been suspended by the master-general of the cavalry; and he was committed to safe and honourable custody till the end of the war. His crimes were proved by the most authentic evidence; and the public expected, with eagerness, his sentence to justice. But the partial and powerful favour of Mellonbane, was encouraged, encouraged him to challenge his legal judges, to obtain repeated delays for the purpose of procuring a crowd of friendly witnesses, and, finally, to cover his guilty conduct by the additional guilt of fraud and forgery. About the same time, the restored Britains and Arimaspi, on a vague suspicion that his name and services were superior to the rank of a subject, was ignominiously beheaded at Carthage. Valentianin no longer reigned; and the death of Theodosius, as well as the impunity of Romanus, may justly be imputed to the arts of the impostor, and the negligence of those who, in the inexperienced youth, of his sons. 1

State of Africa.

If the geographical accuracy of Ammianus had been fortunately bestowed on the British exploits of Theodosius, we should have traced, with eager curiosity, the distinct and domestic features of the country. Oviedo has enumerated, the unknown and uninteresting tribes of Africa may be reduced to the general remark, that they were all of the swarthy race of the Moors; that they inhabited the back settlements of the Manitonomous; and province, the country, as they have since been termed by the Arabs, of dates and of locusts, 2 and that, as the Roman power declined in Africa, the boundary of civilized manners and cultivated land was insensibly contracted. Beyond the utmost limits of the Moors, the vast and inhospitable desert of the Sahara extends above a thousand miles to the banks of the Niger. These inhabitants, who had a very faint and imperfect knowledge of the great peninsula of Africa, were sometimes tempted to believe, that the torrid zone must ever remain destitute of inhabitants; but they sometimes

abused their fancy by filling the vacant space with headless men, or rather monsters; with horned and cloven-footed satyrs; with fabulous centaurs; and with human pygmies, who waged a bold and doubtful warfare against the cranes. 3 Carthage would have been an unprofitable conquest to the state, who has attempted the project, but on either side of the equator, were filled with innumerable nations, who differed only in their colour from the ordinary appearance of the human species; and the subjects of the Roman empire might have anxiously expected, that the swarms of barbarians, which issued from the desert, and the ocean south by new swarms of barbarians, equally fierce, and equally formidable. These gloomy terrors would indeed have been dispelled by a more intimate acquaintance with the character of their African enemies. The inaction of the negroes does not seem to be the effect, the philter of their virtue, or the nature, of freedom; like the rest of mankind, their passions and appetites; and the adjacent tribes are engaged in frequent acts of hostility. 4 But their rude ignorance has never invented any effectual weapons of defence, or of destruction; they appear incapable of forming any extensive and systematic state of government. While the notorious inferiority of their mental faculties has been discovered and abused by the nations of the temperate zone. Sixty thousand blacks are annually emigrated from the coast of Guinea, never to return to their native country. The various nations of the northern and constant emigration, which, in the space of two centuries, might have furnished slaves to overrun the globe, accuses the guilt of Europe, and the weakness of Africa. 5

IV. The ignominious treaty, which IV. The East inherited the consequences of the war. was so disgracefully and so cowardly executed on the side of the Romans; and as they had solemnly renounced the sovereignty and alliance of Armenia and Iberia, those tributary kingdoms were exposed, without protection, to the arms of the Persian monarch. 6 Sapor entered the Armenian territories at the head of a formidable host of cuttiers, of archers, and of mercenary foot; but it was the irrevocable practice of Sapor to mix war and negociation, and to consider falsehood and perjury as the most powerful instruments of regal policy. He affected to praise the prudent and moderate conduct of the kings of Armenia; and the munificent. Persians was persuaded, by the repeated assurances of insidious friendship, to deliver his person into the hands of a faithless and cruel enemy. In the midst of a splendid entertainment, he was bound in chains of silver, as an honour due to the blood of the Arsaces; and after a

1 A infra, si credere libet. Vix jam homines et magi sciendi . . . Marm diss. Act. Rom. Palem. L. iv. p. 46. edit. Virid. 2 Translation. Pliny philosophically explains (vii. 39) the irregularities of nature, which he had credulosissimis admitted. (v. 3.) 3 If the satyr was the Græc-Ontagia, the great human animal, (Buffon, Hist. Nat. tom. xiv. p. 43. &c.) one of that species might actually be shown alive at Alexandria in the reign of Constantine. Yet some difficulty will still remain about the conversation which St. Anthony held with one of these pious savages in the desert of Thebais. (Jerome, De Vit. Patrum, l. i. p. 256.) 4 St. Anthony likewise met one of these monsters; whose existence was not suspected by the Egyptians; but when it was laughed; but his present of Egypt had the address to send an artful preparation, the enlightened corps of an Hiberniannum which was preserved after the death of St. Anthony. This was written by Pliny, (Hist. Nat. vii. 3.) and the judicious observations of Freer, (Memoirs de l'Acad. tom. vii. p. 523. &c.) 5 The fabulous of the pygmies is as old as Homer. (Iliad, ii. 6.) The pygmies were (memoires) between two and three inches high. Every spring their cavalry (mounted on camels and goats) marched in battle array to destroy the cranes eggs; alter which they sold the sweet and delicious mus bon non res dried. Pliny refers to a species of mud, feathers, and egg shells. See Pliny (vii. 22. &c.) and Strabo, (i. 2. &c.) and Bochart, who has been permitted to publish. 6 The third and fourth volumes of the valuable Histoire des Voyages describe the present state of the negroes. The nations of the coast of Guinea are, for the most part, inhabited by European nations; and those of the inland country have been improved by Moorish colonists. 7 See the Historical Library, of the antiquities of the world; written by Diodorus Siculus. 8 The evidence of Ammianus is original and decisive (xxvi. 12.) Moses of Chorene (Cahill, p. 427. &c.) and c. 24. 240.) and Procopius (plus de Bell Persic. l. i. c. 17. edit. Louvres) have been consulted; but those historians, who confound distinct facts, repeat the same errors, and introduce strange stories, must be used with dudgeon and caution.
subsided in a vain and tedious negotiation. The contending parties supported their claims by mutual reproaches of perfidy and ambition; and it should seem, that the original party interested was engaged in doubtful terms, since they were reduced to the necessity of making their inconclusive appeal to the partial testimony of the generals of the two nations, who had assisted at the negotiations. A.D. 360.

The invasion of the Goths and Huns, which soon afterwards shook the foundations of the Roman empire, and the principality of the arms of Sapor. But the declining age, and perhaps the infirmities of the monarch, suggested new maxims of tranquillity and moderation. His death, which happened in the full maturity of a reign of seventy years, changed in a moment the court and councils of Persia; and their attention was most probably engaged by domestic troubles, and the distant efforts of a Persian war. The remembrance of ancient injuries was lost in the enjoyment of peace. The kingdoms of Armenia and Iberia were permitted, by the mutual thoughtless or even doubtful neutrality. The noble youth, by the persuasion of his mother Olympias, was rescued through the Persian host that besieged Artaxerxes, and imploded the protection of the emperor of the east. By his timid councils, Para was alternately supported, and recalled, and restored, and betrayed. The hopes of the Armenians were sometimes raised by the presence of the emperor in their midst; but Para was satisfied, that they preserved the integrity of the public faith, if their vassal was not suffered to assume the diadem and title of king. But they soon repented of their own rashness. They were confounded by the reproaches and threats of the Persian monarch. They found reason to distrust the cruel and inconstant temper of Para himself: who sacrificed, to the slightest suspicions, the lives of his most faithful servants; and held a secret and disgraceful correspondence with the assassin of his father and the enemy of his country. Under the specious pretence of consulting with them, the emperor of the east, who moved from Parthia to the mountains of Armenia, where his party was in arms, and to trust his independence and safety to the discretion of a peridious court. The king of Armenia, for such he appeared in his own eyes and in those of his nation, was received with due honours by the governors of the provinces through which he passed; but when he arrived at Tar-sus in Cilicia, his progress was stopped under various pretences; his motions were watched with respectful vigilance, and he gradually discovered that he was a prisoner in the hands of his enemies. In his indignation, dissembled his fears, and, after secretly preparing his escape, mounted on horseback with three hundred of his faithful followers. The officer stationed at the door of his apartment, immediately communica-

The reign of Sapor was short confinement in the Tower of Oblivion at Ecbatana. He was released from the miseries of life, either by his own will, or of his own will, or by that of an assassin. The king of Armenia was reposited at Ecbatana; the administration was shared between a distinguished satrap and a favourite eunuch; and Sapor marched, without delay, to subdue the martial spirit of the Iberians. Sauronices, who reigned in that country by the permission of the emperors, was executed. But the danger of Olympia, the wife, or widow, of the Armenian king, excited the public compassion, and animated the desperate value of her subjects and soldiers. The Persians were surprised and repulsed under the walls of Artaxerxes, by a bold and well concerted sally of the besieged. But the forces of Sapor were continually renewed and increased; the hopeless courage of the garrison was exhausted; the strength of the walls yielded to the assault; and the proud conqueror, after wasting the rebellious city with fire and sword, led away captive an unfortunate queen, who, in a more auspicious hour, had been the destined bride of the son of God. But if Sapor already triumphed in the easy conquest of two independent kingdoms, he soon felt, that a country is unsubdued, as long as the minds of the people are actuated by a hostile and contumacious spirit. The satraps, who were obliged to retreat, embraced the first opportunity of regaining the affiance of their countrymen, and of signifying their immortal hatred to the Persian name. Since the conversion of the Armenians and Iberians, those nations considered the Christians as the favourites, and the Magians as the adversaries, of the Sapor. But the conversion of the Armenians was a superstitious people, was uniformly exercised in the courts of Rome; and as long as the successors of Constantine disputed with those of Artaxerxes the sovereignty of the intermediate provinces, the religious connexion always threw a decisive advantage into the scale of the former. A numerous and active party, under the successor of Tiranus, as the lawful sovereign of Armenia, and his title to the throne was deeply rooted in the hereditary succession of five hundred years. By the unanimous consent of the Iberians, the country was equally divided between the rival princes; and the son of the Sassanian king, who owed his diadem to the support of Sapor, was obliged to declare, that his regard for his children, who were detained as hostages by the tyrant, was the only consideration which prevented them from openly renouncing the alliance of Persia. The em- peror Valens, who respected the obligations of the treaty, and who was apprehensive of involving the east in a dangerous war, ventured, with slow and cautious measures, to support the Roman party in the kingdoms of Iberia and Armenia. Twelve legions established the authority of Sauromaces on the banks of the Cyrus. They were the prisoner in the camp of the Iberians. A powerful army, under the command of count Trajan, and of Vadomair, king of the Alemani, fixed their camp on the confines of Armenia. But they were strictly enjoined not to commit the first hostilities, which might be understood as a breach of the treaty; and such was the implicit obedience of the Sassanian general, that they retreated, with exemplary patience, under a shower of Persian arrows, till they had clearly acquired a just title to an honourable and legitimate victory. Yet these appearances of war insensibly

1 Ammianus (xxviii. 12. 22. lxxv. 1. 5) has described the events, without the dates, of the Persian war. Moses of Chorene (Hist. Arm. i. iii. e. 28. 5. 166. c. 5. 226. c. 11) has given a later account. See also the additional facts; but it is extremely difficult to separate truth from fable. 2 Artaxerxes was the successor and brother (the consort persicus) of King Darius, the successor of King Sapor; and the story of the German Catastrophe, the subject of their common interest, is told in the Panegyric of the Emperor Leo. See the Universal History, vol. xi. p. 96. 3 Ammianus (xxviii. 1. 10. edit. Louvre.) The authors of that work have treated the Armenian dynasty with eradation and diligence; but it is a preposterous arrangement to divide the Roman and Oriental accounts into two distinct periods. 4 Facetas in Panegy. Vet. xiv. 22. and Osorius, l. vii. c. 34. Iucundus from Festus ex Duodecim Historiarum Universarum Origen ear ad nund. (A. D. 416.) tranquilissimum fruitor.
tured his flight to the consular of Cilicia, who overtook him in the suburbs, and endeavour, without success, to dissuade him from prosecuting his rash and dangerous design. A legion was ordered to pursue the royal fugitive; but the pursuit of infantry could not be very alarming to a body of light cavalry; and upon the approach of the latter, whose flight was doubtless hastened by the air, they retreated with precipitation to the gates of Tarsus. After an incessant march of two days and two nights, Para and his Armenians reached the banks of the Euphrates; but the passage of the river, which they were obliged to swim, was attended with some delay and some loss. The country was alarmed; and the two roads, which were only separated by an interval of three miles, had been occupied by a thousand archers on horseback, under the command of a count and a tribune. Para must have yielded to superior force, if the accidental arrival of a friendly traveller had not revealed the danger and the means of escape. A dark and almost impervious path securely conveyed the Armenian troop through the thickets; and Para had left behind him the count and the tribune, while they paused, irregular, and almost defenceless, before a public highway. They returned to the imperial court to excuse their want of diligence or success; and seriously alleged, that the king of Armenia, who was a skilful magician, had transformed himself and his followers, and passed before their eyes under a borrowed shape. And the iniquity of such a transaction Para still continued to profess himself the friend and ally of the Romans; but the Romans had injured him too deeply ever to forgive, and the secret sentence of his death was signed in the council of Valens. The execution of the bloody deed was committed to the subordinate of count Tranian; and he had the merit of insinuating himself into the confidence of the cedulous prince, that he might find an opportunity of stabbing him to the heart. Para was invited to a Roman banquet, which had been prepared with all the pomp and solemnity of the east; the hall resounded with cheerful music, and the company was already heated with wine; when the count retired for an instant, drew his sword, and gave the signal of the murder. A robust and desperate barbarian instantly rushed on the king of Armenia; and though he bravely defiance his life with the first weapon that chance offered to his hand, the table of the imperial general was stained with the royal blood of a guest, and an ally. Such were the weak and wicked maxims of the Roman administration, that, to attain a doubtful object of politics, the feeblest pretence of hospitality, were inhumanly violated in the face of the world.1

V. During a peaceful interval of thirty years, the Romans secured their frontiers of Hermania, and the most noble of the race of the Amali, have been compared, by the enthusiasm of his countrymen, to the exploits of Alexander; with the sole singular and almost incredible, difference, that the martial spirit of the Goths had been in a large degree supported by the vigour of youth, was displayed with glory and success in the extreme period of human life, between the age of fourscore and one hundred and ten years. The independent tribes were persuaded, or compelled, to acknowledge the king of the Ostrogoths as the sovereign of the Gothic nation: the chiefs of the Visigoths, or Thervingi, renounced the royal title, and assumed the more humble appellation of Judges; and, among those judges, Athanare, Fritigern, and Alaricus, were the most illustrious, by their personal merit, as well as by their vicinity to the Roman provinces. These domestic conquests, which increased the military power of Hermania, enlarged his ambitious designs. He invaded the adjacent countries of the north; and twelve of them, considered by Tacitus, or can be accurately defined, successively yielded to the superiority of the Gothic arms.2 The Heruli, who inhabited the marshy lands near the lake Moesitis, were renowned for their strength and agility; and the assistance of their light infantry was eagerly solicited, and highly esteemed, in all the wars of the Ostrogoths. But the active spirit of the Heruli was subdued by the slow and steady perseverance of the Goths; and, after a bloody action, in which the king was slain, the remains of that warlike tribe became a useful accession to the camp of Hermania. He then marched against the Veneti, enskilled in the use of arms, and formidable only by their numbers, which filled the wide extent of the plains of modern Poland. The victorious Goths, who were not inferior in numbers, prevailed in the contest, by the decisive advantages of exercise and discipline, and the maintenanc of the public harmony, of the conqueror advanced, without resistance, as far as the confines of the Estii.3 An ancient people, whose name is still preserved in the province of Estonia. Those distant inhabitants of the Baltic coast were supported by the labours of agriculture, enriched by the tribute of number, and a system of mild government, which was another of the gods. But the scarcity of iron obliged the Estian warriors to content themselves with wooden clubs; and the reduction of that wealthy country is ascribed to the prudence, rather than to the arms, of Hermania. His dominions, which extended from the Danube to the Baltic, included the native seats, and the recent acquisitions, of the Goths; and he reigned over the greatest part of Germany and Seythia with the authority of a conqueror, and sometimes with the cruelty of a tyrant. But he reigned over a part of the globe incapable of perpetuating and adorning the fame of its heroes. The name of Hermania is almost buried in oblivion; his exploits are imperfectly known; and the Romans themselves appeared unconscious of the progress of an aspiring power, which threatened the liberty of the north, and the peace of the empire.4 The Goths had contracted an hereditament:5 The cause of the Treaty attachment for the imperial house of of Gothic war. Constantine, of whose power and liberality they had received so many signal proofs. They respected the public peace; and if an hostile band sometimes traversed the sacred rights of the state, the irregular conduct was candidly ascribed to the ungodly spirit of the barbarian youth. Their contempt for two new and obscure princes, who had been raised to the throne by a popular election, inspired the Goths with bolder hopes; and, while they agitated some design of marching their confederate force under the national standard,6 they were easily tempted to embrace the party of Procopius; and to foment, by their dangerous aid, the civil discord of the Romans. The public treaty might stipulate no more than ten thousand auxiliaries; but the ambition of the king, and the jealousy of those chiefs of the Visigoths, that the army which passed the Danube amounted to the number of thirty thousand men.7

1 See in Ammianus (xx. 1.) the adventures of Para. Norae of Corena calls him Thiridates; and tells a long, and not improbable, story of his birth: Gothus; who afterwards, made himself popular in After his defeat and the jealousy of the reigning king. (J. R. I. ii. 31, &c. p. 293, &c.)

2 See in the account of the reign and conquests of Hermania, poems to be one of the valuable fragments which Jornandes (c. 26) borrowed from the Gothic histories of Alkavias, or Cassiodorus.

3 M. de Bust (Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe, tom. vi. p. 311—329.) investigates, with more industry than success, the nations subdued by the arms of Hermania. He denies the existence of the Fair/ /'Europe. But reason and the Ambrosian Ms. have restored the word, as genuine, and the Ambrosian Ms. are elsewhere extant in the Gothic, (Germania, c. 43.)

4 Ammianus (xxv. 31. 3.) observes, in general terms: Eumoderici . . . nobilissimae regis et multa varia fungantur fortis, vicinis gentibus formidavit, &c.

5 Vales (Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe, tom. vi. p. 328.) has treated the relationibus Doriam, pentem Gothorum, en tempus factae iactant et singularem, conspexit in unum, ad perpendentem stabili comitum Thraciarn, &c.

6 M. de Bust (Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe, tom. vi. p. 322.) has curiously ascertained the real number of these auxiliaries. I see
They marched with the proud confidence, that their invincible valor would decide the fate of the Roman empire; and the provinces of Thrace groaned under the weight of the barbarians, who displayed the insolence of masters, and the licentiousness of enemies. In vain the emperor endeavored to arrest the march; he retarded their progress; and before the Goths could receive any certain intelligence of the defeat and death of Procopius, they perceived, by the hostile state of the country, that the civil and military powers were resumed by his successful rival. A chain of posts and fortresses, successively deserted by the Romans, on the Danube, were abandoned by the generals of Valens, resisted their march, prevented their retreat, and intercepted their subsistence. The forebodings of the barbarians were tamed and suspended by hunger; they indigently threw down their arms at the feet of the conqueror, who offered them food and chains; the numerous captives were distributed in all the cities of the east; and the provincials, who were soon familiarized with their savage appearance, ventured, by degrees, to measure their own strength with these formidable adversaries, whose name had so long been the object of their terror. The king of Scythia (419 A.D.) had perceived, was much pleased to see a nation which was grieved and exasperated by this national calamity. His ambassadors loudly complained, at the court of Valens, of the infractions of the ancient and solemn alliance, which had so long subsisted between the Romans and the Goths. They alleged, that they had fulfilled their part of the truce, and, in consequence, appealed against the conduct of the emperor Julian; they required the immediate restitution of the noble captives; and they urged a very singular claim, that the Gothic generals, marching in arms, and in hostile array, were entitled to be received as conqueror and privileges of ambassadors. The demand, but peremptory refusal of these extravagant demands, was signified to the barbarians by Victor, master-general of the cavalry; who expressed, with force and dignity, the just complaints of the emperor of the east. 2 The negociation was interrupted; and the fiery exhortations of Valens encouraged his timid brother to vindicate the insulted majesty of the empire. 3

Hostilities and

The splendor and magnitude of this Gothic war are celebrated by a contemporary historian; 4 but the events scarcely deserve the name of war. The Goths were at this time the luminous steps of the approaching decline and fall of the empire. Instead of leading the nations of Germany and Scythia to the banks of the Danube, or even to the gates of Constantinople, the aged monarch of the Goths resigned to the brave Athanariu the danger and glory of a decisive battle, against an enemy, who wielded with a feeble hand the powers of a mighty state. A bridge of boats was established upon the Danube; the presence of Valens animated his troops; and his ignorance of the art of war was compensated by personal bravery, and a wise deference to the advice of Victor, and Arintheus, his masters-general of the cavalry and infantry. The operations of the campaign were conducted by their skill and experience; but they found it impossible to drive the Visigoths from their strong posts in the mountains; and the devastation of the plain was so great with so much less expense, that the Danube on the approach of winter. The incessant rains which swelled the waters of the river, produced a tacit suspension of arms, and confined the emperor Valens, during the whole course of the ensuing summer, to his camp of Marcianopolis. The third year of the war was more favourable to the Romans, and more pernicious to the Goths. The interception of trade did not impede the energy of the invaders, who already confounded with the necessities of life; and the desolation of a very extensive tract of country threatened them with the horrors of famine. Athanariu was provoked, or compelled, to risk a battle, which he lost, in the plains; and the pursuit was rendered more bloody by the cruel prevarication of the victorious generals, who had promised a large reward for the head of every Goth that was brought into the imperial camp. The submission of the barbarians appeased the resentment of Valens and his council; the emperor listened with satisfaction to the flattering and eloquent remonstrance of the senate of Constantinople, which assumed, for the first time, a share in the public deliberations; and the same generals, Victor and Arintheus, who had successfully directed the conduct of the war, were empowered to regulate the conditions of peace. The freedom of trade which the Goths had hitherto possessed to two rivers, and the possession of the Danube, by the rashness of their leaders was severely punished by the suppression of their pensions and subsidies; and the exception, which was stipulated in favour of Athanariu alone, was more advantageous than honourable to the judge of the Visigoths. Athanariu, who, on this occasion, was appointed commander-in-chief, was not without the expectation of his sovereign, supported his own dignity, and that of his tribe, in the personal interview which was proposed by the ministers of Valens. He persisted in his declaration, that it was impossible for him, without inflicting the guilt of perfidy, to yield to his foot on the territory of the empire; and it is more than probable, that his regard for the sanctity of an oath was confirmed by the recent and fatal examples of Roman treachery. The Danube, which separated the dominions of the two independent monarchs, was the barrier of the Visigoths for about six years; till they were violently impelled against the Roman empire by an innumerous host of Scythians, who appeared to issue from the frozen regions of the north. 5

The emperor of the west, who had resigned to his new master the command of the victorious army, Lower Danube, reserved for his immediate care the defence of the Rhanian and Illyrian provinces, which spread so many hundred miles along the greatest of the European rivers. The active policy of Valens was continually employed in adding new fortifications to the security of the frontier; but the abuse of this policy provoked the just resentment of the barbarians. The Quadri complained, that the ground for an intended fortress had been marked out on their territories; and their complaints were urged with such importunity, and such importunity, and the master-general of Illyriam, consented to suspend the prosecution of the work, till he should be more clearly informed of the will of his sovereign. This fair occasion of injuring a rival, and of advancing the fortune of his son, was eagerly embraced by the inhuman Maximi, who was at that time either the co-manager, or rather the partializer of Valens in the Danube, or a leaf that Jornandes forgives a war parallel to the First Gothic, and important to the Gothic name. (Maseron's Hist. of the Germans, v. 5.)

1. The Gothic war is described by Ammianus, (xxvii. 5.) Zosimus, (vii. 6.) and Jordanes, (Get. Hist. iv. 1.)
2. This account is derived from the Ælius, which Valens on the Danube, to Achilles in the Seadonner. Jornandes forgets a war parallel to the First Gothic, and important to the Gothic name. (Maseron's Hist. of the Germans, v. 5.)
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ite, that if the government of Valeria, and the direction of the work, were intrusted to the zeal of his son Marcellinus, the emperor should no longer be importuned with the audacious remonstrances of the barbarians. The subjects of Rome, and the natives of Germany, were insulted by the arrogance of a young prince, and were considered as incapable of the protection of men of genius. The calamities of Germany had not escaped the elevation of the proof and reward of his superior merit. He affecting, however, to receive the modest application of Gabinius, king of the Quadi, with some attention and regard; but this artful civility concealed a dark and bloody design, and the credulous prince persuaded to accept the pressing invitation of Marcellinus. I am at a loss how to vary the narrative of similar crimes; or how to relate, that, in the course of the same year, but in remote parts of the empire, the inhospitable table of two imperial generals was stained with the royal blood of two guests and allies, inhumanly murdered by their order, and in their presence. The fate of Gabinius and of Pura was the same: but the cruel death of their sovereign was resented in a very different manner by the servile temper of the Armenians, and the free and dauntless spirit of the Goths. The Quadi were much declined from that formidable power, which, in the time of Marcus Antoninus, had spread terror to the gates of Rome. But they still possessed arms and courage; their courage was animated by despair, and they obtained the usual reinforcement of the cavalry of the legions. So impressively was the image of Marcellinus, that he chose the moment when the bravest veterans had been drawn away, to suppress the revolt of Firmus; and the whole province was excited, with a very feeble defence, to the rage of the exasperated barbarians. They invaded Firmus in the season of harvest; unscrupulously destroyed every object of plunder which they could not easily transport; and either disregarded or demolished the empty fortifications. The princess Constantia, the daughter of the emperor Constantinus, and the grand-daughter of the great Constantine, very narrowly escaped. That royal maid, who had innocently supported the revolt of Procopius, was now the destined wife of the heir of the western empire. She traversed the peaceful province with a splendid and unarmed train. Her person was saved from danger, and the republic from disgrace, by the presence of the Goths, who formed a part of the troops that surrounded the imperial residence. As soon as he was informed that the village, where she stopped only to dine, was almost encompassed by the barbarians, he hastily placed her in his own chariot, and drove full speed till he reached the gates of Sirium. He found the division of 30,000 men and 4000 horses. Even Sirium might not have been secure, if the Quadi and Sarmatians had diligently advanced during the general consternation of the magistrates and people. Their delay allowed Probus, the prætorian prefect, sufficient time to recover his own spirits, and to revive the courage of the citizens. He skilfully directed their strenuous efforts to repair and strengthen the decayed fortifications; and procured the seasonable and effectual assistance of a company of archers, to protect the capital of the Illyrian provinces. Disabdol, the principal agent in the designs of Sirium, the ignomious barbarians turned their arms against the master-general of the frontier, to whom they unjustly attributed the murder of their king. Equitius could bring into the field no more than two legions; but they contained the veteran strength of the Macedon and Panonian bands. The obstinacy with which they despised the vain honours of rank and precedence, was the cause of their destruction; and, while they acted with separate forces and divided councils, they were surprised and slaughtered by the active vigour of the Saxons. The success of the invasion roused the emulation of the bordering tribes; and the province of Mesia would infallibly have been lost, if young Theodosius, the duke, or military commander, of the frontier, had not signaled, in the defeat of the public enemy, an intrepid genius, worthy of his illustrious father, and of his future greatness. The mind of Valentinian, who then resided at Treves, was deeply affected by the calamities of Ilyricum; but the leanness of the season prevented his speeding the legions till the ensuing spring. He marched in person with a considerable part of the forces of Gaul, from the banks of the Moselle; and to the suppliant ambassadors of the Sarmatians, who met him on the way, he returned a doubtful answer, that, as soon as he reached the scene of action, he should examine, and pronounce. When he arrived at Sirium, he gave audience to the deputies of the Illyrian princes; who loudly congratulated their own felicity under the auspicious government of Probus, his prætorian prefect. Valentinian, who was much affected by these demonstrations of their loyalty and gratitude, imprudently asked the deputy of Epirus, a Cynic philosopher of intrepid sincerity, whether he was freely sent by the wishes of the province; "With tears and groans am I sent (replied Iphicles) by a reluctant people. But the emperor paused; and the wish of his ministers established the pernicious maxim, that they might oppress his subjects, without injuring his service. A strict inquiry into their conduct would have relieved the public discontent. The severe condemnation of the murder of Gabinius, was the only satisfaction of the Saxons, and the Pannonians; and the barbarians, Germans, and Illyrians, vexed at the title, and the conduct of the emperor, awoke the thirst of blood and revenge. The extreme devastation, and promiscuous massacre, of a savage war, were justified in the eyes of the emperor, and perhaps in those of the world, by the cruel equity of retaliation; and such was the discipline of the Romans, and the consternation of the enemy, that Valentinian proposed the Danube without the loss of a single man. As he had resolved to complete the destruction of the Quadi by a second campaign, he fixed his winter-quarters at Bregeto, on the Danube, near the city of Presburg. While the operations of war were suspended by the absence of the emperor, the Quadi, who encouraged by his ministers, undertook theSeven Probes. When Jeron translated, and continued, the chronicle of Eumenes, (A. D. 389), See Tillemont, Mem. Eccl. tom. xii. p. 332. (1836), he expressed his surprise at the ancient connection of this country, in the following words: "Proba P. P. Illyrici insignissima patria in manu sui praefectissima; ut in eam adhuc notius hodie in amore patriae vestrae, vestrae;" (Chron. edit. Seizer. p. 157). Animadversiones, p. 52. In the following year he published, with a great measure of friendship with the widow of Probus; and the name of count Equitius, with less propriety, but without much injustice, has been established in the chronicle of Eumenes. Jollain (Orat. vi. p. 190) represents his friend Iphicles as a man of simple and modest manners, who had made himself agreeable and unapproachable by adopting the extravagant dress and manners of the Cynics.

Ammian. n. 5. Jeron, who exaggerates the misfortunes of Valentinian, has wrongly and absurdly ascribed to him the title Illyricus of the Roman writers; for the title Illyricus was voto solo, et saepe patrimonielingens, (tom. i. p. 36).
body: and Valentinian fell speechless into the arms of his attendants. Their plans immediately con- 
centrated upon the situation. In an hour or two minutes, the emperor of the west expired, in an agony of pain, retaining his senses till the last; and struggling, without success, to declare his intentions to the generals and ministers, who sur- 
rounded the royal couch. Valentinian was only twenty years of age; but it should have been considered that he wanted only one hundred days to accomplish the twelve 
years of his reign.3

The emperors

The polygamy of Valentinian is seri- 
ously attested by ecclesiastical histo- 
rians.4 The emperor Severa (I relate the fable) admitted into his bed the lovely 
Justinia, the daughter of an Italian governor: her ad-

mission of those naked charms, which she had often 
seen in the bath, was expressed with such lavish and 
impudent praise, that the emperor was tempted to 
introduce a second wife into his bed; and his public 
edict extended to all the subjects of the empire, the 
same domestic privilege, which he had assumed for 
himself." But we may be assured, from the evidence 
of reason, as well as history, that the two marriages of 
Valentinian, with Severa, and with Justinia, were 
successively contracted; and that he used the ancient 
permission of divorce, which was still allowed by the 
laws, though it was condemned by the church. Severa 
was the mother of Gratian, who seemed to unite every 
claim which could entitle him to the undoubted suc-
cession of the western empire. He was the eldest son 
of a monarch, whose glorious reign had confirmed the 
free and honourable choice of his fellow-soldiers. Be-
fore he had attained the ninth year of his age, the royal 
youth received from the hands of his indolent father 
the purple robe and diadem, with the title of Augustus; 
the election was solemnly ratified by the consent and 
applause of the armies of Gaul; and the name of Gra-

tian was added to the names of Valentinian and Valens, 
in all the legal transactions of the Roman government. 
By his marriage with the grand-daughter of Constan-
tine, the son of Valentinian acquired all the hereditary 
rights of the Flavian family; which, in a series of 
three imperial generations, were sanctified by time, 
religion, and the reverence of the people. At the 
death of his father, the royal youth was in the seventeenth 
year of his age; and his virtues already justified the 
favourable opinion of the army and people. But Gra-

tian resided, without apprehension, in the palace of 
Troyes; whilst, at the distance of many hundred miles, 
Valentinian still reigned in the camp of Lyons. The 
passions which had been so long suppressed by the 
presence of a master, immediately revived in the imperial 
council; and the ambitious design of reigning in the 
name of an infant, was artfully executed by Mellobaudes 
and Equitius, who commanded the at-
tachment of the Illyrian and Italian bands. They 
contrived the most important pretences to remove the 
popular leaders, and the troops of Gaul, who might 
have asserted the claims of the lawful successor: they 
suggested the necessity of extinguishing the hopes of 
foreign and domestic enemies, by a bold and decisive 
measure. The expedition was prepared, a palace about one hundred miles from Brégeotet, was 
respectably invited to appear in the camp, with the son of the deceased emperor. On the sixth day after 

1 See, on the death of Valentinian, Ammianus, (xxv. 6.) Zosimus, (iv. 5. p. 521.) Vegetius, (c. 97.) Socrates, (xii. 21.) inscrip- 

2 tion, (in Chron. p. 187, and tom. i. p. 30, ad Heliodor.) There is no 

3 mention of them among them; and Ammianus is so 

cloquent, that he writes nonsense.

4 Socrates (i. iv. c. 31.) is the only original witness of this foolish 

5 story, so repugnant to all the manners of the Roman age; and 

6 scarcely deserves the form and elaborate dissertation of M. Rona-

7 lier, in the Revue des Deux Mondes, tom. iv. p. 375. It is well 

8 known that the Annals of M. Rossinius, to which the following is 

9 addressed, are among the most curious productions of the age; and 

10 serve the natural circumstances of the bath; instead of following 

11 Zo- 

12 simus, who represents Justinia as an old woman, the widow of Mag-

13 nentius.

14 A Annimianus (xxvi. 6.) describes the form of this military election, and 

15 anoxet invasione. Valentinian does not appear to have con- 

16 sented, or even informed, the senate of Rome.
every remarkable event to the particular will of the Deity; the alterations of nature were connected, by an unbroken chain, with the moral and metaphysical opinions of the human mind; and the most sagacious divines could distinguish, according to the colour of their respective prejudices, that the establishment of heresy tended to produce an earthquake; or that a deluge was the inevitable consequence of the progress of sin. The Church, without yearning for the annihilation of truth or propriety of these lofty speculations, the historian may content himself with an observation, which seems to be justified by experience, that man has much more to fear from the passions of his fellow-creatures, than from the fulminations of the heavenly Deity. The prodigious effects of an earthquake, or deluge, a hurricane, or the eruption of a volcano, bear a very considerable proportion to the ordinary calamities of war; as they are now moderated by the prudence or humanity of the princes of Europe, who amuse their own leisure, and exercise the courage of their subjects, in the practice of the military art. But the laws and manners of modern nations protect the safety and freedom of the vanquished soldier; and the peaceful citizen has seldom reason to complain, that his life, or even his fortune, is exposed to the rage of war. In the disastrous periods of the Romans, which may justly be dated from the reign of Valens, the happiness and security of each individual were personally attacked; and the arts and labours of ages were rudely defaced by the barbarians of Scythia and Germany. The invasion of the Huns precipitated on the plains of the west the Gothic nation, which advanced, in less than forty years, from the Danube to the Atlantic, and opened a way, by the success of their arms, to the inroads of so many hostile tribes, more savage than themselves. The open plan of motion, and the rapid and remote countries of the north; and the curious observation of the pastoral life of the Scythians, or Tartars, will illustrate the latent cause of these destructive emigrations.

The pastoral nations of the Scythians, or Tartars.

The different characters that mark the civilized nations of the globe, may be ascribed to the use, and the abuse, of reason; which so variously shapes, and so artificially compiles, the manners and opinions of an European or a Chinese. But the operation of instinct is more sure and simple than that of reason; is more effectual than the accumulations of a quadrangle, than the speculations of a philosopher; and the savage tribes of mankind, as they approach nearer to the condition of animals, preserve a stronger resemblance to themselves and to each other. The uniform stability of their manners, the natural progress of their faculties, reduced to a similar situation, their wants, their desires, their enjoyments, still continue the same: and the influence of food or climate, which, in a more improved state of society, is suspended, or subdued, by so many moral causes, must powerfully contribute to form, and to maintain, the national character of barbarians. In every age, the immense plains of Scythia, or Tartary, have been inhabited by vagrant tribes of hunters and shepherds, whose indolence refuses to cultivate the earth, and whose restless spirit discards the confinement of a sedentary life. In every age, the Scythians, and Tartars, have been renowned for their invincible courage, and rapid conquests. The thrones of Asia have been repeatedly overturned by the shepherds of the north; and these arms have not only become a distinguishing mark of the most fertile and warlike countries of Europe. On this occasion, as well as on many others, the sober historian is forcibly awakened from a pleasing vision; and is compelled, with some reluctance, to confess, that the genius of the country, and the climate, is the most harshest attributes of peace and innocence, are much better adapted to the fierce and cruel habits of a military life. To illustrate this observation, I shall now proceed to consider a nation of shepherds and of warriors, in the three important articles of, I. Their diet; II. Their habitations; and III. Their exercises.

The narratives of antiquity are justified by the experience of modern times; and the banks of the Borys-theanys, of the Volga, or of the Selenga, will indifferently present the same uniform spectacle of similar and native manners.

I. The Tartars, which are divided into four great and even the rice, which constitutes the ordinary and wholesome food of a civilized people, can be obtained only by the patient toil of the husbandman. Some of the happy savages, who dwell between the tropics, are plentifully nourished by the liberaly of nature, and the hand of the Deity, the life of the north, a nation of shepherds is reduced to their flocks and herds. The skilful practitioners of the medical art will determine, (if they are able to determine) how far the temper of the human mind may be affected by the use of animal, or of vegetable, food; for the Tartars have no arms which may be concealed in a remote part of their body; and the misfortune of the Tartars, is the want of that which, of all others, should be the most harshest to them in their present situation. In the military profession, and especially in the conduct of a numerous army, the exclusive use of animal food appears to be productive of the most solid advantages. Corn is a bulky and perishable article, which requires a good system of warehouses, and a very skilful management; but simplicity is indispensably necessary for the subsistence of our troops, must be slowly transported by the labour of men or horses. But the flocks and herds, which accompany the march of the Tartars, afford a sure and

1. Imperium Asiae terrarumque: ipse perpetuo ab alia imperio, nitentis, et non ignoti, monachi. Since the time of Justin, (I. 2) they have multiplied this account. Voltaire, in a few words, (Tom. x. p. 641. Hist. Generale, c. 156,) has abridged the Tartar conquests. The interesting narratives of the wandering nations of Eastern Asia.

II. The Tartars bred the flying cloud of war.

The form of the Helotidas and the portrait of the Scythians. Among the moderns, who describe the uniform scene, the Khan of Kinashe, A. D. 1550, was exactly conjured upon the stage; and the Chinese, who, under the name of Scarb, have composed the Chinoiserie, (in the Hist. des Voyages, tom. iv.) represent the Mogul of the fourteenth century. To these guides I have added the observations of Carpini, and the other, and the other, and the other, (Henri de Breton, par Du Halde, tom. iv,) who accurately surveyed the Chinese Tartars; and that honest and intelligent traveller, Bell, of Anternomy, (in his Voyages, A. D. 1550,) who gives us a just, (in his Livres de la Tartarie, 1766.)

III. The character of the Tartars is more altered from their primitive manners; by the profession of the Catholic religion, or by the interference of the Missionaries, and the Jesuit, of the Malabar coast, or by the session of the cities and harriers of the great Barbaras.

1. Il est certain que los grands maneger de voeux ont un general; et que le voyageur hors de l'Europe, le voyageur hors de la vanguard deutschen, il est certain que les grands maneger de voeux ont un general; et que le voyageur hors de l'Europe, le voyageur hors de la vanguard de la Tartarie. Cette observation est de tous les fieux, et de tous les tems: la barbarei Vechatli est connue, mais le Tartar est ignoré. London, Tom. x. 641. Hist. Generale, c. 156. On the general observation, we shall not easily allow the truth of his example. The most accurate compilations of Pallas, and the pathetic lamentsations of Ovid, accord our reason, by exciting our sensibility.
increasing supply of flesh and milk: in the far greater part of the uncultivated waste, the vegetation of the grass is quick and luxuriant, and there are few places so extremely barren, that the hardy cattle of the north cannot find some tolerable pasture. The supply is multiplied and prolonged, by the undisdaining approach of the Tartars. They are, in different parts, and to the east, is known, they are driven, and at the south, and the Tartars are very different, when the active cavalry of Scythia is always followed, in their distant and rapid incursions, by an adequate number of space horses, which may be occasionally used, either to redouble the speed, or to satisfy the hunger, of the barbarians. Many are the resources of courage and poverty. When the forage round a camp of Tartars is almost consumed, they slaughter the greatest part of their cattle, and preserve the flesh, either smoked, or dried in the sun. On the sudden emergency of a hasty march, they provide themselves with a sufficient quantity of little balls of cheese, or rather of hard curd, which, they say, they keep in all seasons. This unsubstantial diet will support, for many days, the life, and even the spirits, of the patient warrior. But this extraordinary abstinence, which the Stoic would approve, and the hermit might envy, is commonly succeeded by the most voracious indulgence of appetite. The Tartars are almost never seen without a pipe or a pipe, and this pipe is generally filled with tobacco, which they smoke at all seasons. They seem to believe, that the alternate vicissitudes of famine and plenty; and their stomach is inured to sustain, without much inconvenience, the opposite extremes of hunger and of intemperance.

Habitations. II. In the ages of rustic and martial simplicity, a people of soldiers and husbandmen are dispersed over the face of an extensive and cultivated country; and some time must elapse before the warlike youth of Greece or Italy could be assembled under the same standard, either to defend their own confines, or to invade the territories of the adjoining nations, by the commerce insensibly collects a large multitude within the walls of a city; but these citizens are no longer soldiers; and the arts which adorn and improve the state of civil society, corrupt the habits of the military life. The pastoral manners of the Scythians seem to unite the different advantages of simplicity and refinement. The individuals of the same tribe are constantly assembled, but they are not assembled in a camp; and the native spirit of these dauntless shepherds is animated by mutual support and emulation. The huts of the Tartars are no more than small sheds, with a conical form, which afford a cold and dirty habitation, for the promiscuous youth of both sexes. The palaces of the rich consist of wooden huts, of such a size that they may be conveniently fixed on large waggons, and drawn by a team perhaps of twenty or thirty oxen. The flocks and herds, after grazing all day in the adjacent pastures, retire, on the approach of night, within the protection of the camp. The necessity of preventing the most mischievous confusion, in such a perpetual concourse of men and animals, must gradually introduce, in the distribution, the order, and the guard, of the encampments of the Tartars. As soon as the forage of a certain district is consumed by the tribe, or rather army, of shepherds, makes a regular march to some fresh pastures; and thus acquires, in the ordinary occupations of the pastoral life, the practical knowledge of one of the most important and difficult operations of war. The choice of stations is regulated by the difference of the seasons: in the summer, the Tartars advance towards the north, and pitch their tents on the banks of a river, or, at least, in the neighbourhood of a running stream. But in the winter they return to the south, and shelter their camp behind some convenient eminence, or deep wood, on which they are killed in their passage over the bleak and icy regions of Siberia. These manners are admirably adapted to diffuse, among the wandering tribes, the spirit of emigration and conquest. The connexion between the people and their territory is so frail a texture, that it may be broken by the slightest accident. They are extremely disposed to adventure, and are driven, from the confines of China to those of Germany. These great emigrations, which have been sometimes executed with almost incredible diligence, were rendered more easy by the peculiar nature of the Tartar climate. It is said of Tartary, that the winter of Tartary is much more severe than in the midst of the temperate zone might reasonably be expected; this uncommon rigour is attributed to the height of the plains, which rise, especially towards the east, more than half a mile above the level of the sea; and to the quantity of salt air, which is derived from the sea. In the winter season, the broad and rapid rivers, that discharge their waters into the Euxine, the Caspian, or the icy sea, are strongly frozen; the fields are covered with a bed of snow; and the fugitive, or victorious, tribes may securely traverse, with their families, their waggons, and their cattle, the smooth and hard surface of an immense plain.

III. The pastoral life, compared with the labours of agriculture and manufactures, is undoubtedly a life of idleness; and as the most honourable shepherds of the Tartar race derive on their captives all the credit of the cattle, their own leisure is seldom disturbed by any servile and assiduous cares. But this leisure, instead of being devoted to the soft enjoyments of love and harmony, is usefully spent in the violent and sanguinary exercise of the chase. But the life of the Tartars is almost as rude and servile as that of the hardy animals of the desert, which increase and multiply in the absence of their most formidable enemy; the hare, the goat, the roebuck, the fallow-deer, the

k These Tartar emigrations have been discovered by M. de Gargue, (Histoire des Huns, tom. i. l.), a skilful and laborious interpreter of the Chinese language; who has thus laid open new and important researches in the history of the Tartars.

1 A plain in the Chinese Tartary only eighteen leagues from the sea, called, it was found, by the natives, a plain made of matter which was above the level of the sea. Montesquieu, who has never been, and is not, the relations of travellers, deduces the revolutions of Asia from this important circumstance, that heat and cold, weakness and strength, touch each other without any temperate zone. (Esprit des Lois, t. xvii. c. 2.)
The vigour and patience both of the men and horses are continually exercised by the fatigue of the chase; and the plentiful supply of game contributes to the subsistence, and even the luxury, of a Tartar camp. The hunters of Scythia are not confined to the destruction of timid or Inoxious beasts: they boldly encounter the angry wild boar, when he turns against his pursuers, exult the sluggish courage of the bear, and provoke the fury of the tiger, as he slumbers in the sun. Where there is no country, there men know no glory; and the mode of hunting, which opens the fairest field to the exertions of valour, may justly be considered as the image, and as the school, of war. The general hunting-matches, the pride and delight of the Tartars, and princes of China, are always attended by the numerous cavalry. A circle is drawn, of many miles in circumference, to encompass the game of an extensive district; and the troops that form the circle regularly advance towards a central point, where the captive animals, surrounded on every side, are abundantly fed on; which, in the course of successive days or months, which frequently continues many days, the cavalry are obliged to climb the hills, to swim the rivers, and to wind through the valleys, without interrupting the prescribed order of their gradual progress. They acquire the habit of directing their eye, and their steps, to the loss of their objects; their intervals of suspending, or accelerating, their pace, according to the motions of the troops on their right and left; and of watching and repeating the signals of their leaders. Their leaders study, in this practical school, the most important lesson of the mart warfare; the process, and the accurate judgment of ground, of distance, and of time. To employ against a human enemy the same patience and valour, the same skill and discipline, is the only alteration which is required in real war; and the amusements of the chase serve as a prelude to the conquest of an empire.

The political society of the ancient Tartars, distinguished by the modern appellation of Horde, assume the form of a numerous and increasing family; which, in the course of successive genealogies, has been propagated from the same original stock. The meanest, and most ignorant, of the Tartars, preserve, with conscious pride, the inestimable treasure of their genealogy; and whatever distinctions of rank may have been introduced, by the unequal distribution of worldly wealth, the manifestation of their talents, and each other, as the descendants of the first founder of the breed. The custom which still prevails, of adopting the bravest and most faithful of the captives, may countenance the very probable suspicion, that this extensive consanguinity is, in a great measure, legal and fictitious. But the useful prejudice, which has obtained the sanction of time and opinion, produces the effects of truth; the haughty barbarians yield a cheerful and voluntary obedience to the head of their blood; and their chief, or mursa, as the representative of their great family, the authority of an judge in perpetuity and of a leader in war. In the original state of the pastoral world, each of the mursas (if we may continue to use a modern appellation) acted as the independent chief of a large and separate family; and the limits of their peculiar territories were gradually fixed, by superior force, or mutual consent. But the constant operation of various and permanent causes contributed to unite the vagrant hordes into national communities, under the command of a supreme head. The weak were desirous of support, and the strong were ambitious of dominion; the power, which is the result of union, oppressed and collected the divided forces of the adjacent tribes; and, as the vanquished were freely admitted to the share of the victories in the explanation of their chieftains hastened to range themselves and their followers under the formidable standard of a confederate nation. The most successful of the Tartar princes assumed the military command, to which he was entitled by the superiority, either of merit, or of power. He was raised to the throne by the acclamations of the people, and sometimes by the title of Khan expresses, in the language of the north of Asia, the full extent of the regal dignity. The right of hereditary succession was long confined to the blood of the founder of the monarchy; and at this moment all the Khans from Crim to the wall of China, are the lineal descendants of the renowned Zingsis. But, as it is the indispensable duty of a Tartar sovereign to lead his warlike subjects into the field, the claims of an infant are often disregarded, and some royal kinsmen, distinguished by his age and reputed is, is intrusted with the sword and crown in the stead of his predecessor. Two distinct and regular taxes are levied on the tribes, to support the dignity of their national monarch, and of their peculiar chief; and each of those contributions amounts to the tenth, both of their property, and of their spoil. A Tartar sovereign enjoys the revenues of the province which he governs; and the Russian domestic riches of flocks and herds increase in a much larger proportion, he is able plentifully to maintain the rustic splendour of his court, to reward the most deserving, or the most favoured, of his followers, and to support the influence of corruption, of the obedience which might otherwise return to the stern mandates of authority. The manners of his subjects, accustomed like himself to blood and rapine, might excise, in their eyes, such partial acts of tyranny, as would excite the horror of a civilized people; and a despotic has never been more completely established in the deserts of Scythia. The immediate jurisdiction of the Khan is confined within the limits of his own tribe; and the exercise of his royal prerogative has been moderated by the ancient institution of a national council. The Corolu, or Diet, of the Tartars, was a body, in which the representatives of the common people, as a body, were acknowledged by their sovereign of a plain; where the princes of the reigning family, and the mursas of the respective tribes, may conveniently assemble on horseback, with their martial and numerous trains; and the ambitious monarch, who reviewed the strength, must consult the inclination, of an army so composed, before he could undertake any important operation may be discovered in the constitution of the Scythian or Tartar nations; but the perpetual conflict of those hostile nations has sometimes terminated in the establishment of a powerful and despotic empire. The victor, enriched by the tribute, and fortified by the arms, of dependant kings, has spread his conquests over Europe or Asia; the successful shepherds of the north have submitted to the confinement of arts, of laws, and of cities; and the introduction of luxury, after destroying the freedom of the people, has undermined the foundations of their desperate resistance.

The memory of past events cannot long be preserved, in the frequent and extensive remotensions of illiterate barbarian Tartars. The modern Tartars are ignorant of the conquests and achievements of the Tartars who founded the Mogul empire; and the poor castles of Chingis, described by Herzel (voir de Monresor, p. 212) as a poet, the pleasures which he had often enjoyed as a sportsman.
of their ancestors; and our knowledge of the history of the Scythians is derived from their intercourse with the local inhabitants of the south, the Greeks, the Persians, and the Chinese. The Greeks, who navigated the Euxine, and planted their colonies along the sea-coast, made the gradual and imperfect discovery of Scythia; from the Danube, and the confederate Thracians, as far as the frozen Morass of Atanth and Mount Caucausus, which, in the language of poetry, was described as the utmost boundary of the earth. They celebrated, with simple credulity, the virtues of the pastoral life; they entertained a more rational apprehension of the strength and numbers of the warlike barbarians, who continued to plunder, until Hystaspes, the son of Hystaspes. The Persian monarchs extended their western conquests to the banks of the Danube, and the limits of European Scythia. The eastern provinces of their empire were exposed to the Scythians of Asia; the wild inhabitants of the plains from the Caspian to the Caspian, two mighty rivers, which direct their course towards the Caspian sea. The long and memorable quarrel of Iran and Turan is still the theme of history or romance: the famous, perhaps the fabulous, valour of the Persian heroes, Rustan and Asfandir, was signalized, in the defence of their country, which had been formed by the Kassites, and the invincible spirit of the same barbarians, resisted, on the same ground, the victorious arms of Cyrus and Alexander. In the eyes of the Greeks and Persians, the real geography of Scythia was bourned, on the east, by the mountains of Imaus, or Caf, and the last instance of the extreme and trembling parts of Asia was clouded by ignorance or perverted by fiction. But those inaccessible regions are the ancient power, a powerful and civilized nation, which ascends, by a probable tradition, above forty centuries; and which is able to verify a series of facts from the annals of accurate and contemporary historians. The annals of China illustrate the state and revolutions of the pastoral tribes, which may still be distinguished by the vague appellation of Scythians, or Tartars; the vassals, the courtiers, and sometimes the conquerors, of a great empire; whose policy has uniformly opposed the blind and impetuous valour of the barbarians of the north. From the mouth of the Danube to the sea of Japan, the whole extent of a thousand and ten degrees, which, in that parallel, are equal to more than five thousand miles. The latitude of these extensive deserts cannot be so easily, or so accurately, measured; but from the fourth degree, which touches the wall of China, we may securely advance above a thousand and ten miles to the northward, till our progress is stopped by the immense desert of Siberia. In that desolate climate, instead of the animated picture of a Tartar camp, the smoke which issues from the earth, or rather from the snow, betrays the subterraneous dwellings of the Tungusse, and the Samodzes: the want of horses and even is imperfectly supplied by the use of reindeer, and of large dogs; and the conquerors of the earth insensibly degenerate into a race of deformed and diminutive savages, who tremble at the sound of arms.

The Huns, who under the reign of Original seat of Valens threatened the empire of Rome, were the last invaders of that period, to the empire of China. Their ancient, perhaps their original, seat, was an extensive, though dry and barren, tract of country, immediately on the north side of the great wall. Their place is at present occupied by the forty-nine hordes or banners of the Mongous, a pastoral nation, which consists of about two hundred thousand families. But the valour of the Huns had extended the narrow limits of their dominion; their conquests; their rustic chiefs, who assumed the appellation of Tanjou, gradually became the conquerors, and the sovereigns, of a formidable empire. They invaded towards the east, their victorious arms were stopped only by the ocean; and the tribes, which are thinly scattered between the Amoor and the extreme peninsula of Corea, adhered, with reluctance, to the standard of the Huns. On the west, near the head of the Irish, and in the valley of Imaus, they found a more extensive, more ample space, and the inhabitants of those regions were formed by the Huns, and of the Vandals, and of the Suebi, and of the Alamanni. One of the lieutenants of the Tanjou subdued, in a single expedition, twenty-six nations; the Huns, distinguished above the Tartar race by the use of letters, were in the number of his vassals; and, by the strange conjunction of human events, the flight of one of those savage tribes filled the vacant regions, and completely filled the invasion of Syria. On the side of the north, the ocean was assigned as the limit of the power of the Huns. Without enemies to resist their progress, or witnesses to contradict their vanity, they might securely achieve a real or imaginary conquest of the frozen regions of Siberia. The Northern sea was fixed as the remote boundary of their empire. But the name of that sea, on whose shores the pirate of Soffov embraced the life of a shepherd and an exile, may be
The decline and fall

The decline and fall of China was caused by the rude embraces of the Huns; and the alliance of the haughty Tanchou was secured by their marriage with the genuine, or adopted, daughters of the imperial family, which vainly attempted to escape the sacrilegious pollution. The situation of these unhappy victims is described in the life of a Chinese princess, who laments that she is taken, by accident, forward to the kingdom of the Huns, by a barbarian husband; who complains that scar milk was her only drink, raw flesh her only food, a tent her only palace; and who expresses, in a strain of pathetic simplicity, the natural wish, that she should return to the art of her country, to fly back to her dear country; the object of her tender and perpetual regret.

The conquest of China has been twice achieved by the pastoral tribes of the Huns, of the north; the forces of the Huns were not inferior to those of the Mongols, or of the Manchus; and their ambition might entertain the most sanguine hopes of success. But their pride was humbled, and their progress was checked, by the arms and policy of Vouti, the fifth emperor of the powerful dynasty of the Han. In his long reign of fifty years, four years were spent in their victory, which was preceded and followed by the conquest of the northern provinces submitted to the laws and manners of China; and the ancient limits of the monarchy were enlarged, from the great river of Kiang, to the port of Canton. Instead of confining himself to the timid operations of a defensive war, his lieutenants penetrated the vast extent of China, and increased the emperor's dominions, by the conquest of the Huns, and by the reduction of the Tartars, who had been converted by the persuasion of their monarch to the Christianity of the Great Teacher. In these boundless deserts, where it is impossible to form magazines, and difficult to transport a sufficient supply of provisions, the armies of Vouti were repeatedly exposed to intolerable hardships; and, of one hundred thousand men, who advanced against the barbarians, thirty thousand only returned in safety to the feet of their master. These losses, however, were compensated by splendid and decisive success. The Chinese generals improved the superiority which they derived from the temper of their arms, their chivalry, and the service of their Tartar auxiliaries. The camp of the Tanchou was surprised in the midst of sleep and tempest; and, though the monarch of the Huns bravely cut his way through the ranks of the enemy, he left above fifteen thousand of his subjects on the field of battle. Yet this signal victory, which was preceded and followed by many bloody engagements, contributed much less to the destruction of the power of the Huns, than to the establishment of their empire, which was completed by the conquest of the Tartars, and the freedom of a warlike and spirited nation. He was received at Si- gan, the capital of the monarchy, by the troops, the
mandarins, and the emperor himself, with all the honours that could adorn and disguise the triumph of Chinese vanity. 7 A magnificent palace was prepared for his reception; his place was assigned above all the princes of the royal family; an audience of the barbarian king was exhausted by the ceremonies of a banquet, which consisted of eight courses of meat, and of nine solemn pieces of music. But he performed, on his knees, the duty of a respectful homage to the emperor of China; pronounced, in his own name, and in the name of his successors, a perpetual oath of fidelity; and gratefully accepted a seal, which was bestowed as the emblem of his regal dependance. After this humiliating submission, the Tujoues sometimes departed from their allegiance, and seized the favourite moments of their despotism, which the weakness of the reigning Monarchy of the Huns gradually declined, till it was broken, by civil dissection, into two hostile and separate kingdoms. One of the princes of the nation was urged, by fear and ambition, to retire towards the south with eight hordes, which composed between forty and fifty thousand families. He obtained, with the title of Tujoue, a convenient territory on the verge of the Chinese provinc- es; and his constant attachment to the service of the empire was secured by weakness, and the desire of revenge. From the time of this fatal schism, the Huns of the Volga, and Persia, divided their resources till they were oppressed on every side by their foreign and domestic enemies. The proud inscription 8 of a column, erected on a lofty mountain, announced to posterity, that a Chinese army had marched seven hundred miles into the heart of their country. The Southern hordes of the oriental Tartars, retaliated the injuries which they had formerly sustained; and the power of the Tujoues, after a reign of thirteen hundred years, was utterly destroyed before the end of the first century of the christian era. 9

Their emigration

The fate of the vanquished Huns was diversified by the various influence of A.D. 100, &c. character and situation. Above one hundred thousand persons, the poorest, indeed, and the most pusillanimous of the people, were contented to remain in their native country, to renounce their pastoral occupation, and to mingle with the victorious nation of the Scipio. Fifty-eight hordes, about two hundred thousand men, ambitious of a more honourable servitude, retired towards the south; implored the protection of the emperors of China; and were permitted to inhabit, and to guard, the extreme frontiers of their old empire. But the most warlike and powerful tribes of the Huns maintained, in their adverse fortune, the undaunted spirit of their ancestors. The western world was open to their valor; and they resolved, under the conduct of their hereditary chieftains, to discover and subdue some remote country, which was inaccessible to the arms of the Scipio, and to the laws of China. 10 The course of their emigration soon carried them beyond the mountains of Imaus, and the limits of the Chinese geography; but we are able to distinguish the two great divisions of these formidable exiles, which directed their march towards the Oxus, and towards the Volga. 11 7 See the KANG MUN, tom. ii. p. 129 and the subsequent events under the proper remote. This memorable festival is celebrated in the Elige de Moukden, and explained in a note by the F. Caullat, p. 97.

8 This inscription was composed on the spot by Pakoua, president of the Tribunal of History. (KANG MUN, tom. ii. p. 95.) Further notices of the inscriptions are given in many parts of Tartary, (voir des Huns, tom. ii. p. 122.)

9 Le Goguins (tom. i. p. 179) has inserted a short account of the Scipio.

10 The emigration of the Huns is placed, by the Chinese, 1280 years before Christ. (Bde Litt. et Hist. tom. xvi. p. 104.) The Chinese, (Hist. des Huns, tom. ii. p. 212.) hold that the Huns were expelled from the empire of China by a general confederation; and that their emigration was occasioned by the violence of the state and the cruelty of the Tartar Emperors. (KANG MUN, tom. ii. p. 93, 95, 178, &c. The small numbers of each horde may be inferred from their losses and divisions.

11 M. de Gaurins has skillfully traced the footprints of the Huns through the vast deserts of Tartary, (tom. ii. p. 123, 277, &c. 255, &c.)
Their conquest of the Alani. It is impossible to fill the dark interval of time which elapsed, after the Huns the Volga were lost in the eyes of the Chinese, when they showed themselves to the Romans. There is some reason, however, to apprehend, that the same force which had driven them from their native seats, still continued to impel their march towards the frontiers of Europe. The power of the Sienpi, their implacable enemies, which extended from the Caspian to the Atlantic, and from the Danube to the Rhine, must have gradually oppressed them by the weight and terror of a formidable neighbourhood; and the flight of the tribes of Scythia would inevitably tend to increase the strength, or to contract the territories of the Huns. The harsh and obscure appellations, which cover those tribes, and their unmeaning and ungrateful names, are expressive of their freedom, which they preserved to the last; and we must gradually press the magnitude, which the bravest warriors marched away in search of their free and adventurous countrymen; and that, as they had been divided by prosperity, they were easily reunited by the common hardships of their adverse fortune. The Huns, with their flocks and herds, their wagons loaded with their dependants and their stored and transported to the west of the Volga, and they boldly advanced to invade the country of the Alani, a pastoral people, who occupied, or wasted, an extensive tract of the deserts of Scythia. The plains between the Volga and the Tanais were covered with the ruins of the tribes, and the remains of the Agathyrsi and Goleni were confounded among their vessels. Towards the north, they penetrated into the frozen regions of Siberia, among the savage and uncultivated, immoral and destitute of the grace of human flesh; and their southern inroads were pushed as far as the confines of Persia and India. The mixture of Sarmatic and German blood had contributed to improve the features of the Alani, to whiten their swarthy complexions, and to tinge their hair with a yellowish cast, which is one of the Tartar race. They were less deformed in their persons, less brutish in their manners, than the Huns; but they did not yield to those formidable barbarians in their martial and independent spirit; in the love of freedom, which rejected even the privilege of domestic arms, which considered war and rapine as the pleasure and the glory of mankind. A naked cimeter, fixed in the ground, was the only object of their religious worship; the scalps of their enemies formed the costly trappings of their horses; and they viewed, with pity and contempt, the pusillanimous warriors, who patiently expected the infirmities of age, and the tortures of lingering disease. On the banks of the Tanais, the military power of the Huns and the Alani encountered with equal valor, but with unequal success. The Huns prevailed in the bloody contest; the king of the Alani was slain; and the remains of the vanquished nation were dispersed by

smooth and spacial language of the Son of Heaven, and the Father of his people. 3

1 The Khan Mon (tom. iii. p. 447) attributes to their conquest a space of 30,000 lie. According to the present standard, 300 lie (or miles) were equal to one English mile; and an English mile consequently exceeds three miles of China. But there is strong reason to believe that the ancient 6 scarcely equated one half of the modern; and the above computation was made by a geographer, who is not a stranger in any age, or climate, of the globe. (Mon. Pern. i. p. 155.)

2 See the Histoire des Huns, tom. ii. p. 127-144. The subsequent history of the Huns, as narrated by Jornandes, is very agreeable to what has been seen in that country.

3 Une hominum quies et placidus aestum est velutam, ut ilia certis gaudent et solida, indicat habitationes in punctu quo quiescit finis, et finit Palmerius, animal, melius in palatio in patriorem, (Ilerodot. l. i., &c.)

4 We think highly of the conquerors of such men the ordinary alternative of flight or submission. A colony of exiles found a secure refuge in the mountains of Caucasus, between the Euxine and the Caspian; where they still preserved their name and their independence. Another colony advanced, with more intrepid courage, towards the shores of the Baltic, associated themselves with the northern tribes of Germany, and shared the spoil of the Roman provinces on the Same occasion. Jornandes, ii. p. 363. But the greatest part of the nation of the Alani embraced the Huns; they were as well as possible united, under the lead of their king, the spirited and decided hero of the Huns. Their victories extended from the Baltic to the Euxine, enjoyed, in the full maturity of age and reputation, the fruits of his victories, when he was alarmed by the formidable approach of an host of unknown enemies, on whom his barbarous subjects and allies, by whose justice, bestraw the empire of his barians. The numbers, the strength, the rapid motions, and the implacable cruelty of the Huns, were felt, and dreaded, and magnified, by the astonish ed Goths; who beheld their fields and villages consumed with flames, and deluged with indiscriminate blood. But the aurantic argosy was raised; and the pride and abhorrence which were excited by the shrill voice, the unceaseful gestures, and the strange deformity, of the Huns. These savages of Scythia were compared and (the picture had some resemblance) to the Tartars in the present day, in the manner of two legs; and to the misshapen figures, the Tartars were often placed on the bridges of antiquity. They were distinguished from the rest of the human species by their broad shoulders, flat noses, and small black eyes, deeply buried in the head; and as they were almost destitute of hands, they never enjoyed either the manly graces of youth, or the venerable aspect of age. A fabulous origin was assigned, worthy of their form and manners; that the witches of Scythia, who, for their foul and deadly practices, had been driven from society, had populated in the desert with infernal spirits; and that the Huns were the offspring of this execrable conjunction. The tale, so full of horror and absurdity, was greedily embraced by the credulous hatred of the Goths; but, while it gratified their hatred, it increased their fear, since the posterity of demons and witches might be supposed to inherit some of those desperate and murderous temperaments of the malignant temper, of their parents. Against these enemies, Hermanic prepared to exact the united forces of the Gothic state; but he soon discovered that his Huns tribes, provoked by oppression, were more inclined to second, than to repel, the invasion of the Huns. One of the chiefs of the Roxolan had for men. the custom of heirs of wild horses. The

1 On the subject of the Alani, see Ammiantum, (xxii. 2.) Jornandes, (De Rebus gestis forens. et milit. M. de Guignes, tom. iii. p. 279.) and the Genealogical History of the Tartars, (tom. ii. p. 617.)

2 As we have seen, the son of the author of the Phoenix, who was the historian of the Alani, would be impertinent to repeat, or to refute, the fables, which misrepresent their origin and progress, their passage of the mud or water of the Mens, in pursuit of an ox or stag, les Indes qui estoient devorées, Arc. (Zosimus, i. iv. p. 524.) Sozomen, i. v. c. 37. Procopius, Historiae, lib. iii. cap. 6. Jornandes, c. 24. Grandeur et Decadence, Arc. des Romans, c. 17.)

3 Pudissimus formae et pandit; et hic phytologia exsultans beliesi; vel aliter auctores in curiosibus mercatis M. d'Anvers, de l'ouvrage des Anciens, tom. ii. p. 160.)

4 Ammiantum, (xxii. 1.) Jornandes, (c. 24.) draws a strong caricature of a Candidus, and Hermanic. (ib. c. 24. p. 155.) But in our times, Hisot. Byzant. lib. i. cap. 2.) This history, which Jornandes (c. 24.) describes with the ravour of a Goth, might be originally derived from a more pleasant and allegoric history of our ancestors. (A. D. 602.)

5 The Roxolani may be the fathers of the Fc, the Russians, the Czechs, the Serbians, the Polands, the Magyars, &c. The great princes of Vistula, and their progeny, which descended from the Volkhov, are described by Nogurod Veliki runo, (L. ir. 4. 46. v. 20.) as assigned to the Roxolani, (A. D. 626.)

6 They province of Sarmatia.

7 The decline and fall. Chap. xxvi.
brothers of that unfortunate woman seized the favourable moment of revenge. The aged king of the Goths languished some time after the dangerous wound which_cost him his eyesight; and the conduct of the war was retarded by his infirmities; and the public councils of the nation were distracted by a spirit of jealousy and discord. His death, which has been imputed to his own despair, left the reins of government in the hands of Whitithier, who, with the doubtful aid of some Scythian mercenaries, maintained the unequal contest against the arms of the Huns and the Alani, till he was defeated and slain, in a decisive battle. The Ostrogoths submitted to their fate; and the royal race of the Amali will hereafter be found among the subjects of the Atilis. But the person of Witheric, the infant king, was preserved by the diligence of Atila and Saphrax; two warriors of approved valour and fidelity; who, by cautious marches, conducted the independent remains of the nation of the Ostrogoths towards the Danastus, or Niester; a considerable river, which now separates the Turkish dominions from the empire of Russia. On the banks of the Niester, the prudent Athanaric, more attentive to his own than to the general safety, had fixed the camp of the Visigoths; with the firm resolution of opposing the victorious barbarians, whom he thought less advisable to provoke. The ordinances of the emperor, of which the passage of the river was no longer impeded by the wisdom and authority of his elder brother, whose death happened towards the end of the preceding year; and as the distressful situation of the Goths required an instant and peremptory decision, he was deprived of the favourite resources of fickle and timid minds; who considered the use of dilatory and ambiguous measures as the most admirable efforts of consummate prudence. As long as the same passions and interests subsist among mankind, the questions of war and peace, of justice and policy, which were debated in the councils of antiquity, will frequently present themselves as the subject of modern deliberation. But the most experienced statesman of Europe has never been summoned to consider the propriety, or the danger, of admitting, or rejecting, an innumerable multitude of barbarians, who are driven by despair and hunger to sollevia a settlement on the territories of a civilised nation. When that important proposition, so essentially connected with the public safety, was referred to the ministers of Valens, they were perplexed and divided; but they soon acquiesced in the flattering sentiment which seemed the most favourable to the glory of the Franks and the pride of the invincible Huns. The slaves, who were decorated with the titles of prelates and generals, dissembled or disregarded the terrors of this national emigration, so extremely different from the partial and accidental colonies, which had been received on the extreme limits of the empire. But they applauded the liberality of fortune, which had conducted, from the most distant countries of the globe, a numerous and ininvincible army of strangers, to defend the throne of Valens; who might now add to the royal treasures the immense sums of gold supplied by the provincials to compensate their annual proportion of recruits. The prayers of the Goths were heard, and their service was accepted by the imperial court; and orders were immediately despatched to the civil and military governors of the Thracian diocese, to make the necessary preparations for the passage and subsistence of a great people, till a settlement in their future residence. The liberality of the emperor was accompanied, however, with two harsh and rigorous conditions, which prudence might justify on the side of the Romans, but which distress alone could extort from the indignant Goths, before they passed over the Danube, and deliver their arms; and it was insisted, that their chil-

prevalent than those of reason and eloquence, the belief of the Arian theology; and to satisfy his anxious suspicions by the manifestation of that view which he held the guilty. But the attention of the emperor was most seriously engaged, by the important intelligence which he received from the civil and military officers who were intrusted with the defence of the Danube. He was informed, that the north was agitated by a favorable opportunity; that the Huns, an unknown and monstrous race of savages, had subdued the power of the Goths; and that the superabundant multitude of that warlike nation, whose pride was now humbled in the dust, covered a space of many miles along the banks of the river. With outstretched arms, and patrician contumacy, they loudly deposed their past misfortunes and their present danger; acknowledged, that their only hope of safety was in the clemency of the Roman government; and most solemnly protested, that if the gracious liberality of the emperor would permit them to cultivate the waste lands of Thrace, they should ever hold themselves bound, by the strongest obligations of duty and gratitude, to obey the laws, and to guard the limits, of the republic. These assurances were confirmed by the ambassadors of the Goths, who impatiently expected from the mouth of Valens an answer that must finally determine the fate of their unhappy countrymen. Over the spirit of the past was now subdued by the wisdom and authority of his elder brother, whose death happened to the end of the preceding year; and as the distressful situation of the Goths required an instant and peremptory decision, he was deprived of the favourite resources of fickle and timid minds; who considered the use of dilatory and ambiguous measures as the most admirable efforts of consummate prudence. As long as the same passions and interests subsist among mankind, the questions of war and peace, of justice and policy, which were debated in the councils of antiquity, will frequently present themselves as the subject of modern deliberation. But the most experienced statesman of Europe has never been summoned to consider the propriety, or the danger, of admitting, or rejecting, an innumerable multitude of barbarians, who are driven by despair and hunger to sollevia a settlement on the territories of a civilised nation. When that important proposition, so essentially connected with the public safety, was referred to the ministers of Valens, they were perplexed and divided; but they soon acquiesced in the flattering sentiment which seemed the most favourable to the glory of the Franks and the pride of the invincible Huns. The slaves, who were decorated with the titles of prelates and generals, dissembled or disregarded the terrors of this national emigration, so extremely different from the partial and accidental colonies, which had been received on the extreme limits of the empire. But they applauded the liberality of fortune, which had conducted, from the most distant countries of the globe, a numerous and ininvincible army of strangers, to defend the throne of Valens; who might now add to the royal treasures the immense sums of gold supplied by the provincials to compensate their annual proportion of recruits. The prayers of the Goths were heard, and their service was accepted by the imperial court; and orders were immediately despatched to the civil and military governors of the Thracian diocese, to make the necessary preparations for the passage and subsistence of a great people, till a settlement in their future residence. The liberality of the emperor was accompanied, however, with two harsh and rigorous conditions, which prudence might justify on the side of the Romans, but which distress alone could extort from the indignant Goths, before they passed over the Danube, and deliver their arms; and it was insisted, that their chil-

\[\text{A. D. 375.}\]

\[\text{Nov. 17.}\]

\[\text{The Goths im-}\]

\[\text{plored the geotac-}\]

\[\text{tion of Val-}\]

\[\text{of Val-}\]

\[\text{success; he made a progress through his}\]

\[\text{of Asia, and at length fixed}\]

\[\text{which he spent at Antioch were employed to watch,}\]

\[\text{from a secure distance, the hostile designs of the Persi-}\]

\[\text{monarch; to check the depredations of the Sar-}\]

\[\text{1 Antiquities}\]

\[\text{of Constantinople, Basil, Epit. col. apud Tillemont, Hist. des Em-}\]

\[\text{3 Cod. gr. 1, v. 265; Zonaras, L. v. r. 35. The Insurans, each}\]

\[\text{winter, infested the roads of Asia Minor, as far as the neighbouringhood}\]

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\[\text{\[\text{A. D. 376.}\]}\]

\[\text{\[\text{\text{Chap. XXVI. OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.}}\]}\]

\[\text{\[\text{1 Cod. gr. 1, v. 265; Zonaras, L. v. r. 35. The Insurans, each}\}\]

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\[\text{\[\text{A. D. 376.}\]}}\]
THE DECLINE AND FALL

Chap. XXVI.

The decline should be taken from them, and dispersed through the provinces of Asia; where they might be civilized by the arts of education, and serve as hostages to secure the fidelity of their parents.

They are transported over the Danube into the Roman empire.

During this suspension of a doubtful and distant negotiation, the impatient Goths were detained by one rash attempt to pass the Danube. The extreme necessity of the government, whose protection they had implored. Their motions were strictly observed by the vigilance of the troops which were stationed along the river; and their formost detachments were defeated with considerable slaughter; yet such was the timid counsels of the reign of Valens, that the brave officers by whom they had served their country in the execution of their duty, were punished by the loss of their employments, and narrowly escaped the loss of their heads. The imperial mandate was at length received for transporting over the Danube the whole body of the Goths nation; but the execution of this order, was a task of labour and difficulty. The stream of the Danube, which in those parts is above a mile broad, had been swelled by incessant rains; and, in this tumultuous passage, many were swept away, and drowned, by the rapid violence of the current. A large number of vessels, boats, and of canoes was provided; many days and nights they passed and repassed with inadequate toll; and the most strenuous diligence was exerted by the officers of Valens, that not a single barbarian of those who were reserved to subvert the foundations of Rome, should escape the perils of the shore. It was thought expedient that an accurate account should be taken of their numbers; but the persons who were employed soon desisted, with amazement and dismay, from the prosecution of the endless and impracticable task and the principal historian of the age most seriously affirmed that the protrusions of Darius and Aëxes, which had so long been considered as the fables of vain and credulous antiquity, were now justified, in the eyes of mankind, by the evidence of fact and experience. A probable testimony has fixed the number of the Gothic warriors at two hundred thousand men; and if we can venture to add the just proportion of women, of children, and of slaves, the whole mass, of the people which composed this formidable emigration, must have amounted to near a million of persons, of both sexes, and of all ages. The children of the Goths were arranged in the ranks of a distinguished rank, were separated from the multitude. They were not, without delay, to the distant seats assigned for their residence and education; and as the numerous train of hostages or captives passed through the cities, their gay and splendid apparel, their robust and martial figure, their presence made a graver impression on the minds of the Romans, than the military precipitancy of Tacitus. But the stipulation, the most offensive to the Goths, and the most important to the Romans, was shamefully eluded. The barbarians, who considered their arms as the emblems of honour, and the pledges of safety, were disposed to offer a price, which the lost or avowed disgrace of the imperial officers was easily computed to except. To preserve their arms, the haughty warriors consented, with some reluctance, to prostitute their wives or their daughters; the charms of a beauteous maid, or a comely boy, secured the compliance of the imprudent captives, who sometimes cast an eye of clevetousness, on the fringed carpets and linen garments of their new allies, who sacrificed their duty to the mean consideration of filling their camps with cattle, and their houses with slaves. The Goths, with arms in their hands, were permitted to enter the boats; and, when their strength was collected on the other side of the river, the immense camp which was spread over the plains and the hills of the Lower Mesia, assumed a form and appearance of the Ostrogoths, Alans and Spathars, the guardians of their infant king, appeared soon afterwards on the northern banks of the Danube; and immediately despatched their ambassadors to the court of Antioch, to solicit with the same professions of allegiance and gratitude, and the same spectacles of magnificence, that the suppliant Visigoths. The absolute refusal of Valens suspended their progress, and discovered the repentence, the suspicions, and the fears, of the imperial council.

An undisciplined and unsettled nation. Their distress of barbarians required the finest temper, and discipline, and the most dexterous management. The daily subsistence of near a million of extraordinary subjects could be supplied only by constant and skilful diligence, and might continually be interrupted by mischance or enemy. The incidence, or the indignation, of the Goths, if they conceived, or suspected the objects, either of fear, or of contempt, might urge them to the most desperate extremities; and the fortune of the state seemed to depend on the prudence, as well as the integrity, of the generals of Valens. At this imminent crisis of the empire, Thrace was exercised by Lupicius and Maximius, in whose minds the slightest hope of private emolument outweighed every consideration of public advantage; and whose guilt was only alleviated by their incapacity of discerning the pernicious effects of their rash and unjustifiable attempts. By the unworthy and unnecessaries of their sovereign, and satisfying, with decent liberality, the demands of the Goths, they levied an ungenerous and oppressive tax on the wants of the hungry barbarians. The vilest food was sold at an extravagant price; and, in the room of wholesome and subsisting provisions, the markets were filled with the flesh of dogs, and of unclean animals, who had died of disease. To obtain the valuable acquisition of a pound of bread, the Goths resigned the possession of an inexpressibly, though servile, slave; and a small quantity of meat was greedily purchased with ten pounds of a precious, but useless, precious metal. When their property was exhausted, they continued this necessary traffic by the sale of their sons and daughters; and notwithstanding the love of freedom, which animated every Gothic breast, they submitted to the indigence of betrothal, and their children might be maintained in a servile condition, than to perish in a state of wretched and helpless independence. The most lively resentment is excited by the tyranny of pretended benefactors, who sternly exact the debt of gratitude which they have cancelled by subsequent injuries, and the spirit of discontent assiduously ares in the camp of the barbarians, who pleaded without success the merit of their patient and dutiful behaviour, and loudly complained of the inhospitable treatment which they had received from their new allies. They beheld around them the wealth and plenty of a fertile province, in the midst of which they suffered the intolerable hardships of artificial famine. But the means of relief, and even of revenge, were in their hands; since the rapaciousness of their tyrants had left, to an injur-
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...
distance from the dangerous temptation which might so easily be communicated by the neighbourhood, and the success, of their countrymen. The respectful submissiveness which they yielded to the order of their march, might be considered as a proof of their fidelity; and their moderate request of a sufficient allowance of provisions, and of a delay of only two days, was expressed in the most dutiful terms. But the first magistrate of Hadrianople, incensed by some disorders which had occurred among the inhabitants of the city, and the municipality which he believed to have been corrupted by the desire of wealth and profit, though he did not mean to confude this indulgence; and anathematizing against them the inhabitants and manufacturers of a populous city, he urged, with hostile threats, their instant departure. The barbarians stood silent and amazed, till they were exasperated by the insulting clamours, and mischievous threats. But when patience or compunction was fatigued, they crushed the undisguised malice of the multitude, inflicted many a shameful wound on the backs of their flying enemies, and despoiled them of the splendid armours, which they were unworthy to boast of. The vengeance of their sufferings and their actions soon united this victorious detachment to the nation of the Visigoths; the troops of Celias and Surid expected the approach of the great Frigirgern, ranged themselves under his standard, and signalized their ardour in the siege of Hadrianople. But the resistance of the Visigoths alarmed the barbarians, that, in the attack of regular fortifications, the efforts of unskilful courage are seldom effectual. Their general acknowledged his error, raised the siege, declared that he was at peace with stone walls, and revenged his disappointment on the adjacent country. He accepted, with a grateful expression of friendly concord, the advantages of hardy workmen, who laboured in the gold mines of Thrace, for the emolument, and under the lash, of an unfeeling master; and these new associates conducted the barbarians, through the secret paths, to the most sequestered places, which had been chosen to secure this inhuman treatment, and the inhuman revenge of corn importers, without the assistance of such guides, nothing could remain impervious or inaccessible: resistance was fruitless; flight was impracticable; and the patient submission of helpless innocence seldom found mercy from the barbarians. In the course of their operations, a great number of the children of the Goths, who had been sold into captivity, were restored to the embraces of their afflicted parents; but these tender interviews, which might have revived and cherished in their minds some sentiments of humanity, tended only to give the greater emotion of revenge. They listened, with eager attention, to the complaints of their captive children, who had suffered the most cruel indignities from the lustful and angry passions of their masters, and the same cruelties, the same indignities, were severely retaliated on the sons and daughters of the Romans.

Operations of the Gothic war. The ministers who had introduced into the heart of the empire a nation of enemies; but the Visigoths might even yet have been reconciled, by the many confession of past errors, and the sincere promise of former engagements. These healing and temperate measures seemed to concord with the timorous disposition of the sovereign of the east; but, on this occasion alone, Valens was brave; and his unreasonable bravery was fatal to himself and to his subjects. The sacred order of the Gothic war was suspended. The Antioch to Constantinople, to subdue this dangerous rebellion; and, as he was not ignorant of the difficulties of the enterprise, he solicited the assistance of his nephew, the emperor Gratian, who commanded all the forces of the west. The veteran troops were hastily assembled, the money was voted; but when the enemy appeared, they were joined by Richomer, count of the dominions; and the auxiliaries of the west, that marched under his banner, were composed of the Gallic legions, reduced indeed by a spirit of desolation, to the vain appearances of strength and numbers. Yet, and the Gothic war, which was influenced by pride, rather than by reason, it was resolved to seek, and to encounter, the barbarians; who lay encamped in the spacious and fertile meadows, near the most southern of the six mouths of the Danube. Their camp was surrounded by the usual fortifications of wagons and the barbarians, secure within the vast circle of the enclosure, enjoyed the fruits of their valor, and the spoils of the province. In the midst of rictous intemperance, the watchful Frigirgern observed the motions, and penetrated the designs, of the Romans. He perceived, that the number of the enemy was continually increasing; and, as he understood their intention of attacking his rear, as soon as the scarcity of rations should oblige him to remove his camp; he recalled to their standard his predatory detachments, which covered the adjacent country. As soon as they descried the flaming beacons of the vanguard of the invaders, they depicted the glory of their forefathers, mingled with their fierce and dissolute outcries; and opposed to the artificial harmony of the Roman shout. Some military skill was displayed by Frittirgern to gain the advantage of a commanding eminence; but the bloody conflict, which began and ended with the light, was manifested, on either side, by the personal and obstinate efforts of strength, valour, and agility. The legions of Armenia supported their fame in arms; but they were oppressed by the irresistible weight of the hostile multitude; the left wing of the Romans was thrown into disorder, and the late advances of their mangled carcases. This partial defeat was balanced, however, by partial success; and when the two armies, at a late hour of the evening, retreated to their respective camps, neither of them could claim the honour, or the effects, of a decisive victory. The real

* An imperial manufacture of shibole, &c. was established at Hadrianople; and the pothouses were headed by the Fabreruci and workmen. (Valesius ad Annam. xxix. 6.)

* The emperor Gratian, who, under the full cognizance of an historical memoir, Ammian. xxi, 7.

* These mines were in the country of the Bessi, in the ridge of the Rhodopes, and the Rhodope, that runs between Fuss and Philippopolis; and two Macedonian cities, which derived their name and origin from the Father of Alexander. From the mines of Thrace are annual amortations of 500,000, and 600,000 drachms, (200,000,) a revenue which paid the phalanx, and corrupted the marines of the Emperor; 436, or 437. E. can 8. edit. Wesseling. Gudenoff's Commentary on the Theodoric Code. tom. iii. p. 496. Cellarius, Geograph. Antiq. tom. i. p. 570. 825. D'Anville, Geographia Antiqua et Nova, l. i. p. 301. Ceuta was a Roman colony, near the strait of Gibraltar.

4 As those unhappy workmen often ran away, Valens had erected a tower for their security, contrary to the laws of the city, which surrounded the Ost, is a word familiar to the readers of Probus and the Cod. The barbarians, in the x. of Livy, l. xiii. reg. 5, 7. See Ammianus, xxv. 5, 6. The historian of the Gothic war was lavoured and space, by an unreasonable recapitulation of the ancient records of the barbarians.
loss was more severely felt by the Romans, in proportion to the smallness of their numbers; but the Goths were so deeply confounded and dismayed, by this vigorous, and perhaps unexpected, resistance, that they remained seven days within the circle of their fortifications. Such funeral rites, as the circumstance of the time and place, permitted, were performed by the victors, and some officers of distinguished rank; but the indiscriminate vulgar were left unburied on the plain. Their flesh was greedily devoured by the birds of prey who, in that age, enjoyed very frequent and delicious feasts; and several years afterwards the spot remained unaltered on the widest extent of the fields, presented to the eyes of Ammianus, a dreadful monument of the battle of Salicium.

The progress of the Goths had been checked by the doubtful event of that bloody day; and the imperial generals, whose army would have been consumed by the repetition of such a contest, embraced the more rational plan, of destroying the barbarians, by the wants and pressure of their own multitudes. They prepared to confine the Visigoths in the narrow angle of land, between the Danube and the Rhodope; and the mountains of Haemus, till their strength and spirit should be insensibly wasted by the inevitable operation of famine. The design was prosecuted with some conduct and success; the barbarians had almost exhausted their own magazines, and the harvests of the country; and the division of the empire, consisting of the master-general of the cavalry, was employed to improve the strength, and to contract the extent, of the Roman fortifications. His labours were interrupted by the alarming intelligence, that new swarms of barbarians had passed the unguarded Danube, either to support the causes, or to imitate the example of the Fril- gern. The just apprehension, that himself might be surrounded, and overwhelmed, by the arms of hostile and unknown nations, compelled Saturninus to relinquish the siege of the Gothic camp; and the indig- nant Visigoths, breaking from their confinement, satura- ted his hunger and revenge by the repeated devastation of the fruitful country, which extends above three hundred miles from the banks of the Danube to the straits of the Hellespont. The sagacious Fritigern had successfully appealed to the passions, as well as to the interest, of his barbarian allies; and the love of plunder and of the old Kynus, which was divided between the two nations, prevented, the elopement of his ambassadors. He com- mented a strict and useful alliance with the great body of his countrymen, who obeyed Alatheus and Saphrax as the guardians of their infant king; the long animosity of rival tribes was suspended by the sacrifice of royalty and of certain captives; the possession of the nation was associated under one standard; and the chiefs of the Ostrogoths appear to have yielded to the superior genius of the general of the Visigoths. He obtained the formidable aid of the Tafalke, whose military renown was disgraced and polluted by the pursuit of his former domestic seditions. He employed Fritigern, the youth, on his entrance into the world, was united by the ties of honourable friendship, and brutal love, to some warrior of the tribe; nor could he hope to be released from this unnatural connexion, till he had appeased his adversary by paying, in anguish, death, or a wild bear of the forest.

Victory of Gra- menees of the introduction of the barbari- ans into the army and the palace, was sensibly felt in their correspondence with Marcus, their hostile countrymen; to whom they imprudently, or maliciously, revealed the weakness of the Roman empire. A soldier, of the life guards of Gratian, was of the nation of the Alemanni, and of the tribe of the Lentienses, who dwelt beyond the lake of Constance. His life oblige him to the public, as sacrifice of absence. In a short visit to his family and friends, he was exposed to their various inquiries; and the vanity of the loquacious soldier tempted him to display his intimate acquaintance with the secrets of the state, and the designs of his master. The intelligence, that Gratian's expedition was given up to the interests of Gaul, and of the father, to the assistance of his uncle Valens, pointed out to the restless spirit of the Ale- manni, the moment, and the mode, of a successful invasion. The enterprise of some light detachments, who, in the month of February, passed the Iffine upon the ice, was the signal for the mass. The first, with the boldest hopes of rapine, perhaps of conquest, out- weighed the considerations of timid prudence, or national faith. Every forest, and every village, poured forth a band of hardy adventurers; and the great army of the Alemanni, which, on their approach, was estimated at forty thousand men by the fears of the people, was afterwards magnified to the number of seventy thousand, by the vain and credulous flattery of the imperial court. The legions, which had been ordered to march into Pannonia, were immediately recalled, or detained, for the defence of Gaul; the military com- mittee of the three Augusti, with their divisions, was transferred to the Alemanni; and the youthful emperor, though he respected the long experience and soverign wisdom of the former, was much more inclined to admire, and to follow, the martial ar- mour of his colleague; who was allowed to unite the incompatible characters of count of the domestics, and king of the barbarians. His success was not impeded by the Alemanni, was guided, or rather impelled by the same headstrong valor; and as their troops were animated by the spirit of their leaders, they met, they saw, they encountered, each other, near the town of Argentaria, or Colmar, in the plains of Alsace. The glory of the day was justly ascribed to the missile weapons, and well-practised evolutions, of the Roman soldiers; the Alemanni, who maintained their ground, were slaughtered with unremitting fury: five thousand only of the barbarians escaped to the woods and mountains; and the glorious death of their king, the people, to save him from the reproaches of the people, who are always disposed to accuse the justice, or policy, of an unsuccessful war. After this signal victory, which secured the peace of Gaul, and asserted the honour of the Roman arms, the emperor Gratian appeared to proceed without delay on his eastern expedi-
tion; but as he approached the confines of the Alemanni, he suddenly inclined to the left, surprised them by his unexpected passage of the Rhine, and boldly advanced into the heart of their country. The barbarians opposed to his progress the obstinacy of nature and of courage; and still continued to retreat, from one hill to another, till they were satisfied, by repeated trials, of the power and perseverance of their enemies. Their submission was accepted, as a proof, not indeed of their sincere repentance, but of the actual distress by which they were encompassed and of courage and of youth was excited from the faithless nation, as the most substantial pledge of their future moderation. The subjects of the empire, who had so often experienced that the Alemanni could neither be subdued by arms, nor restrained by treaties, might not look for any solid or lasting tranquillity; but they discovered, in the virtues of their young sovereign, the prospect of a long and auspicious reign. When the legions climbed the mountains, and sealed the fortifications, of the barbarians, the valour of Gratinian was disdained in the foremost ranks; and the gilt and variegated armour of his guards was pierced and shattered by the blows, which they had received in their constant attachment to the person of their sovereign. At the age of nineteen, the son of Valentinian seemed to possess the talents of science and war; and his impecunious success against the Alemanni was interpreted as a sure presage of his Gothic triumphs.1

Valens marches against the Goths, A.D. 378.

While Gratian deserved and enjoyed the applause of his subjects, the emperor Valens, who, at length, had removed his court and army from Antioch, was received by the people of Constantinople as the author of the public calamity. Before he had reposed himself ten days in the capital, he was urged by the licentious clamours of the Hippodrome, to march against the Goths, in which he had invincible reasons: and the citizens, who were always brave at a distance from any real danger, declared, with confidence, that, if they were supplied with arms, they alone would undertake to deliver the province from the ravages of an insulting foe.2 The vain reproaches of an ignorant multitude hastened to downfall the empire; they provoked the desperate rashness of Valens; who did not find, either in his reputation, or in his mind, any motives to support with firmness the public contempt. He was soon persuaded, by the successful views of his lieutenants, to despise the power of the enemy, who, by the desertion of Fritigern, were now collected in the neighbourhood of Hadrianople. The march of the Taifales had been intercepted by the valiant Figerid; the king of those licentious barbarians was slain in the battle; and the suppliant captives were sent into distant exile to cultivate the lands of Italy, which were assigned for their settlement, in the vacant territories of Modena and Parma.3

The exploits of Sebastian, who was recently engaged in the service of Valens, and promoted to the rank of major-general of the army, were still more honourable to himself, and useful to the public. He obtained the permission of selecting three hundred soldiers from each of the legions; and this separate detachment soon acquired the spirit of discipline, and the exercise of arms, which were almost forgotten under the reign of Valens. By the vigour and conduct of Sebastian, a large body of the Goths was surprised in their encampment, and the immeasurable numbers which were presegeded from their hands, filled the city of Hadrianople, and the adjacent plain. The splendid narratives, which the general transmitted of his own exploits, alarmed the imperial court by the appearance of superior merit; and the great obstacle of the Goths was removed. The march from Constantinople to Hadrianople was conducted with so much military skill, that he prevented the activity of the barbarians, who designed to occupy the intermediate defiles, and to intercept either the troops of the emperor, or the convoy of supplies. He lay down his arms, or to employ them only in the defence of the empire; if he could secure for his wandering countrymen, a tranquil settlement on the waste lands of Thrace, and a sufficient allowance of corn and cattle. But he added, in a whisper of confidential friendship, that the tyrant of the Goths was disposed to reason with the emperor on reasonable conditions; and that Fritigern was doubtful whether he could accomplish the conclusion of the treaty, unless he found himself supported by the presence, and terrors, of an imperial army. About the same time, count Richomer returned from the Rhine to announce the defeat and submission of the Alemanni; to inform Valens, that his nephew advanced by rapid marches at the head of the veteran and victorious legions of Gaul; and to request, in the name of Gratian and of the republic, that every generous and decisive measure by the means of the barbarians was of the first importance, for the advantage of both emperors, and the safety of the empire. But the feeble sovereign of the east was actuated only by the fatal illusions of pride and jealousy. He disdained the important advice; he rejected the humilitating aid; he secretly compared the ignominious, or at least the inglorious, period of his own reign, with the fame of a beardless youth; and Valens rushed into the field, to erect his imaginary trophy before the diligence of his colleague could usurp any share of the triumphs of the day. On the 24th of August, a day which has deserved to be marked among the most auspicious of the Roman calendar,2 emperor Valens, leaving, under

[Footnotes: 1 The full and impartial narrative of Ammianus (xxxi. 10,) may derive some additional light from the Epitome of Victor, the Chronicle of Jerome, and the History of Orosius. (L. vii. c. 33, p. 552. edit. Havernum.)
2 Moratus pannices dies, seditione popularium levium pulsus. Ammian, xii. 11. Socrates (l. iv. c. 36,) supplies the dates and some circumstances.
3 Vivesque armes circa Mutiamun, Recunium, et Parnam, Italiae operan- uere, et unam, urbem, minime. Ammian, xxii. 9. The cities and districts, about ten years after the colony of the Taifales appear in a very disolate state. See Marutur, Dissertations supra leum, p. 286. Ammian, xxii. 10. Dissertat. p. 341. 2. Ammian, xiii. 2. Zosimus, i. p. 292—293. The latter expatiates on the exploits of Sebastian, and despatches of the few lines, the important battle of Hadrianople. According to the accounts of Richomer, and even of Sebastian, the praise of Zosimus is disgrace. (Tilleius, Hist. des Empereurs, p. xiv. 1. p. 121.) His pride, his ignorance, and his ignorance undoubtedly render him a very questionable judge of merit.
4 Ammianus (xxi. 12, 13) almost alone describes the councils and actions which were terminated by the fatal battle of Hadrianople. We may consult the vices of his style, the disorder and perplexity of his narration.
A strong guard, his baggage and military treasures, every vestige of Hadraniopolis, the ancient palace, were engulfed about twelve miles from the city. By some mistake of the orders, or some ignorance of the ground, the right wing, or column of cavalry, arrived in sight of the enemy, whilst the left was still at a considerable distance; the soldiers were compelled, in the sultry heat of the day, to remain without provisions, and the line of battle was formed with tedious confusion, and irregular delay. The Gothic cavalry had been detached to forage in the adjacent country; and Fritigern still continued to practise his customary arts. He despatched messengers of peace, made proposals, received answers. The appearance of the Gothic files, and exposed without shelter to the burning rays of the sun, were exhausted by thirst, hunger, and intolerable fatigue. The emperor was persuaded to send an ambassador to the Gothic camp; the zeal of Richomer, who alone had courage to accept the dangerous commission, was applauded; and the court of the Teutonic princes, adorned with the splendid ensigns of his dignity, had proceeded some way in the space between the two armies, when he was suddenly recalled by the alarm of battle. The hasty and imprudent attack was made by Bacurius the Iberian, who commanded a body of Gothic foot, and by him the evidence of their rashness, they retreated with loss and disgrace. In the same moment, the flying squadrons of Abathecus and Saphrax, whose return was anxiously expected by the general of the Goths, descended like a whirlwind from the hills, swept across the plain, and added new terror; the tumultuous, but irresistible, charge of the barbarian host. The event of the battle of Hadraniopolis, so fatal to Valens and to the empire, may be

The defeat of described in a few words: the Roman the Romans. cavalry fled; the infantry was abandoned, surrounded, cut in pieces. The most skilful of the Roman commanders, are scarcely sufficient to extricate a body of foot, encompassed, on an open plain, by superior numbers of horse; but the troops of Valens, oppressed by the weight of the enemy and their own fears, were crowded into a narrow space, where it was impossible for them to extend their ranks, or even to use with effect, their swords and javelins. In the midst of tumult, of slaughter, and of dismay, the emperor, deserted by his guards, and wounded, as it was supposed, with an arrow, sought protection among the Lancelarii and the Matttharii, who still maintained their ground with some appearance of order and firmness; but they were soon overcome. Victor, who perceived his danger, loudly exclaimed, that all was lost, unless the person of the emperor could be saved. Some troops, animated by their exhortation, advanced to his relief: they found only a bloody spot, covered with a heap of broken arms and mangled bodies, without being able to discover their unfortunate prince, either among the living or the dead. Their search could not, indeed, be successful; if there is any truth in the circumstances with which

Death of the some historians have related the death emperors Valens of the emperor. By the care of his3 attendants, Valens was conveyed to a neighbouring cottage, where they attempted to dress his wound, and to provide for his future safety. But this humble retreat was instantly surrounded by the enemy; they tried to force the door; they were prevented by a discharge of arrows, and, at last, by a hurricane of fire; they set fire to a pile of dry faggots, and consumed the cottage with the Roman emperor and his train. Valens perished in the flames; and a youth, who dropped from the window, alone escaped, to attest the melancholy tale, and to inform the

of his narrative; but we must now take leave of this imperial historian; and reproach is silenced by our regret for such an irreparable loss.

The difference of the eight miles of Ammianus, and the twelve of Idomene, can only embarrass those critics, (Valens ad loc.) who suppose a great army to be a mathematical point, without space or dimensions.

Goths of the inestimable prize which they had lost by the substitution of their own rashness. A great number of brave and distinguished officers perished in the battle of Hadraniopolis, which equalled, in the actual loss, and far surpassed, in the fatal consequences, the misfortune which Rome had formerly sustained in the fields of Cannae. Two master-generals of the cavalry and infantry, two great commanders of the optimates and dissidents, were found among the slain; and the death of Sebastian might satisfy the world, that he was the victim, as well as the author, of the public calamity. Above two-thirds of the Roman army were destroyed; and the darkness of the night was esteemed a very favourable circumstance; the Huns, two-thirds of them, opposed to their multitude, and to protect the more orderly retreat of Victor and Richomer, who alone, amidst the general consternation, maintained the advantage of calm courage, and regular discipline.

While the impressions of grief and funeral oration terror were still recent in the minds of valorous men, the most celebrated rhetorician of army, the age composed the funeral oration of a vanquished army, and of an unpopular prince, whose throne was already occupied by a stronger. "There are not wanting," says the candid Libanius, "those who arraign the conduct of those who impute the public misfortune to the want of courage and discipline in the troops. For my own part, I reverence the memory of their former exploits: I reverence the glorious death, which they bravely received, standing and fighting in their ranks: I reverence the field of battle, stained with their blood, and the blood of the barbarians. Those honourable marks have been annexed to the very rain away by the rains; but the lofty monuments of their bones, the bones of generals, of centurions, and of valiant warriors, claim a longer period of duration. The king himself fought and fell in the foremost ranks of the battle. The troop of mounted envoys who presented him with the fleetest horses of the imperial stable, that they might have carried him beyond the pursuit of the enemy. They vainly pressed him to reserve his important life for the service of the republic. He still declared that he was unworthy to survive so many of the bravest and most faithful of his subjects; and the monarch was nobly buried under a mountain of the slain. Let none, therefore, press to ascribe the victory of the barbarians to the fear, the weakness, or the imputation, of the Roman troops. The chiefs and the soldiers were animated by the virtue of their ancestors, whom they esteemed in different forms and situations. This generous emulation was supported by the love of glory, which prompted them to contend at the same time with heat and thirst, with fire and the sword; and cheerfully to embrace an honourable death, as their refuge against flight and infamy. The indignation of the gods has been the only cause of the success of our enemies." The truth of history may disclose some parts of this paeanic, which cannot strictly be reconciled with the character of Valens, or the circumstances of the battle: but the fairest commendation is due to the eloquence, and still more to the generosity of their conduct.

The pride of the Goths was elated by the Goth besiege Hadraniopolis of this memorable victory; but their ava-

rice was disappointed by the mortifying discovery, that the richest part of the imperial spoil had been

1 Nee ulul, annimas, prater Cananenum pugnam, &a ad interropere reslegat eur. Ammian. 31. 13. According to the grave Polybius, no more than 370 horse, and 3000 foot, escaped from the field of Cannae: 1000 horse, 3000 foot, and 2000 horse, 2000 foot, escaped from the field of Hadraniopolis. (Polyb. l. iii. p. 271. Polyb. 27. 41.)

2 Cannae, in Ammian. 31. 13. Gny. xxiv. 49.) to somebody; he supposed he slaughters only 2700 horse, and 40,000 foot. The Roman army was supposed to exceed 4000 horse, and 25,000 foot. We have gained some faint light from Jerome, (loc. p. 58, and in Chronic, 18.) Victor, in Euseb. (Orat.) Orat. i. vii. c. 53.) but this is only a minor authority. (c. 27.) Zon. (c. 49. 6.) Zon. (c. 49.) They are united, as they are united, as they were against Ammianus alone, in light and unsubstantiated.

The Romans, who so coolly, and so conscienciously, mention the acts of justice which are thus twice the exercised by the legislations, reserve their Roman provinces, A.D. 375, 279.

4 Valens had gained, or rather purchased, the friendship of the Sarmats, whose vassal troops were felt on the borders of Phœnisia, Cappadocia, and Egypt. The Christian faith had been lately introduced among a people, reserved, in a future age, to propagate another religion. (Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 104, 206, 141. Mem. Ecclés. tom. v. p. 793.)

5 In the source of the Danube, the valiant warriors, harbingers of future fame, were massacred, amidst the铁路 and the ruins of their camp, by the orders of the emperor, whom the revenge of his soldiers, who spared neither age nor sex, (vii. 7.)

6 But in the accounts of the sack of Magdeburg, by the ecclesiastic, Abbe Sisson, the imperial city and the surrounding country were in flames.ly, the cities and the districts around them were in flames. (Hast, Gestaepal. tom. i. p. 313—320.)

7 But, as a result of the sack of Magdeburg, by the ecclesiastic, Abbe Sisson, the imperial city and the surrounding country were in flames. (Hast, Gestaepal. tom. i. p. 313—320.)

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34 But, as a result of the sack of Magdeburg, by the ecclesiastic, Abbe Sisson, the imperial city and the surrounding country were in flames. (Hast, Gestaepal. tom. i. p. 313—320.)
per. In the space of about twelve years, their numbers had gradually increased; and the children, who, in the first emigration, were sent over the Hellespont, had attained, with rapid growth, the strength and spirit of perfect manhood. It was impossible to conceal from their knowledge the events of the Gothic war, the stir, the noise and excitement of the city, the language of dissimulation, by which they betrayed their wish, their desire, perhaps their intention, to emulate the glorious example of their fathers. The danger of the times seemed to justify the jealous suspicions of the provincials; and these suspicions were admitted as unquestionable truths, that the Gothic Asia had formed a secret and determined conspiracy for the destruction of the state and the safety. The death of Valens had left the east without a sovereign; and Julius, who filled the important station of master-general of the troops, with a high reputation of diligence and ability, thought it his duty to consult the senate of Constantinople; which he considered, during the vacancy of the throne, as the representative council of the nation. As soon as he had obtained the discretionary power of acting as he should judge most expedient for the good of the republic, he assembled the principal officers; and privately concerted effectual measures for the execution of his purpose, in a judicial and imperial court. The conspiracy was not detected or revealed, till the emperor had solved that, on a stated day, the Gothic youth should assemble in the capital cities of their respective provinces, and, as a report was industriously circulated, that they were summoned to receive a liberal gift of lands and money, the pleasing hope alarmed the fury of their resentment, and, perhaps, suspended the motions of the conspiracy. On the appointed day, the unarmed crowd of the Gothic youth was carefully collected in the square, or forum; the streets and avenues were occupied by the Roman troops; and the roofs of the houses were covered with archers and slingers. At the same hour, in all the cities of the east, the consul ordered an armed body to be collected; and the provinces of Asia were delivered, by the cruel prudence of Julius, from a domestic enemy, who, in a few months, might have carried fire and sword from the Hellespont to the Euphrates. The urgent consideration of the public safety may undoubtedly authorize the violation of every personal law. How far that, or any other, consideration, may operate, to dissolve the natural obligations of humanity and justice, is a doctrine of which I shall desire to remain ignorant.

The emperor Gratian was far advanced in age, and in his march towards the plains of Hadrianople, first by the confused voice of fame, and afterwards by the more accurate reports of Victor and Richomer, that his impatient colleague had been slain in battle, and that two-thirds of the Roman army were exterminated by the sword of the victorious Goth. Whenever resentment the rash and jealous vanity of his uncle might deserve, the resentment of a generous mind is easily subdued by the softer emotions of grief and compassion; and even the sense of pity was soon lost in the serious and alarming consideration of the state of the empire. Gratian was too late to assist, he was too weak to revenge, his unfortunate colleague; and the valiant and modest youth felt himself unequal to the support of a sinking world. A formidable tempest of the barbarians of Germany seemed ready to burst over the provinces of Gaul; and the mind of Gratian was oppressed and distracted by the administration of the western empire. In this important crisis, the government of the east, and the conduct of the Gothic war, required the undivided attention of a hero and a statesman. A subject invested with such ample command would not long have preserved his fidelity to a distant benefactor; and the imperial council embraced with the united voice the proposition of Gratian, who preferred the public service to the satisfaction of private interest, rather than of yielding to an insult. It was the wish of Gratian to bestow the purple as the reward of virtue; but, at the age of nineteen, it is not easy for a prince, educated in the supreme rank, to understand the true characters of his ministers and generals. He attempted to weigh with infinite difficulty the merits and defects; and whilst he checked the rash confidence of ambition, he distrusted the cautious wisdom, which despised of the republic. As each moment of delay diminished something of the power and resources of the future sovereign of the east, the situation of the times would not allow a tedious debate. The choice of Gratian was soon declared in favour of an exile, whose father, only three years before, had suffered, under the sanction of his authority, an unjust and ignominious death. The great Theodosius, a name celebrated in history, and dear to the catholic church, was summoned to the imperial council. The bitter jealousy of his name was deliriously confuses of Thrace to the more secure station of Sirium. Five months after the death of Valens, the emperor Gratian produced before the assembled troops, his colleague, and their master; who, after a modest, perhaps a sincere, resistance, was compelled to accept, amidst the general declarations, the diadem, the purple, and the equal title of Augustus.

The provinces of Thrace, Asia, and Egypt, over which Valens had reigned, were resigned to the administration of the new emperor; but, as he was specially intrusted with the conduct of the Gothic war, the Illyrian praefecture was dismembered; and the two great dioceses of Dalmatia, and Macedonia were added to the dominions of the eastern empire.

The same province, and, perhaps, the same city, which had given to the throne the virtues of Trajan, and the talents of Hadrian, was the original seat of another family of Hæronians, which had less fortunate age, possest, near fourscore years, the declining empire of Rome. They emerged from the obscurity of municipal honors by the active spirit of the elder Theodosius, a general, whose exploits in Britain and Africa have formed one of the most splendid pages of ancient Valentinian. The son of that general, who likewise bore the name of Theodosius, was educated, by skilful preceptors, in the liberal studies of youth; but he was instructed in the art of war by the tender care and severe discipline of his father. Under the stan-

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1. Van Aerts (in Excerpt. Legat.; p. 59) foolishly supposes a premature artificial growth of the young Goths, that he may introduce Caesar's ancient and noble claim, 'out of the dragon's teeth.' cit. Such was the Greek eloquence of the times. (I. 4. v. 233—256.)

2. Ammianus manifestly approves this execution, efficacia veux et effusio singularis, &c. (L. iv. 233—266.) The passage, however, is curious and copious, (I. iv. 233—266.) mistakes the date, and leaves to find the reason, why Julian did not consult the emperor Theodosius, who had not yet ascended the throne of the east.

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3. A life of Theodosius the Great was composed in the last century, (Paris, 1679, in 4to; 1679, in 32mo.) totem the mind of the young Dossipha with catolicana zeal. Tho. Noberi, Fleichet, after priest's bishop of Constantinople; and his history is adorned, or tainted, with multiform eloquence; but he takes his learning from Boru and his principles from Ambrose and St. Augustin.


6. I agree with Tielmont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. vi. p. 760.) in supposing the reign of Gratian, which completed the elevation of Theodosius. Even after that event, the senate of Trier, which revolted the Christian Theodosius 415, by Domitian, who connect the family of Theodosius with the blood of Trajan and Hadrian.

7. Paracites compares, and consequently prefers, the youth of Theodosius to the military education of Alexander, Hannibal, and the second Afriquius; who, like him, had served under their fathers, (Bk. viii.)
It is not without the most sincere regret, that I must now take leave of an accurate and faithful guide, who has composed the history of his own times, without indulging the prejudices and passions, which usually affect the mind of a contemporary. Ammianus Marcellinus (Hist. xvi. 15. 3) has informed his readers, that after the defeat and death of Valens, recommends the more glorious subject of the ensuing reign to the youthful vigour and eloquence of the rising generation. The rising generation was not disposed to accept his advice, or to imitate his example; and, in the study of the reign of Theodosius, the desire of acquiring knowledge from the narrative of Zosimus, by the obscure hints of fragments and chronicles, by the figurative style of poetry or panegyric, and by the precious assistance of the ecclesiastical writers, who, in the heat of religious faction, are apt to despise the profane virtues of sincerity and moderation. Consciousness of these disadvantages, which, will continue to involve a considerable portion of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, I shall proceed with doubtful and numerous steps. Yet I may boldly pronounce, that the battle of Hadrianople was never, by any signal or decisive victory of Theodosius over his enemies; and even the expression of his venal orators may be confirmed by the observation of the condition and circumstances of the times. The fabric of a mighty state which has been reared by the labours of successive ages, could not be dissolved by the exertions of a single generation. The ambition of the conqueror, the pride of the vanquished, the overpowering influence of the imagination did not exaggerate the real measure of the calamity. The loss of forty thousand Romans, who fell in the plains of Hadrianople, might have been soon recruited in the populous provinces of the east, which contained so many millions of inhabitants. The complaints of the subject against the ruler of such a great and most common, quality of human nature; and sufficient skill to encounter an undisguised foe, might have been speedily taught by the care of the surviving centurions. If the barbarians were mounted on their horses, and equipped with the armour of their vanquished enemies. Numerous bands of Cappadocia and Spain would have supplied new squadrons of cavalry; the thirty-four arsenals of the empire were plentifully stored with magazines of offensive and defensive arms; and the wealth of Asia might still have yielded an ample fund to defray the expenses of the operations which were produced by the battle of Hadrianople on the minds of the barbarians, and of the Romans, extended the victory of the former, and the defeat of the latter, far beyond the limits of a single day. A Gothic chief was heard to declare, with insolent moderation, that he gave his own part of the field to the slaughter; but that he was astonished how a people, who fed before him like a flock of sheep, could still presume to dispute the possession of their treasures and provinces. The same terrors, which the name of the Huns had spread among the Gothic tribes, was inspired, by the formidable name of the Goths, among the subjects and soldiers of the Roman empire. If Theodosius, hastily collecting his scattered forces, had led them into the field to encounter a victorious enemy, the prudent and successful commander, who had
his army would have been vanquished by their own fears; and his rashness could not have been excused by the chance of success. But the great Theodosius, an epithet which he honourably deserved on this momentous occasion, conducted himself as the firm and faithful guardian of the republic. He fixed his headquar-
ters probably in the imperial city himself, and the bishopric of the See diocese; b from whence he could watch the irregular motions of the barbarians, and direct the operations of his lieutenants, from the gates of Constantinople to the shores of the Hiatric. The fortifications and garrisons of the cities were strengthened; and the troops, among whom he was enabled by the delays occasioned by the contested elections, were insensibly inholed by the confidence of their own safety. From these secure stations, they were encouraged to make frequent sallies on the barbarians, who infested the adjacent country; and, as they were seldom allowed to engage, without some decisive superiority, either of ground or of numbers, their enter-
prises were, for the most part, successful; and they were soon convinced, by their own experience, of the possibility of vanquishing their invisible enemies. The detachments of these separate garrisons were gradually united into small armies; the same cautious movement was continued, and the troops were immersed in a well-concerted plan of operations; the events of each day added strength and spirit to the Roman arms; and the artful diligence of the emperor, who circulated the most favourable reports of the success of the war, con-
tributed to subdue the pride of the barbarians, and to animate the hopes and courage of his subjects. If, instead of this faint and imperfect outline, we could accurately represent the counsels and actions of Theo-
dosius, in four successive campaigns, there is reason to believe, that his consummate skill would deserve the applause of every military reader. The republic had been ill treated to past; the time was a season, while the splendid trophies of Scipio, in the field of Zama, attract the eyes of posterity, the camps and marches of the dictator among the hills of Campania, may claim a juster proportion of the solid and inde-
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imites of his body, which most unseasonably languished under a long and dangerous disease, could not oppress the vigour of his mind, or divert his attention from the public service.

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nes; and the emperor never failed to seize, and to improve, every favourable circumstance. As long as the superior genius of Fritigern preserved the union, and directed the motions, of the barbarians, their pow-
er was not inadequate to the conquest of a great empire. The death of that hero, the predecessor and master of the renowned Alaric, relieved an impatient multitude from the irksome yoke of discipline and discretion. The barbarians, who had been abandoned themselves to the dictates of their passions; and their passions were seldom uniform or consistent. An army of conquerors was broken into many disor-
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reglar fury were lost in their projects, than to their enemies. Their mischievous disposition was shown in the destruction of every object, which

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of the imperial banquets. But the policy of Theodosius derived more solid benefit from the death, than he could have expected from the most faithful services, of his ally. The funeral of Athanaric was performed with solemn rites in the capital of the east; a stately monotonous march, attended by his whole army, won by the liberal courtesy, and decent grief, of Theodosius, enlisted under the standard of the Roman empire. The submission of so great a body of the Visigoths was productive of the most salutary consequences; and the mixed influence of force, of reason, and of clemency decamped every prospect of power, and more extensive. Each independent chieftain hastened to obtain a separate treaty, from the apprehension that an obstinate delay might expose him, alone and unprotected, to the revenge, or justice, of the conqueror. The general, or rather the final, capitulation of the Goths, may be dated four years, or one month, and twenty-five days, after the defeat and death of the emperor Valens. I

The provinces of the Danube had been already relieved from the oppressive weight of the Gotthungi, or Ostrogoths, by the valour of Albarthus and Saphax; whose restless spirit had prompted them to seek new scenes of rapine and glory. Their destructive course was pointed towards the west; but we must be satisfied with a very obscure and imperfect knowledge of their various adventures. The Ostrogoths impelled several of the German tribes on the provinces of Gaul; concluded, and soon violated, a treaty with the emperor Gratian; advanced into the unknown countries of the north; and, after an interval of more than four years, returned, with accumulated force, to the banks of the Lech, and Danube. Their troops were recruited with the fiercest warriors of Germany and Scythia; and the soldiers, or at least the historians, of the empire, no longer recognised the name and countenances of their former enemies. The general, who commanded the military and naval powers of the Roman frontier, now perceived that his superiority would be disadvantageous to the public service; and that the barbarians, awed by the presence of his fleet and legions, would probably defer the passage of the river till the approaching winter. The fear of the spies, whom he sent into the Gothic camp, allured the barbarians into a fatal snare. They were persuaded, that, by a bold attempt, they might surprise, in the silence and darkness of the night, the sleeping army of the Romans; and the whole multitude was hastily embarked in a fleet of three hundred vessels. The fear of the Ostrogoths led the van; the main body consisted of the remainder of their subjects and soldiers; and the women and children securely followed in the rear. One of the nights without a moon had been selected for the execution of their design; and they had almost reached the southern bank of the Danube, in the firm confidence that they should find an easy landing, and an unguarded camp. But the progress of the barbarians was suddenly stopped by an unexpected obstacle; a triple line of vessels, strongly connected with each other, which formed an imperceptible chain of two miles and a half along the river. While they struggled to force their way in the unequal conflict, their right flank was overwhelmed by the irresistible attack of a fleet of galleys, which were urged down the stream by the united impulse of oars and of the tide. The weight and velocity of those ships of war broke, and sunk, and dispersed, the rude and feeble canoes of the barbarians. The Goths, in despair, and amidst the most horrid shrieks, attempted to land by means of elevated branches, which they formed into the shape of a boat, with the admeasurement of 60 cubits. Zosimus, i. iv. 252; and 263. Ausi Dansubum quondam transe Gruthangui; in flures fugere noxiam; trans mile rabidant. Per division plena causa ruinamuis alius Claudian. iv. iv. Cons. Rom. 653. 1

Retinae, aeternae. Zosimus, i. iv. 252.

The short, but authentic, hint in the Flucht of Matius (Cron. Scol. p. 7) affords proof of this information. The tenth oration of Themistius is a compliment to peace, and the counsel Solomon, ii. 3. 24.

Pao. 1, 2. 20. Zosimus, i. iv. 263.

Ver. 632.

I am justified, by reason and example, in applying this Indian maxim to the Visigoths. Alexander the great, in two campaigns, reduced all the barbarians in the course of a short winter, after some desperate battles, into the shape of a boat, with the measurement of 60 cubits. Zosimus, i. iv. 263. Fusaequm quondam transe Gruthangui; in flures fugere noxiam; trans mile rabidant. Per division plena causa ruinamuis alius Claudian. iv. iv. Cons. Rom. 653.
The public was guarded, or threatened, by the doubtful sword of the barbarians, the last sparks of the military flame were finally extinguished in the minds of the Romans. Theodosius had the address to persuade his adherents. He considered these two foes as having been frightened from him by prudence and necessity, were the voluntary expressions of his sincere friendship for the Gothic nation. A different mode of vindication or apology was opposed to the complaints of the people; who loudly censured these shameful and dangerous excursions. The calumnies only of the war were to be found in the most lively colours; and the first symptoms of the return of order, of plenty, and security, were diligently exaggerated. The advocates of Theodosius could affirm with some appearance of truth and reason, that it was impossible to extinguish so many war-like tribes, who were rendered desperate by the loss of their native country; and that the exhausted provinces would be revived by a fresh supply of soldiers and husbandmen. The barbarians still wore an angry and hostile aspect; but the experience of past times might encourage the hope, that they would acquire the habits of the industry and peace, of which their masters would be polished by time, education, and the influence of Christianity; and that their posterity would insensibly blend with the great body of the Roman people.

Their hostile appearances resumed. Notwithstanding these specious arguments and flattering expectations, it was apparent to every discerning eye, that the Goths would long remain the enemies, and might soon become the conquerors, of the Roman empire. Their rude and insolent behaviour expressed their contempt of the citizens and provincials, whom they insulted with impunity. To the zeal and valor of the barbarians, Theodosius was indebted for the success of his arms; but their assistance was precarious; and they were sometimes seduced, by a treacherous and inconsistent disposition, to abandon his standard, at the moment when their service was the most essential. During the civil war against Maximus, a great number of Gothic deserters retired into the provinces of Macedonia, wasted the adjacent provinces, and obliged the intrepid monarch to expose his person, and exert his power, to suppress the rising flame of rebellion. The public apprehensions were fortified by the strong assurances of assaults were necessary for the security of the imperial passion, but the result of deep and premeditated design. It was generally believed, that the Goths had signed the treaty of peace with an honest and insidious spirit; and that their chiefs had previously bound themselves, by a solemn and secret oath, never to keep faith with the Romans; to maintain the fairest show of loyalty and friendship, and to watch the favourable moment of rapine, of conquest, and of revenge. But, as the minds of the barbarians were not insensible to the power of gratitude, several of the Gothic leaders sincerely devoted themselves to the service of the empire, or, at least, of the emperor: the whole nation was insensibly divided into two opposite factions, and much sophistry was employed in conversation and dispute, to compare the obligations of their first, and second, engagements. The Goths, who confided themselves, were misled and duped. Both Gratian, and of Rome, were directed by the authority of Prævitta, a valiant and honourable youth, distinguished above the rest of his countrymen, by the politeness of his manners, the liberality of his sentiments, and the mild virtues of social life. But the more numerous faction adhered to the deceits of Maximus; Prævitta, who inflamed the passions, and asserted the independence of his warlike followers. On one of the solemn festivals, when the chiefs of both parties were invited to the imperial table, they were insensibly heated by wine, till they forgot the usual restraints of discretion and respect; and betrayed, in the presence of Theodosius, the fatal secret of their domestic disputes. The emperor, who had been the reluctant witness of this extraordinary controversy, dissembled his fears and resentment, and soon dismissed the tumultuous assembly. Prævitta, alarmed and exasperated by the insolence of his rival, whose departure from the palace might have been the signal of a civil war, boldly followed him; and, drawing his sword, laid Prævitta dead at his feet. Their companions flew to arms; and the faithful champion of Rome would have been oppressed by superior numbers, if he had not been protected by the reasonable interposition of the imperial guards.

Such were the plots of barbarism, which disgraced the palace and table of the Roman emperor; and, as the impassant Goths could only be restrained by the firm and temperate character of Theodosius, the public safety seemed to depend on the life and abilities of a single man.
the numerous spectators of the examples of Nero and Commodus; but the chaste and temperate Gratus was a stranger to their monstrous vices; and his hands were stained only with the blood of animals.

The behaviour of Gratus, which de-

Discontent of the Roman troops.

of his character and conduct, may be imputed to the arts of flattery, which had besieged the son of Val- ebruary 23rd, 363. The Emperor, having been provoked to resent their peculiar injuries. As long as the young emperor was guided by the instructions of his masters, he professed himself the friend and pupil of the soldiers; many of his hours were spent in the familiar conversation of the camp; and the health, the costume, the manners, the virtues, the eloquence, and the talents of himself and those skilful masters of every science, and of every art, had laboured to form the mind and body of the young prince. The knowledge which they painfully communicated was displayed with ostentation, and cele-

Barbarities.

b A Valentinian was less attentive to the religion of his son: since he intrusted the education of Gratus to Anianus, a pious pagan. (Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xiv. p. 182-183.) The poetical fame of Anianus condemns the taste of his age.

2 Ananius was successively promoted to the rank of prefect of Italy, (A. D. 327.) and of grain, (A. 373.) and was at length in-

igin, and that which was ascribed to the divine power in the mouth of the saint, their only object was to preserve the public peace, and to stifle the tumultuary spirit of the people, which was growing too strong for the patience of the new and inexperienced emperor. His name was fixed on the sacred lists of the Church, and he was universally adored after his death, by the feble court of Milan.

4 They composed for his instruction a theological treatise on the faith of the Trinity; and Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 532.) has added to the authenticity of Gratus's insolent laws.

5 Qui divina legis sanctitudine nunciando omnibus auctoritate violata, et officiante saeculorum consuetudine, Codex Juramentum l. ix. tit. xxii. leg. 1. This emperor indeed may claim the same in the merit of the comprehensive law.
find some evidence for the marriage, which he is said to have contracted with the daughter of a wealthy lord of Gaul, that the child, which is justly considered as a state of exile and obscurity; and if Maximus had obtained any civil or military office, he was not invested with the authority either of governor or general. His abilities, and even his integrity, are acknowledged by the partial writers of the age. His numerous reputation has been conspicuous, that could extort such a confession in favour of the vanquished enemy of Theodosius. The discontent of Maximus might incline him to censure the conduct of his sovereign, and to encourage, perhaps without any views of ambition, the murmurs of the troops. But the long residence of his family, and the fact of his having, from motives of interest or necessity, refused to ascend the throne; and some credit appears to have been given to his own positive declaration, that he was compelled to accept the dangerous present of the imperial purple.

But there was danger likewise in rejecting Gratian, fusing the empire; and from the moment that Maximus had violated his allegiance to his lawful sovereign, he could not hope to reign, or even to live, if he confined his moderate ambition within the narrow limits of Britain. He boldly and wisely resolved to prevent the designs of Gratian; the youth of the island was no obstacle; and so, when Gaul was a fleet and army, which were long afterwards remembered, as the emigration of a considerable part of the British nation. The emperor, in his peaceable residence of Paris, was alarmed by their hostile approach; and the darts which he idly wasted on limbs which could not be made to move, were uselessly hurled against the rebels. But his feeble efforts announced his degenerate spirit and desperate situation; and deprived him of the resources, which he still might have found, in the support of his subjects and allies. The armies of Gaul, instead of opposing the march of Maximus, received him with joyful and loyal acclamations; and the shame of the desertion was transferred from the people to the prince. The troops, whose station more immediately attached them to the service of the palace, abandoned the standard of Gratian; and in the first time that it was displayed in the neighbourhood of Paris. The emperor of the west fled towards Lyons, with a train of only three hundred horse; and, in the cities along the road, where he hoped to find a refuge, or at least a passage, he was taught, by cruel experience, that every gate is shut against the unfortunate. Yet he might still have reached, in safety, the dominions of his brother, and soon have returned with the forces of Italy and the east, if he had not suffered himself to be finally deserted by the peridious governor of the Lyonnese province. Gratian was awaked by protestations of doubtful fidelity, and the hopes of a support, which could not be effectual; till the arrival of andragathius, the general of the cavalry of Maximus, put an end to his suspense. That resolute officer executed, without remorse, the orders, or the intentions, of the usurper. Gratian, as he rose from supper, was deprived of his life, and his body was denied to the pious and pressing entreaties of his brother Valentinian. The death of the emperor was followed by that of his powerful general Mellobaudes, the king of the Franks; who, maintained, to the last moment of his life, the ambition which the just recompense of obscure and subtle policy. These executions might be necessary to the public safety; but the successful usurper, whose power was acknowledged by all the provinces of the west, had the merit, and the satisfaction, of boasting, that, except those who had perished by the chance of war, his triumph was not stained by the blood of the Romans.

The events of this revolution had passed in such rapid succession, that it would have been impossible for Theodosius to march to the relief of his benefactor, before he received the intelligence of his defeat and death. During the season of sincere grief, or ostentatious mourning, the eastern emperor was interrupted by the arrival of the principal chamberlain of Maximus; and the choice of a venerable old man, for an office which was really executed, was only a concession to the exertions of Constantynus, the gravity and temperance of the British usurper. The ambassador condescended to justify, or excuse, the conduct of his master; and to protest, in spectacula language, that the murder of Gratian had been perpetrated, without his knowledge or consent, by the precipitancy of the soldiers. He proceeded to a fine and equal tone, to offer Theodosius the alternative of peace or war. The speech of the ambassador concluded with a spirited declaration, that although Maximus, as a Roman, and as the father of his people, would choose rather to employ his forces in the common defence of the republic, he was armed and prepared, if his friendship should be rejected, to dispute, in a field of battle, the empire of the world. An immediate and peremptory answer was required; but it was extremely difficult for Theodosius to satisfy, on this important occasion, either the feelings of his own mind, or the expectations of the public. The impious voice of honour and gratitude called aloud for revenge. From the liberality of Gratian, he had received the imperial diadem: his patience would encourage the odious suspicion, that he was more deeply sensible of former injuries than of recent obligations, and he rejected the friendship, he must seem to share the guilt of the assassin. Even the principles of justice, and the interest of society, would receive a fatal blow from the impunity of Maximus; and the example of successful usurpation would tend to dissolve the artificial fabric of government, and once more to re-plunge the empire in the crimes and calamities of the preceding age. But, as the sentiments of gratitude and honour should invariably regulate the conduct of an individual, they may be overbalanced in the mind of a sovereign, by the sense of superior duties; and the maxims both of justice and policy require that the most atrocious criminal, if an innocent people would be involved in the consequences of his punishment. The assassination of Gratian had usurped, but he actually pos-
Chap. xxvii.

The decline and fall of the western empire of the Caesars.

The last warlike provinces of the empire; the west was exhausted by the misfortunes, and even by the success, of the Gothic war; and it was seriously to be apprehended, that, after the vital struggle of the years 493 and 496, and the destruction of the contest, the feeble conqueror would remain an easy prey to the barbarians of the north. These weighty considerations engaged Theodosius to dispose his remnant, and to accept the alliance of the tyrant. But he stipulated, that Maxims should content himself with the provinces of Thrace, Thrace beyond the Alps. The brother of Gratian was confirmed and secured in the sovereignty of Italy, Africa, and the western Illyricum; and some honourable conditions were inserted in the treaty, to protect the memory, and the laws, of the deceased emperor. According to the custom of the age, the emperors of the three imperial colleges were exhibited to the veneration of the people: nor should it be lightly supposed, that, in the moment of a solemn reconciliation, Theodosius secretly cherished the intention of perjury and revenge.

Rampant Arianism, and orthodox editor of Theodosius.

A. D. 394.


The contempt of Gratian for the Roman soldiers had exposed him to the fatal effects of their resentment. His profound veneration for the Christian clergy was rewarded by the applause and gratitude of a powerful order, which has claimed, in every age, the popular and available honours, both on earth and in heaven. The orthodox bishops bewailed his death, and their own irreparable loss; but they were soon comforted by the discovery, that Gratian had committed the sepiute of the east to the hands of a prince whose sole useful, and ferocious zeal, were supported by the spirit and abilities of a more vigorous charac-

ter. Among the benefactors of the church, the fame of Constantine has been rivalled by the glory of Theodosius. If Constantine had the advantage of erecting the standard of the cross, the emulation of his success created the standard of which the Arian world was in esy, and of abolishing the worship of idols in the Roman world. Theodosius was the first of the emperors baptized in the true faith of the Trinity. Although he was born a Christian family, the maxims, or at least the practice, of the age, encouraged him to delay the ceremony of baptism. It was the knowledge of the danger of delay, by the serious illness which threatened his life, toward the end of the first year of his reign. Before he again took the field against the Goths, he received the sacrament of baptism from Acholius, the orthodox bishop of Thessalonica. All the emperor ascended from the holy font and with glowing with the warm feelings of regeneration, he dictated a solemn edict, which proclaimed his own faith, and prescribed the religion of his subjects. "It is our pleasure (such is the imperial style) that all the nations, which are governed by our clemency and moderation, should steadfastly adhere to the religion which was taught by St. Peter to the Romans; which faithful tradition has preserved; and which is now professed by the pontiff of Damasus, and by Peter, bishop of Alexandria, a man of apostolic holiness. Acc-

ording to the edict of the pope and the orthodox bishops of this city, the cures of the gospel, let us believe the sole deity of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; under an equal majesty, and a pious Trinity. We authorize the followers of this doctrine to assume the title of catholics; and as we judge, that all others are extravagant madmen, we brand them with the infamous name of heretics; and declare, that their conventicles shall no longer usurp the respectable appellation of churches, the person of his sovereign, he Command.
tice, they must expect to suffer the severe penalties, which our authority, guided by heavenly wisdom, shall think proper to inflict upon them." The faith of a soldier is commonly the fruit of instruction, rather than of inquiry; but as the emperor always fixed his residence in the south of Italy, and the court and courtiers had so prudently constituted, his religious opinions were never affected by the specious texts, the subtle arguments, and the ambiguous creeds, of the Arian doctors. Once indeed he expressed a faint inclination to converse with the eloquent and learned Eunomus, who lived in retirement at a small distance from Constantinople. But the dangerous interview was prevented by the prayers of the empress Flacilla, who trembled for the salvation of her husband; and the mind of Theodosius was confirmed by a theologian of influence, as acute as his capacity. He had lately bestowed, on his eldest son Arcadius, the name and honours of Augustus, and the two princes were seated on a stately throne to receive the homage of their subjects. A bishop, Amphphilochius of Iconium, approached the throne, and after saluting, with due reverence, the person of his sovereign, he addressed the royal youth with the same familiar tenderness which he might have used towards a plebeian child. Prowed by this insolent behaviour, the monarch gave orders, that the rustic priest should be instantly driven from his presence. But while the guards were forcing him to the door, the dexterous orator had time to execute his design, by exclaiming with a loud voice, "Such is the treatment, O emperor! which the King of heaven has prepared for those impious men, who affect to worship the Father, but refuse to acknowledge the Son and Holy Ghost." That the emperor immediately embraced the bishop of Iconium; and never forgot the important lesson, which he had received from this dramatic parable.

Constantine was the principal sect Arianism of Constantinople, and fortress of Arianism; and, in a long period, in which so many events have intervened, he was the champion of the party, who had received the faith of Gratian. He was the exponent of the doctrine of the Trinity, which was enunciated by a solemn edict, from the mouth of his pupil Gratian, a high and respectable place in heaven, (tom. ii. epist. xvii. p. 927.)

1 Socrates, l. iv. p. 231, 232. We may dismiss his odious suspicion, because it is not worthy of the charity with which the friars of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries have absolutely forgotten, or slightly mentioned.

2 Theodosius, ed. Conkle, p. 417. The bishop of Milan, accosted the emperor in a language that was not common to a pope, but to the grain of a prophet. If, a bishop, and the public consecration of his pupil Gratian a high and respectable place in heaven, (tom. ii. de Ori. Val. Conch. p. 1113.)

3 See Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 726.

4 For the baptism of Theodosius, see Socrates, l. vii. c. 4.) Scrat-

tes, l. vii. c. 8.) and Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 726.)

5 See Socrates, l. vii. c. 4.) Scrat-
tes, l. vii. c. 8.) and Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 726.)

6 See Socrates, l. vii. c. 4.) Scrat-
tes, l. vii. c. 8.) and Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 726.)

7 See Socrates, l. vii. c. 4.) Scrat-
tes, l. vii. c. 8.) and Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 726.)

8 See Socrates, l. vii. c. 4.) Scrat-
tes, l. vii. c. 8.) and Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 726.)

9 Codex Theodos. l. xvi. tit. 1, leg. 2, with Goldsmith's Commentary, tom. vi. p. 309. See also the edict of Theodosius, Mem. Eccles. tom. vi. p. 627, 628.) with the terms of "rustic bishop," and in this sense, of private gentlemen, and later of (concealed) of the throne of Constantinople.

10 See Socrates, l. vii. c. 5.) Scrat-
tes, l. vii. c. 7.) and Marcellin, in Chron. The account of forty years must be disputed from the evidence, and is probably a fiction. The story of the deposition of Eunomus, and the deaths of Theodosius, and his brother, is not for the throne of Constantinople.

11 See Socrates, l. vii. c. 5.) Scrat-
tes, l. vii. c. 7.) and Marcellin, in Chron. The thirty-third Oration of Gregory Nazianzen affairs, indeed, some similar ideas, even some still more ridiculous; but I have not yet
ties, of various denominations, subsisted in peace under the protection of the Arians of Constantinople; who endeavoured to secure the attachment of those obscure sectaries; while they abused, with unrelenting severity, the victory which they had obtained over the friends of the council of Nice. During the partial reigns of Constantius and Valens, the free exercise of the public and private exercise of their religion; and it has been observed, in pathetic language, that the scattered flock was left without a shepherd, to wander on the mountains, or to be devoured by rapacious wolves.

But as their zeal, instead of being subdued, derived strength from its opposition; and they were the first moments of imperfect freedom, which they acquired by the death of Valens, to form themselves into a regular congregation, under the conduct of an episcopalian pastor. Two natures of Cappadocia, Basilius and Gregory Nazianzen, were distinguished above all the contemporaries, by the rare union of profane eloquence and of orthodox piety. These orators, who might sometimes be compared, by themselves, and by the public, to the most celebrated of the ancient Greeks, were united by the ties of the strongest friendship. This mutual elevation, the same liberal studies in the schools of Athens; they had retired, with equal devotion, to the same solitude in the deserts of Pontus; and every spark of emulation or envy, appeared to be totally extinguished in the holy and ingenuous breasts of Gregory and Basilius. But the eloquence of Basil, superior to that of Gregory, was compared to the spacious auditorium of the archiepiscopal throne of Caesarea, discovered to the world, and perhaps to himself, the pride of his character; and the first favour which he condescended to bestow on his friend was received, and perhaps was intended, as a cruel insult. Instead of employing the superior talents of his brother, he seized the sparsious station, the haughty presbiterate selected, among the fifty bishops of his extensive province, the wretched village of Sassin. But Gregory, without water, without verdure, without society, sat at the junction of three highways, and frequented only by the incessant passage of rude and enormous waggonets, was submitted with reluctance to this humiliating exile; he was ordained bishop of Sassin; but he solemnly protested, that he never consummated his spiritual marriage with this disgusting bride. He afterwards consented to undertake the government of his native church of Nazianzus, of which his father had been found the words of this remarkable passage, which I allude on the faith of a correct and scholastic version.

... see the thirty-second oration of Gregory Nazianzen, and the account of his life, which was composed in 300 verses. Yet every physician is prone to exaggerate the inveterate nature of the disease which he has cured.

I confess myself deeply indebted to the lives of Gregory Nazianzen, composed, with very different views, by Tiliemmus. (Mon. Euseb. tom. i. pp. 385—390, 692—701.) and Le Clerc. (Bibliotheca Universalis, tom. xviii. p. 1—128.)

If I could, I am bound to say that in the chronology of Suidas we have absolutely received, in basing their lives on the minute life of the Egyptian, has the bishop of Egypt, attempted, by a candid and virtuous resolution, to supplicate his patron in the episcopal seat of Constantinople. These mortifications might sometimes tempt the Cappadocian missionary to regret his obscure solitude. But his labours were rewarded by his daily increase of his fame and his congregation; and he enjoyed the pleasure of observing, that the greater part of his numerous audience retired from his sermons, satisfied with the eloquence of the preacher, or dissatisfied with the manifold imperfections of their lives and actions.

The three cathedrals of Constantinople were

Ruined.

Baptized, and edict of Theodosius; and

A.D. 394.

Nov. 26.

... they impatiently waited the effects of his gracious promise. Their hopes were speedily accomplished; and the emperor, as soon as he had finished his construction, made his public entry into the capital at the head of a victorious army. The next day after his arrival, he summoned Damophilius, Peteron, and Hierocles. (Inserer, Wesseling, p. 709.) It appears to have been the birth of Jesus.

In the Midsummer Night's Dream, Helena addresses the same pathetic sentiments, in her garments, and speaks the pangs of injured and lost friendship.

... wert ehrliche宽容, Oder Sie sind besser als die Welt, Nein, es sind besser. In des Menschen, der alles erdachte, von dem Menschen, der sich ehrlich und vernünftig verhält,

In the middle-sun's Dream, Helena addresses the same pathetic sentiments, in her garments, and speaks the pangs of injured and lost friendship.

... that the content that we two have shared, The mother's vows, etc.

This unfortunate portrait of Sasa is drawn by Gregory Nazianzen, (tom. ii. p. 109.) From Archelaus, and thirty-nine from Tyronus, is fixed in the History of Antoninus, p. 141, edit. Wesseling.)

The name of Nazianzus has been generalized by Gregory; but his native town under the Roman title of Dicaea, Nazianzen, (Mon. Euseb. tom. i. p. 692.) is mentioned by Fluyt, (vi. 3.)

... bishop above five-and-forty years. But he was still conscious that he had deserved the attention of Constantianople. A.D. 378. Nov., the honourable invitation, which was addressed to him from the orthodox party of Constantine. On his arrival in the capital, Gregory was entertained in the house of a distinguished charitable kinman; the most splendid room was consecrated to the uses of religious worship; and the name of Anastasia was chosen to express the resurrection of the Nicene faith. This private convocation was afterwards converted into a magnificent church; and the credulity of the succeeding ages was prepared to receive these visions, which attested the presence, or at least the protection, of the Mother of God. The pulpit of the Anastasia was the scene of the labours and triumphs of Gregory Nazianzen; and in the space of two years, he experienced all the spiritual adventures which constitute the prosperous or adverse fortunes of a missionary. The Arians, who were provoked by the boldness of his enterprise, represented his doctrine, as if he had preached three distinct and equal deities; and the devout populace was excited to suppress, by every species of violence, the holy messenger of the Athanasian heretics. From the cathedral of St. Sophia, there issued a motley crowd of common beggars, who had forfeited their claim to pity; of monks, who had the appearance of great or seditious; of men, more terrible than so many Jezebels. The council of the Anastasia were broke open; much blood was perpetrated, or attempted, with stiles, stones, and firebrands; and as a man lost his life in the fray, Gregory, who was summoned the next morning before the magistrate, had the satisfaction of supposing, that he publicly confessed the name of Christ. After he was delivered from the fear and danger of a foreign and factional persecution, his influence increased and distracted by intestine faction. A stranger who assumed the name of Maximus, and the cloak of a Cynic philosopher, iniminated himself into the confidence of Gregory; deceived and abused his favourable opinion; and the prince of the secret conclave of the bishops of Egypt, attempted, by a clandestine ordination, to supplant his patron in the episcopal seat of Constantinople. These mortifications might sometimes tempt the Cappadocian missionary to regret his obscure solitude. But his labours were rewarded by his daily increase of his fame and his congregation; and he enjoyed the pleasure of observing, that the greater part of his numerous audience retired from his sermons, satisfied with the eloquence of the preacher, or dissatisfied with the manifold imperfections of their lives and actions.

The three cathedrals of Constantinople were

Ruined...
to his presence; and offered that Arius prelate the hard alternative of subscribing the nicene creed, or of instantly resigning, to the orthodox believers, the use and possession of the episcopal palace, the cathedral of St. Sophia, and all the churches of Constantinople. The zeal of Damophilus, which in a catholic saint would have been justly despised, unbridled, without hesitation, a life of poverty and exile, and his removal was immediately followed by the purification of the imperial city. The Arians might complain, with some appearance of justice, that an inconsiderable congregation of ecclesiastics shouldstrip the whole hundred churches, which they were insufficient to fill; whilst the far greater part of the people was cruelly excluded from every place of religious worship. Theodosius was still inexorable: but as the angels who protected the catholic cause, were only visible to the eyes of faith, he suddenly reinforced those heavenly legions, with the more effectual aid of temporal and carnal weapons; and the church of St. Sophia was occupied by a large body of the imperial guards. If the mind of Gregory was susceptible of pride, he must have felt a very lively satisfaction, when the emperor conducted him that honourable in solemn procession, and, with his own hand, respectfully placed him on the archiepiscopal throne of Constantinople. But the saint (who had not subdued the imperfections of human virtue) was deeply affected by the mortifying consideration, that his entrance into the fold was that of a wolf, rather than that of a shepherd; that which surrounded his person, were necessary for his safety; and that he alone was the object of the imprecations of a great party, whom, as men and citizens, it was impossible for him to despise. He beheld the impiety of his courtiers; the insolent conduct of everyone who crowded the streets, the windows, and the roofs of the houses; he heard the tumultuous voice of rage, grief, astonishment, and despair; and Gregory fairly confesses, that on the memorable day of his installation, the capital of the east wore the appearance of a city whose chief was dethroned. He felt that the presence of the Son of God, and the various opinions which were embraced concerning the second, were extenuated and transferred, by a natural analogy, to the third, person of the Trinity. Yet it was found, or it was thought, necessary, by the victor of the adversaries of Arianism, to explain the ambiguous language of some respectable doctors; to confirm the faith of the catholics; and to condemn an unpopular and inconsistent sect of Macedonians; who freely admitted that the Son was consubstantial to the Father, while they were fearful of seeming to acknowledge the existence of Three Gods. A council and unanimous sentence was pronounced to ratify the equal Deity of the Holy Ghost; the mysterious doctrine has been received by all the nations, and all the churches, of the christian world; and their grateful reverence has ascended to the bishop of Constantinople, the second rank among the general councils. Their knowledge of religious truth may have been preserved by tradition, or it may have been communicated by inspiration; but the sober evidence of history will not allow much weight to the personal authority of the fathers of Constantinople; for Arianism had scandalously degenerated from the model of apostolical purity, the most worthless and corrupt were always the most eager to frequent, and disturb, the episcopal assemblies. The conflict and fermentation of so many opposite interests and tempers inflamed the passions of the bishops; and their rival accusations were, the love of gold, and the love of dispute. Many of the same prelates who now applauded the orthodox piety of Theodosius, had repeatedly changed, with prudent flexibility, their creeds and opinions; and in the various revolutions of the church, the right of their sovereign was the rule of their obsequious faith. When the emperor suspended his prevailing influence, the turbulent synod was blindly impelled by the absurd or selfish motives of pride, hatred, and resentment. The death of Melctius, which happened

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1 Socrates (I. c. 7) and Sozomen (iv. c. 5) relate the evangelic story of the persecution of Damophilus under a word of application. He considered, says Socrates, that it is difficult to resist the powerful; but it was easy, and would have been probable, to submit. p. 299, c. 22. For the sake of piety, the bishop of Constantinople records a stupendous prodigy. In the month of November, it was a cloudy morning, but the sun broke forth when the procession entered the church. 2 The ecclesiastical historian, Cassian (epist. cxxvii. c. xii. p. 22) has mentioned this important commission of Sapor, which Timliment (Hist. des Emperors, tom. v. p. 725) forcibly removes, from the realm of the subject of Theodosius. 3 I do not reckon Philostorgius, though he mentions (i. c. 15.) the expulsion of Damophilus. The Eusebian history has been carefully searched through an orthodox sieve.

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4 Le Clerc has given a curious extract (Bibliothèque Universelle, tom. xxi. p. 94-106.) of the theological sermons which Gregory Nazianzen pronounced at Constantinople against the Arians, Eunomists, Macedonians, &c. He tells the Macedonians, who defied the Father and the Son, without the Holy Ghost, that they might as well repudiate the HOLY SPIRIT: and his appeal to the truth is more convincing than the appeal to the monarchy of heaven resembles a well-regulated aristocracy.

5 The first general council of Constantinople now triumphs in the Vatican; but the popes have been humbled, and their pontifical prerogatives, and all their aggrandizements, the humble Timliment. (Ann. Ecclesiast. tom. ix. p. 499, 500.)
at the council of Constantinople, presented the most favorable opportunity of terminating the schism of Antioch, by suffering his aged rival, Paulinus, peacefully to renounce the episcopal chair, and the faith and virtues of Paulinus were not only unimpaired, but the cause was supported by the western churches; and the bishops of the synod resolved to perpetuate the mischiefs of discord, by the hasty ordination of a perjured candidate, rather than to betray the imagined dignity of the east, which had been illustrated by the birth and education of the Son of God. Such disorderly proceedings forced the gravest members of the assembly to dissent and to secede; and the clamorous majesty, which remained masters of the field of battle, could be compared only to wasps or magpies, to a flight of cranes, or to a flock of geese. But the Revert of Gregory, so unfavourable a picture of ecclesiastical synods has been drawn by the partial hand of some obstinate heretic, or some malicious imbiber. But the name of the sincere historian who has conveyed this instructive lesson to the knowledge of posterity, must silence the impudent murmurs of suspicion and bigotry. He was one of the most pious and eloquent bishops of the age; a saint and a doctor of the church; the scourge of Ariantism, and the pillar of the orthodox faith; a distinguished member of the council of Constantinople, in which, after the death of Meletius, the emperor called; a prudent man; in a word—Gregory Nazianzen himself. The harsh and ungenerous treatment which he experienced, instead of derogating from the truth of his evidence, affords an additional proof of the spirit which actuated the deliberations of the synod. Their unanimous and friendly action confirmed the pretensions which the bishops of Constantinople derived from the choice of the people, and the approbation of the emperor. But Gregory soon became the victim of malice and envy. The bishops of the east, his strenuous adherents, provoked by his moderation in the affairs of Antioch, abandoned him, without support, to the adverse faction of the Egyptians; who disputed the validity of his election, and rigorously asserted the obsolete canon, that prohibited the licentious practice of episcopal translations. The pride, or the humility, of Gregory, prompted him to decline a contest which might have been impeded to his advantage. He retired, without mixture of indignation, to renounce the government of a church, which had been restored, and almost created, by his labours. His resignation was accepted by the synod, and by the emperor, with more readiness than he seems to have expected. At the time of his retirement, Constantius, who had devoted all his energy to the service of the empire, his victory, his episcopal throne was filled by the successor Nectarius; and the new archbishop, accidentally recommended by his easy temper and venerable aspect, was obliged to delay the ceremony of his consecration, till he had previously despatched the rites of his baptism. After this remarkable experience of the ingratitude of princes and prelates, Gregory retired once more to his obscure solitude of Cappadocia; where he employed the remainder of his life, about eight years, in the exercises of prayer and devotion. The title of Saint, both to his fame and to the reverence of his heart, and the elevation of his genius, reflect a more pleasing lustre on the memory of Gregory Nazianzen.

It was not enough that Theodosius Edicts of Theodosius had suppressed the insidious reign of Ariantism, or that he had abundantly avenged the injuries which the catholics had sustained from the zeal of Constantius and Valens. The orthodox emperor considered every heretic as a rebel against the supreme powers of heaven and of earth; and each of these powers might exercise their peculiar jurisdiction over the soul and body of the guilty. The decrees of the council of Constantinople had ascertained the true standard of the faith; and the ecclesiastics, who governed the conscience of Theodosius, suggested the most effectual methods of persecution. In the space of fifteen years, he promulgated at least fifteen severe edicts against the heretics; most especially against those who rejected the Trinity; and to deprive them of every hope of escape, he sternly, enacted, that if any laws or rescripts should be alleged in their favour, the judges should consider them as the illegal productions either of fraud or forgery. The penal statutes were directed against the ministers, the assemblies, and the persons, of the heretics; and the passions of the legislator were expressed in the language of declaration and inexecutive. I. The heretical teachers, who usurped the sacred titles of bishops, or presbyters, were not only excluded from the privileges and emoluments so liberally granted to the orthodox clergy, but they were exposed to the heavy penalties of exile and confiscation, if they presumed to preach the doctrine, or to practise the rights, of their accursed sects. A fine of ten pounds of gold (above four hundred pounds sterling) was imposed on every person who should dare to confess, or receive, or promote, an heretical ordination; and it was reasonably expected, that if the race of pastors could be extinguished, their helpless flocks would be compelled, by ignorance and hunger, to return within the pale of the catholic church. II. The rigorous prohibition of conventicles was carefully extended to every possible method of dissimulation, and none could assemble with the intention of worshipping God and Christ according to the dictates of their conscience. Their religious meetings, whether public or secret, by day or by night, in cities or in the country, were equally proscribed by the edicts of Theodosius; and the building, or the holding, of any meeting, for illegal purpose, was forfeited to the imperial domain. III. It was supposed that the error of the heretics could proceed only from the obstinate temper of their minds; and such a temper was a fit object of censure and punishment. The anathemas of the church were fortified by a sort of civil excommunication; which separated them from their fellow-citizens, by a peculiar brand of infamy; and this declaration of the supreme magistrate tended to justify, or at least to excuse, the insults of a fanatical populace. The sectaries were gradually disqualified for the possession of honourable or lucrative employment; and Theodosius was satisfied with his own justice, when he decreed, that, as the Eunomians distinguished the nature of the Son from that of the Father, they should be incapable of making their wills, or of receiving any advantage from tontary donations; and that his own, which at the close of his reign was attested of such magnitude, that it could be expiated only by the death of the offender;
and the same capital punishment was inflicted on the Audians, or Quotzodecimans, who should dare to perpetrate the atrocious crime of celebrating, on an imprest, a mock festival of Easter. Every Roman might exercise the right of public accusation: but the office of Inquisitor of the Faith, a name so deservedly abhorred, was first instituted under the reign of Theodosius. Yet we are assured, that the execution of his penal edicts was seldom enforced; and that the pious emperor appeared less desirous to punish, than to reclaim, or terrify, his refractory subjects. 1

**Execution of Priscillian and his adherents.** The theory of persecution was established by Theodosius, whose justice and piety have been applauded by the saints: but the practice of it, in the fullest extent, was reserved for his successor. By a most odious and odious extenuation, Ambrose, Priscillian, but glorious Theodosius, was the first, among the christian princes, who shed the blood of his christian subjects, on account of their religious opinions. The cause of the Priscillians, a recent sect of heretics, who disturbed the provinces of Spain, was transferred, by appeal, from the synod of Bourdeaux to the imperial consistory of Treves; and by the sentence of the prætorian prefect, seven persons were tortured, condemned, and executed. The first of these was Priscillian himself, bishop of Avila, in Spain; who adored the benefits of birth and fortune, by the accomplishments of eloquence and learning his own students, and who, amidst their adoration of him, his beloved master in death, which they esteemed as a glorious martyrdom: and the number of religious victims was completed by the execution of Latinaton, a poet, who rivalled the fame of the ancients; and of Euchrocia, a noble matron of Bourdeaux, the widow of the orator, Dr. Phænodoxus. Two bishops, who had embraced the sentiments of Priscillian, were condemned to a distant and dreary exile; and some inducement was shown to the meaner criminals, who assumed the merit of an early repentance. If any credit could be allowed to confessions extorted by fear or promise, it would seem to substantiate the odious claim of the clergy and the cœteri valence and cœteri valence, the hæresy of the Priscillians would be found to include the various abominations of magic, of impiety, and of lewdness. Priscillian, who wandered about the world in the company of his spiritual sisters, was accused of praying stark-naked in the passage of these objections; but the history asserts, that the effects of his criminal intercourse with the daughter of Euchrocia, had been suppressed, by means still more odious and criminal. But an accurate, or rather a candid, inquiry, will discover, that if the Priscillians violated the laws of nature, it was not by the lascivious profanities, of their lives. They absolutely condemned the use of the marriage-bed; and the peace of families was often disturbed by illicit separations. They enjoined, or recommended, a total abstinence from all animal food; and their continual prayers, fasts, and vigils, inculcated a rule of strict and perfect devotion. The speculative tenets of the sect, concerning the person of Christ, his origin, and condition, were derived from the Gnostic and Manichæan system; and this vain philosophy, which had been transported from Egypt to Spain, was ill adapted to the grosser spirits of the West. The obscure disciples of Priscillian suffered, languished, and gradually disappeared; his tenets were rejected by the clergy and people, but his death was the subject of a long and vehement controversy: while some arraigned, and others applauded, the justice of his sentence. It is with pleasure that we can observe the humane inconsistence of the most illustrious saints and bishops, Ambrose of Milan, and Martin the Posthumous, in this case, as in that of the Euchrocia and Ithacius, with whose irreligious theory, the sect, and its adherents, were associated. They pitied the unhappy men, who had been executed at Treves; they refused to hold communication with their episcopal murderers; and if Martin deviated from that generous resolution, his motives were laudable, and his repentance was exemplary. The bishops of Tours and Milan pronounced, without hesitation, the eternal damnation of heretics; but they were surprised, and shocked, by the bloody image of their temporal death, and the honest feelings of nature, the accidental prejudices of theology. The humanity of Ambrose and Martin was confirmed by the solemn pronouncement of the council of Aquileia, condemned Priscillian and his adherents. The civil and ecclesiastical ministers had transgressed the limits of their respective provinces. The secular judge had presumed to receive an appeal, and to pronounce a definitive sentence, in a matter of faith, and episcopal jurisdiction. The bishops had disturbed the peace of the church, by exercising the function of accusers in a criminal prosecution. The cruelty of Ithacius, who beheld the tortures, and solicited the death, of the heretics, provoked the just indignation of mankind; and the vices of that profligate bishop were admitted as a proof, that his zeal was instigated by the sordid pursuit of his interest. Since the death of Priscillian, the rude attempts of persecution have been refined and methodized in the holy office, which assigns their distinct parts to the ecclesiastical and secular powers. The devoted victim is regularly delivered by the secular, and the ecclesiastic, at the instance of the executioner; and the inexorable sentence of the church, which declares the spiritual guilt of the offender, is expressed in the mild language of pity and intercession.

Among the ecclesiastics, who illustrated the reign of Theodosius, Ambrose, archbiscop of Milan, was the most illustrious, and by the faithful in different parts of the empire, was recognized as the teacher of the prisoners of Christ. He was descended from a noble family of Romans; his father had exercised the important office of praetorian prefect of Gaul; and the son, after passing through the studies of a liberal education, attained, in the regular gradation of civil honours, the station of consular of Luguria, a province which included the imperial residence of Milan. At the age of thirty-four,

2. In the Sacred History, and the Life of St. Martin. Sulpicius Severus uses some caution; but he declares himself more freely in the Dialogues, (ch. 13.) Martin was reprieved, however, by his own «science, and by an angel: nor could he afterwards perform miracles except by the help of the church.»
3. The Catholic confessors, Sup. Sever. i. p. 481; and the pagan tract, «Dedication of the Temple,» in Sulpicius Severus, sect. xiv. 324 speaks with the utmost polemic of the German.—
4. The character of the emperor, Sup. Sever. i. p. 481; and the pagan tract, «Dedication of the Temple,» in Sulpicius Severus, sect. xiv. 324 speaks with the utmost polemic of the German.
5. The Life of St. Martin and the Dialogues, concerning his miracles, could not be adapted to the graceful barbarism, in a style not unworthy of the Augustan age. So natural is the alliance between the rude taste of antiquity, and the refined natural beauties that I am about to describe, in the expression of the art of the age.—
6. The short and superficial Life of St. Ambrose, by his deacon Paulinus, Appendix, ed. Benedict. p. i.—xxv, has the merit of original evidence. Tillemon, (Mem. Eccles. tom. x. p. 78—380) and the Benedictine editors, (p. xxxii.—xxl) have laboured with their usual diligence.
and before he had received the sacrament of baptism, Ambrose, to his own surprise, and that of the world, was suddenly transformed from a governor to an archbishop. Without the least mixture, as it is said, of art or intrigue, the whole body of the people unani-

mously saluted him with the episcopal title; the con-
cord and perseverance of their acclamations were as-
crystal clear as the radiant beams of the rising sun.
The senator, was not prepared by the habits and occu-
pations of his former life. But the active force of his genius soon qualified him to exercise, with zeal and prudence, the duties of his ecclesiastical jurisdic-
tion; and, while he chose out, with a just regard to splendid trappings of temporal greatness, he conde-

scended, for the good of the church, to direct the con-
science of the emperors, and to control the administra-
tion of the empire. Gratian loved and revered him as a father; and the elaborate treatise on the faith of the Trinity, was designed for the instruction of the young prince. After his tragic death, at a time when the em-

press Justinia trembled for her own safety, and for that

of her son, the archbishop of Milan was despatched, on two different embassies, to the court of

Trèves. He exercised, with equal firmness and
devotion, the powers of his spiritual and political
characters; and perhaps contributed, by his authority
and eloquence, to check the ambition of Maximus, and
to protect the peace of Italy. A. D. 353.

Ambrose had devoted his life, and his abilities, to the service of the church. With faith was the object of his contempt; he had re-

nounced his own, in order to gain with hesitation, the consecrated plate, for the redemption of captives. The clergy and people of Milan were at-

tached to their archbishop; and he deserved the esteem, without soliciting the favour, or apprehending the displeasure, of his feeble sovereigns.

His successful opposition to the emperor Justinia,

A. D. 353.

April 10 — pro

posing the Arian heresy, which she endeavoured to instil into the mind of her son. Justinia was persuaded, that a Roman emperor might claim, in his own dominions, the public exercise of his reli-
gion; and she proposed to the archbishop, as a modera-
tate and reasonable concession, that he should resign the use of the churches of his spiritual and political
jurisdiction, to the archbishop of Milan. But the conduct of Ambrose was governed by very different principles. The palaces of the earth might indeed belong to Caesar; but the churches were the sacred palaces of God; and, within the limits of his dio-
cese, he himself, as the lawful successor of the apostles, was the only minister of God. The privileges of church, temporal as well as spiritual, were con-

fined to the true believers; and the mind of Ambrose

was satisfied, that his own theological opinions were

the standard of truth and orthodoxy. The archbishop, who refused to hold any conference, or negotiation, with his own sovereign, was declared, without

modest firmness, his resolution to die a martyr, rather than to yield to the impious sarcasse; and Justinia, who re-
sented the refusal as an act of insolence and rebellion, hastily determined to exert the imperial preroga-
tive of his son. As she desired to perform her public de-


donations on the approach of Easter, Ambrose was

ordered to appear before the council. He obeyed the

summons with the respect of a faithful subject, but he

was followed, without his consent, by an innumera-

ble people: they pressed, with impetuous zeal, against the gates of the palace; and the affrighted

ministers of Valentinian, instead of pronouncing a sen-
tence of exile on the archbishop of Milan, humbly re-
presented that he would interpose his authority in the

person of the emperor, and to restore the tranquility of the capital. But the promises which Ambrose receiv-
ed and communicated, were soon violated by a perfidious court: and, during six of the most solemn days, which

were spent in the council of Milan, the Arians, in the name of the emperor, and in the name of the archbishop,

were exposed to the most imminent danger of their lives; and Ambrose enjoyed the merit and reputation of rescuing his personal enemies from the hands of the enraged multitude.

But while he laboured to restrain the effects of

their zeal, the pietistic vehemence of his sermons con-
tinually inflamed the angry and seditions temper of the people of Milan. The characters of Eve, of the wife of Job, of Lycia,

and of the house of Valeria, were applied to the mother of the emperor; and her desire to obtain a church for the Arians, was compared to the most cruel persecutions which Christianity had endured under the reign of paganism. The measures of the court served only to expose the magnitude of the evil. A fine of two hundred thousand pieces of gold was levied on the corporate body of merchants and manufacturers; an order was signified, in the name of the emperor, to all the officers, and inferior servants, of the courts of justice, that, during the continuance of the public dis-
orders, they should strictly confine themselves to their own houses: and the officers of the court were, in fact, crush-

ed under the weight of the imperial displeasure, of their sovereign. The reply of Ambrose was conciliatory in the most humble and respectful terms, which might, however, be inter-

preted as a serious declaration of civil war. “ His life and fortune were in the hands of the emperor; but he would never betray the church of Christ, or de-

grade the dignity of the episcopal character. In such a case, he should resign his life; and all his dis-

orders, if the demon could inflict; and he only wished to die in the presence of his faithful flock, and at the foot of the altar; he had not contributed to exuce, but it was in the power of God alone to appease, the rage of the people: he deprecated the scenes of blood and confu-

sion which were likely to ensue; and it was his for-

vent prayer, that he might not survive to behold the ruin of a flourishing city, and perhaps the desolation of all Italy.” The obstinate bigotry of Justinia would not have endangered the empire of her son, if, in this con-
test with the church and people of Milan, she could have depended on the active obedience of the troops of the palace. A large body of Goths had marched to occupy the Basilica, which was the object of the dispute; and it might be expected from the Arian principles, and barbarous manners, of these foreign mer-

chant princes, that they would not entertain any scruples in the execution of the most sanguinary orders. They were encountered, on the sacred threshold, by the archbishop, who, thundering against them a sentence of excommunication, asked them, in the tone of a father and a master, Whether it was to invade the house of God, that they had implored the hospitable

4 Ambrose himself (tom. ii. Epist. xxiv. p. 383—391) gives the emperor a very spirituall account of his own embassy.

5 It is probable that these two letters (tom. ii. Epist. xx. xxii. p. 622—689) is one of the curious monuments of ecclesiastical antiquity. It contains two letters to his sister, Marcelia, with a petition to Valentinian, and the sermon de Basilica was written.

6 Retz has a similar message from the queen, to request that he would appease the tumult of Paris. It was no longer in his power, but the produce of a man of grandeur. It was a recent and complete defeat of de Ruyter, de Regret, et de la soumission, &c. (Memoires, tom. ii. p. 149.) Certainly I do not compare either the causes, or the men; yet the conductor himself had some idea (p. 81 of imitating St. Ambrose).
The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire

Chapter XXVII

The decline and fall of the Roman Empire.

The empire, so far as it was genuine, seems to have lived in the reign of Constantine... but the character of Maximian, who had been the master of the state for so many years, was such that he was not likely to be... The reign of Maximus might have ended in peace and prosperity, but he...
bishops refused a dangerous and criminal connexion with the usurper, he might indirectly contribute to the success of his arms, by inculcating from the pulpit, the duty of resignation, rather than that of resistance. The unfortunate Justinia reached Aquileia in safety; but she distrusted the strength of the fortifications, and in this occasion went accompanied to the utmost extremity of the Hadratic and Ionian seas; the court, after a long, but successful, navigation, reposed themselves in the port of Thessalonica. All the subjects of Valentinian deserted the cause of a prince, who, by his abdication, had absolved them from the duty of allegiance; and if the little city of Rimini, on the verge of Italy, had not presumed to stop the career of his inglorious victory, Maximi would have obtained, without a struggle, the sole possession of the western empire.

Instead of inviting his royal guests to the palace of Constantineople, Theodosius had some unknown reasons to fix A.D. 397. their residence at Thessalonica; but these reasons did not proceed from contempt or indignation against the prince, or the part his father, accompanied by the greatest part of his court and senate, after the first tender expressions of friendship and sympathy, the pious emperor of the east gently admonished Justinus, that the guilt of heresy was sometimes punished in this world, as well as in the next: and that the piety of the Christian faith would be the most efficacious step to promote the restoration of her son, by the satisfaction it must occasion both on earth and in heaven. The momentous question of peace or war was referred by Theodosius, to the deliberation of his council; and the arguments, which might be alleged on the side of honour and justice, had acquired, since the death of Gratian, a considerable degree of additional weight. The persecution of the imperial family, to which Theodosius himself had been indebted for his fortune, was now aggravated by recent and repeated injuries. Neither could the treaties could restrain the boundless ambition of Maximus; and the delay of vigorous and decisive measures, instead of prolonging the blessings of peace, would expose the eastern empire to the danger of an hostile invasion. The barbarians, who had passed the Danube, were hotly pursued; but, though they were taught by strategy and subjects, but their native fierceness was yet unvanquished; and the operations of a war, which would exercise their valour, and diminish their numbers, might tend to relieve the provinces from an intolerable oppression.

Notwithstanding these sanguine and solid reasons, which were approved by a majority of the council, Theodosius still hesitated, whether he should draw the sword in a contest, which could no longer admit any terms of reconciliation; and his magnificent character was not disgraced by the apprehensions which he felt for the safety of his infant sons, and that the public pursuit of his secondary ambition, the possession of the world, depended on the resolution of a single man, the charms of the princess Gallia most powerfully pleased the cause of her brother Valentinian. The heart of Theodosius was softened by the tears of beauty; his affections were insensibly engaged by the graces of youth and innocence; the art of Justinia managed and directed the impulse of passion; and the celebration of the royal nuptials was the assurance and signal of the civil war. The unforeseeable critics, who consider every amorous weakness as an indelible stain on the memory of a great and orthodox emperor, are inclined, after this occasion, to attribute the defection of the historian Zosimus. For my own part, I shall frankly confess, that I am willing to find, or even to seek, in the revolutions of the world, some traces of the mild and tender sentiments of domestic life; and, amidst the crowd of fierce and ambitious conquerors, I can see no reason why the precedent should be excused, who may be supposed to receive his armour from the hands of love. The alliance of the Persian king was secured by the faith of treaties; the martial barbarians were persuaded to follow the standard, or to respect the frontiers, of an active and liberal monarch; and the donations of Theodosius, from the Euphrates to the Hadratic, resounded with the preparations of war both by land and sea. The skillful disposition of the forces of the east seemed to multiply their numbers, and distracted the attention of Maximus. He had reason to fear, that a chosen body of troops, under the command of the intrepid Arbogastes, would direct their march along the banks of the Danube, and boldly penetrate through the Rhetic provinces into the centre of Gaul. A powerful fleet was equipped in the harbours of Greece and Epirus, with an apparent design to execute an expedition, that would have shared the glory of the naval victory. Valentinian and his mother should land in Italy, proceed, without delay, to Rome, and occupy the majestic seat of religion and empire. In the mean while, Theodosius himself advanced, at the head of a brave and disciplined army, to encounter his unworthy successor. In the midst of the camp, the emperor, who, after the siege of Rimini, had fixed his the camp in the neighbourhood of Siscia, a city of Pannonia, strongly fortified by the broad and rapid stream of the Save.

The veterans, who still remembered the long residence, and successive recompositions, of the tyrant Magnentius, might prepare themselves for the labours of three bloody campaigns. But the contest with his successor, who, like him, had usurped the throne of the west, was easily decided in the term of two months, and within the space of two hundred miles. The enterprise against Maximus, who, in this important crisis, showed himself destitute of military skill, or personal courage; but the abilities of Theodosius were seconded by the advantage which he possessed of a numerous and active cavalry. The Huns, the Alani, and, after their example, the Goths themselves, were formed into squadrons of archers; who fought on horseback, and confounded the steady valour of the Gauls and Germans, by the rapid motions of a Tartar war. After the fatigue of a long march, in the heat of summer, they spurred their foaming horses into the waters of the Save, swam the river in the presence of the enemy, and instantly charged and routed the troops who guarded the high ground on the opposite side. Marcellinus, the tyrant's brother, advanced to support them with the select cohorts, which were considered as the most vigorous of the army, and was interrupted by the approach of night, was renewed in the morning; and, after a sharp conflict, the surviving remnant of the bravest soldiers of Maximus threw down their arms at the feet of the conqueror. Without suspending his march, to receive the loyal petitions of the inhabitants of the country, he pressed forwards, to terminate the war by the death or captivity of his rival, who fled before him with the diligence of fear. From the summit of the Julian Alps, he descended with such incredible speed into
THE DECAY AND FALL

Chap. XXVII.

the plain of Italy, that he reached Aquileia on the evening of the first day; and Maximus, who found himself unaccompanied on all sides, had scarcely time to save himself, when he met success. But he long resisted the effort of a victorious enemy; and the despair, the disaffection, the indifference of the soldiers and people, hastened the downfall of the wretched Maximus. He was dragged from his throne, rudely stripped of the imperial ornaments, the robe, the diadem, the household slipper, by the common malefactor, to the camp and presence of Theodosius, at a place about three miles from Aquileia. The behaviour of the emperor was not intended to insult, and he showed some disposition to pity and forgive, the tyrant of the west, who had never been his personal enemy. The old age, however, the object of his contempt. Our sympathy is the most forcibly excited by the misfortunes to which we are exposed; and the spectacle of a proud competitor, now prostrate at his feet, could not fail of producing very serious and solemn thoughts in the mind of the victorious emperor. But the feeble emotion of involuntary pity was checked by his regard for public justice, and the memory of Gratian: and he abandoned the victim to the pious zeal of the soldiers, who drew him out of the imperial presence, and instantly separated his head from his body. The presence of his death was not received with sincere or well-dissembled joy; his son Victor, on whom he had conferred the title of Augustus, died by the order, perhaps, by the hand, of the bold Arbogastes; and all the military plans of Theodosius were successfully executed. When he had thus terminated the civil war, with difficulty and blood, shed than he might naturally expect, he employed the winter months of his residence at Milan, to restore the state of the afflicted provinces; and early in the spring he made, after the example of Constantine and Constantius, the first entry into the ancient capital of the Roman empire.1

Virtues of Theodosius. The orator, who may be silent without danger, may praise without difficulty, and without reluctance; and posterity will confess, that the character of Theodosius2 might furnish the subject of a sincere and ample eulogium, without any of his laws, and the success of his arms, rendered his administration respectable in the eyes both of his subjects and of his enemies. He loved and practised the virtues of domestic life, which seldom hold their residence in the palaces of kings. Theodosius was chaste and temperate; he enjoyed, without shame, the sensual and social pleasures of the table; and the warmth of his amorous passions was never diverted from their lawful objects. The proud titles of imperial greatness were adorned by the tender names of a faithful husband, an indulgent father; his uncle was raised, by his affectionate esteem, to the rank of a second parent. Theodosius embraced, as his own, the children of his brother and sister; and the expressions of his regard were extended to the most distant and obscure branches of his numerous kindred. His familiar friends were judiciously selected from among those persons, who, in the equal intercourse of private life, had appeared before his eyes without a mask; the consciousness of personal and superior merit enabled him to despise the accidental distinction of the purple; and he proved by his conduct, that he had forgotten all the injuries, while he most gratefully remembered all the favours which he received before he ascended the throne of the Roman empire. The serious, or lively, tone of his conversation, was adapted to the age, the rank, or the character, of his subjects whom he admitted into his society; and the affability of his manners displayed the simplicity of the good and the virtuous; every art, every talent, of a useful, or even of an innocent, nature, was rewarded by his judicious liberality; and, except the heretics, whom he persecuted with implacable hatred, the different virtues of his beneficence were exhibited only by the limits of the human race. The government of a mighty empire may assuredly suffice to occupy the time and the abilities of a mortal: yet the diligent prince, without aspiring to the unsuitable reputation of profound learning, always reserved some attention to receive the instructions of the ancient authors. But the emperor showed himself much more attentive to relieve the innocent, than to chastise the guilty. The oppressed subjects of the west, who would have deemed themselves happy in the restoration of their lands, were astonished to receive a sum of money equivalent to their loss; and the liberality of the conqueror supported the aged mother, and educated the orphan daughters, of Maximus.3 A character thus accomplished, might almost excuse the extraordinary supposition of the orator Pacatus; that if the elder Brutus could be permitted to rejoice in the earth, the merely political ambitious of Theodosius would abjure, at the feet of Theodosius, his hatred of kings; and ingenuously confess, that such a monarch was the most faithful guardian of the happiness and dignity of the Roman people.4

Yet the piercing eye of the founder of the republic must have discerned two essential imperfections, which might, perhaps, have abated his recent love of despotism. The virtuous mind of Theodosius was often relaxed by indolence,5 and it was sometimes inflamed by passion.6 In the pursuit of an important object, his active courage was capable of the most vigorous exertions; but, as soon as the design was accomplished, or the danger was surmounted, the hero sunk into inglorious repose; and forgetful that the time of a prince is the property of his people, resigned himself to the enjoyment of the present, and the thoughts of posterity.7 The natural disposition of Theodosius was hasty and

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1. Besides the hints which may be gathered from chronicles and ecclesiastical history, Zosimus, (L. iv. p. 339—342.) Oratius, (L. viii. 53.) and Pacatus, (in Panoray, Vet. xii. 39—47.) supply the loose and scantly materials of this civil war. Ambrose (tom. ii. Epist. xi. p. 922. 935. dually alludes to the well-known events of a magazine sur- prised, and of a Sicilian war.) In the ed. Tott. (p. 356, edit. Tott.) the peculiar merit, and good fortune of Aquileia, is considerably enlarged. His laudable principle, tan tum utrue de prince- cipe, (Pacat. in Panoray, Vet. xx. 2.) Latium Pacatus Despennaus, a native of Gaul, pronounced this oration at Rome. (A.D. 502.) He was afterwards preconial of Africa; and his friend Ausonius praises him as a writer only to Virgil. See Tilmann, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. vi. p. 333.

2. See the fair portrait of Theodosius, by the younger Victor; the statue of the emperor, and the labours of the sculptors, are traced in the portraits of Paca- tus is too vague; and Claudian always seems afraid of existing the father above the son.

3. Ambrose, tom. ii. Epist. xi. p. 555. Pacatus, from the want of skill, or of courage, omits this glorious circumstance.

4. Pacat. in Panoray, Vet. xii. 30.

5. Zosimus, Vet. xii. 572. His partial resolution is marked by an air of candour and truth. He observes these virtues of indolent of his activity, not as a vice, but as a singularity, in the character of Theodosius.

6. This Childebeles temper is acknowledged, and excused, by Victor. See his admirable and inexhaustible, to his subject. (Tore, nature, nature, nature, quia quis ans vice vis go, in duas ad victoriam praecipue orat.) The praise of Pacatus, (in concurso vires postas.) Theodosius (Claud. in iv. Cos- Hom. 366, &c.) excites his son to moderate his anger.
cholerick; and, in a station where none could resist, and few would dissuade, the fatal consequence of his resolution was punished by a long and dreadful interval of suspense. Every rumour agitated the hopes and fears of the Antiochians, and they heard with terror, that their sovereign, exasperated by the insult which had been offered to his own statues, and, more especially, to those of his beloved wife, had resolved to level with the ground the capital city of Antioch, without distinction of age or sex, the criminal inhabitants of many of whom were actually driven, by their apprehensions, to seek a refuge in the mountains of Syria, and the adjacent desert. At March 22, length, twenty-four days after the sedition, the general Hellebius, and Cassius, master of the office, declared the will of the emperor, and the sentence of Antioch. That proud capital was degraded from the rank of a city; and the metropolis of the east, stripped of its lands, its privileges, and its revenues, was subjected, under the humiliating denomination of a village, to the jurisdiction of Laodicea. The baths, the circus, and the theatre, were shut; and, that every source of plenty and pleasure might at the same time be intercepted, the distribution of corn was abolished by the severe instructions of Theodosius. His commissioners then proceeded to inquire into the guilt of individuals; the whole of the injured, or suspected, of those who had not prevented, the promulgation of the sacred statutes. The tribunal of Hellebius, and Cassius, encompassed with armed soldiers, was erected in the midst of the forum. The noblest, and most wealthy, of the citizens of Antioch appeared before them in chains; the examination was assisted by the use of torture, and their sentence was pronounced, or suspended, according to the judgment of these extraordinary magistrates. The houses of the criminals were exposed to sale, their wives and children were suddenly reduced, from affluence and luxury, to the most object distress; and a bloody execution was expected to complete the horrors of a day; which the preacher of Antioch, the eloquent Chrysostom, has represented as a lively image of the last and universal judgment of the world. But the ministers of Theodosius performed, with reluctance, the cruel task which had been assigned them; they dropped a gentle tear over the calamities of the people; and they listened with reverence to the pressing solicitations of the monks and hermits, who descended in swarms from the mountains. Hellebius and Cassius were persuaded to suspend the execution of their sentence; and it was agreed, that the former should remain at Antioch, while the latter returned, with all possible speed, to Constantinople; and presumed once more to consult the will of his sovereign. The Clemency of Theodosius was still further extended. The deputies of the people, both the bishop and the orator, had obtained a favourable audience; and the representatives of the emperor were compelled, in view of injured friendship, rather than the stern menaces of pride and power. A free and general pardon was granted to the city and citizens of Antioch; the pri son-doors were thrown open; and senators, who despaired of their lives, recovered the possession of their houses and estates; and the capital of the east was restored to the enjoyment of her ancient dignity and splendour. Theodosius condescended to praise the

# Note

1. Libanius (Oros. 1. p. 6. ed. Venet.) declares, that under such a circumstance, as that of the recent Putwidion, the effect of the emperor's absence; for his presence, according to the eloquent historian, might have a direct influence to the suppression of tumults.

2. Laodicea, on the sea-coast, sixty-five miles from Antioch. (See Mor. Euseb. Euch. Lib. iii. c. 23.) The Antiochians were assembled, that the dependent city of Seleucia might not intercede for them.

3. As the days of the tumults depend on the movable festival of Easter, they can only be determined by the previous determination of the ecclesiastical year. (See Zosimus, lib. iii. c. 23.) This festival has been observed, for the last sixty years by Tillemont (Hist. des Emp. tom. vii. p. 741—744) and Montfaucon. (Chrys. conc. tom. xii. p. 163.)

4. Chrysostom opposes their council, which was not attended with much risk, to the cowardly flight of the Cynics.

# References

- Christian and papal history, in believing, that the sedition of the Antiochians was provoked by the oppression of John Libanius, and Isidore of Sebaste, the latter of whom is said to have informed the emperor of his absence; for his presence, according to the eloquent historian, might have a direct influence to the suppression of tumults.
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The decline and fall. • Chap. xxvii.

The sedition of Thessalonica is sacrificed to a more subtle and productive of more dreadful consequences. That great city, the metropolis of all the Illyrian provinces, had been protected from the dangers of the Gothic war by strong fortifications, and a numerous garrison. Botherie, the general of those troops, and, as it should seem from his name, a barbarian, had among his slaves a beautiful boy, who excited the impure desires of one of the charioteers of the Circus. The insolent and brutal lover was tossed into prison by the order of Botherie; and he sternly rejected the importunate blandishments of the multitude, who, with the aid of the public voices, lamented the absence of their favourite; and considered the skill of a charioteer as an object of more importance than his virtue. The resentment of the people was inculcated by some previous disputes; and, as the strength of the garrison had been drawn away for the service of the interior, the freinds and officers, whose quarters were reduced by desertion, could not save the unhappy general from their licentious fury. Botherie, and several of his principal officers, were inhumanly murdered; their mangled bodies were dragged about the streets; and the emperor, who then resided at Milan, was alarmed by the intelligence, and wanted cruelty of the people of Thessalonica. The sentence of a dispassionate judge would have inflicted a severe punishment on the authors of the crime; and the merit of Botherie might contribute to exasperate the grief and indignation of his master. The fiery and choleric temper of Theodosius was impatient of the dilatory forms of a judicial inquiry; and he hastily resolved, that the blood of his lieutenant should be expiated by the blood of the guilty people. Yet his mind still fluctuated between the councils of eloquence and perswasion; and the zeal of the bishops had almost extorted from the reluctant emperor the promise of a general pardon; his passion was again inflamed by the flattering suggestions of his minister, Rufinus; and, after Theodosius had despachted the messengers of death, he attempted, when it was too late, to prevent the execution of his orders. The punishment of a Roman city was blindly committted to the undistinguishing sword of the barbarians; and the hostile preparations were concerted with the dark and perfidious artifice of an illegal conspiracy. The people of Thessalonica were treacherously invited, in the name of their sovereign, to the games of the circus: and such was their insatiable avidity for those amusements, that every consideration of fear, or suspicion, was disgardred by the numerous spectators. As soon as the assembly was complete, the soldiery, who secretly had been posted round the Circus, received the signal, not of the races, but of a general massacre. The promiscuous carnage continued three hours, without discrimination of strangers or natives, of age or sex, of innocence or guilt; the most moderate accounts state the number of the slain at seven thousand; and it is affirmed by some writers, that more than fifteen thousand were put to death. The massacre, committed in the name of Theodosius, was occasioned by the jealousy of Botherie. A foreign merchant, who had probably no concern in his murder, offered his own life, and all his wealth, to supply the place of one of his two sons; but, while the father hesitated with equal tenderness, while he was doubtful to choose, Botherie, by cutting off his suspense, by plunging their daggers at the same moment into the breasts of the defenceless youths. The apology of the assassins, that they were obliged to produce the prescribed number of heads, serves only to increase, by an appearance of order and design, the horror of the massacre, which was carried out by the commands of Theodosius. The guilt of the emperor is aggravated by his long and frequent residence at Thessalonica. The situation of the unfortunate city, the aspect of the streets and buildings, the dress and forms of the inhabitants, were similar, and even present, to his imagination; and Theodosius possessed a quick and lively sense of the existence of the people whom he destroyed. The respectful attachment of the emperor to the orthodox clergy, had disposed of this sacrifice of his subjects. Theodosius imitated the example of his sovereign; and he observed, with more surprise than displeasure, that all his secret counsels were immediately communicated to his minister, with the eagerness, which the feeble persuasion, that every measure of civil government may have some connexion with the glory of God, and the interest of the true religion. The monks and popularis of Callinicum, an obscure town on the frontier of Persia, excited by their own fanatism, and by the dispositions of the emperor, published a sentence against the author of the Valentinianists, and a synagogue of the Jews. The seditious prelate was condenmed, by the magistrate of the province, either to rebuild the synagogue, or to pay the damage; and this moderate sentence was confirmed by the emperor. But it was not confirmed by the archbishop of Milan. He dictated an epistle of censure and reproach, more suitable, perhaps, if the emperor had received the mark of circumcision, and renounced the faith of his baptism. Ambrose considers the toleration of the Jewish, as the persecution of the Christian, to be an injury to himself, and every true believer, would eagerly dispute with the bishop of Callinicum the merit of the deed, and the crown of martyrdom; and lamens, in the most pathetic terms, that the execution of the sentence would be fatal to the fame and salvation of Theodosius. As this private admonition did not produce an immediate effect, the archbishop from his pulpit, publickly addressed the emperor on his throne, nor would he consent to offer the oblation of the altar, till he had obtained from Theodosius a solemn and positive declaration, which secured the impunity of the bishop and monks of Callinicum. The recantation of Theo- dosius was sincere; and, during the term of his res- 2 The original evidence of Ambrose, (tom. ii. Epist. ii. p. 978.) Augustin., de Civit. Dei. v. 503. and Paulinus, (in Amb. c. 24.) is delivered in various expressions of horror and pity. It is Hose- rah, Ezechiel, and Jeremiah, and unequalled by any of the writings of Scipio, (tom. viii. c. 25.) Theodotus, (c. v. c. 17.) Thaophylact, (Chron. p. 62.) Cedrenus, (p. 377.) and Zotar. (tom. ii. xiii. p. 34.) Jews shew, the partial enemy of Theodosius, most unaccountably passes over in silence the event of his actions. 3 His writings in Ambrose, (tom. ii. Epist. xi. 244. p. 595. 596.) and his biographer Paulinus, (c. 2.) Bayle and Barbery, (hie viii. c. 19.) and the Dictionary of Samuel. 4 He is a strange allegory of Jeremiah's rod, of an almond tree, of the woman who washed and annointed the feet of Christ. But the perservation is direct and personal. 5 He says Ambrosi nobilitate confessit: but he sternly repugnated Francis's, general of the horse: and docs not pretend to much personal acquaintance with Chrysostom, but Tillcnurm, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. 280. 283. and Hermann, Vie de St. Chrysostome, tom. i. p. 157—224. had read him with pieno corazon, and diligence.
idenctce at Milan, his affection for Ambrose was continu-

ally increased by the habits of pious and familiar conversation.

When Ambrose was infornted of the

Pennance of Theo-
dosius, A.D. 399.

massacre of Thessalonica, his mind was filled with horror and anguish. He re-
tired to the country to indulge his grief, and to avoid the presence of Theodosius. But as the emperor was no less pious and fond of religion than Theodosius, he might have 

would render him the accomplice of his guilt, he re-

presented, in a private letter, the enormity of the crime; which could only be effaced by the tears of penitence. The episcopal vigour of Ambrose was tempered by prudence; and he contented himself with signifying his sentiments to the emperor, to obtain the assurance, that he had been warned in a vision, not to offer the oblation in the name, or in the pre-

cence, of Theodosius; and by the advice, that he would confine himself to the use of prayer, without 

presuming to approach the altar of Christ, or to re-
cieve the holy eucharist with hands that were still polluted with the blood of an innocent people. The emperor was deeply affected by his own reproaches, and by those of his spiritual father; and, after he had bewailed the miserable and irreparable consequences of his rash fury, he proceeded, in the accents of devotion, to perform his devotions in a solitary church of Milan. He was stopped in the porch by the archbishop; who, in the tone and language of an ambassador of heaven, declared to his sovereign, that private censure was not sufficient to atone for a public fault, or to appease the justice of the offended Deity. Theodosius humbly represented, that if he had contracted the guilt of homicide, David, the man after God's own heart, had been guilty, not only of 

murder, but of adultery. You have imitated David in his crime, imitate then his repentance," was the re-

ply of the unadmonished Ambrose. The rigorous condi-
tion of punishment was accepted; and the public penance of Theodosius had been recorded as one of the most honourable events in the annals of the church. According to the mildest rules of ecclesias-
tical discipline, which were established in the fourth 
century, the crime of homicide was expiated by the 

penance of twenty years; and as it was impossible, in the period of human life, to purge the accumulated guilt of the massacre of Thessalonica, the murderer should have been excluded from the holy communion till the hour of his death. But the archbishop, con-
sulting the maxims of religious policy, granted some 

temporary indulgence; he first reproved the archbishop, and his accomplices, for the crime which they had humiliated in the dust the pride of the diadem; and the public edification might be admitted as a weighty rea-

son to abridge the duration of his punishment. It 

was sufficient, that the emperor of the Romans, strip-

ped of the insignias of royalty, should appear in a 
mournful and supplicant posture; and that, in the midst of the church of Milan, he should humbly solicit, with 
sighs and tears, the pardon of his sins. In this spir-

itual cure, Ambrose employed the various methods of 
mildness and severity. After a delay of about eight months, Theodosius was restored to the communion of the church, and his case was recorded as one of the most remarkable translations of his synod. Cod. Theod. I. xvi. tit. viii. leg. 9. with 

Genesis in Comment. VII. p. 269. 

• Ambrosi tom. II. Epist. II. p. 397—401. His epistle is a miserable 

narrative of the emperor's conduct and his own 

von. of Tertullian, the copious elegance of Latinusium, the lively 

with freedom, with spirit, and with the spirit of Arcumen. 

According to the discipline of St. Basil, (Canon liv.) the volun-
tary retirement of a monarch, five-years in a monastic state, and four years in a standing posture: I have the ounce 

(Devergey, Postel, tom. n. p. 57—151.) and a translation (Charlot, Histoire du Mon. p. 396) (Notat, Abrégé des Actes de St. Basil, 

of St. Basil.) The practice of Theodosius is authenticated by Ambrose, (conj. 

vi. de Oth. Theod. c. 1427.) Augustin, (de Civit. Dei, c. 25.) and 

attestations, in Vit. Ambros. c. 31.) Sacrament is Ignorant; Sozome 

(vi. c. 25.) must be used with precaution.

execution, may be accepted as the worthy fruits of his 

repentance. Posteory has applauded the virtuous 

abnegation of the emperor; and some critics think that Theo-
dosius may prove the beneficial influence of those 

principles, which could force a monarch, exalted above 

the apprehension of human punishment, to respect the 

laws, and ministers, of an invisible Judge. "The 

prince," says Montesquieu, "who is actuated by the 

greatness of his character, is so perfect a king, may 

be compared to a lion, docile only to the voice, and tractable to the hand, 

of his keeper." The motions of the royal animal 

will therefore depend on the inclination, and interest, 

of the man who has acquired such dangerous author-

ity over him; and the priest, who holds in his hand 

the conscience of a king, may gratify his ambition, 

his avaricious passions. The cause of humanity, 

and that of persecution, have been asserted, by the 

same Ambrose, with equal energy, and with equal 

success. 

After the defeat and death of the tyrant, genera-

of Valentinian, the Roman world was in 

the possession of Theodosius. He deriv. A. D. 399—401.

The emperor of the Romans, stripped of his insignias of 

royalty, and indulged in the most humiliating postures; 

but the emperor of the Christians, who had been 

admonished by the benevolent advice of his grand 

father, Valentinian, was not allowed to influence the government of his son. The pernicious attachment to the Ariotic sect, which Valentinian had imbibed from her example and instructions, was soon erased by the lessons of a more orthodox education. His growing zeal for the faith of the Catholic Church, and his desire of restoring the edifying influence of the ancient discipline of the church, are recorded by the historian in the most advantageous light, and as the best specimens of his prudence and firmness. Co...
thority of Ambrose, disposed the catholics to entertain the most favourable opinion of the virtues of the young emperor. They applauded his chastity and temperance, his contempt of pleasure, his application to business, and his tender affection for his two sisters; which could not, however, seduce his impartial equity to pronounce an unjust sentence against the meanest of his subjects. But this amiable youth, before he had accomplished the twentieth year of his age, was oppressed by domestic treason; and the empire was again involved in the horrors of a civil war. Arbogastes, a gallant soldier of the nation of the Franks, held the second rank in the service of Gratian. On the death of his master he joined the standard of Theodosius, in which he conducted, by his valor and military spirit, to the destruction of the tyrant; and was appointed, after the victory, master-general of the armies of Gaul. His real merit, and apparent fidelity, had gained the confidence both of the prince and people; his boundless liberality corrupted the allegiance of the troops; and, whilst he was unreservedly esteemed as the pillar of the state, the bold and crafty barbarian was secretly determined either to rule, or to ruin, the empire of the west. The important commands of the army were distributed among the Franks; the emperor recommended to all the provinces and offices of the civil government; the progress of the conspiracy removed every faithful servant from the presence of Valentinian; and the emperor, without power, and without intelligence, insensibly sunk into the preciparious and dependent condition of a captive. He had accomplished all that his despotic authority, which he might arise only from the rash and impatient temper of youth, may have been admissible to the generous spirit of a prince, who felt that he was not unworthy to reign. He secretly invited the archbishop of Milan to undertake the office of a mediator; as the pledge of his sincerity and the guardian of his safety. Theodosius contrived to apprise the emperor of the cast of his helpless situation; and he declared, that, unless Theodosius could speedily march to his assistance, he must attempt to escape from the palace, or rather prison, of Vienna in Gaul, where he had imprudently fixed his residence in the midst of the most hostile faction. But the hopes of relief were distant and doubtful; and, as every day furnished some new provocation, the emperor, without strength or counsel, too hastily resolved to risk an immediate contest with his powerful opponent. Theodosius received Arbogastes on the threshold, and, as the count approached with some appearance of respect, delivered to him a paper, which dismissed him from all his employments. "My authority," replied Arbogastes with insulting coolness, "does not depend on the smile, or the frown, of a monarch;" and he contemptuously threw the paper on the ground. The indignant monarch snatched at the sword of one of the guards, which he struggled to draw from its scabbard; and it was not without some degree of violence that he was prevented from using the deadly weapon against his own person, or against himself. A few days after this extraordinary quarrel, in which he had exposed his resentment and his weakness, the unfortunate Valentinian was found strangled in his apartment; and some pains were employed to disguise the manifest guile, and to pervert the story. But the death of the young emperor had been the voluntary effect of his own despair. His body was conduct-
neighbourhood of that city, and on the summit of a lofty mountain, the holy John 4 had constructed, with his own hands, an humble cell, in which he had dwelt above fifty years, without opening his door, without seeing the civil world, and without tasting any food that had been prepared for him. Five days of the week he spent in prayer and meditation; but on Saturdays and Sundays he regularly opened a small window, and gave audience to the crowd of suppliants who successively flowed from every part of the Christian world. The approach of Theodosius approached the window with respectful feet, proposed his questions concerning the event of the civil war, and soon returned with a favourable oracle, which animated the courage of the emperor by the assurance of a bloody, but infallible, victory. 7 The conquest of the province of Italy extended to the mountain hills, where he passed the discomfiture of his army, but without sleep, without provisions, and without hope; 8 except that strong assurance, which, under the most desperate circumstances, the independent mind may derive from the contemplation of fortune and of life. The triumph of his eunuch was celebrated by the insolent and dissolute joy of his camp; whilst the active and vigilant Arbogastes secretly detached a considerable body of troops to occupy the passes of the mountains, and to encompass the rear of the eastern army. The dawn of day discovered to the eyes of Theodosius the extent and the number of his danger; but his apprehensions were soon dispelled by a friendly message from the leaders of these troops, who expressed their inclination to desert the standard of the tyrant. The honorable and lucrative rewards, which they stipulated as the price of their perfidy, were granted without hesitation; and as it seemed impossible to repel them, or to subdue them, the emperor subscribed, on his own tablets, the ratification of the treaty. The spirit of his soldiers was revived by this seasonable reinforcement; and they again marched, with confidence, to surprise the camp of a tyrant, whose principal officers appeared to distrust either the constancy, or the success, of his army. In the heat of the battle, a violent tempest, 9 such as is often felt among the Alps, suddenly arose from the east. The army of Theodosius was sheltered by their position from the impetuosity of the wind, which blew a cloud of dust in the faces of the enemy, disordered their ranks, wrested their weapons from their hands, and diverted, or repelled, their ineffectual javelins. This accidental advantage was skillfully improved; the violence of the storm was magnified by the superstitious terrors of the Gauls; and they yielded without shame to the invisible powers of the pious emperor. His victory was decisive; and the deaths of his two rivals were distinguished only by the difference of their characters. The rhetorician Eugenius, who had almost acquired the dominion of the world, was reduced to implore the mercy of the conqueror, and the humble soldiers separated his head from his body, as he lay prostrate at the feet of Theodosius. Arbogastes, after the loss of a battle, in which he had discharged the duties of a soldier and a general, wandered several days among the mountains. But when he was convinced that his cause was desperate, and his escape impracticable, the intrepid barbarian imitated the example of the ancient Romans, and turned his sword against his own breast. The fate of the empire was determined in a narrow corner of Italy; and the legitimate successor of the house of Valentinian could not receive the submission of the provinces of the west. Those provinces were involved in the guilt of rebellion; while

the emperor of the east immediately attacked the fortifications of his allies, assigned the post of honourable danger to the Goths, and cherished a secret wish, that the bloody conflict might diminish the pride and numbers of the barbarians. The emperors, Theodosius, and Honorius, general of the Iberians, died bravely on the field of battle. But the victory was not purchased by their blood: the Gauls maintained their advantage; and the approach of night protected the disorderly flight, or retreat, of the troops of Theodosius. The empire was divided into two great provinces, of which he passed the discomfiture, without sleep, without provisions, and without hopes; except that strong assurance, which, under the most desperate circumstances, the independent mind may derive from the contemplation of fortune and of life. The triumph of his eunuch was celebrated by the insolent and dissolute joy of his camp; whilst the active and vigilant Arbogastes secretly detached a considerable body of troops to occupy the passes of the mountains, and to encompass the rear of the eastern army. The dawn of day discovered to the eyes of Theodosius the extent and the number of his danger; but his apprehensions were soon dispelled by a friendly message from the leaders of these troops, who expressed their inclination to desert the standard of the tyrant. The honorable and lucrative rewards, which they stipulated as the price of their perfidy, were granted without hesitation; and as it seemed impossible to repel them, or to subdue them, the emperor subscribed, on his own tablets, the ratification of the treaty. The spirit of his soldiers was revived by this seasonable reinforcement; and they again marched, with confidence, to surprise the camp of a tyrant, whose principal officers appeared to distrust either the constancy, or the success, of his army. In the heat of the battle, a violent tempest, such as is often felt among the Alps, suddenly arose from the east. The army of Theodosius was sheltered by their position from the impetuosity of the wind, which blew a cloud of dust in the faces of the enemy, disordered their ranks, wrested their weapons from their hands, and diverted, or repelled, their ineffectual javelins. This accidental advantage was skillfully improved; the violence of the storm was magnified by the superstitious terrors of the Gauls; and they yielded without shame to the invisible powers of the pious emperor. His victory was decisive; and the deaths of his two rivals were distinguished only by the difference of their characters. The rhetorician Eugenius, who had almost acquired the dominion of the world, was reduced to implore the mercy of the conqueror, and the humble soldiers separated his head from his body, as he lay prostrate at the feet of Theodosius. Arbogastes, after the loss of a battle, in which he had discharged the duties of a soldier and a general, wandered several days among the mountains. But when he was convinced that his cause was desperate, and his escape impracticable, the intrepid barbarian imitated the example of the ancient Romans, and turned his sword against his own breast. The fate of the empire was determined in a narrow corner of Italy; and the legitimate successor of the house of Valentinian could not receive the submission of the provinces of the west. Those provinces were involved in the guilt of rebellion; while
the inflexible courage of Ambrose alone had resisted the claims of successful usurpation. With a manly front, but with tears behind, the archbishop rejected the gifts of Eugenius, declined his correspondence, and withdrew himself from Milan, to avoid the odious presence of a tyrant; whose downfall he predicted in discreet and ambiguous language. The merit of Ambrose was applauded by the ancients, who secured the friendship of the people by his alliance with the church; and the clemency of Theodosius is ascribed to the humane intercession of the archbishop of Milan.1

After the defeat of Eugenius, the Roman war, as well as the war of Zosimus, was speedily put an end to. Eugenius, whose fate was fully foreseen, submitted to Theodosius, and received the penalties of infidelity. His death, only four months after his victory, was considered by the people as an unforeseen and fatal event, which destroyed, in a moment, the hopes of the rising generation. But the indulgence of case and luxury had secretly nourished the principles of desolation, and the faith of Theodosius would not protect the sudden and violent transition from the palace to the camp; and the increasing symptoms of a dropsey announced the speedy dissolution of the emperor. The opinion, and perhaps the interest, of the public had confirmed the division of the eastern and western empires; and the two royal thrones of Honorius and Arcadius, whom had already obtained, from the tenderness of their father, the title of Augustus, were destined to fill the thrones of Constantinople and of Rome. Those princes were not permitted to share the danger and splendor of the civil war, but as soon as Theodosius had triumphed over his unworthy rivals, he called his younger son, Honorius, to enjoy the fruits of the victory, and to receive the sceptre of the west. The arrival of Honorius at Milan was welcomed by a splendid exhibition of arms, and the camp which had been prepared for the campaign was changed into the camps of the legions; and the degeneracy of that which was of the times has been remarked by one of the greatest of the Roman princes. An historian, perpetually adverse to the fame of Theodosius, has exaggerated his vices, and his pernicious effects; but he has not concealed his moderate surplus; and the effeminate manners of their sovereign; that every species of corruption polluted the course of public and private life; and that the feeble restraints of order and decency were insufficient to resist the progress of that degenerate spirit, which sacrifices, without a blush, the comforts of the mind and the indulgence of the palate. The complaints of contemporary writers, who deplor the increase of luxury, and deprivation of manners, are commonly expressive of their peculiar temper and situation. There is a current of indolence and luxury, a universal view of the revolutions of society; and those who are capable of discovering the meek and secret springs of actions, which impel, in the same uniform direction, the blind and capricious passions of a multitude of individuals. If it can be affirmed, with any degree of truth, that the luxury of the Romans was more shameful and dissolute in the reign of Theodosius than in the age of Constantine, perhaps, or of Augustus, the alteration cannot be ascribed to any beneficial improvements, which had gradually increased the stock of national riches. A long period of calamity or decay must have checked the ardor of the people, who are disabled by the state of the people; and their profuse luxury must have been the result of that indolent despair, which enjoys the present hour, and declines the thoughts of futurity. The uncertain condition of their property discouraged the subjects of Theodosius from engaging in these enterprizes, which require the immediate expense, and promise a slow and distant advantage. The frequent examples of ruin and desolation tempted them not to spare the remains of a patrimony, which might, every hour, become the prey of the capacious Goth. And the moral and political consequences, which prevails in the confusion of a shipwreck or a siege, may serve to explain the progress of luxury amidst the misfortunes and terrors of a sinking nation.

The effeminate luxury, which infected the manners of courts and cities, had insensibly pressed into the camps of the legions; and their degeneracy has been marked by the pen of a military writer, who had accurately studied the genuine and ancient principles of Roman discipline. It is the just and important observation of Vegetius, that the infantry was more powerful and effectual than the legions, which composed the foundation of the city, to the reign of the emperor Gratian. The relaxation of discipline, and the disuse of exercise, rendered the soldiers less able, and less willing, to support the fatigues of the service; they complained of the weight of the armour, which they seldom wore; and they successively object the permission of laying aside both their cuirasses and their helmets. The heavy weapons of their ancestors, the short sword, and the formidable pilum, which had subdued the world, insensibly dropped from their feet. As the use of the shield is incompatible with that of the bow, they reluctantly matched into the field; condemned to suffer, either the pain of wounds, or the ignominy of flight, and always disposed to prefer the more shameful alternative. The cavalry of the Goths, the Huns, and the Alani, had felt the benefits, and adopted the use, of defensive armor; and, as they excelled in the management of missile weapons, they easily overwhelmed the naked and trembling legions, whose heads and breasts were exposed, without defense, to the arrows of the barbarians. The loss of armies, the destruction of cities, and the dishonour of the Roman name, inebriated the successors of Gratian to restore the helmets and cuirasses of the infantry. The enraged soldiers abandoned their own, and the public, defence; and their pusillanimous

1 Zosimus, l. iv. p. 241.
CHAPTER XXVIII.

Final destruction of Paganism.—Introduction of the worship of saints, and relics, among the christians.

The ruin of paganism, in the age of Theodosius, is perhaps the only example of the total extirpation of any ancient and popular superstition; and may therefore deserve to be considered, as a singular event in the history of the human mind. The christians, more especially the Pelagian and Donatist sects, who had experienced the prudent delays of Constantine, and the equal toleration of the elder Valentinian; nor could they deem their conquest perfect or secure, as long as their adversaries were permitted to exist. The influence, which Ambrose and his brethren had acquired over the youth of Gratian, and the piety of Theodosius, was employed to infuse the maxims of persecution into the breasts of their imperial prolesytes. Two specious principles of religious jurisprudence were established, from whence they deduced a direct and rigorous conclusion against the interests of the empire, who still adhered to the ceremonies of their faith. The first of these points is, in some measure, guilty of the crimes which he neglects to prohibit, or to punish; and, that the idolatrous worship of fabulous deities, and real demons, is the most abominable crime against the supreme majesty of the Creator. The laws of Moses, and the examples of Jewish history, were hastily, perhaps erroneously, applied by the clergy to the mild and universal reign of christianity. The zeal of the emperors was excited to vindicate their own honour, and that of the Deity: and the temples of the Roman deities were destroyed about sixty years after the conversion of Constantine.

State of pagan Rome

From the age of Numa, to the reign of Gratian, the Romans preserved the regular succession of the several colleges of the sacerdotal order. Fifteen Pontiffs exercised their superintendence, and appointed the persons that were consecrated to the service of the gods; and the various questions which perpetually arose in a loose and traditioary system, were submitted to the judgment of their holy tribunal. Fifteen grave and learned Arches observed the face of the heavens, and presided over the mysteries of the heavens. Fifteen keepers of the Sibylline books (their name of Quinquecentenaries was derived from their number) occasionally consulted the history of future, and, as it should seem, of contingent, events. Six Vestals devoted their virginity to the guard of the sacred fire, and of the unknown prelates of the duration of Rome; which no mortal had been sought to beheld with impurity. Seven Epulo prepared the table of the gods,

in conclusion may be considered as the immediate cause of the downfall of the empire.

Vegetius, de Re Militari, i. l. c. 10. The series of calamities, which before the war of Diocletian, that the Hero, to whom he dedicates his book, is the last and most ignobles of the Valentinians.

St. Ambrose (tom. ii. de Ost. Thud. p. 130) expressly states, and recommends the zeal of Justin in the destruction of idolatry. The Isaac of which he speaks may either mean the ancient seat of the Israelites in the Holy Land, or the temple of Solomon, which was the same. Eusebius (p. 467. ed. Grosny) is plainly inhuman. Neofilo jubet (the Mason Law) parci, nec frater, et per annum conjunctum aeternum vindicem tuum, &c.

Baye (tom. ii. p. 495, in his Commentaire Philosophique) justifies his idea of the Roman church on the royal and temporal reign of Justinian over the Jews. The attempt is6 ambitious.

See the outlines of the Roman hierarchy in Cicero, de Legibus, ii. 7: 9; Livy, iv. 39: 20; Ptolemy, Geography, ii. 24: 11; and the Supplementum of Montefaucon's Antiquités, tom. i. p. 314.

De Provinciis (L.II. in iv. in. hie) has drawn a very awkward portrait of the Roman church; but the history of the Antiquities of Montefaucon's Antiquités, tom. i. p. 314.

This statue was transported from Tarentum to Rome, placed in the Curia Julius by Caesar, and decorated by Augustus with the

This fact are mutually allowed by the two advocates, Symmachen and Ambrose.
of Rome the delicacy of the Christians was offended by the fumes of lascivious sacrifices.\(^1\)

But the Christians formed the least numerous party in the senate of Rome;\(^2\) and it was only by their absence, that they could express their dissent from the legal, though profane, acts of a pagan majority. In that sense, the sanguine hopes, which were, for a moment, revived and inflamed by the breath of fanatism. Four respectable deputations were successively voted to the imperial court,\(^3\) to represent the grievances of the priesthood and the senate; and to solicit the restoration of the altar of Victory. The first was presented by a Senator, whose influence was intrusted to the eloquent Symmachus,\(^4\) a wealthy and noble senator, who united the sacred characters of pontiff and augur, with the civil dignities of proconsul of Africa, and prefect of the city. The breast of Symmachus was animated by the warmest sentiment for the cause of expiring paganism: and his religious antagonists lamented the abuse of his genius, and the inefficacy of his moral virtues.\(^5\) The orator, whose petition is extant to the emperor Valentinian, was conscious of the difficulty and danger of the office which he had assumed. He knew that thedelete deceit and base falsehoods every age might attempt to reflect on the religion of his sovereign; humbly declares, that prayers and intreaties are his only arms; and artfully draws his arguments from the schools of rhetoric, rather than from those of philosophy. Symmachus endeavored to seduce the imagination of the young princes, by displaying the advantages of the godness of Victory; he insinuates, that the confiscation of the revenues, which were consecrated to the service of the Gods, was a measure unworthy of his liberal and disinterested character; and he mantains, that the Roman sacrifices would be deprived of their force and energy, if they were no longer celebrated at the expense, as well as in the name, of the republic. Even scepticism is made to supply an apology for superstitious. The great and incomprehensible secret of the universe eludes the inquiry of man. Where reason cannot instruct, custom may be permitted to guide; and every nation seems to consult the dictates of prudence, by a faithful attachment to those rites, and opinions, which have received the sanction of ages. If those ages have been crowned with glory and prosperity, if the most frequent and most brilliant blessings which they have solicited at the altars of the gods, it must appear still more advisable to persist in the same salutary practice; and to risk the unknown perils that may attend any rash innovations. The total of antiquity and truth was secured by the singular advantages to the religious of Numa; and Rome herself, the celestial genius that presided over the fates of the city, is introduced by the orator to plead her own cause before the tribunal of the emperors. Most excellent princes,\(^7\) says the venerable matron, fathers of your country! pity and respect my age, which has hitherto flown in an uninterrupted course of piety. Since I do not repent, permit me to continue in the practice of my ancient rites. Since I am born free, allow me to enjoy my domestic institutions. This religion has reduced the world under my laws. These rites have repelled Hannibal from the city, and the Gauls from the capitol. Were my gray hairs reserved for such intolerable disgrace! I am ignorant of the new system, that I am required to adopt; but I am well assured, that the correction of old age is always an ungrateful and ignominious office. The prudential motives of the orator had suppressed; and the calamities, which afflicted, or threatened, the declining empire, were unanimously implored, by the pagans, to the new religion of Christ and of Constantinian.

But the hopes of Symmachus were Conversion of the emperor, which was confirmed by the firm and avowed opposition of the archbishop of Milan;\(^8\) and who fortified the emperor against the fallacious eloquence of the advocate of Rome. In this controversy, Ambrose descendens to speak the language of a philosopher, and to ask, with all confidence, why it should be thought necessary to introduce an imaginary and invisible power, as the cause of those victories, which were sufficiently explained by the valour and discipline of the legions. He justly derides the absurd reverence for antiquity, which could only tend to discountenance the exertions of our own age. He assigns the human race into their original barbarism. From thence gradually rising to a more lofty and theological tone, he pronounces, that Christianity alone is the doctrine of truth and salvation; and that every mode of polytheism conducts its deluded votaries, through the paths of error, to the perdition of innocence. Ambrose's arguments like these, when they were suggested by a favourite bishop, had power to prevent the restoration of the altar of Victory; but the same arguments fell, with much more energy and effect, from the mouth of a conquering emperor, the gods of whom were dragged in triumph at the chariot-wheels of Theodosius.\(^9\) In a full meeting of the senate, the emperor proposed, according to the forms of the republic, the important question, Whether the worship of Jupiter, or that of Christ, should be the religion of the Romans? The liberty of suffrages, which he affected to allow, was destroyed by the hopes and fears that his presence inspired; and the arbitrary exile of Symmachus was a recent admonition, that it might be dangerous to oppose the wishes of the monarch. On a regular division of the senate, the emperor was condemned and degraded by the senates of a very large majority; and it is surprising, that any members should be found bold enough to declare, by their speeches and votes, that they were still attached to the interest of an abdicated deity. The hasty conversion of the senate must be attributed partly to the influence of private Turks; and many of these reluctant proselytes betrayed, on every favourable occasion, their secret disposition to throw aside the mask of odious dissimulation. But

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\(^1\) The Notitia Urbis, more recent than Constantius, does not find these sacrifices to be named. 
\(^2\) The senate of Rome, as was said before, was chiefly composed of the patricians, that is to say, of the senators elected for life. 
\(^3\) Ambrose repeatedly affirms, in contradiction to common sense, (Epist. xliii. c. 2.) that the Senate of the Roman Empire had no right to the names of 
\(^4\) The first (A. D. 384.) to Gratian, who refused them audience. The second (A. D. 394.) to Valentinian, when he was deposed by Symmachus and Ambrose. The third (A. D. 398.) to Theodosian; and the fourth, (A. D. 402.) to Valentinian II., to Valens, and to Valentinianus (timetis, vol. iv. p. 372.-399.) fairly represents the whole transaction. 
\(^5\) Symmachus's eloquence was invinted with an equal mixture of force and seductive honors, represented the emperor under the two characters of Pontifex Maximus and Senior Senators. 
\(^6\) As if any one, says Prudentius, (in Symm. l. 639.) should dig in the mud with an instrument of gold and ivory. Even saints, and piously sons, treat this adversary with respect and civility.
they were gradually fixed in the new religion, as the cause of the ancient became more hopeless; they yielded to the authority of the emperor, to the fashion of the times, and to the interstices of their wives and children, who were instigated and governed by the clergy of Rome and the monks of the east. The edifying example of distinction to cause the Idols to be dissolved; by the rest of the nobility: the Bassi, the Paulini, the Graeci, embraced the christian religion; and the luminaries of the world, the venerable assembly of Catons, (such are the high-flown expressions of Prudentius,) were impatient to strip themselves of their pecuniary interest to cause the Christians to enter upon the profession; to assume the snowy robes of baptismal innocence; and to humble the pride of the consular faces before the tombs of the martyrs. The citizens, who subsisted by their own industry, and the populace, who were supported by the public liberality, filled the churches of the Latran, and Vixani, with an incessant throng of devout proselytes. The decrees of the senate, which proscribed the worship of idols, were ratified by the general consent of the Romans: the splendour of the capitol was defaced, and the solitary temples were abandoned to ruin and contempt. Rome subsisted composed of the orthodox and the heterodox; the ancient vanished provinces had not yet lost their reverence for the name and authority of Rome.

The filial piety of the emperors then the temples in their own persons engaged them to procure, with the utmost prudence and caution, some caution and tenderness, in the rejection of the laws of the ancient empire, and in the selection of the statutes which were to be adopted. Those statues served to the effect of the Christian triumph, and the destruction of the solitary Temples. The pious emperor, who had been suspended near twenty years since the death of Constantius, was vigorously resumed, and finally acquiesced in the execution of the example of Theodosius. Whilst that warlike prince yet struggled with the Goths he desired to maintain the glory but for the safety of the republic, he ventured to offer a considerable party of his subjects, by some acts which might perhaps secure the protection of heaven, but which must seem rash and unseasonable in the eye of human prudence. The success of his first experiments against the pagans, encouraged the pious emperor to reiterate and enforce his edicts of proscription; the same laws which had been originally published in the provinces of the east, were applied, after the defect of Maximus, to the whole extent of the western empire. They were resolved to level the Temples of the Christian triumph, and the destruction of the solitary Temples. Theodosius contributed to the triumph of the christian and catholic faith. He attacked superstition in her most vital part, by prohibiting the use of sacrifices, which he declared to be criminal as well as infamous; and of the terms of the edicts were too stringent, the impious curiosity which examined the entrails of the victims, every subsequent explanation tended to involve, in the same guilt, the general practice of immolation, which essentially constituted the religion of the pagans. As the temples had been erected for the purpose of sacrifice, it was the duty of a benevolent prince to remove from his subjects the dangerous temptation, of offending against the laws which he had enacted. A special commission was granted to Cynegius, the prætorian prefect of the east, and afterwards to the counts Jovinus and Gaudentius, two officials of the highest rank in the Christian empire. They were directed to shut the temples, to seize or destroy the instruments of idolatry, to abolish the privileges of the priests, and to confiscate the consecrated property for the benefit of the emperor, of the church, or of the army. Here the desolation might have stopped; and the naked edicts which were no longer employed in the services of idolatry, might have been protected from the destructive rage of fanaticism. Many of those temples were the most splendid and beautiful monuments of Grecian architecture; and the emperor himself was interested not to deface the splendour of his own cities, or to diminish the value of his own possessions. Those stately edifices might be suffered to remain, as so many lasting trophies of the victory of Christ. In the decline of the arts, they might be usefully converted into magazines, manufactures, or places of public assembly; and perhaps the desolation of the temples, which had been purified by holy rites, the worship of the true deity might be allowed to expiate the ancient guilt of idolatry. But as long as they subsisted, the pagans fondly cherished the secret hope, that an auspicious revolution, a second Julian, might again restore the religious worship, and the ancient ceremonies. As the Gentiles addressed their unavailing prayers to the throne, increased the zeal of the christian reformers to extinguish, without mercy, the root of superstition. The laws of the emperors exhibit some symptoms of a mild disposition: but their cold and languid efforts to curb the superstition were insufficient; the Christian princes, both the father and the son, in the same manner, addressed their unavailing prayers to the throne. The fanesy of the church. In Gaul, the holy Martin, bishop of Tours, marched at the head of his faithful monks to destroy the idols, the temples, and the consecrated objects of his extensive diocese; and, in the execution of this arduous task, the prudent ruler will judge whether Martin was supported by the aid of miraculous powers, or of carnal weapons. In Syria, the divine and excellent Maximus, as he is styled by Theodoret, a bishop animated with apostolic fervour, restored the Temples to the level with the ground; the solitary Temples, in which they were composed, were firmly cemented with lead and iron. The force of the strongest and sharpest tools had been tried without effect. It was found necessary to undermine the foundations of the columns, which fell down as soon as the wooden props had been consumed with fire; and the difficulties of the enterprise are described under the allegory of a black demon, who retarded, though he could not defeat, the operations of the christian engineers. Elated with victory, Marcellus took the field in

a Jucundus specifies the pontiff Albinus, who was surrounded with a believing family of children and grand-children as would have been sufficient to convert even Jupiter himself; an extraordinary pressure. (Tom. i. p. 6.)

b Exultate Patria vide, pulcherrima mundi Lusoria: Concilii quibus senis eise Catonis Candidiore tuae munium pictatis autumnum Sumeris: et evanxis deponent pontificibus. The fancy of Prudentius is warmed and elevated by victory. (Tom. i. p. 9.)

c Prudentinus, after he has described the conversion of the senate and people, adds, with some truth and confidence. De divitibus adnue. Romanm, tibi, Christe, dicatum. In this case the language of Prudentius is more decided and peculiar.

d Jorum excult in the dissolution of the capitol, and the other temples of Rome, (Tom. i. p. 33.)

e See his laws in the Theodosian code, l. xvi. tit. x. reg. 7-11.

f See Prudentius's Sacramentum; paragraph on the consecration of emittis, see Farkius, Antiquat. Honor. i. c. 10. 14.) The Tuscans, who produced the first Haruspices, inhabited both the Greeks and the Romans. (Cicero de Divinatione, lib. ii.)

g 4 Zosimus, l. i. p. 245. 219. Theodoret, l. i. v. 21. Idatius in Chron. Proper. Aquit. i. iii. c. 26, apud Baronium, Annal. Eccles. ed. P. 280. No. 52, Libanius (pro Templo, p. 10) speaks of the destruction of the Temples of Rome, and the consular Temples of his extensive diocese: and, in the execution of this arduous task, the prudent ruler will judge whether Martin was supported by the aid of miraculous powers, or of carnal weapons. In Syria, the divine and excellent Maximus, as he is styled by Theodoret, a bishop animated with apostolic fervour, restored the Temples to the level with the ground; the solitary Temples, in which they were composed, were firmly cemented with lead and iron. The force of the strongest and sharpest tools had been tried without effect. It was found necessary to undermine the foundations of the columns, which fell down as soon as the wooden props had been consumed with fire; and the difficulties of the enterprise are described under the allegory of a black demon, who retarded, though he could not defeat, the operations of the christian engineers. Elated with victory, Marcellus took the field in

h Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. x. reg. 13. There is room to believe, that this empire of the Church cannot be reckoned among the difficulties of the enterprise, which was, even afterwards a scene of ruins. (Libanius pro Templo, p. 11.) I have consulted, with advantage, De Liberatore's version and paraphrase. (Harvey.)

i See this curious creation of Libanius pro Templo, pronounced, or rather on the contrary, about the year 390. I have consulted, with advantage, De Liberatore's version and paraphrase. (Harvey.)

j See the Life of Martin, by Subicius Severus, c. 9-14. The saint once mistook (as Don Quixote might have done) a harmless friar's vesture for an idolatrous procession, and imprudently committed a miracle.

k Compare Sossianus (l. vi. c. 15.) with Theodoret, l. i. c. 21.) Between them, they relate the crusade and death of Marcellus.
person against the powers of darkness; a numerous troop of soldiers and gladiators marched under the episcopal banner, and he successively attacked the villages and country temples of the diocese of Apamea. Whenever any resistance or danger was apprehended, the champion of the faith, whose lance was not allowed him either to fix or fly, placed himself at a convenient distance, beyond the reach of darts. But this prudence was the occasion of his deaths: he was surprised and slain by a body of exasperated rustics; and the synod of the province pronounced without hesitation, that the holy Marcellus had sacrificed his life in the cause of God. In the support of this cause, the monks, who rushed, with tumultuous fury, from the desert, distinguished themselves by their zeal and diligence. They deserved the enmity of the pagans; and some of them might deserve the reproach of avarice and intemperance; of avarice, which they indulged at the expense of the people, who foolishly admired their tattered garments, bold palmae, and artificial paleness. A small number of temples were protected by the fears, the vileness, the insolence, and the falsehoods, of the ecclesiastical governors. The temple of the celestal Venus at Carthage, whose sacred precincts formed a circumference of two miles, was judiciously converted into a christian church;1 and a similar consecration has preserved inviolate the majestic dome of the Pantheon at Rome, and the utmost pious jealousies of the Emperors. The world an army of fanatics, without authority, and without discipline, invaded the peaceful inhabitants; and the ruin of the fairest structures of antiquity still displays the ravages of these barbarians, who alone had time and inclination to execute such laborious destruction.

The temple of Serapis at Alexandria does not appear to have been one of the native gods, or monsters, who sprung from the fruitful soil of superstitious Egypt.2 The first of the Ptolemies had been commanded, by a dream, to import the mysterious stranger from the coast of Pontus, where he had been long adored by the inhabitants of Nineve; but his attributes and his reign were so incredible to the people, without a proof, that it became proper, whether he represented the bright orb of day, or the gloomy monarch of the subterraneous regions.3 The Egyptians, who were obstinately devoted to the religion of their fathers, refused to admit this foreign deity, and called it a malevolent principle. But the treacherous priests, who were seduced by the liberality of the Ptolemies, submitted, without resistance, to the power of the god of Pontus; an honourable and domestic genealogy was provided; and this fortunate discovery was introduced into the throne and bed of Osiris,4 the husband of Isis, and the celestial monarch of Egypt. Alexandria, which claimed his peculiar protection, gloried in the name of the city of Serapis. His temple,5 which rivalled the pride and magnificence of the capital, was erected on the spacious summit of an artificial mount, raised one hundred steps above the level of the adjacent parts of the city; and the interior caviety was divided into two stories, and distributed into vaults and subterraneous apartments. The consecrated buildings were surrounded by a quadrangular porteau; the stately halls, and exquisite statues, displayed the triumph of the arts; and the treasures of ancient learning were preserved in the famous library, which is now the new splendour from its ashes.6 After the edicts of Theodosius had severely prohibited the sacrifices of the pagans, they were stilltolerated in the city and temple of Serapis; and this singular indulgence was imputed more to the superstition terrified of the christians themselves: as if they had feared to abolish those ancient rites, which could alone secure the inquisitions of the Nile, the harvests of Egypt, and the subsistence of Constantinople.7

At that time8 the archiepiscopal throne underwent a change, and ecclesiastical opifius,9 the perpetual enemy of peace and virtue; a bold, bad man, whose hands were alternately polluted with gold, and with blood. His pious indignation was excited by the honours of Serapis; and the insults which he offered to an ancient chapel and dedication of Ptolemies, strongly supported by the laws, and declared more important and dangerous in enterprise. In the tumultuous capital of Egypt, the slightest provocation was sufficient to inflame a civil war. The votaries of Serapis, whose strength and numbers were much inferior to those of their antagonists, rose in arms at the instigation of the philosopher Olympius,7 who exhorted them to die in the defence of the altars of the gods. The pagan fanatics fortified themselves in the temple, or rather fortress, of Serapis; repelled the besiegers by daring sallies, and a resolute defence; and, by the inhuman cruelties which they exercised on their christian prisoners, obtained the last consolation of despair. The efforts of the prudent magistrate were usefully exerted for the establishment of a truce, till the answer of Theodosius should determine the fate of Serapis. The two parties avowed, in the form of an individual and the imperial rescript was publicly read. But when a sentence of destruction against the idols of Alexandria was pronounced, the christians set up a shout of joy and exultation, whilst the unfortunate pagans, whose fury had given way to an abyss of consternation, was torn by their enemies, by their flight or obscurity, the resentment of their enemies. Theodosius proceeded to demolish the temple of Serapis, without any other difficulties, than those which he found in the weight and solidity of the materials; but these obstacles proved so insuperable, that he was obliged to leave the foundations:

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1. Libanius, pro Tempis, p. 10—13. He calls at these black-bearded men, the christian monks, who eat more than elephants. Poor elephants: this was the First Complaint of the Tanaurica, i. l. c. 38, and Panormian; Annael. Eccl. A.D. 339, Nov. 35, &c. The temple had been stiit some time, and the author speaks with bitterness.
2. Bonitus, Rara Antiquit. Nova, t. iv. p. 468. This consecration was performed by pope Boniface IV. I am ignorant of the favourable circumstances which had preserved the Pantheon above two hundred years after the reign of Theodosius.
3. This temple was composed of a religious and popular history, (Jeron in Script. Eccle. tom. i. p. 353) which has furnished materials to Secundi, in Script. Eccle. tom. i. p. 267, who has preserved it to the world in an original version.
4. Gerard Vossen (Opera, tom. ii. p. 88, and de Hobbledris, t. i. c. 27) assures to support the arduous mission of the fathers; that the pagans only pretended in Egypt, Asia, and Palestine, to have been the subjects of an original worship.
5. Orig. Bib. nonnume. p. 237. Amongst the several editions of the works of Bonitus, the last, who had been at Alexandria before and after the event, makes a particular subscription of an original version. Sir Francis培根, with the same zeal, he observed in Plutarch's Tacite and Osiris, whom he identifies with Serapis.
6. (Ammonius, Opera. t. i. c. 70.) Expositio totius Mundi, p. 8. in Hudsoni Geographia Minor, tom. iii. 22, and Ruffinus. iii. cit. celebrate the Serapis of Alexandria in an independent and the same dedication by the late Marc Antony gave the whole collection of Persica (20,000 volumes) to Ulpia's, as the foundation of the new library of Alexandria. (L. ii. c. 27.)
7. See Memoire de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, tom. iv. p. 207—415. The old library of the Ptolemies was totally consumed in Caesar's fire. Marc Antony gave the whole collection of Persica (20,000 volumes) to Ulpia, as the foundation of the new library of Alexandria. (L. ii. c. 27.)
8. Libanius (pro Tempis, p. 23) indirectly provokes his christian readers to a critical remark.
9. We may choose between the date of Marcellinus, (A. D. 339) or that of Prosper, (A. D. 381).Tillemont, (Hist, des Emp. tom. iii. p. 397. 398, 399.) explains the name of Olympius, as that of a friend to the Church andcause of destruction of the pagans. (Tom. I. c. 27.)
10. Tillemont, Mem. Eccles. tom. iii. p. 411—420. The ambitious situation of Olympius (as zeal is the enemy of Chrestianity) produces a sort of impertinence; yet, upon the other hand, the author has truly inclined a respectful eye to the character of the man, and peculiarly admired his, as well as his own, spirit and learning.
and to content himself with reducing the ediﬁce itself to a heap of rubbish, a part of which was soon after- wards cleared away, to make room for a church, erec- ted in honour of the Christian martyrs. The valuable library of Alexandria was pillaged or destroyed; and near twenty years afterwards, the appearance of the empty space, with sad regrets and indignation of every spectator whose mind was now darkened by religious prejudice. The compositions of ancient genius, so many of which have irretrievably perished, might surely have been excepted from the wreck of idolatry, for the amusement and instruction of suc- ceeding ages; and perhaps, his sitting on the golden tripod and the archbishop might have been satiated with the rich spoils, which were the reward of his victory. While the images and vases of gold and silver were carefully melted, and those of a less valuable metal were contemptuously broken and cast into the streets, Theophilus laboured to expose the frauds and vices of the ministers of the idols: their dexterity in the management of the loadstone; their secret methods of introducing a human actor into a hollow statue; and their scandalous abuse of the conﬁdence of devout husbands, and unsuspecting females. Charges like these may seem to some to prove the modern Pagans are not repugnant to the crafty and interested spirit of superstition. But the same spirit is equally prone to the base practice of insulting and calumnating a fallen enemy; and our belief is naturally check- ed by the refection, that it is much less difﬁcult to in- volve the truth, and to charge the wicked with the crime of fraud. The colossal statue of Serapis was involved in the ruin of his temple and religion. A great num- ber of plates of different metals, artiﬁcially joined together, composed the majestic ﬁgure of the deity, who tottered on either side the walls of the sanctuary. The head, the arm, and the sceptre which he bore in his left hand, were extremely similar to the ordinary representations of Jupiter. He was distinguished from Jupiter by the basket, or bushel, which was placed on his head; and by the embattled monster, which he held in his right hand: the head and body of a serpent branching into three tails, which were again terminated by the triple heads of a dog, a lion, and a wolf. It was conﬁdently afﬁrmed, that if any impious hand should dare to violate the majesty of the god, the heavens and the earth would immediately return its original chalk. An intrepid soldier, animated by zeal, and armed with his trusty battle axe, ascended the ladder; and even the christian multitude expected, with some anxiety, the event of the combat. He aimed a vigorous stroke against the cheek of Serapis: the cheek fell to the ground; the thunder was still silent, and both the heavens and the earth continued to preserve their accustomed order and tranquillity. The victorious soldier repeated his blows: the huge idol was overthrown, and broken in

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1. Nos valvis armaria librum, quibus dirigis, exalatae in a nostris hominibus, nostris temporio mortis, Orosius, lib. vii, c. 15. Theodoret, lib. ii. ch. 125. Though a bigot, and a controversial writer, Orosius seems to blush. 2. Euphrosine, in the Lives of Antoninus and Eudoxia, execrat the excessive rapine. Tertull. De spectaculis, ch. xvi. Helenius, in his treatise against the Sabians, translated by the reverend Mr. Bowyer, says, that the Egyptians have a number of vessels, that are kept hid, which is much more picturesque and satisfactory. 3. See the history of Serapis, in Montfaucon, (Oeuv. ii. p. 257,) but the history of Serapis is very obscure. Crescens, for instance, is much more picturesque and satisfactory. 4. The history of the persecution affords frequent examples of the sudden change from superstition to contempt. If we compare the conduct of the early persecutors with that of the same subjects, how much more moderate and benevolent. The same standard of the inquisition, and consequently of the cabinet, has uniformly subsisted since the time of Herodias. See Picolet, in the Memoirs of the Academy of Paris, tome iv. ch. 115. 5. Theodosius, the African, who, in the character of the god, was so familiarly conversed with many pious ladies of quality; till he betrayed himself, in a manner equally offensive to piety and reason, by imitating the tones of his voice. The authentic and impartial narrative of Eusebius, (see Bayly, Denonvile Critique, Secundus, ch. i.) and the accounts of Minodus, (Josephus, Antiq. Jud. lib. viii. c. 3,) and Lactantius, (De Instit. xii. c. 33.) may prove that such enormous frauds have been practiced with success. See the Institutes of Serapis, in Montfaucon, (Oeuv. ii. p. 257,) but the history of Serapis is very obscure. Crescens, for instance, is much more picturesque and satisfactory. 6. The history of the persecution affords frequent examples of the sudden change from superstition to contempt. If we compare the conduct of the early persecutors with that of the same subjects, how much more moderate and benevolent. The same standard of the inquisition, and consequently of the cabinet, has uniformly subsisted since the time of Herodias. See Picolet, in the Memoirs of the Academy of Paris, tome iv. ch. 115.
an inanimate idol, by the sacrifice of a guiltless vir-

tim. 7 The art of sacrificing, and the practice of di-

vination by the entrails of the victim, are declared
(without any regard to the object of the inquiry) a

crime of high treason against the state; which can be

punished only by the death of the guilty. The rite

of pagans, of professing, whether bloody and atrocious, are abolished, as highly in-

jurious to the truth and honour of religion; luminaries,

garlands, frankincense, and libations of wine, are

sacramentally begun and condemned; and the har-

moneous and obscene gestures of the household

gods, are included in this rigorous proscription. The

use of any of these profane and illegal ceremonies,

subjects the offender to the forfeiture of the house,
or estate, where they have been performed; and if he

has artfully chosen the property of another for the

scene of his impiety, he is compelled to discharge,

without delay, a heavy fine of twenty-five pounds of

gold, or more than one thousand pounds sterling. A

fine, not less considerable, is imposed on the con-

nivance of the secret enemies of religion, who shall

acquit of the avowal of their fellow-citizens, either to

reveal, or to punish, the guilt of idolatry. Such was

the persecuting spirit of the laws of Theodosius,

which were repeatedly enforced by his sons and

grandsons, with the loud and unanimous applause of

the christian world. 8

open at the cruel reigns of Decius and

oppressed,

Diocletian, christianity had been pro-
scribed, as a revolt from the ancient and heretical

religion of the empire; and the unjust suspicions

which were entertained of a dark and dangerous

motive, were, in some measure, countenanced by the

inseparable union, and rapid conquests, of the catholic

church. But the same excuses of fear and ignorance

cannot be applied to the christian emperors, who vi-

olated the precepts of humanity and of the gospel.

The experience of ages had betrayed the weakness,
as well as folly, of paganism, the height of reason and of

faith had already exposed, to the greatest part of man-

kind, the vanity of idols; and the declining sect,

which still adhered to their worship, might have been

permitted to enjoy, in peace and obscurity, the religious

customs of their ancestors. Had the pagans been ani-

mated by the undaunted zeal, which possessed the

minds of the primitive believers, the triumph of the

curch must have been stained with blood; and the

martyrs of Jupiter and Apollo might have embraced

the glorious opportunity of devoting their lives and

fortunes to the glory of their altars. But such obstinate

zeal was not congenial to the temper of careless temp-

er of polytheism. The violent and repeated strokes of

the orthodox princes, were broken by the soft and

yielding substance against which they were directed;

and the ready obedience of the pagans protected them

from the pains and penalties of the Theodosian code. 9

Instead of asserting, that the authority of the gods

was superior to that of the emperor, they desisted,

with a plaintive murmur, from the use of those sacred

rites which their sovereign had commanded. If they

were sometimes tempted, by a sally of passion, or by

the folly of profaneness, to insult their favourite

superstition; their humble repentance disarmed the

severity of the christian magistrate, and they seldom

refused to atone for their rashness, by submitting,

with some secret reluctance, to the yoke of the gos-

pel. The churches were filled with the increasing

multitude of these unworthy proselytes, who had con-

formed, from temporal motives, to the reigning reli-

igion; and whilst they devoutly imitated the postures,

and recited the prayers, of the faithful, they satisfied

their conscience by the silent and sincere invocation of

the gods antiquity. If the pagans waited patience to

suffer, the gentle and discreet edicts of the sorrow-

ed myriads, who deplored the ruin of the temples,
yielded, without a contest, to the fortune of their ad-

versaries. The disorderly opposition of the peasants

of Syria, and the populace of Alexandria, to the rage

of private revenge, was silenced by thedignity and

authority of the emperor. The pagans of the west,

without contributing to the elevation of Eugenius, dis-

graced, by their partial attachment, the cause and

character of the usurper. The clergy vehemently ex-

claimed, that he aggravated the crime of rebellion by

the guilt of apostasy; that, by his permission, the altar

of Victory was again restored; and that the idol-

atrous symbols of Jupiter and Hercules were displayed

in the field, against the invincible standard of the cross.

But the vain hopes of the pagans were soon annihilated

by the victories of Julianus, which they had beseeched

to the resentment of the conqueror, who laboured to de-

serve the favour of heaven by the extirpation of idolatry. 10

A nation of slaves is always prepared to applaud the
clemency of their master, who, in the abuse of absolute power,
does not extend to the last extent of injustice and oppression. Theodosius might un-
doubtedly have proposed to his pagan subjects the alterna-
tive of baptism or of death; and the eloquent Libanius has praised the moderation of a prince, who never en-
acted, by any positive law, that all his subjects should

be made immediately embrace and practise the religion of their sovereign. 11 The profession of christianity was not

made an essential qualification for the enjoyment of the civil rights of society, nor were any peculiar hard-

ships imposed on the sectaries, who celeriously re-
duced them to the yoke of Ovid, and obstinately rejected the

miracles of the gospel. The palace, the schools, the

army, and the senate, were filled with declared and
devout pagans; they obtained, without distinction, the
civil and military honours of the empire. Theodosius distinguisheled his liberal regard for virtue and genius,

by the beneficent grace of Julianus and

Civitatis; and the historical and philosophical remains of

Eumapius, Zosimus, 12 and the fanatic teachers of

the school of Plato, betray the most furious animosity,

and contain the sharpest invectives, against the senti-

ments and conduct of their victorious adversaries. If these audacious libels were publicly known, we must

8 Libanius (pro Templis, p. 17, 18) mentions, without censure, the occasional confor-

mity, and as it were, theatrical play, of these hypo-

critics. 9 Libanius concludes his apology, (p. 22) by declaring to the em-

peror, that "the express; was granted by the emperor, that his ser-

vice was granted by the emperor, that his ser-


1

fections. 10 Libanius, A.D. 380—423, cc. 18.)

11 Paulinus, in Vit. Ancius. i. 25. Augustus de Civitate. Del. i. v. c. 36.

12 Theodor. i. c. 24.

8 Libanius states the form of a persecuting edict, which Theodo-


14 Libanius believes that in the reign of Julianus, the emperor


16 Libanius conjectures the form of a persecuting edict, which Theodo-

17 De or. vit. Jesucristi. cuir principis

18 Libanius (pro Templis, p. 23, 24.) states, as a fact, that the emperor

... and finally ex-

19 Such a charge should not be lightly made; but it may surely be justified by the authority of St. Augustin, who thus addresses the

Independence, quiet worship, and in a regular and legal order of

incongruous titulus datus adversus sacrificarum paganorum. Et eoque longe hi

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Independence, quiet worship, and in a regular and legal order of
applaud the good sense of the christian princes, who
viewed, with a smile of contempt, the last struggles
of superstition and despair. But the imperial laws,
which prohibited the sacrifices and ceremonies of pa-
ganism, were rigidly executed; and every hour con-
tributed to destroy the influence of a religion, which
was supported by custom, rather than by argument.
The devotion of the true philosopher, may be
secretly nourished by prayer, meditation, and study;
but the exercise of public worship appears to be the
only solid foundation of the religious sentiments of
the people, which derive their force from imitation
and habit. The interruption of that public exercise may
completely paralyse for a period the most important
vant work of a national revolution. The memory of
theological opinions cannot long be preserved, without
the artificial helps of priests, of temples, and of books.
The ignorant vulgar, whose minds are still agitated by
the blind hopes and terrors of superstition, will be
soon persuaded by their superiors, to direct their vows
to the reigning deities of the age; and will insensibly
imbibe an ardent zeal for the support and propagation
of the new doctrine, which spiritual hunger at first
compelled them to accept. The generation that arose
in the world after the promulgation of the imperial
laws, which were indented by the sentence of the Syn-
ch; and so rapid, yet so gentle, was the fall of
paganism, that only twenty-eight years after the death
of Theodosius, the faint and minute vestiges were no
longer visible to the eye of the legislator.

The worship of the saints and martyrs

was adorned, to the description of the seapods, as a dreadful
amazing prodigy, which covered the
earth with darkness, and restored the ancient dominion
of chaos and of night. They relate, in solemn and
pathetic strains, that the temples were converted into
sepulchres, and that the defiled places, which had been
adorned by the labours of the faithful, were now fouled
by the relics of christian martyrs. "The monks"
(a race of filthy animals, to whom Eunapius is tempted
to refuse the name of men) "are the authors of the
new worship, which, in the place of those deities who
are conceived by the understanding, has substituted
the meanest and most contemptible slaves. The heads,
salted and pickled, of those infamous malefactors,
who for the multitude of their crimes have suffered a just
and ignominious death; their bodies, still marked by
the impression of the lash, and the scars of those tor-
tures, which were inflicted by the sentence of the eccle-
siastate; such" (continues Eunapius) "are the gods
which the earth produces in our days; such are the
martyrs, the supreme arbiters of our prayers and
petitions to the Deity, whose tombs are now consecra-
ted as the objects of the veneration of the people." Without
approving the malice, it is natural enough to
share the surprise, of the sophist, the spectator of a
revolution, which raised those obscure victims of the
laws of Rome, to the rank of celestial and invincible
protectors of the Roman empire. The grateful respect
of the christians for the martyrs of the faith, was ex-
alted by time and circumstance. The period of the first
and the most illustrious of the saints and prophets
were deservedly and fifty years after the glorious
death of St. Peter and St. Paul, the Vatican and the
Ostian road were distinguished by the tombs, or rather
by the trophies, of those spiritual heroes. In the
age which followed the conversion of Constantine, the
emperor, the consuls, and the generals of armies,
decently visited the sepulchres of a tametaker and a
fisherman; and their venerable bones were deposited
under the altars of Christ, on which the bishops of
the royal city continually offered the unbloody sacri-
fice. The new capital of the eastern world, unable to
produce any ancient and domestic trophies, was
enriched by the spoils of dependent provinces. The
bodies of St. Andrew, St. Luke, and St. Timothy, had
reposed, near three hundred years, in the obscure
graves, from whence they were transported, in solemn
procession, to the extraordinary veneration of the people, which the
influence of Constantine had founded on the banks of
the Thracian Bosphorus. About fifty years after-
wards, the same banks were honoured by the presence of
Samuel, the judge and prophet of the people of
Israel. His ashes, deposited in a golden vase, and
covered with a silken veil, were delivered to the
same cards into each other's hands. The relics of Samuel
were received by the people, with the same joy and
reverence which they would have shown to the living
prophet; the highways, from Palestine to the gates of
Constantinople, were filled with an uninterrupted
procession; and the names of the prophet and apostle
were ushered before the head of the most illustrious members of the clergy
and senate, advanced to meet his extraordinary guest,
who had always desired and claimed the honours of
kings. The example of Rome and Constantinople
confirmed the faith and discipline of the catholic
world. The honours of the saints and martyrs, after a feeble
and ineffectual murmur of profane reason, were uni-
versally established; and in the age of Ambrose and
Jerome, something was still deemed wanting to the
sanctity of a christian church, till it had been conse-
crated by some portion of holy relics, which fixed and
enlightened the devotee on the ruins of the ages.

In the long period of twelve hundred
General rec.
years, which elapsed between the reign
of Constantine and the reformation of Luther, the
worship of saints and relics corrupted the pure and
perfect simplicity of the christian faith, and some
symptoms of degeneracy may be observed even in the
first generations which adopted and cherished this per-
nicious innovation.

I. The satisfactory experience, that 1.Paibalos mar-
the relics of saints were of more valuable tyr to
regard than gold or precious stones, by a close,
ly to multiply the treasures of the church. Without much
regard for truth or probability, they invented names
for skeletons, and actions for names. The fame of the
apostles, and of the holy men who had imitated their
virtues, was darkened by religious fiction. To the
invincible genealogy of genuine and primitive martyrs,

1 Cains, (apud Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. ii. p. 25.) a Roman presbyter,
who lived in the time of Zephyrinus, (A. D. 232-255.) is an early
witness of this superstition's practice.

2 Chrysostom, Quaest. Christi at Deos. Tom. i. non. edit. No. 9. I
am indebted for this quotation to Brandt's the IXth. volume lec
ke the Judica of the year 1793.

3 See the curious and entertaining chronicles of M. Chateaubriand,
and M. de Beaumont.

41 Mai facit erro Romanos opiosios ? qui, super mortuum hor-
minum, Petri et Pauli, &c. sunt. lettera duum: Domum sacrificia, et tumulos sacrum, Christi arbitratur altaria. Je-

5 Jeron (tom. ii. p. 153.) bests witness to these translations, which
are neglected by the ecclesiastical historians. The passage of
St. Jerome at Pauze, (apud Hier. illustr. l. iv. p. 152.) in an en-
semble with the words, which Baroinus (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 50. No. 34.) wishes to believe,
the following: "Tenum est, ad regem, St. Andrew, which was adored as the
spiritual founder of Constantinople, and is exhibited in the
picture of St. Stephen, by which is expressed a certain amount of

6 Jeron (tom. ii. p. 152.) pompously describes the translation
of Samuel, which is noticed in all the chronicles of the church.

7 The presbyters, who have held the rank of bishops, were
brilliant, though ineffectually, without the superintendence of monks, relics,
saints, &c. &c. for which Jeron compares him to the Hydra, Cer-
bus, the Gorgon, the Centaur, the Chimera, &c. The names of
Archaise.

8 M. de Beaumont (Hist. du Manichesisme, lib. ii. p. 563.) has
appplied a worldly sense to the pious observation of the clergy of Smyr-
nia, who carefully preserved the relics of St. Polycarp the martyr.
they added myriads of imaginary heroes, who had never existed, except in the fancy of crafty or credulous legendaries; and there is reason to suspect, that Tours might not be the only diocese in which the bones of a multifactor were adored instead of those of a saint. A superstitious practice, which tended to increase the terrification of faith and credulity, in- 
sensibly extinguished the light of history, and of reason, in the christian world.

II. Miracles. They would have been much less rapid and victorious, if the faith of the people had not been as-
sisted by the indispensible aid of wonders and miracles, to ascertain the authenticity and virtue of the most suspicious relics. In the reign of the younger Theo-
dosius, Lucian, a presbyter of Jerusalem, and the ecclesiastical minister of the village of Caphargamnula, about twenty miles from the city, related a very sin-
gular dream, which, to remove his doubts, had been repeated on three successive Saturdays. A venerable figure stood before him in the silence of the night, with a long beard, a white robe, and a gold rod; an- nounced himself by the name of Gamaliel, and revealed that an angel had been sent to him from his own corner, with the bodies of his son Abbas, his friend Nicodemus, and the illustrious Stephen, the first martyr of the christian faith, were secretly buried in the adjacent field. He added, with some impatience, that it was time to uncover himself, and publish his name. Therefore, for their obscure person, that their appearance would be salutary to a disturbed world; and that they had made choice of Lucian to inform the bishop of Jeru-
salem of their situation and their wishes. The doubts and difficulties which still retarded this important dis-
covcry, were successively removed by new visions; and the ground was opened by the bishop, in the presence of an innumerable multitude. The coffins of Gamaliel, of his son, and of his friend, were found in regular order; but when the fourth coffin, which contained the remains of Stephen, was shown to the light, the earth trembled, and an odoriferous and that of paradise, was smelt, which instantly cured the various diseases of seventy-three of the assistants.

The companions of Stephen were left in their peaceful residence of Caphargamnula: but the relics of the first martyr of the universal church, in solemn procession, were 

The bishop of Hippo designed as a solid and immortal proof of the truth of Christianity. Augustin solemnly declares, that he had selected those miracles only for the martyr's name. Many prodigies were omitted, or forgot-
ten; and Hippo had been less favourably treated than the other cities of the province. And yet the bishop enumerates above seventy miracles, of which three were resurrections from the dead, in the space of two years, and within the limits of his own diocese. If we enlarge our view to all the dioceses, and all the saints, of the christian world, it will not be easy to calculate the number and variety, nor the ingenuity of this inexhaustible source. But we may surely be al-
lowed to observe, that a miracle, in that age of super-
stition and credulity, lost its name and its merit, since it could scarcely be considered as a deviation from the ordinary laws of nature.

III. The innumerable miracles, of III. Revival of the Theordus, of which the tombs of the martyrs were the polytheism. perpetual theatre, revealed to the pious believer the actual state and constitution of the invisible world; and his religious speculations appeared to be founded on the first basis of faith and experience. Whatever might be the condition of vulgar souls, in the long interval between the dissolution and the resurrection of their bodies, it was evident that the superior spirits of the saints and martyrs did not consume that portion of their existence in silent and inglorious sleep. It was the mission of their own corporeal remains, in place of their habitation, or the nature of their felicity) that they enjoyed the lively and active consciousness of their happiness, their virtue, and their powers; and that they had already secured the possession of their eternal reward. Most of these prodigies exceeded the faculties surpassed the measure of the human imagina-
tion; since it was proved by experience, that they were capable of hearing and understanding the various petitions of their numerous votaries; who, in the same moment of time, but in the most distant parts of the world, invoked the name and assistance of Stephen or of Martin. The confidence of their petitioners was formed on the persuasion that the saints, who reigned with Christ, cast an eye of pity upon earth; that they were warmly interested in the prosperity of the catholic church; and that the individuals, who imitated the example of their faith and piety, were the peculiar and favourite objects of their most tender reg-

Sometimes, indeed, their friendship might be influenced by considerations of a less exalted kind: they viewed, with partial affection, the places which had been sanctified by their presence; or, if those mysterious scenes, they performed by their death, their burial, or the possession of their relics. The meaner passions of pride, avarice, and revenge, may be deemed unworthy of a celestial breast; yet the saints themselves descended to testify their grate-
ful approbation of the merit of their votaries: and the slave who had been sojourning in those impious wretches, who violated their magnificent shrines, or disbelieved their supernatural power.

Atrocious, indeed, must have been the guilt, and strange would have been the scepticism, of those men, if they had obstinately resisted the proofs of a divine agency, which the whole range of the animal creation, and even the subtle and invisible operations of the human mind, were compelled to obey. The immediate, and almost instantaneous,

1 See Augustin de Civitat. Del., i. xxii. c. 32. and the Appendix, which contains two books of S. Stephen's miracles, by Eutocius, bishop of Uzès. Frecophus (cap. Bnagap, Hist. des Jufs, tom. viii. p. 219') has preserved a (gylic or Spanish proverb, "Whoever pretends to have read all the miracles of St. Stephen, he lies." 

2 Burdet (de Statia Mortuorum, p. 56.) collects the opinions of the fathers, as far as they assert the sleep, or repose, of human souls till the day of judgment. He adduces evidence (p. 51.) that neither the inconvenience which must arise, if they possessed a more active and sensible existence.

3 Vigiliae Ecclesiasticae, etc. (tom. iv. c. 169.) furnish the souls of the prophets and martyrs, either in the bosom of Abraham, (in loco refutati) or else under the altar of God. Ancient author, Eusebius, Theem. i. xii. and xxii. 84.) But Jerome (tom. i. p. 125.) sternly refutes this blasphemy. Tu Deo deseris potens! Tu apostolis viculas inhuc, ut usque ad diem judicii, urbs, urbem.' (Brev. 62.) Eusebius is a witness, (Hist. ECCLES. iii. c. 8. with whom Eusebius, Jovinianus, and many others, are suppos-

4 Martin. (see his Life, c. 8. by Sulpicius Severus) extor-
ed this confession from the mouth of the dead man. The error is allowed to be natural: the discovery is supposed to be miraculous. Which of the two was likely to happen most frequently?

5 Lucian composed in Greek his original narrative, which has been translated by Avitus, and published by Borsius. (Ammi. Eccles. A. D. 413. No. 175.) The Benedictine editors of S. Augustin have given (at the end of the work De Civitate Dei) two several copies, with the passages referred to in the text. It is the conclusion of the commentator, that he who under-

6 A phial of St. Stephen's blood was annually implored at Naples, till he was superseded by St. Januarius. (Ruinart. Hist. Perpétuea, Vet. Hit. Ecclesiastique) Perpétue.

7 Augustin composed the two-and-twenty books De Civitate Dei in the following order: I. De Civitate, A. D. 413.—De ecclesiis, tom. xiv. p. 609, &c.) His learning is too often borrowed, and his arguments are too often his own; but the whole work claims the merit of a magnificent design, vigorously, and not unskilfully, ex-

8 Eusebius, (Hist. Ecclesiastique, iii. c. 80.) at Minucius, the relics of St. Stephen converted in eight days, 549 Jews; with the help, indeed, of some wholesome severities, such
effects, that were supposed to follow the prayer, or the
offence, satisfied the christians of the ample mea-
sure of favour and authority which the saints enjoyed
in the presence of the Supreme God; and it seemed
almost superfluous to inquire, whether they were con-
tinually obliged to intercede before the throne of
greatness, or to most distant divinities. After the exercise,
according to the dictates of their benevolence and
justice, the delegated powers of their subordinate
ministry. The imagination, which had been raised
by a painful effort to the contemplation and worship
of the Universal Cause, eagerly embraced such in-
ferior objects of adoration; and was more readily privi-
ged to its gross conceptions and imperfect faculties.
The sublime and simple theology of the primitive chris-
tians was gradually corrupted; and the monarchy
of heaven, already clouded by metaphysical subtleties,
was degraded by the introduction of a popular my-
thology which tended to restore the reign of poly-
theism.  

IV. As the objects of religion were
gradually reduced to the standard of the
imagination, the rites and ceremonies
were interpolated; and those most powerfully to
affect the senses of the vulgar. If, in the beginning
of the fifth century, Tertullian, or Lactantius,  had
suddenly raised from the dead, to assist at the festival
of some popular saint, or martyr,  they would have
gazed with astonishment, and indignation, on the pro-
fanely profaned, and secularized, objects which
were reserved as the doors of the church were thrown
open, they must have been offended by the smoke of incense,
the perfume of flowers, and the glare of lamps and tapers,
which diffused, at noon-day, a gawdy, superfluous,
and in its own light. If they approached the balustrade of the altar,
and gazed upon the path by which the pilgrim
is conducted into the great assembly, consisting for the
most part of strangers and pilgrims, who resorted to
the city on the vigil of the feast, and who already felt
the strong intoxication of fanaticism, and, perhaps, of
wine: their devout kisses were imprinted on the walls
and pavement of the sacred edifice; and their
fervent prayers were directed, whatever might be the
language of their church, to the bones, the blood,
or the ashes, of the saint, which were usually concealed,
by a linen or silk veil, from the eyes of the vulgar.
The Christians frequented the tombs of their holy
saints, in the hope of obtaining, from their powerful in-
tercession, every sort of spiritual, but more especially of
temporal, blessings. They implored the preservation
of their health, or the cure of their infirmities; the
fruitfulness of their barren wives, or the safety and
happiness of their children. Wherever the tombs of the sanc
tuary were visited, they were encircled by the memory
and relics of those heavenly patrons. The walls
were hung round with symbols of the favours which
they had received: eyes, and hands, and feet, of gold
and silver: and edifying pictures, which could not
long escape the abuse of indiscreet or idolatrous
devotion, represented the image, the attributes, and
the miracles of the tutelar saint. The same uniform
original spirit of superstition might suggest, in the
shortest or most distant churches, the idea of deceiving
the credulity, and of affecting the senses, of
mankind:  but it must ingeniously be confessed, that
the ministers of the catholic church imitated the pro-
fane model, which they were impatient to destroy.
The most respectable bishops had persuaded them-
sv selves, that the sacred rustics would more cheerfully
renounce the superstition of paganism, if they found
some resemblance, some compensation, in the bosom
of christianity. The religion of Constantine achieved,
in less than a century, the final conquest of the
Roman empire; but the victors themselves were insen-
sibly subdued by the arts of their vanquished rivals.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Final division of the Roman empire between the sons of
Theodosius.—Reign of Arcadius and Honorius.—Admin-
istration of Rufinus and Stilicho.—Revolt and defeat of
Gildo in Africa.

The genius of Rome expired with The-
odosius; the last of the successors of
Augustus and Constantine, who had
advanced in the field at the head of their
armies, and whose authority was universally ac-
knowledged throughout the whole extent of the
empire. The memory of his virtues still continued,
however, to protect the feeble and inexperienced youth
of his two sons: the devastations of the east,
Arcadius and Honorius were saluted, by the unanimous
consent of mankind, as the lawful emperors of the
cast, and of the west; and the oath of fidelity was
eagerly taken by every order of the state; the senates
of old and new Rome, the clergy, the magistrates,
the soldiers, and the people. Arcadius, who then was
about eighteen years of age, was born in Spain, in the
humble habitation of a private family. But he re-
ceived a princely education in the palace of Constan-
tiople; and his inglorious life was spent in that
peaceful and splendid seat of royalty, from whence he
appeared to reign over the provinces of Thrace, Asia,
Minor, Syria, and Egypt, from the lower Danube to
the confines of Persia and Ethiopia. His younger
brother, Honorius, assumed, in the eleventh year of
his age, the nominal government of Italy, Africa, Gaul,
Spain, and Britain; and the troops, which guarded
the frontiers of his kingdom, were opposed, on one
side, to the Caledonians, and on the other, to the
Moors. The great and martial prefecture of Illyricum was di-
vided between the two princes; the defence and pos-
session of the provinces of Noricum, Pannonia, and
Dalmatia, still belonged to the western empire; but
those two large provinces of Dacia and Macedonia, which
 Gratian had intrusted to the valour of Theodosius,
were for ever united to the empire of the east.
The boundary in Europe was not very different from
the line which now separates the Germans and the Turks;
and the respective advantages of territory, riches,
population, and military strength, were fairly balanced
and compensated, in this final and permanent division
of the Roman empire. The hereditary sceptre of the
sons of Theodosius appeared to be the gift of nature,
and of their father; the generals and ministers had
the resemblance of superstition, which could not be imitated,
might be traced from Japan to Mexico. Warburton has seized this
method, which he discourses on, and then it too general and absolute.
(Dor

Vine Legation, iv. c. 150.)

The imitation of paganism is the subject of Dr. Middleton's
agreeable letter from Rome. Warburton's animadversions obliged
him to connect (vol. ii. p. 120—123) the history of the two religions;
and to prove the antipathy of the christian copy.
been acclimated to adorn the majesty of the royal infants; and the army and people were not admonished of their rights, and of their power, by the dangerous example of a recent election. The gradual discovery of the impiety of Theodorus and Honorius, and the repeated calamities of their reign, were not sufficient to obliterate the deep and early impressions of loyalty. The subjects of Rome, who still revered the persons, or rather the names, of their sovereigns, held with equal abhorrence, the rebels who opposed, and then revolted, the authority of the throne.

Theodosius had tarnished the glory of his reign by the elevation of Rufinus; an odious favourite, who, in an age of civil and religious faction, has deserved, from every party, the imputation of every crime. The strong impulse of ambition and avarice had urged Rufinus to abandon his native country, an obscure corner of Gaul, to advance his fortune in the capital of the east; the talent of bold and ready eloquence qualified him to succeed in the lucrative profession of the bar; and his success in that profession was a gradual step to the most honourable and important employments of the state. He was raised, by just degrees, to the station of master of the offices. In the exercise of his various functions, so essentially connected with the whole system of civil government, he acquired the confidence of his master; yet, in the hereditary massacre of Thessalonica, the cruel Rufinus inflamed the fury, without imitating the repentance, of Theodosius. The minister, who viewed with profound indifference the rest of mankind, never forgave the appearance of an injury; and his enemies had foretold, in his opinion, the merit of all public services. Promotus, the master general of the infantry, had saved the empire from the invasion of the Ostrogoths; but he indignantly supported the pre-eminent of a rival, whose character and profession he despised; and, in the midst of a public council, the insults provoked to chastise with a blow the indecent pride of the favourite. This act of violence was represented to the emperor as an insult, which it was incumbent on his dignity to resent. The disgrace and exile of Promotus were signified by a peremptory order, to repair, without delay, to a military station on the banks of the Danube; and the death of that general (though he was slain in a skirmish with the barbarians) was imputed to the perfidious arts of Rufinus. The sacrifice of a hero gratified his revenge; the honours of the consulship elided his vanity; but his power was still imperfect and precarious, as long as the important posts of prefect of the east, and of prefect of Constantinople, were filled by Tatian, and his son Proculus; whose united authority balanced, for some time, the ambition and favour of the offices. The two prefects were accused of rapine and corruption in the administration of the laws and finances. For the trial of these illustrious offenders, the emperor constituted a special commission; several judges were named to share the guilt and reproach of injustice; but the right of pronouncing the sentence was reserved to the emperor alone, and that president was Rufinus himself. The father, stripped of the privilege of the east, was thrown into a dungeon; but the son, conscious that few ministers can be found innocent, where an enemy is their judge, had secretly escaped; and Rufinus must have been condemned in his own case, perhaps, without a verdict. If despotism had not condescended to employ the basest and most ungenerous artifices, the prosecution was conducted with an appearance of equity and moderation, which flattered Tatian with the hope of a favourable event: his confidence was fortified by the solemn assurances and peremptory oaths of the president, who presumed to interpose the sacred name of Theodosius himself; and the unhappy father was at last persuaded to recall, by a private letter, the fugitive Proculus. He was instantly seized, examined, condemned, and put to death; the suburbs of Constantinople, with a precipitation which disgraced the eloquence of the emperor. Without respecting the misfortunes of a consular senator, the cruel judges of Tatian compelled him to behold the execution of his son: the fatal cord was fastened round his own neck; but in the hour of death the populace seized his body. In the relief of a speedy death, he was permitted to consume the miserable remainder of his old age in poverty and exile. The punishment of the two prefects might, perhaps, be excused by the exceptional parts of their own conduct; the enmity of Rufinus might be palliated by the jealous and unanswerable nature of ambition: but he indulged a spirit of revenge, essentially repugnant to prudence and to justice, when he degraded their native country of Ly西亚 from the rank of Roman provinces; stigmatized a guiltless people with a mark of ignominy; and declared that the countrymen of Taba, Ier and Proculus should for ever remain incapable of holding any employment of honour or advantage, under the imperial government. The new prefect of the east (for Rufinus instantly succeeded to the vacant honours of his adversary) was not diverted, however, by the name, criminal pursuits, of Constantinople, of the religious duties, which in that age were considered as the most essential to salvation. In the suburb of Chalcedon, surnamed the Oak, he had built a magnificent villa; to which he devoutly added a stately church, consecrated to the apostles Peter and St. Paul, which was essentially sanctified by the prayers and penance of a regular society of monks. A numerous, and almost general, synod of the bishops of the eastern empire was summoned to celebrate, at the same time, the dedication of the church, and the baptism of the founder. This double ceremony was performed with extraordinary pomp; and when Rufinus was purified, in the holy font, from all the sins that he had hitherto committed, a venerable hermit of Egypt rashly proposed himself as the sponsor of a proud and ambitious statesman.
Chap. XIX.

OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

397

The character of Theodocius imposed
on his minister the task of hypocrisy,
which disguised, and sometimes restrain-
ed, the abuse of power; and Rufinus was apprehen-
sive of disturbing the idle slumber of a prince,
still capable of exerting the abilities, and the virtues,
which had raised him to the throne. But the absence
and, soon afterwards, the death, of the emperor, con-
ferred the absolute authority of Rufinus over the per-
son and dominions of Arcadius; a feebly youthful,
whom the imperious prefect considered as his pupil, rather
than his sovereign. Regardless of the public opinion,
he indulged his passions without remorse, and without
resistance; and his malignant and rapacious spirit re-
jected every passion that might have contributed to his
own glory, or the happiness of the people. His ava-
rice,\(^1\) which seems to have prevailed, in its corrupt
mind, over every other sentiment, attracted the wealth
of the east, by the various arts of partizan, and general,
tout; oppressive taxes, scandalous bribery, in-
moderate fines, unjust confiscations, forced or fictitious
testaments, by which the tyrant despoiled of their
lawful inheritance the children of strangers, or ene-
emies; and the public sale of justice, as well as of fa-
vours, with his pupils without remorse, and withou-

\(^1\) Montesquieu (Esprit des Lois, I. xii, c. 12) praises one of the

laws of Theodocius (ix. 8) which, he says, was on the point of
being repealed. The word is an original phrase of the sub-
jects for cuius, to discount the prosecution of treasonable, or sacrifi-
cial, crimes. A word which, in its literal meaning, always points
out the existence of tyranny; but a tautological expression of
the special profession, or intellectual wishes, of the prince, or his
ministers. Thus, I am afraid, is a just, though invidious, canonical
canon of criticism.

- Bucullus

Extremae

Cuius... libris;

Accepta... donum.

This character (Clavius: in Rufin. I. 14, 154-225) is confirmed by Je-
ron, a distinguished witness, (destitutis ineditis variis, tom. I, ad
Heliod. p. 23); by Zosimus, (I. v. p. 396), and by Sozoma, who copied
the history of Ephraim.

and of the times; disgraced his benefactor, by the
contrast of a virtuous and temperate administration;
and presumed to refuse an act of injustice, which might
have tended to the profit of the emperor's uncle.
Arcadius was easily persuaded to resent the supposed in-
sult; and the prefect of the east resolved to execute
himself the man of the emperor. He instructed his
minister against this ungrateful delegate of his power.
He performed with incessant speed the journey of seven
or eight hundred miles, from Constantinople to Anti-
toch, entered the capital of Syria at the death of
and spread universal consternation among a people igno-
mant of his designs, but not ignorant of the execution.
The count of the fifteen provinces of the east was drugged,
like the vilest malfeasant, before the arbitrary
tribunal of Rufinus. Notwithstanding the clearest
evidence of his integrity, which was not impeached
even by the voice of an accuser, Lucian was con-
demned, almost without a trial, to suffer a cruel
and ignominious punishment. The ministers of the ty-
rant, by the order, and in the presence, of their master,
beat him on the neck with leather thongs, armed at the
extremities with hoods; and when he fainted under the
violence of the pain, he was removed in a close litter,
with the impossibility of his not discovering the
ignominious city. No sooner had Rufinus perpetrated this
inhuman act, the sole object of his expedition, than he
returned, amidst the deep and silent curses of a tre-
mbling people, from Antioch to Constantinople; and his
diligence was accelerated by the hope of accomplish-
ing, without delay, a second capital of his daughter with
the emperor of the east.\(^2\)

But Rufinus soon experienced, that a he is disappoint-
ment minister should constantly se-
ed, by the nature
of his own

\(^2\) — Caesar sequit.

Ad finem vix fecit; patruus regione remotes
Inquire inc viss.

This Allusion of Rufin. (I. in Rufin. I. 241) is again explained by
the circumstantial narrative of Zosimus, (I. v. p. 398, 399.)

- Zosimus, G. 2, 4. & the whole volume proves passion and integ-


Arennum escaped from the palace of Constantinople, and passed sixty-
five years in prison amongst the magistrates of Egypt. See
Eccl., tom. v. p. 1, xc, but the latter, for the want of authentic ma-
terials, has given too much credit to the legend of Metapontine.
it reached the house of the sons of Promotus, the principal eunuch respectfully entered the mansion, invested the fair Eudoxia with the imperial robes, and conducted her in triumph to the palace and bed of Arcadius.\(^7\) The secrecy, and success, with which this conspiracy against Rufinus had been conducted, impressed Stilicho with the rideousness of his course. He considered Rufinus, a minister, who had suffered himself to be deceived, in a post, where the arts of deceit and dissimulation constituted the most distinguishing merit. He considered, with a mixture of indignation and fear, the victory of an aspiring eunuch, who had so secretly captivated the heart of his sovereign, and the disgrace of his daughter, whose interest was inseparably connected with his own, wounded the tenderness, or at least the pride, of Rufinus. At the moment when he flattered himself that he should become the father of a line of kings, a foreign maid, who had been educated in the house of his implacable enemies, was introduced into the imperial bed; and Eudoxia soon displayed a superiority of sense and spirit, to improve the ascendant which her beauty must acquire over the mind of a young and youthful husband. The emperor would soon have been disposed, if fortune, to destroy the powerful subject, whom he had injured; and the unconsciousness of guilt deprived Rufinus of every hope, either of safety or comfort, in the retirement of a private life. But he still possessed the most effectual means of defending his dignity, and perhaps of opposing the ambition of the emperor. The character of Rufinus seemed to justify the accusations, that he conspired against the person of his sovereign, to seat himself on the vacant throne; and that he had secretly invited the Huns and the Goths to invade the provinces of the empire, and to increase the public confusion. The subterraneous plot, whose life had been spent in the intrigues of the palace, opposed, with equal arms, the arithmetical measures of the eunuch Eutropius: but the timid soul of Rufinus was astonished by the hostile approach of a formidable rival, of the great Stilicho, the general, or rather the master, of the empire of the west.\(^8\)

\(^7\) Character of Stilicho, the minister, and general, of the western empire.

\(^8\) The celestial gift which Achilles obtained, and Alexander coveted, of a poet, or orator, or general, of the western empire.

\(^9\) This story (Zosimus, i. v. p. 290.) proves that the hymenial rites of antiquity were still practised, without idolatry, by the christians of Constantinople, and that it was formerly customary to separate the husband from the house of his parents to that of her husband. Our form of marriage, with less ceremony, the express and public consent of a priest, is prescribed in the Code of Justinian.

\(^{10}\) Zosimus, (i. v. p. 200.) Osianus, (i. vi. c. 37.) and the Chronicle of Marcellinus. Claudian (in Rufin. ii. 7. 100.) paints in lively colours the consequence of the project.

\(^{11}\) Stilicho, directly or indirectly, is the perpetual theme of Claudian. The youth and private life of the hero are vaguely expressed in the poem on his first constitution, 39—140.

of a long series of illustrious pretenders; and the slight mention of his father, an officer of barbarian cavalry, in the service of Valens, seems to countenance the assertion, that the general, who so long commanded the armies of Rome, was descended from the semi-gods of antiquity; and that whenever he moved, with lofty steps, through the streets of Constantinople, he was regarded by the stranger, who displayed, in a private condition, the awful majesty of a hero. From his earliest youth he embraced the profession of arms; his prudence and valour were soon distinguished in the field; the horsemen and archers of the east admired his superior dexterity; and in each degree of his military promotions, the public judgment always prevented and approved the choice of the sovereign. He was named by Theodosius, to ratify a treaty with the monarch of Persia: he supported, during that important embassy, two elegies to the Roman name; and after his return to Constantinople, the empress Flacilla, in her brother and general, united the same manly and humane character with the same intimate and honourable alliance with the imperial family.

Theodosius had been prompted, by a pious motive of fraternal affection, to adopt, for his own, the daughter of his brother Honorius: the beauty and acquisitiveness of the princess, had soon established her on the throne, by the obsequies court; and Stilicho obtained the preference over a crowd of rivals, who ambitiously disputed the hand of the princess, and the favour of her adoptive father.\(^{12}\) The assurance that the husband of Serena would be faithful to the throne, which he was permitted to approach, enraged the emperor to the extremest indignation; and the chances of the fortunes, and to employ the abilities, of the sagacious and intrepid Stilicho. He rose through the successive steps of master of the horse, command. 

1. A. D. 385—408.

2. The title of master of the horse, or the first rank of master-general of all the cavalry and infantry of the empire, which was bestowed on his father Stilicho, and after the latter's death on his son Theodosius.

3. Claudian (Lasus 190, 191.) expresses, in poetic language, the *dictus equorum,* and the *genius maxim omnium dulci victoria,* with whom he was born, and in whose veins, in his early youth, they were honourably conveyed to the palace of Constantinople.

4. Some doubt may be entertained, whether this adoption was legal, or honest; but the most artful and accomplished of all the poets, Livy, is at least silent on the subject.

5. Some of his orations are prefixed to the Fasti Etrusci, by an inscription which Stilicho obtained the title the singular iudicis of Proconsul Dutt. Theodosius.

6. Claudian (Lasus 190, 191.) expresses, in poetic language, the *dictus equorum.*

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8. Osianus, (i. vi. c. 37.) the Chronicle of Marcellinus. Claudian (in Rufin. ii. 7. 100.) paints in lively colours the consequence of the project.

9. Osianus, (i. vi. c. 37.) the Chronicle of Marcellinus. Claudian (in Rufin. ii. 7. 100.) paints in lively colours the consequence of the project.

10. Osianus, (i. vi. c. 37.)

11. Stilicho, directly or indirectly, is the perpetual theme of Claudian. The youth and private life of the hero are vaguely expressed in the poem on his first constitution, 39—140.

12. Claudian, Lasus Serena, 190, 191, expresses, in poetic language, the *dictus equorum.*

13. A modern general would deem their submission, either heroic patriotism, or object servility.
the manes of another Patroclus. The virtues and victories of Stilicho deserved the hatred of Rufinus: and the arts of calumny might have been successful, if the tender and vigilant Serena had not protected her husband against his domestic foes, whilst he vanquished in the field the enemies of the empire. 4 Theodorus continued continually to interpose. Hence it was that, with unexampled vigour he delegated the government of the palace, and of the east; but when he marched against the tyrant Eugenius, he associated his faithful general to the labours and glories of the civil war; and, in the last moments of his life, the dying monarch recommended to his son a candidate who should be constantly repulsed by Rufinus. The ambition and the abilities of Stilicho were not unequal to the important trust; and he claimed the guardianship of the two empires during the minority of Arcadius and Honorius. 5 The first measure of his administration, or rather of his reign, displayed to the nations the vigour and activity of a spirit worthy to command. He passed the Alps in the depth of winter; descended the stream of the Rhine, from the fortress of Basili to the marches of Batavio; reviewed the state of the garrisons; repressed the enterprises of the Germans; and, after establishing along the banks a firm and honourable peace, returned with increased vigour. The person and court of Honorius were subject to the master-general of the west; and the armies and provinces of Europe obeyed, without hesitation, a regular authority, which was exercised in the name of their young sovereign. Two rivals only remained to dispute the claims, and to provoke the vengeance, of Stilicho. Within the limits of Africa, Glicio, the Moor, maintained a proud and dangerous independence; and the minister of Constantine asserted his equal reign over the emperor, and the empire, of the east.

6 The impartiality which Stilicho affected, and the policy of his brothers, engaged him to regulate the equal division of the arms, the jewels, and the magnificent wardrobe and furniture, of the deceased emperor. 7 But the most important object of the inheritance consisted of the numerous legions, cohorts, and squadrums, of Romans, or barbarians, whom the event of the civil war had united under the standard of Theodosius. The various multitudes of Europe and Asia, exasperated by recent animosities, were overawed by the authority of a single man; and the rigid discipline of Stilicho protected the lands of the empire from the ravage of multitudes of barbarians. Anxious, however, and impatient, to relieve Italy from the presence of this formidable host, which could be useful only on the frontiers of the empire, he listened to the just supplications of the minister of Arcadius, declared his intention of re-conducting in person the troops of the east; and dexterously employed the run sord of a Gothic tumult, to conceal his private designs of ambition and revenge. 8 The guilty soul of Rufinus was alarmed by the approach of a warrior and a rival, whose cunning he feared; he computed, with increasing terror, the narrow space of his life and greatness; and, as the last hope of safety, erected a fabric of the terrors of his son, and of Stilicho, who appears to have directed his march along the sea-coast of the Hadrarit, which was not far distant from the city of Thessalonica, when he received a peremptory message, to recall the troops of the east, and to declare, that his nearer approach would be considered an act of hostility. The prompt and unexpected obedience of the general of the west, convinced the vulgar of his loyalty and moderation; and, as he had already engaged the afection of the eastern troops, he recommended to their zeal the execution of his bloody design, which might be accomplished in his absence, with less danger perhaps, and with less reproach. Stilicho left the command of the troops of the east to Gnaeus, the Goth, on whose fidelity he firmly relied; with an assurance, at least, that the hardy barbarian would never be diverted from his purpose by any consideration of fear or remorse. The soldiers were vigorously persuaded to punish the memory of Stilicho, and of Rome; and such was the general hatred which Rufinus had excited, that the fatal secret, communicated to thousands, was faithfully preserved during the long march from Thessalonica to the gates of Constantinople. As soon as they had resolved his death, they condescended to flatter his pride; the ambitious prefect was seduced to believe, that those powerful auxiliaries might be tempted to place the diadem on his head; and the treasures which he distributed, with a tardy and reluctant hand, were accepted by the indignant multitude, as an insult, rather than as a reward. At the head of a mile of a single column, the field of Mars, before the palace of Hebdomon, the troops halted; and the emperor, as well as his minister, advanced, according to ancient custom, respectfully to salute the power which supported their throne. As Rufinus passed along the ranks, and disguised, with studied courtesy, his innate haughtiness, the wings insensibly wheeled from the right and left, and enclosed the devoted victim within the circle of their arms. Before he could reflect on the danger of his situation, Gnaeus gave the signal of death; a daring and forward soldier plunged his sword into the breast of the guilty prince, and his body fell on the altars of the gods, together with the head of the afflicted emperor. If the agonies of a moment could execute the crimes of a whole life, or if the outrages inflicted on a breathless corpse could be the object of pity, our humanity might perhaps be affected by the horrid circumstances which accompanied the murder of Rufinus. His mangled body was abandoned to the brutal fury of the populace of either sex, who hastened in crowds, from every quarter of the city, to trample on the remains of the haughty minister, at whose frown they had so lately trembled. His right hand was cut off, and carried through the streets of Constantinople, in cruel mockery, to excite an execration against the avengers of tyrants, whose head was publicly exposed, borne aloft on the point of a long lance. 9 According to the savage maxims of the Greek republics, his innocent family would have shared the punishment of his crimes. The savage and dangerous revolutionary had, for his safety to the influence of religion. He protected them from the rage of the people; and they were permitted to spend the remainder of their days in a monastery.

4 Compare the poem on the first consulship (i. 95—115) with the Loa (Serena, c. 277—278), where it unimportantly passes over.

5 We may perceive the deep invertebrate malice of Rufinus.

6 Quo quoque facto.

7 Decessare cypleumque defuncto sancto.

8 Yet the nomination (Carr. Com. Hon. 692.) was private. (Hist. Cons. Hon. 115.) It was to his advantage . . . . and therefore may therefore be suspected Zonaras, and Suidas, apply to Stilicho, and Rufinus, the same equal title of liberator, guardian, or protector.

9 The Roman law distinguishes two sorts of munificence, which exist in the realm of the republic, and of twelfry, (one was subject to the iusf. or guardian of the person; the other to the iusf. or protector of the estate. (Hellenic, Antiqu. Rom. ad Jurispr.legionem maiorem, 694.) These two ideas were never accurately transferred into the constitution of an elective monarchy.

10 See Claudian (I. Cons. Stilicho. I. 181—222.) but he must allow more than fifteen days for the journey and return between Nissa and Lepcis.

11 I Cons. Stilicho. I. 88—94. Not only the roles and distresses of the deceased emperor, but the robes of the holiest, worn or mangled, curasses, &c. were enriched with pearls, emeralds, and diamonds.

12 Tuttipus romanus.

13 Principle, of which the ablest ambition labens.

14 This hitherto communication (I. Cons. Stilicho. I. 145) may be justified by the flaws of the dying emperor, as (see Glicio, 282—297.) and the peace and good order which were enjoyed after his death. (I. Cons. Stilicho. I. 310—312.)

* * *

Stilicho's march, and the death of Rufinus, are described by Claudian. (Of Rufin. 1. II. 10—453.) Zosimus, (L. v. 256, 257.) Sozomen, (Hist. Rom. And. Cons., c. 1.) Socrates, (Chron. c. 2. 17.) Pliny, (Epist. 8. 5.) with Godegery, p. 411) and the Chronicle of Marcellinus.

* * *

The diversion of Rufinus, which Claudian performs with the savage courtesies of an assassin, (in Rufin. ii. 904—913.) is likewise specified by Zosimus, and Jerome, (see miss. p. 25.)
of their lives in the exercises of christian devotion, in the
peaceful retirement of Jerusalem. 1

Discord of the

The servile poet of Stilicho applauds,
two empires, with ferocious joy, this horrid deed,
Al. xiv. 26, 294, 469, which, in the execution, perhaps, of jus-
tice, violated the law of nature and of society, prof-
faned the majesty of the prince, and renewed the dan-
gerous examples of military licence. The contempla-
tion of the universal order and harmony had satisfied
Claudian of the existence of the Deity; but the pros-
perous impunity of vice appeared to contradict his
moral precepts, and the fate of Rufinus was the
only event which could dispel the religious doubts of
the poet. 3 Such an act might vindicate the honour
of Providence; but it did not much contribute to the
happiness of the people. In less than three months
they were informed of the maxims of the new admin-
istration, by a singular edict, which established the
exclusive right of the treasury over the spoils of Rufi-

1 The pagan Zosimus mentions their sanctuary and pilgrimage.

2 The war of Rufinus, Sylvania, who spared her life in Jerusalem; is
famous in eomanic history. 1. The men of the church had discretion,
and even regularity, persuaded the contemporaries on the Bib-
lical or Providential to the omission of the Deity. At the age of two-
thirds, she could boast, that she had never washed
her hand, nor part of her whole body, except the tips
of her fingers, to receive the communion. See the Vine Patrum, 779. 577.
4 See the beautiful eulogy of his invincible against Rufinus, which
is curiously discussed by the acetic Boyle, Kizkriitzcr Cri-
tique, Revue, Not. E.

Theodosius Cado, I. iv. tit. 446. leg. 11, 13. The new
ministers attempted, with inequitable arrogrcc, to seize the spoils of
their predecessor, and provide for those of their
progeny.

See Claudian, (Lamb. Stilich. l. i. 252, 259, 266, b. 1. li. 82.) and
Zosimus, (L. v. p. 332.)

3 Claudian turns the consciousness of the empress Eutropia into
a national reflection, (i. iii. 133.)

ments of hatred and contempt, which their polished
ancestors had so long entertained for the rude inhabi-
tants of the west. The distinction of two govern-
ments, which soon produced the separation of two na-
tions, will justify my design of suspending the series
of the Byzantine history, to prosecute, without inter-
rupting the disgraceful, but memorable, reign of Ho-
norius.

The prudent Stilicho, instead of per-
sisting to force the inclinations of a prince, and people, who rejected his A.
A.D. 413. advice, was contented to withdraw his Arsenius to his un-
worthy favourite: and his reluctance to involve the
two empires in a civil war displayed the moderation
of a minister, who had so often signalized his military
spirit and abilities. But if Stilicho had any longer
endured the revolt of Arsenius, he would have betrayed
the security of the capital, and the majesty of the
western emperor, to the capricious insolence of a
Morish rebel. Gildo, 4 the brother of the tyrant Fir-
mus, had preserved and obtained, as the reward of his
apparent fidelity, the immense patrimony which was
forfeited by treason; long and meritorious service, in
the armies of Rome, and, lastly, to him the dignity of a
military count; the narrow policy of the court of The-
odosius had adopted the mischievous expedient, of
supporting a legal government by the interest of a
powerful family; and the brother of Firmus was in-
vested with the command of Africa. His ambition
was the source of his capacity. He united the genius
of a foreign warrior. Till they were divided by the
jealousy of power, the sword of Gainas, and the
charms of Eudoxia, supported the favour of the
great chamberlain of the palace; the perfidious Goth,
who had confounded majesty and genius, and acted
the part of a foreign warrior. Till they were divided by the
jealousy of power, the sword of Gainas, and the
charms of Eudoxia, supported the favour of the
great chamberlain of the palace; the perfidious Goth,
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jealousy of power, the sword of Gainas, and the
charms of Eudoxia, supported the favour of the

domestic

The favours of Arcadius fomented a secret and
irreconcileable war against a formidable hero, who
aspired to govern, and to defend the two empires
of Rome, and the two sons of Theodosius. They incess-
antly laboured, by dark and treacherous machinations,
to deprive him of the esteem of the prince, the respect
of the people, and the friendship of the barbarians.
The emperor, who was repeatedly the victim of a
dagger of hired assassins; and a decree was obtained,
from the senate of Constantinople, to declare him
an enemy of the republic, and to confiscate his am-
ple possessions in the provinces of the east. At a time
when the only hope of delaying the ruin of the Roman
empire consisted in the firm union, and reciprocal aid,
of all the nations to whom it had been gradually com-
municated, the subjects of Arcadius and Honorius
were instructed, by their respective masters, to view
each other in a foreign, and even hostile, light; to re-
judge in their mutual calamities, and to embrace, as
their faithful allies, the barbarians, whom they exec-
ted to invade the territories of their countrymen. 5 The
natives of Italy, affected to despise the servile and
effeminate Greeks of Byzantium, who presumed to im-
itate the dress, and to usurp the dignity, of Roman
senators; 6 and the Greeks had not yet forgot the sen-

"Phaedronem coeure sedentum
Er Byzantinae procreat, Gratiae que rerum
O paupertatis plebea, O digna consulem patres.
It is curious to observe the first symptoms of policy and ahesion, be-
tween old and new Rome, between the Greeks and Latins.

1 Claudian may have exaggerated the virtues of Gildo; but his
benevolence, in the cause of justice and humanity, and the complaints of Sir
Augustus, may justify the poet's invective. Baronius (Annal. Eccles. 1. 39.
398.) may be right, who states that Gildo's reign was one of peace, rebellion with skill
and learning.

2 Instat terridissimi vivus, moriventium heros.

3 A. D. 388.

4 Nactus terribilis vivus, morientium heros.

5 Per scopulam ducem, morientium heros.

6 Magna carmen magno
Carthage, I. viii. 138.
demand to supply Rome with the customary tribute, or rather subsidy, of corn. In every division of the empire, the five provinces of Africa were invariably assigned to the care of the father, or guardian, of the emperor, and governed that extensive country in the name of Honorius; but his knowledge of the character and designs of Stilicho, soon engendered him to address his homage to a more distant and feeble sovereign. The minister of the Augustan court, against him he was the head of a rebellious party; and the specious hope of adding the numerous cities of Africa to the empire of the west, tempted them to assert a claim, which they were incapable of supporting, either by reason or by arms. He is condemning by the Roman senate.

A.D. 376.

When Stilicho had given a firm and determined defence of the Byzantine court, he solemnly accused the tyrant of Africa before the tribunal, which had formerly judged the kings and nations of the earth; and the image of the republic was revived, after a long interval, under the reign of Honorius. His speeches, his orations, his conduct, and his character, were continually exposed to the attacks and odium of the multitude. Claudian, who had been the master of the world, would have applauded, with conscious pride, the representation of ancient freedom; if they had not long since been accustomed to prefer the solid assurance of bread, to the unsubstantial visions of liberty and greatness. The subsistence of Rome depended on the harvests of Africa; and it was evident, that a declaration of war would be the signal of famine. The prefect Symmachus, who presided in the disputation before the senate, admonished the minister of his just capacities to the discharge of his enervating duties. The dangerous Moor should prohibit the exportation of corn, the tranquillity, and perhaps the safety, of the capital, would be threatened by the hungry rage of a turbulent multitude. The prudence of Stilicho concealed his apprehensions, and he succeeded in averting the unhappy consequences of the event.

The cause of Rome, and the conduct of the African war, were intrusted by the emperor to the care of his general, and the ancient and ardent enemy of the private injuries of the tyrant. The spirit of discord, which prevailed in the house of Nabal, had excited a deadly quarrel between two of his sons, Gildo and Mascezel. The usurpation, with impolitic rage, the life of his younger brother, whose courage and abilities he feared; and Mascezel, oppressed by superior power, took refuge in the court of Milan; where he soon received the cruel intelligence, that his two innocent and helpless children had been murdered by his inhuman father. The monarchical rage was kindled by the desire of revenge. The vigils Stilicho already prepared to collect the naval and military forces of the western empire; and he had resolved, if the tyrant should be able to wage an equal and doubtful war, to march personally against him. But his timely required his presence, and as it might be dangerous to weaken the defence of the frontier, he judged it more advisable, that Mascezel should attempt this arduous adventure, at the head of a chosen body of Gallic veterans, who had lately served under the standard of Eugenius, among these troops, who were extolled to convince the world that they could subvert, as well as defend, the throne of a usurper, consisted of the Jovian, the Heracleian, and the Augustan, legionis; of the Persian auxiliaries; of the soldiers, who displayed in their banners the symbol of a lion, and of the troops which were distinguished by the auspicious causes of Fortuna, and Invincible. Yet such was the smallness of their establishments, or the difficulty of recruiting, that these seven bands, of high dignity and reputation in the service of Rome, amounted to no more than five thousand effective men. The fleet of galleys and transport-ships sailed to the destined haven of Pisa, in Tuscany, and steered their course to the little island of Capraria; which had borrowed that name from the wild goats, its original inhabitants, whose place was now occupied by a new colony of a strange and savage appearance. The whole island (says an ingenious traveller) is chosen (by those whom it is filled, or rather defiled, by men, who fly from the light. They call themselves Mondo, or solitaries, because they choose to live alone, without any witnesses of their actions. They fear the gifts of fortune, from the apprehension of losing them; and, lest they should be miserable, they embrace the poverty of the war. The island is an absurd choice! how perverse their understanding! to dread the evils, without being able to support the blessings, of the human condition. Either this melancholy madness, is the effect of disease, or those, who are engaged in the minute pursuits of science, to exercise on their own bodies the tortures which are inflicted on miserable slaves by the hand of justice. Such was the contempt of a profane magistrate for the monks of Capraria, who were revered, by the pious Mascezel, as the chosen servants of God. Claudian, in whose presence some of these monks were suspended by the cross, exhorted them to embark on board the fleet; and it is observed, to the praise of the Roman general, that his days and nights were employed in prayer, fasting, and the occupation of singing psalms. The devout leader, who, with such a reinforcement, appeared confident of victory, avoided the dangerous rocks of Corsica, coasted along the eastern side of Sardia and secured his ships against the violence of the south wind, by casting anchor in the safe and capacious harbour of Cagliari, at the distance of one hundred and forty miles from the African shores.

1 Claudian, Bell, Gild. 1, 323—128. The range of discipline advanced him to use indiscriminately the names of Legatus Factor Ministris., of the Aug, Mem. Ecl. x. 358.)

2 Claudian, Or. i. c. 36. p. 565; qualifying the account extit. exp. expression of doubt ('if any') and it strictly coincides with the 'hans- sated' of Zosimus. (p. 303.) Yet Claudian, after having declara- tion about Cadmus's soldiers, 'hastily adds, that Solon sent a small army, lest the rebel should fly, in winter times.' (Cons., Stilich. 1, i. 314, c.)

3 Claud. Ep., Claudian, Ep. ou. 430—436. A, afterwards (454—456) made a speech on the madman on the list of peripherals. For the passage, the above note, and the preceding note, see the commentary Bartus, 'xxxvii. xxxviii.' Thim. (Mem., Ecl. tom. xii. p. 471) most finely observes that the unbelieving error of Boccalini's Mithras is a delusion, which has been perpetuated, without the least regard to history. (Ecl. tom. xiii. p. 317, and Baronius, *Ann.,* Ecl. A. D. 398 No. 31.)

4 See also (Mem., Ecl. x. 360.) Claudian's poem has been lost; and we are ignorant, or where, the army made good their landing in Africa.
The decline and fall: Chapter XIX.

Gildo was prepared to resist the invasion with all the forces of Africa. By the liberality of his gifts and promises, he endeavored to secure the doubtful allegiance of the Roman soldiers, whilst he paid a visit to his standards in the distant tribes of Gutalia and Ethiopia. He proudly reviewed an army of seventy thousand men, and boasted, with the rash presumption which is the forerunner of disgrace, that his numerous cavalry would trample under their horses! But the troops of Mascezel, and involve, in a cloud of burning sand, the natives of the cold regions of Gaul and Germany.

But the Moor, who commanded the legions of Honorius, was too well acquainted with the manners of his countrymen, to entertain any serious apprehension of a mankind of barbarians, and only relied on his shield, instead of a arm, of a protection, which was protected only by a man; who were totally disarmed as soon as they had darted their javelin from their right hand; and whose horses had never been taught to bear the control, or to obey the guidance of the bridle. He fixed his camps of five thousand veterans in the face of a superior enemy, and, after the delay of three days, gave the signal of a general engagement. As Mascezel advanced before the front with fair offers of peace and pardon, he encountered one of the foremost standard-bearers of his enemies who, on his refusal to yield, struck him on the arm with his sword. The arm, and the standard, sunk under the weight of the blow; and the imaginary act of submission was hastily repeated by all the standards of the line. At this signal the disaffected cohort solemnly repeated the name of their lawful sovereign; the barbarians, astonished by the defection of their Roman allies, dispersed, according to their custom, in tumultuary flight; and Mascezel obtained the honours of an easy, and almost bloodless, victory.

The tyrant escaped from the field of battle to the seashore; and threw himself into a small vessel, with the hope of reaching in safety some friendly port of the empire of the cast; but the obstinacy of the wind drove him back into the harbour of Tabarca, which had acknowledged, with the rest of the province, the dominion of Honorius, and the authority of his lieutenant. The inhabitants, as a proof of their repentance and loyalty, seized and confined the person of Gildo in a dungeon; and his own despair saved him from the intolerable torture of supporting the presence of the enemy. But the number of his brethren, of his spoils, of Africa, were laid at the feet of the emperor; but Stilicho, whose moderation appeared more conspicuous and more sincere in the midst of prosperity, still affected to consult the laws of the republic; and referred to the senate and people of Rome the judgment of so many illustrious generals. The trial was public and solemn; but the judges, in the exercise of this obsolete and precarious jurisdiction, were impotent to punish the African magistrates, who had intercepted the subsistence of the Romano people.

The rich and guilty province was oppressed by the imperial ministers, who had a visible interest to multiply the number of the accomplices of Gildo; and if an edict of Honorius seems to check the malicious industry of informers, a subsequent edict, at the distance of ten years, continues and renewes the proscription. But the Moor, who commanded the legions of Honorius, had been incensed at the time of the general rebellion. 1 The adherents of the tyrant who escaped the first fury of the soldiers and the judges, might derive some consolation from the tragic fate of his brother, who could not obtain his pardon for the extraordinary services which he had performed. After he had finished an important war in the space of a single winter, Mascezel was received at the court of Milan with loud applause, affected gratitude, and secret jealousy; 2 and his death, which, perhaps, was the effect of accident, has been considered as the crisis of Stilicho. In the passage of Christian history, the death of a barbarous prince, who had accompanied the master-general of the west, was suddenly thrown from his horse into the river; the officious haste of the attendants was restrained by a cruel and perfidious smile, which they observed on the countenance of Stilicho; and while they delayed the necessary assistance, the unfortunate Mascezel was irrecoverably drowned. 1 The joy of the African triumph was happily connected with the nuptials of the emperor Honorius, and of his cousin Maria, the daughter of Stilicho. The formidable alliance seemed to invest with the power of the minister with the authority of a parent over his submission. The muse of Claudian was not silent on this propitious day; 3 he sung, in various and lively strains, the happiness of the royal pair; and the glory of the hero, who confirmed his union, and supported their throne. The ancient fables of Greece, which had almost ceased to be the object of religious faith, were saved from oblivion by the genius of poetry. The picture of the Cyrrin grove, the seat of harmony and love; the triumphant progress of Venus over her native seas, and the mild influence which her presence diffused in the palace of Milan, express to every age the natural sentiments of the heart, in the just and pleasant language of allegorical fiction.

But the amorous impiance, which Claudian attributes to the young prince, 4 must excite the smiles of the court; and his beauteous spouse (if she deserved the praise of beauty) had not much to fear or to hope from the passions of her lover. Honorius was only in the fourteenth year of his age; 5 Maria was only nineteen; and the danger of posterity, the consummation of the royal nuptials.

Maria died a virgin, after she had been ten years a wife; and the chastity of the emperor was secured by the coldness, or, perhaps, the debility, of his constitution. 6 His subjects, who attentively studied the character of the young monarchs, 7 thought that Honorius was without passions, and consequently without talents; and that his feeble and languid disposition was alike incapable of discharging the duties of his rank, or of enjoying the pleasures of his age. In his early youth he made some progress in the useful art of riding and drawing the bow; but he soon relinquished these fatiguing occupations, and the amusement of

1 See the Theodosian Code, i. ix. tit. xxix, leq. 3, &c. xi. leer. 19.

2 A barbarous prince, who had an equal share in the victory of Theodosius and his son, particularly asserts, that Africa was recovered by the wisdom of his counsels. (See an inscription produced by Barrow.)

3 I have abridged the narrative of Zosimus, which, in its crude simplicity, is deemed more creditable, X. v. 70. than the editions of the ancient historians, for violating the right of sanctuary.

4 Claudian, in the portrait of Honorius, and in the Victory; xxix. 105; &c. for the violation of the rights of sanctuary.

5 I have abridged the narrative of Zosimus, which, in its crude simplicity, is deemed more creditable, X. v. 70. than the editions of the ancient historians, for violating the right of sanctuary.

6 Claudian, in the portrait of Honorius, and in the Victory; xxix. 105; &c. for the violation of the rights of sanctuary.

7 I have abridged the narrative of Zosimus, which, in its crude simplicity, is deemed more creditable, X. v. 70. than the editions of the ancient historians, for violating the right of sanctuary.
feeding poultry became the serious and daily care of the monarch of the west, 2 who resigned the reins of empire to the firm and skillful hand of his guardian Stilicho. The experience of history will countenance the suspicion, that a prince who was born in the purple, received a worse education than the meanest peasant of his dominions; and that the ambitious minister suffered him to attain the age of manhood, without attempting to excite his courage, or to enlighten his understanding. 3 The predecessors of Honorius were accustomed to amuse, by their example, or at least by their presence, the valour of the legions; and the dates of their laws attest the perpetual activity of their imperial predecessors, and the public enemy, from a motive either of gratitude or of policy, was attentive, amidst the general devastation, to spare the private estates of the unpopular prefect. The Goths, instead of being impelled by the blind and headstrong passions of their chiefs, were now directed by the bold and artful genius of Alaric. This ambition, which was the noble race of the Balti, 4 which yielded only to the royal dignity of the Amanil; and he had solicited the command of the Roman armies; and the imperial court provoked him to demonstrate the folly of their refusal, and the importance of their loss. Whatever hopes might be entertained of the conquest of Constantinople, the judicious general soon abandoned an impracticable enterprise. In the midst of a divided council, and a discontented people, the emperor Arcadius was terrified by the aspect of the Gothic arms; but the want of wisdom and valor was supplied by the strength of the Amanil; and the fortified ports, both on the sea and land, might securely brace the impotent and random dart of the barbarians. Alaric disdained to trample any longer on the prostrate and ruined countries of Thrace and Dacia, and he resolved to seek a plentiful harvest of fame and riches in a province which had been called the most the rage of war. 5

The character of the civil and military officers, on whom Rufinus had devolved the government of Greece, confirmed the public suspicion, that he had betrayed the ancient seat of freedom and learning to the Gothic invaders. The province of Thessaly, which had been consecrated by a respectable father; and Gerontius, who commanded the provincial troops, was much better qualified to execute the oppressive orders of a tyrant, than to defend, with courage and ability, a country most remarkably fortified by the hand of nature. Alaric had traversed, without resistance, the plains of Macedonia and Thessaly, as far as the foot of Mount Oeta, a steep and woody range of hills, almost impervious to his cavalry. They stretched from east to west, to the edge of the sea-shore; and left, between the precipice and the mountain-gulp, an interval of three hundred feet, which, in some places, was contracted to a road capable of admitting only a single carriage. 6 In this narrow pass of Thermopylae, where Leonidas and the three hundred Spartans had gloriously devoted their lives, the Goths might have been stopped or destroyed, by a skilful general; and perhaps the view of that sacred spot might have kindled some sparks of military ardour in the breasts of the degenerate Greeks. The troops which had been posted to defend the straits of Thermopylae, retired, as they were directed, without attempting to disturb the secure and rapid passage, 5 and the Goths, after defeating the Phocians and Beotians, were instantly covered by a deluge of barbarians; who massacred the males of an age to bear arms, and drove away the beautiful

1 Priscianus de Bell. Gothice. l. i. c. 2. I have borrowed the general practice of Honorius, without adopting the singular, and indeed improper, title, which was given to the whole of that period of the emperor's reign by the ancient historians, and by subsequent writers.
2 The lessons of Theodosius, or rather Claudian, (iv. Cons. Hon. 211-235) must compose a fine introduction for the future prince of a great nation. 
3 The revolt of the Goths, and the battle of Constantinople, are distinctly mentioned by Claudian, (in Rufin. l. ii. 7-106) Zosimus, (l. v. 352 and 353) and Jordanes de Vitiis et Gestis, (c. 33.)
4 Aliaric marches into Greece. A. D. 395.
5 The return of the Goths. —They plunder Greece. —Two great invasions of Italy by Alaric and Radagonus. —They are repulsed by Stilicho. —The Gothic nation in arms. —The barbarian auxiliaries erected their independent standard; and boldly avowed the hostile designs which they had long cherished in their ferocious minds. Their countrymen, who had been condemned, by the conditions of the last treaty, to a life of tranquillity and labour, despaired of their fames at the first sound of the trumpet; and eagerly resolved the weapons which they had reluctantly laid down. The barriers of the Danube were thrown open; the savage warriors of Scythia issued from their forlorn and desolate country; and the unceasing efforts of the winter allowed the poet to remark, "that they rolled their ponderous wagons over the broad and icy back of the indignant river."
6 The unhappy natives of the provinces to the south of the Danube submitted to the calamities, which, in the course of twenty years, were almost grown familiar to their imagination; and the various troops of barbarians, who gloried in the Gothic name, were irregularly spread from the woody shores of Dalmatia, to the walls of Constantinople. The interruption, or at least the diminution, of the subsidy, which the Goths had received from the prudent liberality of Theodosius, was the specious pretence of their revolt: the affront was imitated by their contempt for the unwarlike son of Theodosius; and their resentment was inflamed by the weakness, or treachery, of the minister of Arcadius. The frequent visits of Rufinus to the camp of the barbarians, whose arms and apparel he affected to imitate, were considered as a sufficient evidence of his guilty conspiracy; and the public enemy, from a motive either of gratitude or of policy, was attentive, amidst the general devastation, to spare the private estates of the unpopular prefect. The Goths, instead of being impelled by the blind and headstrong passions of their chiefs, were now directed by the bold and artful genius of Alaric. This ambition, which was the noble race of the Balti; which yielded only to the royal dignity of the Amanil; and he had solicited the command of the Roman armies; and the imperial court provoked him to demonstrate the folly of their refusal, and the importance of their loss. Whatever hopes might be entertained of the conquest of Constantinople, the judicious general soon abandoned an impracticable enterprise. In the midst of a divided council, and a discontented people, the emperor Arcadius was terrified by the aspect of the Gothic arms; but the want of wisdom and valor was supplied by the strength of the Amanil; and the fortified ports, both on the sea and land, might securely brace the impotent and random dart of the barbarians. Alaric disdained to trample any longer on the prostrate and ruined countries of Thrace and Dacia, and he resolved to seek a plentiful harvest of fame and riches in a province which had been called the most the rage of war.

6 A Baltha, or bold; origin mirificus, says Jornandes, (c. 25.) This illustration from lux continued to flourish in France, in the Gothic invasion. The province of Nysus in Italy; the province of Neumog in Greece; the province of Benevent in Naples. (xxxvi. Hist. Grotius, p. 253.)
7 The lords of Basa, near Arles, and of seventy-nine subordinate chieftains, were independent of the counts of Provence. (Longueville, Description de la France, tom. i. p. 337.)
8 Zosimus (l. v. 253-255.) is our best guide for the conquest of Carthage; but the facts and allusions of Claudian are so numerous, and of so various a nature, that it would be difficult to summarize them in a single passage.
9 Compare Herodotus, i. vii. c. 76, and Livy, (xxxv. 15.) The scene of this great entrance is placed in the woods of Ephesus, where the galley of the Emperor Theodosius had been wrecked by the barbarians.
females, with the spoil, and cattle, of the flaming whirlwinds. The traveler who adopted the Grecian seat could easily discover the deep and bloody traces of the march of the Greeks; and Thebes was less indebted for her preservation to the strength of her seven gates, than to the eager haste of Alaric, who advanced to occupy the city of Athens, and the inundation of the Bosphorus. The anxiety of the refugees caused him to prevent the delay and danger of a siege by the offer of a capitulation; and as soon as the Athenians heard the voice of the Gothic herald, they were easily persuaded to deliver the greatest part of their wealth, as the ransom of the city of Minerva, and the temple of the goddess. They were routed, made prisoner, and observed with mutual fidelity. The Gothic prince, with a small and select train, was admitted within the walls; he indulged himself in the refreshment of the bath, accepted a splendid banquet which was provided by the magistrate, and affected to show that he was not ignorant of the manners of civilized nations. But the whole territory of Attica, from the promontory of Sunium to the town of Megara, was blasted by his baleful presence; and, if we may use the comparison of a contemporary philosopher, the Scironian floods covered the Hellenic shore with the skin of a slaughtered victim. The distance between Megara and Corinth could not much exceed thirty miles; but the bad road, an expressive name, which it still bears among the Greeks, was, or might easily have been made, impassable for the march of an army. The Scironian floods covered the inland country; the Scironian rocks approached the water's edge, and hung over the narrow and winding path, which was confined above six miles along the sea-shore. The passage of those rocks, so infamous in every age, was terminated by the isthmus of Corinth; and a small body of firm and intrepid soldiers might have successfully defended a temporary intrenchment of five or six miles from the Ionian to the Aegean sea. The confidence of the cities of Pelo- ponnnesus in their natural rampart, had tempted them to neglect the care of their ancient walls, and the avoice of the Roman governors had exhausted and betrayed the unhappy province. Corinth, Argos, Sparta yielded without resistance to the arms of the Greeks; and the most fortunate of the inhabitants were saved, by death, from beholding the slavery of their families. Thebes, Mycenae, Orchomenus, and other cities, the vases and statues were distributed among the barbarians, with more regard to the value of the materials, than to the elegance of the workmanship; the female captives submitted to the laws of war; the enjoyment of beauty was the reward of valor; and the misfortunes of their fathers, relations, &c. of their nation, were justly attributed, which was justified by the example of the heroic times. The descendants of that extraordinary people, who had considered valor and discipline as the walls of Sparta, no longer remembered the name of the conqueror, or the honors of their ancestors Pellenæus himself. It is not formidable than Alaric. "If thou art a god, thou wilt not hurt those who have never injured thee; if thou art a man, advance—and thou wilt find men equal to thyself." From Thermopylae to Sparta, the leader of the Goths pursued his victorious march, Plataiai near the source of the Priamian Helicon, and one of the advocates of expiring paganism has confidently asserted, that the walls of Athens were guarded by the goddess Minerva, with her formidable Agis, and by the angry phantom of Achilles, and that the conqueror was dismayed by the presence of the host of the dead, and returned, as if he had been the least accidentally, to extinguish the last remains of paganism; and the mysteries of Ceres, which had subsisted eighteen hundred years, did not survive the destruction of Eleusis, and the calamities of Greece.

The last hope of a people who could in any case no longer depend on their arms, their gods, or their sovereigns, was placed in the powerful assistance of the general of the west; and Stilicho, who had not been permitted to repulse, advanced to challenge the invader of Greece. A numerous fleet was equipped in the ports of Italy; and the troops, after a short and prosperous navigation over the Ionian sea, were safely disembarked on the isthmus, near the ruins of Corinth. The wooden and mountainous country of Arcadia, the fabulous residence of Pan and the Dryads, became the scene of a long and doubtful conflict between two generals not unworthy of each other. The skill and perseverance of the Roman at length prevailed; and the Goths, after sustaining a considerable loss from disease and desertion, gradually retreated to the lofty mountain of Parnassus, through the territory of Thessaly, to the frontiers of Elis; a sacred country, which had formerly been exempted from the calamities of war. The camp of the barbarians was immediately besieged; the waters of the river were diverted into another channel; and while they laboured under the impossibility of cutting an avenue for the supply of provisions, the strong line of circumsallation was formed to prevent their escape. After these precautions, Stilicho, too confident of victory, retired to enjoy his triumph, in the theatrical games, and lascivious dances, of the Greeks; his

1 In obedience to Jelon, and Claudian, (in Rufin. l. ii. 191,) I have mixed some darker colours in the mild representation of Zosim, who wished to soften the calamities of Athens.
2 Nec fera Cecropia tristissime vincla matres.
3 Synecdoche, &c. the Romans, that Athens, whose suffering he imputes to the proconsul's avarice, was at that time less famous for her schools of philosophy than for her trade of honey.
4 Vallata mari Scironia rupe.
5 Et continui convivium imas, et museo.
6 Isthmus — Claudian de Bell. Getici, 138.
7 The Scironian rocks are described by Pausanias, (l. i. c. 107, ed. Kuhn.) and our modern travellers, Wheeler, (p. 436,) and Conze, (p. 434.) Hadrian mentions, in his epigrams, of the Scironians: —
8 Claudian (in Rufin. l. ii. 186, and de Bello Getico, 461, &c.) vaguely, though forcibly, delineates the scene of rapine and depopulation.
9 Vidi deos Scironios autem, ut hisce. These generous lines of Hom. (Od. xliii. 186.) were transcribed by the editors of the cursive rolls of his youth at Corinth: and the man of Mumiatus may prove that the rule conqueror, though he was ignorant of the value of an original picture, possessed the purest source of good taste, a benevolent heart. (Fluriach, Symposium, l. ii. tom. ii. p. 727, ed. Wachel.)
10 Et Alpheus Geticus aesurus acervis.

1 For Stilicho's Greek war, compare the honest narrative of Zosim, (l. ii. p. 259, 256.) with the curious circumstantial narrative of Claudian (Consol. Scolici, 1. 172, 176, iv. Cons. Hon. 539 542.) As the event was not glorious, it is artfully thrown into the shade.
2 Such was the opinion of Homer (ii. 64.) who had no nobly painted him. 
3 Sauvage (in Vit. Philosoph. p. 90 93.) intimates that a troop of monks below the town, called the gospels, and followed the court.
4 Stilicho's Greek war, compare the honest narrative of Zosim, (l. ii. p. 259, 256.) with the curious circumstantial narrative of Claudian (Consol. Scolici, 1. 172, 176, iv. Cons. Hon. 539 542.) As the event was not glorious, it is artfully thrown into the shade.
5 The terms of the treaty by which the Goths were admitted to their landing on the coast of Greece. This security enriched the Eleans, who were lovers of a rural life. 
6 The barbarians were dispersed by the disbandment and destitution of the army: Polybius advises them to retire once more within their magic circle. See a learned and judicious discourse on the Olympic games, which have been restored, (Journ. of the Soc. of Antiquaries, 1797.)
7 Claudian (in Cons. Hon. 140) alludes to the fact without naming the river; perhaps the Alpheus. (Consol. Scolici, 1. l. 195.)
8 Et Alpheus Geticus aesurus acervis.
9 Tacitus det Schwabe einzigartig formiert.
10 Yet I should hazard the conjecture of the author of a wide and deep bed, which runs through Elis, and falls into the sea below Cythere. It had been joined with the Alpheus, to cleanse the Augian stables. (Cellein, tom. i. p. 786. Chalder's Travels, p. 286.)
soldiers, deserting their standards, spread themselves over the country of their allies, which they stripped of all that had been saved from the rapacious bands of the enemy. In the meantime, the most favourable moment to execute one of these hardy enterprises, in which the abilities of a general are displayed with more genuine lustre, than in the tumult of a day of battle. To extricate himself from the prison of Peloponnesus, it was necessary that he should piece together, with his own hands, the fragments of his narrative, that he should perform a difficult and dangerous march of thirty miles, as far as the gulf of Corinth; and that he should transport his troops, his captives, and his spoil, over an arm of the sea, which in the narrow interval between Rhium and the opposite shore, is at least half a mile of breaches. The emoluments of Alaric must have been secret, prudent, and rapid; since the Roman general was confounded by the intelligence, that the Goths, who had eluded his efforts, were in full possession of the important province of Epirus. This unfortunate delay allowed Alaric sufficient time to conclude the treaty, which he secretly negotiated, with the ministers of Constantinople. The apprehension of a civil war compelled Stilicho to retire, at the hasty mandate of his rivals, from the dominions of Arcadius, whom he respected, in the enemy of Rome, the honourable character of the ally and servant of the emperor of the east.

Alaric is declared a Grecian philosopher, a visitor master general of the eastern empire; Theodosius, published his liberal opinions. Theodosius; (p. 398.) having assumed the duties of kings, and the state of the Roman Empire, Syennis observed and deprest, the fatal abuse, which the impudent bounty of the late emperor had introduced into the military service. The citizens, and subjects, had purchased an exemption from the indispensable duty of defending their country; which was supported by the arms of barbarian mercenaries. The faculties of Scythia were permitted to disgrace the illustrious dignities of the empire; their ferocious youth, which disdained the salutary restraint of laws, were more anxious to acquire the riches, than to imitate the arts, of a people, the object of their contempt; and they despised the power of the Goths was the stone of Tautulus, perpetually suspended over the peace and safety of the devoted state. The measures which Syennis recommended, are the dictates of a bold and generous patriot. He exhorts the emperor to revive the courage of his subjects, and to withdraw barbarian luxury from the court, and from the camp; to substitute, in the place of the barbarian mercenaries, an army of men, interested in the defence of their laws and of their property; to force, in such a moment of public danger, the mechanic from his shop, and the philosopher from his school; to rescue the indolent citizen from his dream of pleasure, and to arm, for the protection of agriculture, the hands of the laborious husbandman. At the head of such troops, who might deserve the name, and would display the spirit, of Romans, he animates the son of Theodosius to encounter a race of men, who were the prey of which any real courage; and never to lay down his arms, till he had chased them far away into the solitudes of Scythia; or had reduced them to the state of ignominious servitude, which the Lacedaemonians formerly imposed on the Helots. The court of Arcadius demanded the zeal, applauded the undertaking, and neglected the advice of Syennis. Perhaps the philosopher, who addresses the emperor of the east in the language of reason and virtue, which he might have used to a Spartan king, had not employed a practicable scheme, consistent with the temper, and circumstances, of a degenerate age. Perhaps the pride of the ministers, whose business was seldom interrupted by reflection, might reject, as wild and visionary, every proposal, which exceeded the measure of their capacity, and deviated from the views and precedents of office. While the oration of Syennis, and the downfall of the barbarians, were the topics of popular conversation, an edict was published at Constantinople, which declared the promotion of Alaric to the rank of master-general of the eastern Illyricum. The Roman provincials, and the allies, who respected the faith of treaties, were justly indignant, that the ruin of Greece and Epirus should be so liberally rewarded. The Gothic conqueror was received as a lawful magistrate, in the cities which he had so lately besieged. The fathers, whose sons he had massacred; the husbands, whose wives he had violated; were subject to his authority, and the success of his rebellion encouraged the ambition of every leader of the foreign mercenaries. The use to which Alaric applied his new command, distinguishes the firm and judicious character of his policy. He issued his order to the four magazines and manufacturers of offensive and defensive arms, Marcus Aurelius, Marcellus, and Thessalonica, to provide his troops with an extraordinary supply of shields, helmets, swords, and spears; the unhappy provincials were compelled to forge the instruments of their own destruction; and the barbarians employed the only defect which had sometimes disappointed the efforts of their courage.

The birth of Alaric, the glory of his past exploits, and the confidence in his future designs, insensibly united the body of the nation under his victorious standard; and, with the unanimous consent of the barbarian chieftains, the master-general of Illyricum was elevated, according to ancient custom, on a shield, and solemnly proclaimed king of the Visigoths, and king of the Armid with this double power, seated on the verge of the two empires, he alternately sold his deceitful promises to the courts of Arcadius and Honorius; till he executed the only object which had engaged the first of invading the dominions of the west. The provinces of Europe which belonged to the eastern emperor, were already exhausted; those of Asia were inaccessible; and the strength of Constantinople had resisted his attack. But he was tempted by the fame, the glory, the wealth, of Italy, which he had beheld by the Elysian jurisdiction.

Jornandes, c. 29, p. 611. The Gothic historian adds, with unusual spirit, Cum saepe delibaverat, referre regna, quam aliena per eum subjicientur. 

The Meliteqique anthropo Egyptios 
Non aux vis tantas dio, dixit sedes fialax
Ludut, et altema peregrini, addidit
Clauudian in Enotron i. ii. 212. Alaric applauded his own policy, (de Bell. Got. 555—557) p. 612. which he made of this Elyrian jurisdiction.

Jornandes, c. 29, p. 611. The Gothic historian adds, with unusual spirit, Cum saepe delibaverat, referre regna, quam aliena per eum subjicientur.

Alpinus Italiae praparitibus ad Uram. This authentic poem is attributed to Claudian, (de Bell. Got. 557) seven years before the event. But though it was not composed immediately after the defeat, it has been lately fixed, the interpreters escaped through an ambiguous meaning.

Our best materials are 580 verses of Claudian, in the poem on the Gothic war, the title of which is an enigma, and the tenth century translation of Honorius. Zosimus is totally silent; and we are reduced to the evidence of a single writer, and to the chronicles and the chronicles.

Nevertheless the gross errors of Jornandes, who confounds the Italian wars of Alaric, (c. 29.) his date of the composition of Stilicho and Aurelian (A. D. 400) is firm and respectable. It is certain...
The pride and luxury in which he was educated, had fortified him to expect that there existed on the earth any power presumptuous enough to invade the repose of the successor of Augustus. The arts of flattery concealed the impending danger, till Alaric approached the palace of Milan. But when the sound of war had awakened the young emperor, instead of being moved by the presence of a few barbarians, he was overawed by his own situation. At a tender age, he eagerly listened to those timid counsellors, who proposed to convey his sacred person, and his faithful attendants, to some secure and distant station in the provinces of Gaul. Stilicho alone had courage and authority to resist this disgraceful measure, which would have been as odious to the Romans as to the Goths; but as the troops of the palace had been lately detached to the Rhenish frontier, and as the resource of new levies was slow and precarious, the general of the west could only promise, that, if the court of Milan would maintain their ground during his absence, he would soon return with an army equal to the encounter of the Gothic king. Without losing a moment, (while each moment was so important to the public safety,) Stilicho hastily embarked on the Lari-

ian lake, ascended the mountains of ice and snow, and returned with such rapidity, that he had time to suppress, by his unexpected presence, the enemy, who had disturbed the tranquillity of Rhetia. The barbarians, perhaps some tribes of the Alemanni, respected the fairness of a chief, who still assumed the character of his magnanimous father, and who, like the ancient Romans, had descended to make, of a select number of their bravest youth, was considered as a mark of his esteem and favour. The cohorts, who were delivered from the neighbouring foe, diligently repaired to the imperial standard; and Stilicho issued his orders to the most considerable men of the west, to advance, by rapid marches, to the defence of Honorius and of Italy. The fortresses of the Rhine were abandoned; and the safety of Gaul was protected only by the faith of the Germans, and the ancient terror of the Roman name. Even the legion, which had been stationed to guard the walls of Britain against the Caledonians of the north, was hastily recalled; and a numerous body of the cavalry of the Alani was persuaded to engage in the service of the emperor, who anxiously expected the return of his general. The prudence and vigor of Stilicho, who had no scruples on this occasion, which he had been led to meditate, had still preserved the safety of Italy. The seasons of the year, which had long since languished in the gradual decay of discipline and courage, were exterminated by the Gothic and civil wars; and it is still proved possible, without exhausting and expending the powers, to assemble an army for the defence of Italy. When Stilicho seemed to abandon his plan of retirement, he had probably calculated the term of his absence, the distance of the enemy, and the obstacles that might retard their march. He principally depended on the rivers of Italy, the Adige, the Mincio, the Oglio, and the Adda; which, in the winter or spring, by the fall of rains, or by the melting of snows, were sometimes filled to the brim, and inundated impetuous torrents. But the season happened to be contrary, and the rivers did not reach their usual height.
Stilicho resolved to attack the Christian Goths, whilst they were devoutly employed in celebrating the festival of Easter. The execution of the stratagem, or, as it was termed by the clergy, of the sacrifice, was intrusted to Saul, a barbarian and a pagan, who had served, however, with distinguished reputation among the veteran generals of Theodosius. The camp of the Goths, which a prudent Stilicho pitched at the foot of Pollentia, was thrown into confusion by the sudden and impetuous charge of the imperial cavalry; but, in a few moments, the undaunted genius of their leader gave them an order, and a field, of battle; and, as soon as they had recovered from their astonishment, they speedily continued the combat. The Goths would assert their cause, added new strength to their native valour. In this engagement, which was long maintained with equal courage and success, the chief of the Alani, whose diminutive and savage form concealed a magnanimous soul, approved his suspected ferocity, by the zeal with which he fought and fell, in the service of the republic; and the fame of this gallant barbarian has been imperfectly preserved in the verses of Claudian, since the poet, who celebrates his virtues, has omitted the mention of his name. His death was followed by the flight and dismay of the squadrons which he commanded, and the defeat of the imperial cavalry might have decided the victory of Alaric, if Stilicho had not immediately led the Roman and barbarian infantry to the attack. The skill of the general, and the bravery of the soldiers, surmounted every obstacle. In the evening of the bloody day, the Goths retreated from the field of battle; the entrenchments of their camp were forced, and the scene of rapine and slaughter made some atonement for the calamities which they had inflicted on the subjects of the empire. The magnificent spoils of Corinth and Argos enriched the veterans of the west; the captive wife of Alaric, who had inconsiderately eluded the lure of Roman jewels and patrician handmaidens, was reduced to implore the mercy of the insulting foe; and many thousand prisoners, released from the Gothic chains, dispersed through the provinces of Italy the heroes of a former generation; their triumph of Stilicho was compared by the poet, and perhaps by the public, to that of Marius; who, in the same part of Italy, had encountered and destroyed another army of northern barbarians. The huge bones, and the empty helmets, of the Cumbrici and of the Goths, should easily supply materials for spectacles; and posterity might erect a common trophy to the memory of the two most illustrious generals, who had vanquished, on the same memorable ground, the two most formidable enemies of Rome.

The eloquence of Claudian has celebrated, with lavish applause, the victory of Alaric.

1. Orosius (l. vii. c. 32) is shock'd at the impolicy of the Romans, who attacked, on Easter Sunday, such pious christians. Yet, at the same time, public prayers were offered at the shrine of St. Thomas, of Edessa, for the destruction of the Arian soldiery. See Tellenmont, Hist. des Emp., tom. v. p. 522, who quotes an homily, which has been erroneously ascribed to St. Chrysostom.

2. The veterans of the war of Alaric were twentsix miles to the southeast of Turin. 'Ubi, in the same neighbourhood, was a royal chace of the kings of Lombardy, and a small river, which excused the pursuit, 'The river is penetrable ad urbem,' says Sacy. (De Imper. Goth., tom. iv. p. 43.)

3. Orosius wishes, in doubtful words, to insinuate the defeat of the Romans. 'Pierans et victor nec victus victor.' Procop. (Hist. in Chron.) makes it an equal and bloody battle; but the Gothic writers, Claudian (in Chron.) and Jornalidus, (de Reb. Got., c. 33,) claims a decisive victory.


5. Claudian (De Bell. Got., 590—547.) And Prudentius, (Ep. 11. 691—712.) celebrate, without ambiguity, the Roman victory of Pollentia. They are political and party writers; yet some credit is due to them, since they have a fine eye for the notoriety of facts.

6. Claudian's perception is strong and elegant; but the identity of the Cumbrici and Gothic fields, must be understood (like Virgil's Philippic, Georg. iv. 493) according to the local geography of a poet. Vercellae and Po, in the map of the ancient world; the Po is the trade; and the latitudes is still greater, if the Cumbrici were defeated in the wide and barren plains of Venetia. (Claudian, Versus Illustratus, p. 54—55.)

7. Claudian and Prudentius must be strictly examined, to reduce the figures, and extort the historic sense of these poets.
THE DECLINE AND FALL

Chap. XXX.

of Pollentia, one of the most glorious days in the life of his patron; but his reluctant and partial muse bestrides more genuine praise on the character of the Gothic king. His name is, indeed, branded with the reproachful epithets of pirate and robber, to which the conquerors of every age are so unjustly entitled; but the post of Stilicho is compelled to acknowledge, that Alaric possessed the invincible temper of mind, which rises superior to every misfortune, and derives new resources from adversity. After the total defeat of his host, he remained, or rather withdrew, from the field of battle, with the greatest part of his cavalry entire and unbroken. Without wasting a moment to lament the irreparable loss of so many brave companions, he left his victorious enemy to bind in chains the captive images of a Gothic king; and boldly resolved to break through the unguarded passes of the Apennine, to spread desolation over the fruitful face of Tuscany, and to conquer or die before the gates of Rome. The capital was saved by the active and incessant diligence of Stilicho; but he respected the despair of his enemy; and, instead of committing the fate of Tarragona to the chance of his fortune, he proposed to purchase the absence of the barbarians. The spirit of Alaric would have rejected such terms, the permission of a retreat, and the offer of a pension, with contempt and indignation; but he exercised a limited authority. His envoys were fixed on the chieftains, who had raised him, for their service, above the rank of his equals; they were still less disposed to follow an unsuccessful general, and many of them were tempted to consult their interest by a private negotiation with the minister of Honorius. The king submitted to the voice of his people, ratified the treaty with the empire of the west, and repassed the Po, with the remains of the flowerishing army which he had led into Italy. A considerable part of the Roman forces still continued to attend his motions; and Stilicho maintained a secret correspondence with some of the barbarian chiefs, who was actually prized of the designs that were formed in the camp and council of Alaric. The king of the Goths, ambitious to signalize his retreat by some splendid achievement, had resolved to occupy the important city of Verona, which commands the principal passage of the Rhetian Alps; and, directing his march through the territories of those German tribes, whose alliance would restore his exhausted strength, to invade, on the side of the Rhine, the wealth and unsuspecting provinces of Gaul. Ignorant of the treason, which had already betrayed his bold and judicious enterprise, he advanced towards the passes of the mountains, already possessed by the imperial troops; where he was exposed, almost at the same instant, to a general attack in the front, on his flanks, and in the rear. In this bloody action, at a small distance from the walls of Verona, the loss of the Goths was not less heavy than that which they had sustained in the defeat of Pollentia; and their valiant king, who escaped by the swiftness of his horse, must either have been slain or made prisoner, if the hasty rashness of the Alani had not discovered the measures of Stilicho. Alaric secured the remains of his army on the adjacent rocks; and prepared himself, with undaunted resolution, to maintain a siege against the superior numbers of the enemy, who invested him on all sides. But he could not oppose the destructive progress of hunger and disease; nor was it possible for him to check the continual desertion of his impatient and capricious barbarians. In this extremity he still found resources in his own courage, or in the moderation of his adversary; and the retreat of the Gothic king was con- sidered as the deliverance of Italy. Yet the people, and even the clergy, incapable of forming any rational judgment of the business of peace and war, presumed to arm the policy of Stilicho, who so often vanquished, so often surrounded, and so often dismissed, the invincible enemy of the republic. The first movement of the public safety is devoted to gratitude and joy; but the second is diligently occupied by envy and calumny. The citizens of Rome had been astonished at the triumph of Honour at A. D. 404. The emperor was directed to accept the dutiful invitation of the senate, and to celebrate in the imperial city the auspicious era of the Gothic victory, and of his sixth consular.
peculiarly devoted to the combats of Gladiators, still exhibited to the eyes of the Roman people a grateful spectacle of blood and cruelty. Amidst the general joy of the victory of Pollentia, a christian poet exhorted the emperor to extirpate, by his authority, the horrid custom which had so long resisted the voice of humanity and religion. The pathetic representations of Pilgrims were less effectual than the threatenings of Telemachus, an Asiatic monk, whose death was more useful to mankind than his life. The Romans were provoked by the interruption of their pleasures; and the rash monk, who had descended into the arena, to separate the gladiators, was overwhelmed by the gradual and insidious rage of the people soon subsided; they respected the memory of Telemachus, who had deserved the honours of martyrdom: and they submitted, without a murmur, to the laws of Honorius, which abolished for ever the human sacrifices of the amphitheatre. The citizens, who adhered to the manners of their ancestors, might perhaps insignificantly, that the last remains of a martial spirit were preserved in this school of fortitude, which accustomed the Romans to the sight of blood, and to the contempt of death: a vain and cruel prejudice, so nobly confuted by the valour of ancient Greece, and of modern Europe. The son of the emperor had been exposed in the defenceless palace of Milan, urged him to seek a retreat in some inaccessible fortress of Italy, where he might securely remain, while the opposite country was covered by a deluge of barbarians. On the 7th of October, the capital was abandoned to the invaders, who were driven or twelve miles from the most southern of the seven mouths of the Po, the Thessalians had founded the ancient colony of Ravena, which they afterwards resigned to the natives of Umbria. Augustus, who had observed the opportunity of the place, prepared, at the distance of three miles from the irrevocable disastrous stroke, an opulent harbour, for the reception of two hundred and fifty ships of war. This naval establishment, which included the arsenals and magazines, the barracks of the troops, and the houses of the artificers, derived its origin and name from the permanent station of the Roman fleet: the intermediate space was soon filled with buildings and inhabitants, and the three extensive and populous quarters of Ravena gradually contributed to form one of the most important cities of Italy. The principal canal of Augustus poored a copious stream of the waters of the Po through the midst of the city, to the entrance of the harbour; the same waters were introduced into the profound ditches that encompassed the walls; they were distributed, by a thousand subordinate canals, into every part of the city, which they divided into a variety of small islands; the communication was maintained only by the use of boats and bridges; and the houses of Ravena, whose appearance may be compared to that of Venice, were raised on the foundation of wooden piles. The adjacent country, to the distance of many miles, was a deep and impassable marsh; and the artificial causeway, which connected Ravena with the continent, might be easily guarded, or destroy-

ed, on the approach of an hostile army. These maso-

s were interspersed, however, with vineyards; and though the soil was exhausted by four or five crops, the town enjoyed a more plentiful supply of wine than of fresh water. The air, instead of receiving the sickly, and almost pestilential, exhalations of low and marshy grounds, was distinguished, like the climate of Sardinia, as uncommonly salubrious; and this singular advantage was ascribed to the regular tides of the Adriatic, which swept the canals, interrupted the unwholesome stagnation of the waters, and floated, every day, the vessels of the adjacent country into the heart of Ravena. The city, which was at the distance of four miles from the Adriatic; and as early as the fifth or sixth century of the Christian era, the port of Augustus was converted into pleasant orchards; and a lonely grove of pines covered the ground where the Roman fleet once rode at anchor. Even this alteration contributed to increase natural strength of the place; and the shallowness of the water was a sufficient barrier against the large ships of the enemy. This advantageous situation was fortified by art and labour; and in the twentieth year of his age, the emperor of the west, anxious to improve the eastern confines of the walls and morasses of Ravena. The example of Honorius was imitated by his feeble successors the Gothic kings, and afterwards the exarchs, who occupied the throne and palace of the emperors; and, till the middle of the eight century, Ravena was considered as the seat of the last government and the capital of Italy.

The fears of Honorius were not without the revolutions out foundation, nor were his precautions of Sevliian, without effect. While Italy rejoiced in her deliverance from the Goths, a furious tempest was excited among the nations of Germany, who yielded in the Agri Decumates, and the Po to the Vandals, who were led by a valiant chieftain, and maintained their conquests with the most vigorous resistance. The Goths compelled the pastoral nations of the eastern desert to acknowledge the superiority of their arms; they invaded China in a period of weakness and intestine discord; and the fortunate Tartars, adopting the laws and manners of the vanquished people, founded an imperial dynasty, which reigned near one hundred and sixty years over the northern provinces of the monarchy. Some generations before they ascended the throne of China, one of the Toba princes had enlisted in his cavalry a slave of the name of Moko, who was renowned for his valor, and the fear of punishment to desert his standard, and to range the desert at the head of a hundred followers. This gang of robbers and outlaws swelled into a camp, a tribe, a numerous people, distinguished by the appellation of Geougen; and their hereditary chieftains, the posterity of Moko, the slave, assumed

1 See the peroration of Prudentius, (in Symmich. L. 1. 1121—1131.) who had doubtless read the elegiac invective of Lactantius. (Divin. Hier. c. 100.) 
2 F. Capriolse, (in the Chronology of the Theodalian Code, c. 20.) 
3 Utriusque gladiatorum spectaculorum et inhumanum novitati vivi- 
dae heroes utraque vetus, in monach, c. 21.) 
4 The youthful Telemachus, in H. c. 17. He feinsly conceals the abuses, and warmly defends the use of these sports; omit nullus potest esse forto contra dolora et mor-
5 tis. 

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7 Mortal (epigram iii. 56, 57.) plays on the trick of the knife, who has sold him a weapon of water; perhaps intended as a cistern at Ravena is more valuable than a vineyard. Sidonius complains that the town is destitute of fountains and aqueducts; and ranks the want of fresh water among the local evils, such as the craving of frogs, the sighing of masts, &c.
8 The labours of which Dyden has so admirably transplanted from Beccaccio, (Gioverna, it. novell. viii.) was received in the work of the French, a copy of which is in the national library of France, constituted the dread city of Ravenna.
9 From the year 401, the date of the Theodalian Code, becomes authentic at Constantinople and Ravena. See Godfrey's Chronology of the Laws, tom. i. p. 281, &c.
their rank among the Scythian monarchs. The youth of Toulin, the greatest of his descendants, was exercised by those misfortunes which are the school of heroes. He bravely struggled with adversity, broke the impetuous yoke of the Topa, and became the legislator of his nation, and the conqueror of Taurity. His character was such that he could not endure to see a hundred and of a thousand men; cowards were stoned to death; the most splendid honours were proposed as the reward of valour; and Toulin, who had knowledge enough to despise the learning of China, adopted only some feudal institutions as were favourable to the military spirit of the Tartars. He built a thousand trophies on the banks of the Caspian sea, the nation of the Huns; and the new title of Khan, or Cagan, expressed the fame and power which he derived from this memorable victory.\(^1\)

Emigration of the northern German tribes.\(^2\) A.D. 406.\(^3\) The chain of events is interrupted, or rather concealed, as it passes from the Volga to the Vistula, through the dark interval which separates the extreme limits of the Chinese, and of the Roman geography. Yet the temper of the barbarians, and the experience of successive emigrations, sufficiently darkens the picture. In the west of Hunry, this part of the plains, the Danube, was deserted by the Huns, who had withdrawn from the presence of an insulting victor. The countries towards the Euxine were already occupied by their kindred tribes; and their haughty flight, which they soon converted into a bold attack, would more naturally be described in the rich and level plains, through which the Vistula gently flows into the Baltic sea. The north must again have been alarmed and agitated by the invasion of the Huns; and the nations who retreated before them must have pressed with incumbent weight on the confines of Germany.\(^4\) The inhabitants of those regions, which the ancient writers have assigned to the Suevi, the Vandals, and the Burgundians, might embrace the resolution of abandoning to the ligatures of Sarmatia their woods and moorasses; or at least of discharging their superfluous numbers on the provinces of the Roman empire. After four years the victorious Toulin had assumed the title of Khan of the Geougen, another barbarian, the haughty Rhodogast, or Radagaisus,\(^5\) marched from the northern extremities of Germany almost to the gates of Rome; and left the remains of his army to work the destruction of the Roman empire. The Vandals, the Suevi, and the Burgundians, formed the strength of this mighty host; but the Alani, who had found an hospitable reception in their new seats, added their active cavalry to the heavy infantry of the Germans; and the Gothic adventurers crowded so eagerly to the standard of Radagaisus, that, by some historians, he has been styled the King of the Goths. Twelve thousand warriors, distinguished above the vulgar by their noble birth, or their valiant deeds, glittered in this van; and the whole multitude, which was not less than two hundred thousand fighting men, might be increased, by the accession of women, of children, and of slaves, to the amount of four hundred thousand persons. This formidable emigration issued from the same coast of the Baltic, which had poured forth the myriads of the Cimbri and Teutones, and was stopped by the astonished, but wanton, licentious conference of the Huns and Chinese. After the departure of those barbarians, their native country, which was marked by the vestiges of their greatness, long ramparts, and gigantic mounds,\(^6\) remained, during some ages, a vast and dreary solitude; till the human species was renewed, and the land possessed by the inhabitants of the Huns, who had left the region by an influx of new inhabitants. The nations who now usurp an extent of land, which they are unable to cultivate, would soon be assisted by the industrious poverty of their neighbours, if the government of Europe did not protect the claims of dominion and property.

The correspondence of nations was, Radagaisus in that age, so imperfect and precarious, that the revolutions of the north might escape the knowledge of the court of Ravenna; till the dark cloud, which was collected along the coast of the Baltic, burst in thunder upon the banks of the Upper Danube. The emperor of the west, if his ministers disturbed his amusements by the news of the impending danger, was satisfied with being the occasion, and the spectator, of the war.\(^7\) The safety of Rome was entrusted to the councils, and the sword, of Stilicho, the filings of the Persian amputation; and the state of the empire, that it was impossible to restore the fortifications of the Danube, or to prevent, by a vigorous effort, the invasion of the Germans.\(^8\) The hopes of the vigilant minister of Honorius were confirmed by the force of the enemies, which the Visigoths and the Suevi had ravaged the provinces, recalled the troops, pressed the new levies, which were rigorously exacted, and pusillanimously employed; employed the most efficacious means to arrest, or allure, the deserts; and offered the gift of freedom, and of two pieces of gold, to all the slaves who would enlist. By these offers he pain-fully collected, from the subjects of a great empire, an army of thirty or forty thousand men, which, in the days of Scipio or Camillus, would have been instantly furnished by the free citizens of the territory of Rome.\(^9\) The three hundred thousand body of barbarian auxiliaries; the faithful Alani were personally attached to his service; and the troops of Huns and of Goths, who marched under the banners of their native princes, Hulbin and Sarus, were animated by interest and resentment, and determined to avenge and recover their country. The confederate Germans, passed, without resistance, the Alps, the Po, and the Apennine; leaving on one hand the inaccessible palace of Honorius, securely buried among the marshes of Ravenna; and, on the other, the camp of Stilicho, who had fixed his headquarters at Treinnu, or Pavia, but who seems to have avoided a decisive battle, till he had assembled his distant forces. Many cities of Italy Besides Fle- were pillaged, or destroyed; and the roce, 1\(^{\text{See}}\) M. de Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. ii. p. 295, 314—338.
2\(^{\text{Prosopograph (de Bell, Vand. i. e. iii. p. 152.) has observed an}}\)
3\(^{\text{emigration from the Palus Meseta to the north of Germany, which he}}\)
4\(^{\text{sacrifices to famine. But his views of ancient history are}}\)
5\(^{\text{darkerly by ignorance and error.}}\)
6\(^{\text{Him.}}\)
7\(^{\text{M. Guignes. Hist. des Huns, tom. i. p. 121.}}\)
8\(^{\text{Toulon, iv. p. 465.}}\)
9\(^{\text{Toulon, iv. p. 465.}}\)
10\(^{\text{of Claudian, vii. Cons. Hon. 429.}}\)
11\(^{\text{is the modern language of Honorius, in speaking of that war, which he}}\)
12\(^{\text{had seen somewhere nearer.}}\)
13\(^{\text{of Zosimus (i. c. p. 323.) transports the war, and the victory of}}\)
14\(^{\text{of Zosimus, without attributing or restoring him.}}\)
15\(^{\text{Cassiodorus,Hist, of Gildas, viii. 11.}\}
16\(^{\text{Cassiodorus, Hist, of Gildas, viii. 11.}\}
17\(^{\text{alms obsequies and simply cured, by reading est. de Gildas, viii. Cons.}}\)
18\(^{\text{Cassiodorus, Hist, of Gildas, viii. 11.}\}
19\(^{\text{Galba, vii. 25.}}\)
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

CHAP. XXX.

siege of Florence, by Radagaisus, is one of the earliest events in the history of that celebrated republic; whose firmness checked and delayed the unskilful fury of the barbarians. The Senate and people trembled at their approach within a hundred and eighty miles of Rome itself; in the same curia where they had escaped, with the new perils to which they were exposed. Alaric was a christian and a soldier, the leader of a disciplined army; who understood the laws of war, who respected the sanctity of treaties, and who had familiarly conversed with the subjects of the same religion. Leaving the courts of

his residence, he with the headlong fury of a storm dashed against the ramparts of Florence, a city of ancient fame, and the most flourishing seat of the Florentine nation. The warmth of his passion was increased by the enmity he felt against the church of Florence, a city of the remotest antiquity, ancient and remote, truly a city of the living, and the spiritual dominion of the same name; Florence, whose citizens were supported only by the authority of St. Ambrose, who had communicated to them the sacred and ancient mysteries of the faith. On a sudden, they beheld, from their walls, the banners of Stilicho, who advanced, with his united force, to the relief of the faithful city; and who soon marked that fatal spot for the grave of the barbarian host. The apparent contradictions of those writers who variously relate the defeat of Radagaisus, may be reconciled, without offering much violence to their respective testimonies. Orosius and Auguslin, who were intimately connected by friendship and religion, ascribe this miraculous victory to the providence of God, rather than to the valor of man. They distinctly and accurately state the number of the barbarians that were killed, or even wounded, may be dis- missed with silent contempt; but the rest of the narrative of Augustin and Orosius is consistent with the state of the war, and the character of Stilicho. Con- science, that he commanded the last army of the republic, his prudence would not open the field, to the headstrong fury of the Germans. The method of surrounding the enemy with a strong line of circumvallations, which he had twice employed against the Gothic king, was repeated on a larger scale, and with more considerable effect. The examples of Cæsar must have been familiar to the most sagacious of his successors in the art of war. Con- sidering the situation of Dyrrachium, which connected twenty-four castles, by a perpetual ditch and rampart of fifteen miles, afforded the model of an intrenchment which might confine, and starve, the most numerous host of barbarians. The Roman troops had no less de- germinated effect than from the industry, of their ancestors; and if the servile and laborious work offended the pride of the soldiers, Tuscany could supply many thousand peasants, who would labour, though, perhaps, not fight, for the salvation of their native country. The imprudence of horses and men was gradually destroyed by famine, rather than by the sword; but the Romans were exposed, during the progress of such an extensive war, to the frequent attacks of an impetuous enemy. The despair of the hungry barbarians would precipitate them against the fortifications of Stilicho; the general might sometimes indulge in his just reputation of a valiant hero, who eagerly pressed to assault the camp of the Germans; and these various incidents might produce the sharp and bloody conflicts which dignify the narrative of Zosimus, and the Chronicles of Prosper and Marcellinus. A reasonable supply of men and provisions had been in- stituted in the winter. The chief stores, and even the famished host of Radagaisus was in its turn besieged. The proud monarch of so many warlike nations, after the loss of his bravest warriors, was reduced to confide either in the faith of a capitulation, or in the clemency of Stilicho. But the death of the royal captive who was ignominiously beheaded, dis- graced the triumph of Rome and of Christianity; and the short delay of his execution was sufficient to brand the conqueror with the guilt of cool and deliberate cruelty. The famished Germans, who escaped the fury of the auxiliaries, were sold as slaves, at the contemptible price of as many single pieces of gold; but the difference of food and climate swept away great numbers of those unhappy strangers; and it was observed, that the inhume purchasers, instead of reaping the fruits of their labour, were soon obliged to provide the expense of their interment. Stilicho informed them that he would use every means to save and deserve, a second time, the glorious title of Deliverer of Italy.

The fame of the victory, and more The remainder of the German invasion is yet imperfectly known. yet interesting, is the better told, the simpler the story, the more eloquent. Yet the simplicity of truth (Cæsar, de Bell. Civ. iii. 44.) is far greater than the embellishments of Lucan. (Pharsal. iii. 29—83.)

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THE DECLINE AND FALL

Chap. XXX.

A luminous passage of Prosper's Chronicle, "In tres partes, per duas causas exercentur tres gentes circinatae, Francorum, Suecorum, Vandalarum. "

various multitude of Sueves and Vandals, of Alani and Burgundians, who adhered to the standard of their general. The union of such an army might excite on the one side the grandeur of the event and the zeal of the emperor, on the other the spirit of revenge and despotic power. The motives which incited the Goths to leave their native soil and seek a new home were of a kind that always excite others to follow their example. The Goths, who had been raised to the highest pitch of prosperity and power, were suddenly and without a moment's warning plunged into a state of servitude, and the obstinate and obstinate spirit of the Goths was a powerful argument that they would not be satisfied with anything short of freedom. The emperor, on the other hand, had every reason to believe that the Goths would be more tractable if they were not sovereigns, and that the Goths would be more content if they were not free.

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and safety with valour. The timid and selfish policy of the court of Ravenna might recall the palatine legions for the protection of Italy; the remains of the stationary troops might be unequal to the arduous task; and the barbarian auxiliaries might prefer the unbounded license of spoil to the benefits of a moderate and regular service. The western provinces were filled with a numerous race of hardy and robust youth, who, in the defence of their houses, their families, and their altars, if they had dared to die, would have deserved to vanquish. The knowledge of their native country would have enabled them to oppose constancy to the wanton insurrections permitted to the people of an invader; and the deficiency of the barbarians, in arms as well as in discipline, removed the only pre- 

tence which excuses the submission of a populous country to the inferior numbers of a veteran army. When France was invaded by Charles the fifth, he inquired of a prisoner, how many days Paris might be distant from the frontier! 1 "Perhaps twelve, but they will be days of battle." 2 Such was the gallant an- 
swer which checked the arrogance of that ambitious prince. The subjects of Honorius, and those of Francis I. were animated by a very different spirit; and in less time descended to the task of the public defence. The provinces of Gaul, whose numbers, were they fairly stated, would appear contemptible, advanced, without a combat, to the foot of the Pyrenean mountains.

Revolt of the British army.

In the early part of the reign of Hono- 
rius, the vigilance of Stilicho had suc-
cessfully guarded the remote island of 

Britain from her incessant enemies of the ocean, the mountains, and the Irish coast. 3 But those restless barbarians could not neglect the fair opportunity of the Gothic war, when the walls and stations of the province were stripped of the Roman troops. If any of the legions had then occupied the head of the great feeding-ground of the Italian expedition, their faithful report of the court and character of Honorius must have tended to 

solve the bonds of allegiance, and to exasperate the sedition in the British army. The spirit of revolt, which had formerly disturbed the age of Gallienus, was revived by the capricious violence of the soldiers; and the unfortunate, perhaps the ambitious, candidates, who were the objects of their choice, were the instruments, and at length the victims, of their passion. Marcus was the first whom they placed on the throne, as the lawful emperor of Britain and of the west. They violated, by the hasty murder of Marcus, the oath of fidelity, which they had imposed on themselves; and their disapproval of his manners may seem to inscribe an honourable epitaph on his tomb. Gratian was the next whom they adored with the din-

dem and the purple; and, at the end of four months, Gratian experienced the fate of his predecessor. The memory of the great Constantine, whom the British legions had given to the church and to the empire, suggested the singular motive of their third choice. They discovered in the ranks a private 

knowledge of the person of Constant- 

tinus and British origin. Britain and Gaul, the two strongest nations of the vast empire, \n\nA. D. 407. \n\nhim on the throne, before they perceiv- 
ed his incapacity to sustain the weight of that glori-

uous appellation. 4 Yet the authority of Constantine was less precarious, and his government was more successful, than the transient reigns of Marcus and of Gratian. The danger of leaving his inactive troops in those camps, which had been twice polluted with blood and sedition, urged him to attempt the reduction of the western provinces by a general invasion, with an incalculable force; and after he had repos- ed himself some days, he summoned the cities of Gaul, which had escaped the yoke of the barbarians, to acknowledge their lawful sovereign. They obeyed the summons without reluctance. The neglect of the imperial court of Ravenna had relaxed the duty of allegiance; their actual distress encouraged them to accept any circumstances of change, with- 

out apprehension, and, perhaps, some degree of hope; and they might flatter themselves, that the troops, the authority, and even the name of a Roman emperor, who fixed his residence in Gaul, would protect the unhappy country from the rage of the barbarians. The first successes of Constantine against the detached 

parties of the Germans, were magnified by the voice of adulation into splendid and decisive victories; which the renown and insolence of the enemy soon fruitfully nullified. His mother, though she had served a short and precarious truce; and if some tribes of the barbarians were engaged, by the liberality of his gifts and promises, to undertake the defence of the Rhine, these expensive and uncertain treaties, instead of restoring the pristine vigour of the Gallic frontier, were served only to disgrace the majesty of his name: and to exhaust what yet remained of the treasures of the republic. Elated however with this imaginary tri- 

umph, the vain deliverer of Gaul advanced into the provinces of the south, to encounter a more pressing and personal danger. Sarus the Goth was ordered to remain at the head of the legions of the Pyrenean provinces; and to hold the border provinces of Honorius; and the forces of Britain and Italy were unworthily consumed in this domestic quarrel. After the loss of two bravest generals, Justinian and Nearchus, the former of whom was slain in the field of battle, the latter in a peaceful but inaudacious inter- 

view. Constantine fortified himself within the walls of Vienna. The place was ineffectually attacked seven days; and the imperial army supported, in a precipitate retreat, the ignominy of purchasing a safe 

passage from the freebooters and outlaws of the Alps. 5 Those mountains now separated the dominions of the two rival emperors. To the double frontier were guarded by the troops of the empire, whose arms would have been more usefully employed to maintain the Roman limits against the barbarians of Germany and Scythia.

On the side of the Pynnes, the sue | he reduce Spain, 

bition of Constantine might be justified \n\nA. D. 408. by the proximity of danger; but his throne was soon established by the conquest, or rather submission, of Spain; which yielded to the influence of regular and habitual subordination, and received the laws and ma-

gristrates of the Gallic prefecture. The only opposi- 

tion to the authority of Constantine proceeded not so much from the people of the empire, as from the 

private zeal and interest of the family of Theodosius. Four brothers 6 had obtained by the favour of their kinsman, the deceased emperor, an honourable rank, and ample possessions, in their respective country; and the grateful 

yards resolved to risk those advantages in the service

1 See the Memoires de Guillaume du Bellay, I. vi. In the French, the cognomen is proverbial, and appropriated to the double sense of the word journee, which alike signifies, a day's travel, and an event.\n
2 Claudian, (Cons. Sill. I. lib. II. 230.) It is supposed, that the Scots of Ireland invaded, by sea, the whole western coast of Britain, and that their invasion was even to Nennius, a British histo-

rian. (Carrie's Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 159, Whitaker's Gene-

nus History of Britain, vol. I. p. 244. Pace) The same expeditions, which were extant in the ninth century, must have contained as many captives, as we may believe, that in those Irish invasions, the future aspect of the Saxon dominions.\n

4 Ona in Constantino inconstantia ... exrcerantur. (Solinus Apollinaris, L. viii. p. 732. 733.) Mons. Lord (without the French pre-\n

cendit.) Yet Solini might be tempted, by so fair a pretext, to disgrace his bishop, who had disgraced his grandfather.\n
5 The breach of the oath by Zosimus applies to them; perhaps they deserved a less edifying character. (See Dubois, Hist. Critique, vol. iii. p. 252, and this History, vol. ii. p. 125.) We shall hear of them anon.

6 Festus Manius, Theodosius, and Laeticius, who in modern courts, would be styled princes of the blood, were not distinguished by any rank or privileges above the rest of their fellow-subjects.
of his son. After an unsuccessful effort to maintain their ground at the head of the stationary troops of Lasitania, they retired to their estates; where they united with their other kin, families, and dependents, and boldly marched to occupy the strong posts of the Pyrenean mountains. This domestic insurrection alarmed and perplexed the sovereign of Gaul and Britain; and he was compelled to negotiate with some troops of barbarian auxiliaries, for the service of the Spanish war. They were distinguished by the title of Honoriani, a name which might have reminded them of their fidelity to their lawful sovereign; and if it should candidly be allowed that the Scots were influenced by any partial affection for a British prince, the Moors and the Mercianini might be tempted only by the probability of liberty, war to the usurper, who distributed among the barbarians the military, and even the civil, honours of Spain. The nine bands of Honoriani, which may be easily traced on the establishment of the western empire, could not exceed the number of five thousand men; yet this insconsiderable force was sufficient to terminate a war, which had threatened the power and safety of Constantine. The rustic army of the Theodosian family was surrounded and destroyed in the Pyrenees; two of the brothers had the good fortune to escape by sea to their estates; the other, after an interval of suspense, were executed at Arles; and if Honorinus could remain insensible of the public disgrace, he might perhaps be affected by the personal misfortunes of his generous kinsmen. Such were the feeble arms which decided the possession of the western provinces or the service of the Spanish war. But the totality of it had been diminished even the last resource of a despotic government; and the revenue of exhausted provinces could no longer purchase the military service of a discontented and pusillanimous people.

Negotiation of Alaric and Stilicho.

A.D. 401-405.

The poet, whose flattery has ascribed to the Roman eagle the victories of Polcentin and Verona, pursues the hasty retreat of Alaric, from the confines of Italy, with a horrid train of imaginary specters, such as might hover over an army of barbarians, which was almost exterminated by war. In the course of this unfortunate expedition, the king of the Goths must indeed have sustained a considerable loss; and his harassed forces required an interval of repose to recruit their numbers, and revive their confidence. Adversity had exercised and displayed the genius of Alaric; and the fame of his valour invited to the Gothic standard the bravest of the barbarian warriors; who, from the Euxine to the Rhine, were aggregated by the desire of rapine and conquest. He had deserved the esteem, and he soon accepted the friendship of Stilicho himself. Resuming the service of the emperor of the east, Alaric concluded, with the court of Ravenna, a treaty of peace and alliance, by which he was declared master-general of the Roman armies throughout the prefecture of Illyricum: and it was claimed, according to the true and ancient habits of the family of Honorius, the execution of the ambitious design, which was either stipulated, or implied, in the articles of the treaty, appears to have been suspended by the formidable irritation of Radagaisus; and the neutrality of the Gothic king may perhaps be compared to the indulgence of Caesar, or the caution of Constantine, to the advantage of the state, to assist, or to oppose, the enemy of the republic. After the defeat of the Vandals, Stilicho resumed his pretensions to the provinces of the coast; appointed civil magistrates for the administration of justice, and of the finances; and declared his impatience to lead, from the gates of Constantinople, his victorious armies against the Romans and of the Goths. The prudence, however, of Stilicho, his aversion to civil war, and his perfect knowledge of the weakness of the state, made countenance the suspicion, that domestic peace, rather than foreign conquest, was the object of his policy; and, that it was his design to remove the kingdom of the Goths to Alaric at a distance from Italy. This design could not long escape the penetration of the Gothic king, who continued to hold a doubtful, and perhaps a treacherous, correspondence with the rival courts; and, in the midst of those operations, in Thessaly and Epirus, and who soon returned to claim the extravagant reward of his inefficient services. From his camp near Zimom, on the confines of Italy, he transmitted to the emperor of the west a long account of promises, of expenses, and of demands; of the state of affairs; and clearly intimated the consequences of a refusal. Yet if his conduct was hostile, his language was decent and dutiful. He humbly professed himself the friend of Stilicho, and the soldier of Honorius; offered his person and his troops to march, without delay, against the usurper of Gaul; and solicited a permanent and perpetual retreat for the Gothic nation, the possession of some vacant province of the western empire.

The political and secret transactions of two statesmen, who laboured to deceive the emperor with perjuries as prodigious as the actions of their predecessors, have been concealed in the impenetrable darkness of the cabinet. If the debates of a popular assembly had not thrown some rays of light on the correspondence of Alaric and Stilicho. The necessity of finding some artificial support for a government, which, from a principle of moderation, but of weakness, was placed, negociate with its own subjects, had insensibly revivified the authority of the Roman senate; and the minister of Honorius respectfully consulted the legislative council of the republic. Stilicho assembled the senators in the presence of the Caesars; represented, in a studied oration, the actual state of affairs; proposed the demands of the Gothic king, and submitted to their consideration the choice of peace or war. The senators, as if they had been suddenly awakened from a dream of four hundred years, appeared on this important occasion to be inspired by the counsels of reason, rather than the wisdom, of their predecessors. They loudly declared, in regular speeches, or in tumultuary ascriptions, that it was unworthy of the majesty of Rome to purchase a precarious and disgraceful truce from a barbarian king; and that, in the judgment of a magnificent people, the chance of ruin was always preferable to the certainty of dishonour. The minister, whose pacific intentions were seconded only by the voices of a few servile and venal followers, attempted to allay the general ferment, by an apology for his own conduct, and even for the demands of the Gothic prince. "The payment of a subsidy, which had excited the indignation of the Romans, ought not (such was the language of Stilicho) to be considered in the odious light, either of a tribute, or of a ransom, which could profit no one of the enemies of a benefactor. The Roman empire is rich, and fairly asserted the just pretensions of the
sentation of the difficulty and expense of such a distant expedition, checked this strange and sudden sally of active diligence; but the dangerous project was still in process of the Roman troops, the enemies of Stilicho, his barbarian auxiliaries, remained fixed and unalterable. The minister was pressed, by the advice of his confidant Justinian, a Roman advocate, of a lively and penetrating genius, to oppose a journey so prejudicial to his reputation and safety. His strenuous, but ineffectual, efforts confirmed the triumph of Olympius; and the prudent lawyer withdrew himself from the impending ruin of his patron.

In the passage of the emperor through Bologna, a mutiny of the guards was raised by the secret procuring of the treason of Stilicho; who announced his intentions to decimate the guilty, and ascribed to his own intercession, the merit of their pardon. At this tumult, Honorius embraced, for the last time, the minister, whom he now considered as a tyrant, and proceeded on his way to the camp of Ravenna; where he was received by the loyal acclamations of the troops who were assembled for the service of the Gallic war. On the morning of the fourth day, he pronounced, as he had been taught, a military oration in the presence of the soldiers, from whom the charitable relations of Olympius had prepared to execute a dark and bloody conspiracy. At the first signal they massacred the friends of Stilicho, the most illustrious officers of the empire, two pretorian prefects, of Gaul, and of Italy; two masters-general of the cavalry and infantry; the master of the offices, the courtier, and the confidant of the empress. Many lives were lost; many houses were plundered; the famous sedition continued to rage till the close of the evening; and the trembling emperor, who was seen in the streets of Ravenna, without his robes or diadem, yielded to the persuasions of his followers; condemned the memory of the slain; and solemnly approved the innocence and fidelity of their assassins. The intelligence of the massacre of Ravenna filled the mind of Stilicho with just and glorious apprehensions; and he instantly summoned, in the camp of Bologna, a council of the confederate leaders, who were assembled upon the arrival of their chief to the camps of Stilicho. The disordered spirits of the army were attached by the generosity of the emperor, and his deformed Roman, and perhaps to fix the diadem on the head of their injured general. Instead of executing a resolution, which might have been justified by success, Stilicho hesitated till he was irrecoverably lost. He was still ignorant of the fate of the emperor; he distrusted the fidelity of his own party; and he viewed with horror the fatal consequences of arming a crowd of licentious barbarians, against the soldiers and people of Italy. The confederates, impatient of his timorous and doubtful delay, hastily retired, with fear and indignation. At the hour of twilight, Sarmian and Gothic troops, with their barbarous compatriots, attacked the barbarians themselves for his strength and valor, suddenly invaded the camp of his benefactor, plundered the baggage, cut in pieces the faithful Huns, who guarded his person, and penetrated to the tent, where the minister, presaging and sleepless, meditated the danger of his situation, and even before submission, with difficulty from the sword of the Goths: and, after issuing a last and generous admonition to the cities of Italy, to shut their gates against the barbarians, his confidence, or his despair, urged him to throw himself into Ravenna, which was already in the absolute possession of his enemies. Olympius, who had

From the vain attempt. 'The eastern empire would not have obeyed, and could not have been conjured.
assumed the dominion of Honorius, was speedily informed, that his rival had embraced, as a suppliant, the altar of the Christian church. The base and cruel display of the hypocrisies were under the power of pity or remorse; but he piously intended to elude, rather than to violate, the privilege of the sanctuary. Count Heraclian, with a troop of soldiers, appeared, at the dawn of day, before the gates of the church at Raven-

na. The bishop was satisfied by a solemn oath, that the two persons only did not come to secure the person of Stilicho: but, as soon as the unfortunate minister had been tempted beyond the holy threshold, he produced the warrant for his instant execution. Stilicho supported, with calm resignation, the injurious names of traitor and parasite; repressed the unseasonable zeal of his followers, who were ready to attempt an ineffectual resue; and, with a firmness not unworthy of the last of the Roman generals, submitted his neck to the sword of Heraclian.\n
His memory per. The servile crowd of the palace, who assumed the throne, had so long adored the fortune of Stili-

cho, affected to insult his fall; and the most distinct connexion with the master-general of the west, which had so lately been a title to wealth and honours, was studiously denied, and rigorously punished. His family, united by a triple alliance with the family of Theodosius, and by the marriage of his daughter to a prince of the imperial house, the flight of his son Eucherius was inter-

cepted; and the death of that innocent youth soon followed the divorce of Thermantia, who filled the place of her sister Maria; and who, like Maria, had remained a virgin in the imperial bed. The friends of Stilicho, who had escaped the massacre of Pavia, were persecuted by the implacable revenge of Olymp-

pius; and the most exquisite cruelty was employed to extort the confession of a treasonable and sacrilegious conspiracy. They died in silence: their firmness justified the choice, and perhaps absolved the inno-

cent contumely of the emperor, and the power, which could take his life without a trial, and stigmatize his memory without a proof, has no jurisdiction over the impartial suffrage of posterity.\n
The services of Stilicho are great and manifest; his crimes, as they are vaguely stated in the language of flattery and hatred, are obscure, intangible, and unapprehensive. From the highest to the humblest months after his death, an edict was published, in the name of Honorius, to restore the free communication of the two empires, which had been so long interrupt-

ed by the public enemy.\n
The minister, whose fame and fortune depended on the prosperity of the state, was a guardian of Italy to the battalion, whom he repeatedly vanquished at Pollentia, at Ver-

ona, and before the walls of Florence. His pretended design of placing the diadem on the head of his son Eucherius, could not have been conducted without preparations of his complectes; and the ambitious father would not surely have left the future emperor, till the twentieth year of his age, in the humble station of tribune of the nobles. Even the religion of Stilicho was arraigned by the malice of his rival. The season-

able, and almost miraculous, deliverance was de-

voutly celebrated by the applause of the clergy; who asserted that the restoration of idols, and the persecu-

tion of the church, would have been the first measure of the reign of Eucherius. The son of Stilicho, how-

ever, was possessed of a degree of personal attractiveness, which his father had uniformly professed, and zealously sup-

ported.\n
Serena had borrowed her magnificent necklace from the statue of Vesta; and the pagans excuted the memory of the sacrilegious minister, by whose order the Sibyllyne books, the oracles of Rome, and those rocks, in which the druids of Britain were wont to assemble, were torn from their base. Power of Stilicho constituted his real guilt. An honourable reluctance to shed the blood of his country-

men, appears to have contributed to the success of his unworthy rival: and it is the last humiliation of the character of Honorius, that posterity has not conde-

scended to remember him with his base ingratitude to the guardian of his youth, and the support of his empire.\n
Among the train of dependents, whose The poet Clau-

dian. wealth and dignity attracted the notice of their own times, our curiosity is excited by the cele-

brated name of those of Hadrian with the royal favour of Stilicho, and was overwhelmed in the ruin of his patron. The titular offices of tribune and no-

tary fixed his rank in the imperial court; he was in-

debted to the powerful intercession of Serena for his marriage to a very rich heiress of the province of Africa; and the name of Claudian, in the forum of Trajan, was a monument of the taste and liberality of the Roman senate. But the praises of Stilicho became offensive and criminal, Claudian was exposed to the enmity of a powerful and unfor
giving court, and the wanton insolence of his friends.\n
He had compared, in a lively epigram, the op-

posite characters of two preatorian prefects of Italy; he contrasts the innocent repose of a philosopher, who sometimes resigned the hours of business to slumber, perhaps to study, with the interested diligence of a re-

apted publican, who amassed his fortune of servile power, in the hope of future or sacrilegious gain. "How happy," continues Clau-

dian, "how happy might it be for the people of Italy, if Mallius could be constantly awake, and if Hadrian would always sleep!* The repose of Mallius was not disturbed by this friendly and gentle admonition; but the beardy and impudent publican was, in the con-

sequence of his prosperity, ambitious of revenge, and easily obtained, from the en-

emies of Stilicho, the tripping sacrifice of an obnoxious poet. The poet concealed himself, however, during the tumult of the revolution; and, consulting the dictates of prudence rather than of honour, he addressed, in the name of Honorius, a humble re-

cantation to the offended prefect. He deplores, in

* Ascuitum himself is satisfied with the effectual laws which Stili-

cho had enacted against heretics and idolaters; and which are still extant in the Code. He only applies to Olympus for their confirm-

ation. (Baronius, Annum. Eccl. A. D. 405. No. 15.)

* Zosimus, I. v. p. 351. We may observe the bad taste of the age, in dressing their statues with such awkward finery. He only applies to Olympus for their confirm-

ation. (Baronius, Annum. Eccl. A. D. 405. No. 15.)

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ging their statues with such awkward finery. He only applies to Olympi
have advised the same measures which we were actually pursued by the ministers of Honorius. The king of Italy had advised the Goths with those reasons the clemency of gods, of heroes, and of lions; and expresses his hope, that the magnanimity of Hidrian will not trample on a defenceless and contemptible foe, already humbled by disgrace and poverty; and deeply wounded by the exile, the tortures, and the despair of his fortune. He replies to the success of his prayer, or the accidents of his future life, the period of a few years levelled in the grave the minister and the poet; but the name of Hidrian is almost sunk in oblivion, while Claudian is read with pleasure in every country which has retained, or acquired, the Latin tongue. He has shown himself a poetical language. If we fairly balance his merits and his defects, we shall acknowledge, that Claudian does not either satisfy, or silence, our reason. It would not be easy to produce a passage that deserves the epithet of sublime or pathetic; to select a verse, that melts the heart, or enlarges the imagination. We should vainly seek, in the poems of Claudian, the happy invention, and artificial conduct, of an interesting fable, or the just and lively representation of the characters and situations of real life. For the service of his patron, he published occasional paeans and invectives; and the design of diversifying the most similar, topics; his colouring — more especially in descriptive poetry, is soft and splendid; and he seldom fails to display, and even to abuse, the advantages of a cultivated understanding, a copious fancy, an easy, and sometimes forcible, expression, and a perpetual flow of harmonious versification. A fair, and valuable effort, to set up the accidents of time and place, we must add the peculiar merit which Claudian derived from the unfavourable circumstances of his birth. In the decline of arts and of empire, a native of Egypt,1 who had received the education of a Greek, assumed, in a mature age, the familiar use and absolute command of the Latin language;2 soared above the heads of his feeble contemporaries; and placed himself, after an interval of three hundred years, among the poets of ancient Rome.*

CHAPTER XXXI.

Invasion of Italy by Alaric.—Women of the Roman senate and people.—Rome is three besieged, and at length pillaged, by the Goths.—Death of Alaric.—The Goths evacuate Italy.—Fall of Constantine.— Gaul and Spain are occupied by the barbarians.—Independence of Britain.

Weakness of the empire, and of the court of Ravenna, rendered the appearance, and produce the effects, of a safety of a change with the public enemy. If Alaric himself had been introduced into the council of Ravenna, he would probably

have advised the same measures which we were actually pursued by the ministers of Honorius. The king of Italy had advised the Goths with those reasons the clemency of gods, of heroes, and of lions; and expresses his hope, that the magnanimity of Hidrian will not trample on a defenceless and contemptible foe, already humbled by disgrace and poverty; and deeply wounded by the exile, the tortures, and the despair of his fortune. He replies to the success of his prayer, or the accidents of his future life, the period of a few years levelled in the grave the minister and the poet; but the name of Hidrian is almost sunk in oblivion, while Claudian is read with pleasure in every country which has retained, or acquired, the Latin tongue. He has shown himself a poetical language. If we fairly balance his merits and his defects, we shall acknowledge, that Claudian does not either satisfy, or silence, our reason. It would not be easy to produce a passage that deserves the epithet of sublime or pathetic; to select a verse, that melts the heart, or enlarges the imagination. We should vainly seek, in the poems of Claudian, the happy invention, and artificial conduct, of an interesting fable, or the just and lively representation of the characters and situations of real life. For the service of his patron, he published occasional paeans and invectives; and the design of diversifying the most similar, topics; his colouring — more especially in descriptive poetry, is soft and splendid; and he seldom fails to display, and even to abuse, the advantages of a cultivated understanding, a copious fancy, an easy, and sometimes forcible, expression, and a perpetual flow of harmonious versification. A fair, and valuable effort, to set up the accidents of time and place, we must add the peculiar merit which Claudian derived from the unfavourable circumstances of his birth. In the decline of arts and of empire, a native of Egypt,1 who had received the education of a Greek, assumed, in a mature age, the familiar use and absolute command of the Latin language;2 soared above the heads of his feeble contemporaries; and placed himself, after an interval of three hundred years, among the poets of ancient Rome.*

The incapacity of a weak and disunited government may often assume the appearance, and produce the effects, of a safety of a change with the public enemy. If Alaric himself had been introduced into the council of Ravenna, he would probably

have advised the same measures which we were actually pursued by the ministers of Honorius. The king of Italy had advised the Goths with those reasons the clemency of gods, of heroes, and of lions; and expresses his hope, that the magnanimity of Hidrian will not trample on a defenceless and contemptible foe, already humbled by disgrace and poverty; and deeply wounded by the exile, the tortures, and the despair of his fortune. He replies to the success of his prayer, or the accidents of his future life, the period of a few years levelled in the grave the minister and the poet; but the name of Hidrian is almost sunk in oblivion, while Claudian is read with pleasure in every country which has retained, or acquired, the Latin tongue. He has shown himself a poetical language. If we fairly balance his merits and his defects, we shall acknowledge, that Claudian does not either satisfy, or silence, our reason. It would not be easy to produce a passage that deserves the epithet of sublime or pathetic; to select a verse, that melts the heart, or enlarges the imagination. We should vainly seek, in the poems of Claudian, the happy invention, and artificial conduct, of an interesting fable, or the just and lively representation of the characters and situations of real life. For the service of his patron, he published occasional paeans and invectives; and the design of diversifying the most similar, topics; his colouring — more especially in descriptive poetry, is soft and splendid; and he seldom fails to display, and even to abuse, the advantages of a cultivated understanding, a copious fancy, an easy, and sometimes forcible, expression, and a perpetual flow of harmonious versification. A fair, and valuable effort, to set up the accidents of time and place, we must add the peculiar merit which Claudian derived from the unfavourable circumstances of his birth. In the decline of arts and of empire, a native of Egypt,1 who had received the education of a Greek, assumed, in a mature age, the familiar use and absolute command of the Latin language;2 soared above the heads of his feeble contemporaries; and placed himself, after an interval of three hundred years, among the poets of ancient Rome.*
sonal injuries; and he might spectaculously complain, that the imperial ministers still delayed and eluded the payment of the four thousand pounds of gold; which had been granted by the Roman senate, either to re-
ward his services, or to appease his fury. His decent firmness was supported by an artful moderation, which contributed to the success of his designs. He re-
quired a fair and reasonable satisfaction; but he granted the strongest assurances, that, as soon as he had ob-
tained it, he would immediately retire. He refused to
trust the faith of the Romans, unless Titus and Jason, the sons of two great officers of state, were sent as hostages to his camp; but he offered to deliv-
ner, himself, several of the most illustrious youths of the Gothic nation. The modesty of Alaric was inter-
preted, by the ministers of Ravenna, as a sure evidence of his weakness and fear. They disdained either to negotiate a treaty, or to assemble an army; and with
brash confidence, deferred only from their ignorance of the extreme danger, irretrievably wasted the decisive
moments of peace and war. While they expected, in
sullen silence, that the barbarians should evacuate the
conines of Italy, Alaric, with bold and rapid marches, passed the Alps and the Po; hastily pillaged the cities of Tuscum and Illium; Columbia and Cremona, which yielded to his arms; increased his forces by the accession of thirty thousand auxiliaries; and, without meeting a single enemy in the field, advanced
as far as the edge of the morass which protected the
imperious residence of the emperor of the west. Instead of fair and reasonable satisfaction, which the bar-
barians themselves, encountered the victorious monarch, and boldly denounced the indignation of Heaven against
the oppressors of the earth: but the saint himself was
confounded by the solemn asseveration of Alaric, that
he felt a secret and preternatural impulse, which di-
rected, and even compelled, his march to the gates of
Rome. He felt, that his genius and his fortune were
equal to the most arduous enterprises; and the enthu-
siasm which he communicated to the Goths, insensibly
removed the popular, and almost superstitious, rever-
ence of a former and only satisfaction of the Roman
name. His troops, animated by the hopes of spoil, followed the course of the Flaminian way, occupied
the unguarded passes of the Apennines, descended into the rich plains of Umbria; and, as they lay en-
camped on the banks of the Clitumnus, might wan-
to stop their march. But, when they saw the signal, which had been so long reserved for the use of Roman tri-
umphs, a lofty situation, and a seasonable tempest of
thunder and lightning, preserved the little city of
Narni; but the king of the Goths, despising the igno-
ble prey, still advanced with unalloyed vigour; and
after he had passed through the stately arches adorned
with the spoils of barbaric victories, he pitched his
camp under the walls of Rome.†

During a period of six hundred and
gates of Rome.†

Hannibal at the Beneventum. During a period of six hundred and
gates of Rome.†

Hannibal at the Beneventum. During a period of six hundred and
gate of Rome.†

The successful expedition of Hannibal, served
only to display the character of the senate and peo-
ple of a senate degraded, rather than exalted, by the
comparison of an assembly of kings; and of a
people, to whom the ambassador of Pyrrhus aspired
the inexhaustible resources of the hydra.‡ Each of
the senators, in the time of the Punic war, had accomplish-
ished more than twenty thousand oxen, and had
sent a superior station; and the decree, which invested with
temporary command all those who had been consuls,
or censors, or dictators, gave the republic the immedi-
ate assistance of many brave and experienced generals.
In the beginning of the war, the Roman people con-
templated a long series of events, which were
recalling their scattered forces, expected his approach.
He encamped on the banks of the Anio, at the dis-
tance of three miles from the city; and he was soon
informed, that the ground on which he had pitched his
tent, was sold for an adequate price at a public auc-
tion; and that a body of troops, either on the one or
the opposite road, to reinforce the legions of Spain.¶ He
led his Africans to the gates of Rome, where he found
three armies in order of battle, prepared to receive him;
but Hannibal dreaded the event of a combat, by which
he could not hope to escape; unless he destroyed the last of his enemies; and his speedy re-
treat confessed the invincible courage of the Romans.
From the time of the Punic war, Genealogy of the
the uninterrupted succession of senators
had preserved the name and image of the republic; and the degenerate subjects of Honoria ambitiously
derived their descent from the heroes who had repulsed
the arms of Hannibal, and subdued the nations of the
temporal honours, which the devout Paula\(^1\) inherited and despised, are carefully recapitu-
lated by the ingenious Beaufort, in his Histoire des
Anenas, the father of the Julian line. The vanity of
the rich, who desired to be noble, was gratified by
‡ The march and retreat of Hannibal are described by Livy, L. xxvii. 6. 7, 9, 10, 11; and the reader is made a spectator of the inter-
esting scenes.
¶ These comparisons were used by Cynere, the counsellor of Pyrr-
hus, after his return from his embassy, in which he had diligently
gained the discipline and manners of Rome. See Plutarch in Piar-
bo, to. ii. p. 459.

In the description which were made of the Roman people,
about the time of the Punic war, the numbers stand as follows, (see the Appendix, Part I. Hist. L. xxvii. to. ii. p. 152, 153, 245.)
The fall of the second, and the rise of the third, appears so
enormous, that several critics, notwithstanding the uniformity of
the numbers, have assigned some corruptions to both, to Drakenbrod in xvii. 36, and Beaufort, Republique Romaine, tom.
l. p. 352. They did not consider that the second census was taken
only at Rome, and that the numbers were diminished, not only by
the death, but likewise by the absence, of many soldiers. In the
third census, the same officers were employed, by the care of particular commissioners. From the numbers on the list, we may almost judge, that one-twelfth of the army was con-
pable of bearing arms. See Populorum de la France, p. 72.
\(^1\) See Livy, book v. 23, where two incidents are described, which
were well managed by the amiable policy of the senate.
… 224. 169, 170. ad Eustochium; he bestows on
Paula the splendid titles of Graecoromus stipa, sobilis Scipio, Paula habens, and consularis tributum. But his elegance is not
in canenis vero et praemio prorsus. This particular description supports
more serious charge, which he imputes to Varus. See v. Orig. Hist. 194, 525.) The measured distance between Ravenna and Rome,
was 254 Roman miles. Quint. Wesseling, p. 126.

\(^{a}\) Addison (see his Works, vol. ii. p. 51, ed. Baskerville) has
given a very picturesque description of the road through the Apenn-
ines. The Goths were not at leisure to observe the beauties of the prospect; but they were pleased to find that the Saxa Scovale, or narrow passage, which Varro damaged, had cut through the rock, (Ogier.

\(^{b}\) Ogier.

\(^{c}\) Huc abit Clitumnus egregia, et maximum Taurus

\(^{d}\) Romans ad templum Deum duce Trumphum.

\(^{e}\) Beside V(a)stalia, the Latins passed, Popaleiae, Lucan, Silvan
Silvius, Chastelain, X., whose passages may be found in Clavering
and Addison, have celebrated the triumphal victims of the Clitum-
nus.

\(^{f}\) Some ideas of the march of Alaric are borrowed from the journey of
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\(^{g}\) Ogier.

\(^{h}\) Huc abit Clitumnus egregia, et maximum Taurus

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and Addison, have celebrated the triumphal victims of the Clitum-
nus.

\(^{k}\) Some ideas of the march of Alaric are borrowed from the journey of
These lofty pretensions. Encouraged by the applause of their parasites, they easily imposed on the credulity of the people by means of these magnificent and imposing gestures, by the custom of adopting the name of their patron, which had always prevailed among the freedmen and clients of illustrious families. Most of those families, however, attacked by so many causes of external violence or internal decay, were gradually extinguished; and it would be more proper to enumerate the fine generations among the mountains of the Alps, or in the peaceful solitude of Apulia, than on the theatre of Rome, the seat of fortune, of danger, and of perpetual revolutions. Under each successive reign, and from every province of the empire, a crowd of parasites, contending, rising in turn by the assistance of their masters or their vices, for the paltry, the honours, and the palaces of Rome; and oppressed, or protected, the poor and humble remnant of cosular families; who were ignorant, perhaps, of the glory of their ancestors.

The Anicii. In the time of Jercum and Claudianus, the senators unanimously yielded the pre-eminence to the Anician line; and a slight view of their history will serve to appreciate the rank and antiquity of the noble families, which contended only for the second place. During the first five ages of the history of the republic, the Anicii, who appear to have derived their origin from Praestate; and the ambition of those new citizens was long satisfied with the plebeian honours of tribunes of the people. One hundred and sixty-eight years before the Christian era, the family was ennobled by the marriage of Tullus Hostilius Marcellinus with a patrician who was not a despis, in the public estimation, the one hundred and sixty-eighth anniversary of the imperial purple. The several branches, to whom it was communicated, united, by marriage or inheritance, the wealth and titles of the Anicius, the Petronii, the Olybriaeans, and the common stock; and in each generation the number of the cosular families was multiplied by an hereditary claim. The Anician family excelled in faith and in riches: they were the first of the Roman senate who embraced Christianity; and it is probable that Anicius Julianus, who was afterwards consul and prefect of the city, atoned for his attachment to the party of Maxentius, by the readiness with which he accepted the religion of Constantine. Their ample fortune enabled them frequently to adopt the most distinguished of the chief of the Anician family; who shared with Gratian the honours of the consulate, and exercised, four times, the high office of pretorian prefect. His immense estates were scattered over the wide extent of the Roman world; and though the public might wish that part of the family who had been enriched with the generosity and magnificence of that fortunate statesman deserved the gratitude of his clients, and the admiration of strangers. Such was the respect entertained for his memory, that the two sons of Probus, in their earliest youth, and at the request of their mother, were educated in such a manner as to receive the title of consul, and were addressed by the name of illustrious family: a memorable distinction, without example, in the annals of Rome.

"The marbles of the Anician palace," Wealth of the were used as a proverbial expression of Roman nobles. opulence and splendour; but the nobles and senators of Rome aspired, in due gradation, to imitate that illustrious family. The accurate description of the city, which was composed in the Theodosian age, enumerates one thousand seven hundred and eighty houses, the residence of wealthy and honourable citizens. Many of these stately mansions might almost excuse the flattering epithet of benefactors, and the praise of a multitude of palaces, and that each palace was equal to a city: since it included within its own precincts, every thing which could be subservient either to use or luxury; markets, hippodromes, temples, fountains, baths, porticoes, shady groves, and artificial aves. The historian Olympiodorus, who represents the state of Rome when it was besieged by the Goths, continues to observe, that several of the richest senators received from their estates an annual income of four thousand pounds of gold, above one hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling; without computing the stated provision of corn and wine, which, had they been sold, would have filled the foundations of all the walls, and the value of one-third of the money. Compared to this immense wealth, an ordinary revenue of a thousand or fifteen hundred pounds of gold might be considered as no more than adequate to the dignity of the senatorian rank, which required many expenses of a public and ostentatious kind. Several examples are recorded, in the age of Honorius, of vain and popular nobles, who celebrated the year of their praetorship, by a festival, which lasted seven days, and cost above one thousand pounds sterling. The estates of the Roman senators,

2. The designation of Probus, and the old and modern authorities, is most properly the same with the Christian name of Probus. The Christianized form of the name is seen in Probus, the mercenary chief, and the hero of the Gothic invasion. See Gregor. p. 300. The Christian name相应于其 Septimius Severus, (app. Addisc. 32.) and to Probus. Paulini in vit. August. Claudianus in vit. Probus. Probus, (Paulini in vit. August.) seems at least to have expressed the glory of Probus.
3. See the poem which Claudian addressed to the two noble youths. See Secondini, the Munich, and Baron. Annal. Eccles. A. D. 280. No. 34.
5. Gold liquam incassus inter iuvenes sylvias; Verum qua vario carmo luna avidi.
Their manners. The opulent nobles of an immense capital, who were never excited by the pursuit of luxury and glory, and engaged in the occupations of civil government, naturally resigned their leisure to the business and amusements of private life. At Rome, commerce was always held in contempt; but the senators, from the first age of the republic, increased their patrimony, and multiplied their clients, by the practice of obsequiousness; and obsolete laws were eluded, or violated, by the mutual inclinations and interest of both parties.

A considerable mass of treasure must always have existed at Rome, either in the current coin of the empire, or in the form of gold and silver plate, and there were numerous lites in the time of Pliny. He expended more solid silver, than had been transported by Scipio from vanquished Carthage. The greater part of the nobles, who dissipated their fortunes in profuse luxury, found themselves poor in the midst of wealth; and idle in a constant hereditary disipation. Their desires were continually gratified by the labour of a thousand hands; of the numerous train of their domestic slaves, who were actuated by the fear of punishment; and of the various professions of artificers and merchants, who were more powerfully impelled by the desire of gain.

The ancient Romans enjoyed many of the conveniences of life, which have been invented or improved by the progress of industry; and the plenty of glass and linen has diffused more comfort among the modern nations of Europe, than the senators of Rome could derive from all the refinements of pompous or sensual luxury. Their luxury, and their manners, have been the subject of minute and laborious disquisition: but as such inquiries would divert me too long from the design of the present work, I shall confine myself to the more remarkable incidents with which he was familiarly conversant. The judicious reader will not always approve the aspersion of censure, the choice of circumstances, or the style of expression: he will perhaps detect the latent prejudices, and personal resentments, which soured the temper of Ammianus himself; but he will surely observe, with philosophic curiosity, the interesting and original picture of the manners of Rome.

The greatness of Rome (such is the language of the historian) was founded on the rare faculties of the Romans, and the exuberance of virtue and of fortune. The long period of her infancy was employed in a laborious struggle against the tribes of Italy, the neighbours and enemies of the rising city. In the strength and ardour of youth, she sustained the storms of war; carried with her victory, the names, the capitals, and the remains of nations; and brought home triumphant laurels from every country of the globe. At length, verging towards old age, and sometimes conquering by the terror only of her name, she sought the blessings of ease and tranquillity. The venerable city, which had trampled on the necks of the ancients, was now degraded, and the system of laws, the perpetual guardians of justice and freedom, was content, like a wise and wealthy parent, to devolve to the Caesars, her favourite sons, the care of governing her ample patrium. A secure and profound peace, such as had been once enjoyed in the reign of Numa, succeeded to the tumults of a republic: while Rome was still adored as the queen of the earth; and the subject nations still revered the name of the people, and the majesty of the senate. But this native splendour (continues Ammianus) is now reduced to the condition of a kingdom, the subjects of whom, who, unmindful of their own dignity, and of that of their country, assume an unboughted licence of vice and folly. They contend with each other in the empty vaunt of titles and surnames; and curiously select, or invent, the most lofty and sonorous appellation. Reburhasius, Fabianus, Pagonias, or Tarbusius, 8 which may impress the ears of the vulgar with astonishment and respect. From a vain ambition of perpetuating their memory, they affect to multiply their likenesses, in statues of bronze and marble; nor are they satisfied, by the observance with Horace, and I believe with truth, that Augustus had neither statues nor his images, nor a shirt to his back. Under the lower empire, the use of linen and glass became somewhat more common.

It is incumbent on me to explain the liberties which I have taken with the ancient, and to declare, that I have not been actuated by any passion, but the desire of truth. Augustus had neither statues nor his images, nor a shirt to his back. Under the lower empire, the use of linen and glass became somewhat more common.

Democracy des Inscriptions, tom. xxvii. p. 727, was equally applied to a peruse of 123 pieces of silver, and to a small copper coin of the value of 1-48 part of that piece. In the former sense, the 22,000 friti would be equal to 150,000; in the latter, to five or six pounds sterling. The one appears extravagant, the other is ridiculous. There must have existed some third, and middle value, which is here unknown; but ambiguity is an inexcusable fault in the language of law.
unless those statues are covered with plates of gold: an honourable distinction, first accorded to Scipios the coming generation, by the hands and counsels, the power of king Antiochus. The ostentation of displaying, of magnifying, perhaps, the rent-roll of the estates which they possess in all the provinces, from the rising to the setting sun, provokes the just resentment of every man, who recollects that their predecessors were so distinguished from the meanest of the soldiers, by the delicacy of their food, or the splendour of their apparel. But the modern nobles measure their rank and consequence according to the loftiness of their chariots; and the weighty magnificence of their dress. Their long robes of silk and purple float in the wind, and as they are agitated, by act or accident, they occasionally discover the under garments, the rich tunic, embroidered with the figures of various animals. Followed by a train of fifty servants, and tearing up the pavement, they move along the streets with the same impetuous speed as if they travelled with post-horses; and the example of the servants is boldly imitated by the matrons and ladies, whose covered carriages are continually driving round the immense space of the city and suburbs. Whenever these persons of high distinction condescend to visit the public baths, they assume, on their part, the lead and example appropriate to their own use the conveniences which were designed for the Roman people. If, in these places of mixed and general resort, they meet any of the infamous ministers of their pleasures, they express their affections by a tender embrace; while they proudly declare the salutations of their fellow-citizens, who are not permitted to aspire above the honour of kissing their hands, or their knees. As soon as they have indulged themselves in the refreshment of the bath, they resume their rings, and the other emblems of their dignity; select from their private wardrobe of the finest linen, as might suit for a decent person, the garments most agreeable to their fancy, and maintain till their departure the same haughty demeanour; which perhaps might have been excused in the great Marcellus, after the conquest of Syracuse. Sometimes, indeed, these heroes contemplate mankind with the same indulgent smile that Lucullus had, in Italy, and procure themselves, by the toil of servile hands, the amusements of the chase. If at any time, but more especially on a hot day, they have courage to sail, in their painted galleys, from the Lucrine lake to their elegant villas on the sea-coast of Patroii and Cumae, they compare the object with the statues of Cesar and Alexander. Yet should a fly

The two rows of silk and purple floated in the wind, and as they were agitated, by act or accident, they occasionally revealed the undergarments, the rich tunic, embroidered with the figures of various animals. Followed by a train of fifty servants, and tearing up the pavement, they moved along the streets with the same impetuous speed as if they travelled with post-horses; and the example of the servants was boldly imitated by the matrons and ladies, whose covered carriages were continually driving round the immense space of the city and suburbs. Whenever these persons of high distinction condescended to visit the public baths, they assumed, on their part, the lead and example appropriate to their own use the conveniences which were designed for the Roman people. If, in these places of mixed and general resort, they met any of the infamous ministers of their pleasures, they expressed their affections by a tender embrace; while they proudly declared the salutations of their fellow-citizens, who were not permitted to aspire above the honour of kissing their hands, or their knees. As soon as they had indulged themselves in the refreshment of the bath, they resumed their rings, and the other emblems of their dignity; selected from their private wardrobe the finest linen, as might suit for a decent person, the garments most agreeable to their fancy, and maintained till their departure the same haughty demeanour; which perhaps might have been excused in the great Marcellus, after the conquest of Syracuse. Sometimes, indeed, these heroes contemplated mankind with the same indulgent smile that Lucullus had, in Italy, and procured themselves, by the toil of servile hands, the amusements of the chase. If at any time, but more especially on a hot day, they had courage to sail, in their painted galley, from the Lucrine lake to their elegant villas on the sea-coast of Patroii and Cumae, they compared the object with the statues of Cesar and Alexander. Yet should a fly...
and pernicious luxury, their private banquets; the choice of the guests is the subject of anxious deliberation. The modest, the sober, and the learned, are seldom admitted. The rich and the frivolous, who are commonly swayed by interested motives, have precedence only to insert, in the list of invitations, the obscure names of the most worthless of mankind. But the frequent and familiar companions of the great, are those parasites, who practise the most useful of all arts, the art of being useful. As their reward, and extract, of their immortal patron: gaze with rapture on his marble columns, and variegated pavements; and strenuously praise the pomp and elegance, which he is taught to consider as a part of his personal merit. At the Roman tables, the birds, the squabulae, or the fishes, of an unproportionate size, are displayed with cautious attention; a pair of scales is accurately applied, to ascertain their real weight; and, while the more rational guests are disgusted by the vain and tedious reception, notaries are summoned to attest, by an authentic record, the truth of such a monstrous event. Music is incessantly repeated in the palaces, and houses of the society, is derived from the profession of gaming, or, as it is more politely styled, of play. The confederates are united by a strict and indisputable bond of friendship, or rather of common interest. It is to be supposed, that in the Theatre of  

Theatres, which are the seat of science, who abound in a supper, or assembly, is placed below a magistrat, displays in his countenance the surprise and indignation, which Cato might have felt, when he endeavored to find pretorship by the votes of a capricious people. The acquisition of knowledge seldom engenders the curiosity of the nobles, who abhor the fatigues, and disdain the advantages, of study; and the rules which they pursue are the Sages of Judah, and the verbona and sinsisters of Montmartre. The learned Romans, who have inherited from their fathers, are secluded, like dreary sepulchres, from the light of day. But the costly instruments of the theatre, flutes, and enormous lyres, and hydraulic organs, are constructed for their use; and the harmony of vocal and instrumental music is incessantly repeated in the palaces of Rome. In those palaces, sound is preferred to sense, and the care of the body to that of the mind. It is allowed as a salutary maxim, that the light and frivolous suspicion of a contagious malady, is of sufficient weight to excuse the visits of the most intimate friends; and even the servants, who are despatched to make the decent inquiries, are not suffered to return home, till they have undergone the ceremony of a previous abstinence. Yet this selfish and unmanly delicacy occasionally yields to the more impetuous passion of revenge. The prospect of guilt will allure a rich and gouty senator as far as Spoleto; every sentiment of arrogance and dignity is subdued by the hopes of an inheritance, or even of a legacy; and a wealthy, childless citizen is the most powerful of the Romans. The barnacles, from the perspiration of the sweat, are extinguished in the pale, and are extinguished in the face, in a blush. They are sometimes, with a mixture of the pardonable delight, and sometimes with the profound grief; and in the later, and sometimes with the admixture of the profane sceptics, who impiously doubt, or deny, the existence of a celestial power. In populous cities, which are the seat of commerce and manufactures, the middle ranks of inhabitants, who derive their wealth from the exertion, or labour, of their hands, are commonly the most profligate, the most useful, and, in that sense, the most respectable, part of the community. But the plebeians of Rome, who disdained such sedentary and servile arts, had been preserved as the link, and the earliest object, of the chain of debt and usury; and the husbandman, during the term of his military service, was obliged to abandon the cultivation of his farm. The lands of Italy, which had been originally divided among the families of free and indigent proprietors, were insensibly purchased, or usurped, by the arvae of the nobles; and in the age which preceded the fall of the republic, it was computed, that only two thousand citizens were possessed of any independent substance. Yet as long as the people bestowed, by their suffrages, the honours of the state, the command of the legions, and the administration of justice, by provinces, their humane alms, and their proud and princely pride alleviated, in some measure, the hardships of poverty; and their wants were seasonably supplied by the ambitious liberality of the candidates, who aspired to secure a vena majority in the thirty-five tribes, or the
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

hundred and ninety-three centuries, of Rome. But when the prodigal commons had improvidently alienated not only the vine, but all the lands under the dominion of the Cessenarii, into a vile and wretched populace, which must, in a few generations, have been totally extinguished, if it had not been continually recruited by the manumission of slaves, and the influx of strangers. As early as the time of Hadrian, it was the just complaint of the ingenuous writer, that the capital had attracted the views of the universe, and the manners of the most opposite nations. The intemperance of the Gauls, the cunning and levity of the Greeks, the savage obstinacy of the Egyptians and Jews, the servile temper of the Asiatics, and the absolute, effeminate prostitution of the Syrians, were mixed into a multitude; they bore with the proud and false denomination of Romans, presumed to despise their fellow-subjects, and even their sovereigns, who dwelt beyond the precincts of the eternal city. Yet the name of that city was still pronounced with respect; the frequent and capricious tumults of its inhabitants were indulged with impunity; and the successors of Constantine, instead of crushing the last remnants of the democracy, by the strong arm of military power, emboldened the mild policy of Augustus, and were contented with the tranquility and quiet good understanding, of an innumerable people. I. For the convenience of the lazy plebeians, the monthly distributions of corn were converted into a daily allowance of bread; a great number of ovens was constructed and maintained at the public expense; and at the appointed hour, each citizen, who was furnished with a ticket, ascended the flight of steps, which had been assigned to his peculiar quarter or division, and received, either as a gift, or at a very low price, a loaf of bread of the weight of three pounds for the use of his family. II. The forest of Lucania, whose acorns fattened large drove of swine, and which, being meted with a tassel, was distributed to the people, furnishing them a plentiful supply of cheap and wholesome meat. During five months of the year, a regular allowance of bacon was distributed to the poorer citizens; and the annual consumption of the capital, at a time when it was much declined from its former lustre, was ascertainment, by the order of Valentinian the Third, at three millions six hundred and twenty-eight thousand pounds. III. In the manners of antiquity, the use of oil was indispensable for the lamp, as well as for the bath; and the annual tax, which was imposed on Africa for the benefit of Rome, amounted to the weight of a hundred thousand talents, or to the quantity of three hundred thousand English gallons. IV. The anxiety of Augustus to provide the metropolis with sufficient plenty of corn, was not extended beyond that necessary article of human subsistence; and when the popular clamour accused the dearness and scarcity of wine, a proclamation was issued, by the grave reformer, to reestablish the uses of nature, and to enable him to complain of thirst, since the aqueducts of Agrippa had introduced into the city so many copious streams of pure and salubrious water. This rigid sobriety was insensibly relaxed; and, although the generous design of Aurelian does not appear to have been executed in its full extent, the Roman people continued on very easy and liberal terms. The administration of the public cellars was delegated to a magistrate of honourable rank; and a considerable part of the vintage of Campania was reserved for the fortunate inhabitants of Rome.

The superb aqueducts, so justly celebrated by the praises of Augustus, he himself, replenished the Thermae, or baths, which had been constructed, in every part of the city, with imperial magnificence. The baths of Antoninus Caracalla, which were open, at stated hours, for the indiscriminate service of the senators and the people, contained above sixteen hundred seats of marble; and more than three thousand were reckoned in the baths of Diocletian. The walls of the lofty apartments were covered with curious mosaics, that imitated the art of the pencil in the elegance of design, and the variety of colours. The Egyptian granite was beautifully incorporated, and either the perpetual stream of hot water was poured into the capacious basons, through so many wide mouths of bright and lustrous silver; and the meanest Roman could purchase, with a small copper coin, the daily enjoyment of a scene of pomp and luxury, which might excite the envy of the kings of Asia. From these stately palaces issued a swarm of dirty and ragged plebeians, without shoes and without a mantle; who roistered away whole days in the street or Forum, to hear news, and to hold disputes; who dissipated, in extravagant gaming, the miserable pittance of their scanty wages; and who, without air and in the sun, in obscure taverns, and brothels, in the indulgence of gross and vulgar sensuality. But the most lively and splendid games and spectacles, the picturesque princes of the Colours, who espoused the inhuman combats of gladiators; but the Roman people still considered the circus as their home, their temple, and the seat of the republic. The impatient crowd rushed at the dawn of day to secure their places, and there were many who passed a sleepless night, and anxiously awaited, with the portentous portents of the morning, the evening, careless of the sun, or of the rain, the spectators, who sometimes amounted to the number of four hundred thousand, remained in eager attention; their eyes fixed on the horses and charioteers, their minds agitated with hope and fear, for the success of the Colours which they espoused; and the happiness of Rome appeared to hang on the event of a rare. The same immoderate in-
spired their clamours, and their applause, as often as they were entertained with the hunting of wild beasts, and the various modes of theatrical representation. These representations in modern capitals may deserve to be considered as a pure and elegant school of taste, and perhaps of virtue. But the Tragic and Comic Miles of Menander, who selected his Epicurus and the imitation of Attic genius, had been almost totally silent since the fall of the republic;* and their place was unworthily occupied by licentious farce, effeminate music, and splendid pageantry. The pamphlets, which are tabulated, were published in the age of Augustus to the sixth century, expressed, without the use of words, the various fables of the gods and heroes of antiquity; and the perfection of their art, which sometimes disarmed the gravity of the philosopher, always excited the applause and wonder of the people. The vast and magnificent theatres of Rome were filled by three thousand female dancers, and by three thousand singers, with the masters of their respective choirs. Such was the popular favour which they enjoyed, that, in a time of secrecy, when all strangers were banished from the city, the merit of contributing to the public pleasure was awarded them from a law which was strictly executed against the professors of the liberal arts.1

Papulousness of Rome.

Elagabalus attempted to discover, from the quantity of spiders' webs, the number of the inhabitants of Rome. A more rational method of inquiry has been underlaid of the attendance of the wisest princes, who could easily have resolved a question so important for the Roman government, and so interesting to succeeding ages. The births and deaths of the citizens were duly registered; and if the annual rate of mortality was considered to maintain the same number of the same average, we might now produce some satisfactory calculation, which would destroy the extravagant assertions of critics, and perhaps confirm the most probable conjectures of philosophers.2 The most diligent researches have collected only the following circumstances: which, slight and imperfect as they are, may tend in some degree to illustrate the question of the papulousness of ancient Rome. I. When the capital of the empire was besieged by the Goths, the circuit of the walls was accurately measured by Ammianus, the historian, who found it twenty-five miles.3 It should not be forgotten that the form of the city was almost that of a circle; the geometrical figure which is known to contain the largest space within any given circumference. II. The architect Vitruvius, who flourished in the Augustan age, and whose evidence, on this occasion, has peculiar weight, appears incredible, though the country on these occasions flocked to the city.

* Sometimes indeed they composed original pieces.
* Vettia Graec.

Andae et aerarii domesticae facta.

Horat. Epist. ii. 110, 111: and the learned, though perplexed, note of Dacier, who might have allowed the name of tragedies to the Didus and Dictus of Persius, or to the Andae et aerarii domesticae facta of Horace.

The Octavia, ascribed to one of the Senesch, still remains a very unfavourable type of the Roman tragedy.

In the time of Quintilian and Pliny, a tragic poet was reduced to the imperfect method of hiring a great room, and reading his play to a club of amateurs invited for that purpose. (See Dial. de Oratoribus, c. 9, 11, and Plin. Epist. vii. 17.)

See the Dialogue of Luschn. edit. Salutanes, tom. i. p. 265—317, edit. Retz. The pamphlets, which obtained the honourable name of epilogumina, and it was required, that they should be conversant with almost every art and science. Burene (in the Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. i. p. 157, &c.) has given a short history of the institution of this species of theatricals.

Aulius, i. iv. c. 6. He complains, with decent indignation, that the editor and impresario of the play were filled with envy, which might have given children to the state, but whose only occupation was to curi and dress their hair, and jactari volubiles orris, dum eorum audacia ingenii maxima stridere fasit theatraliae. (Lipsius, tom. iii. p. 424. de Magnific. Romana, l. iii. c. 3.)

And desc. 184 B.C. the Curi of the people, the plebs, has been suggested of the four, or eight, or fourteen millions in Rome. Mr. Hume, (Essais, vol. i. p. 436—437) with admirable good sense and scepticism, has been some secret disposition to estimate the populousness of ancient Rome. (Gymnoped. ap. Phot. p. 157. See Fabricius, Bibl. Graec. tom. ii. p. 400.)

1 In this sum total is composed 1750 domus, or great houses, of 10,000 or 12,000, the remains of their ancient habitations (Cicero, Ant. iii. p. 82.) and these numbers are ascertainment on the agreement of a few in the old, or the sale of the rich endowments of females, which might have given children to the state; but whose only occupation was to curl and dress their hair, and jactari volubiles orris, dum eorum audacia ingenii maxima stridere fasit theatraliae. (Lipsius, tom. iii. p. 424. de Magnific. Romana, l. iii. c. 3.)

Jasmer, (Observ. jur. p. 393—395) have induced strange dreams of four, or eight, or fourteen millions in Rome. Mr. Hume, (Essais, vol. i. p. 436—437) with admirable good sense and scepticism, has been some secret disposition to estimate the populousness of ancient Rome. (Gymnoped. ap. Phot. p. 157. See Fabricius, Bibl. Graec. tom. ii. p. 400.)

2 Sce also, as correct writer, M. de Menasse, Recherches sur la Population, p. 155—157. From probable or certain grounds, he assurably computes, that between 8,000 and 12,000 was the number of the inhabitions of ancient Rome, (Cicero, Ant. iii. p. 82.) and these numbers are ascertained on the agreement of a few in the old, or the sale of the rich endowments of females, which might have given children to the state; but whose only occupation was to curl and dress their hair, and jactari volubiles orris, dum eorum audacia ingenii maxima stridere fasit theatraliae. (Lipsius, tom. iii. p. 424. de Magnific. Romana, l. iii. c. 3.)

3 From this computation is not very different from that which M. Bro- casius has, and has produced similar principles; though he seems to aim at a degree of precision, which it is neither possible nor important to seek for. For, from the first siege of Rome, which are often con- founded with those of the second and third, see Zosimus, l. v. p. 356—357. Sismondi, l. i. c. 6. Olympionides, (Hist. Gr. Phil. 184.) Philosophius, l. iii. c. 3. and Godfrey, Dissertat. p. 607—613.
skilful disposition of his numerous forces, who impatiently watched the moment of an assault, Alaric encompassed the walls, commanded the twelve principal gates, intercepted all communication with the adjacent country, and vigilantly guarded the navigation of the Tibre, from which the barbarians drew their most plentiful supply of provisions. The first emotions of the nobles, and of the people, were those of surprise and indignation, that a vile barbarian should dare to insult the capital of the world; but their arro
gnment was soon appeased. The barbarians, and their warlike rage, instead of being directed against their ene
my in arms, was meanly exercised on a defenceless and innocent victim. Perhaps in the person of Ser
era, the Romans might have respected the niece of Theodosius, the aunt, nay, even the adopted mother, of the Emperor, and for the sake of the dead husband and the barren widow of Stilicho; and they listened with credulous passion to the tale of calumny, which accused her of main
taining a secret and criminal correspondence with the Gothic invader. Actuated, or overawed, by the same popular phrenzy, the senate, without requiring any ev
idence of treason beyond the word of the widow, ordered her to be executed, on the plea that she had received
money, and was prepared to accept it, from an enemy of the state. The furious rage of the people, and the
impartiality of the public voice, were turned against her, in common with thousands of other unfortunate in the same situation; and the whole city was agitated by the rumour of the sacrilegious action of that wretched woman, who, instead of receiving the Roman eagle from the hands of the Emperor, had accepted from the hands of the invader the reward of ignominy. In consequence of
this act, the barbarians were permitted to carry off the body of the unfortunate widow, and to subject her to the more immediate calamities of famine. The daily allowance of three pounds of bread was reduced to one-half, to one-third, to nothing; and the price of corn still continued to rise in a rapid and extravagant proportion. The poorer citizens, who were unable to purchase quantities of provisions, viewed with consternation the enormous fortune of the rich, and were often compelled to barbarously and unwisely to save a meal or two. The public mischief was alleviated by the humanity of Leo, the widow of the emperor Gratian, who had fixed her residence at Rome, and consecrated, to the use of the indigent, the princely revenue, which she annually re
ceived from the grateful successors of her husband. But these private and temporary do
tives were insuffi
cient to appease the hunger of a numerous people; and the progress of famine invaded the marble palaces of the senators themselves. The persons of both sexes were in visible distress; pronounced the prece
dious charity of the rich; and for a while the public misery was alleviated by the humanity of Leo, the widow of the emperor Gratian, who had fixed her residence at Rome, and consecrated, to the use of the indigent, the princely revenue, which she annually re
ceived from the grateful successors of her husband. But these private and temporary do
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The first observations, and of the people, were those of surprise and indignation, that a vile barbarian should dare to insult the capital of the world; but their arro
ngnment was soon appeased. The barbarians, and their warlike rage, instead of being directed against their ene
my in arms, was meanly exercised on a defenceless and innocent victim. Perhaps in the person of Ser
era, the Romans might have respected the niece of Theodosius, the aunt, nay, even the adopted mother, of the Emperor, and for the sake of the dead husband and the barren widow of Stilicho; and they listened with credulous passion to the tale of calumny, which accused her of main
taining a secret and criminal correspondence with the Gothic invader. Actuated, or overawed, by the same popular phrenzy, the senate, without requiring any ev
idence of treason beyond the word of the widow, ordered her to be executed, on the plea that she had received
money, and was prepared to accept it, from an enemy of the state. The furious rage of the people, and the
impartiality of the public voice, were turned against her, in common with thousands of other unfortunate in the same situation; and the whole city was agitated by the rumour of the sacrilegious action of that wretched woman, who, instead of receiving the Roman eagle from the hands of the Emperor, had accepted from the hands of the invader the reward of ignominy. In consequence of
this act, the barbarians were permitted to carry off the body of the unfortunate widow, and to subject her to the more immediate calamities of famine. The daily allowance of three pounds of bread was reduced to one-half, to one-third, to nothing; and the price of corn still continued to rise in a rapid and extravagant proportion. The poorer citizens, who were unable to purchase quantities of provisions, viewed with consternation the enormous fortune of the rich, and were often compelled to barbarously and unwisely to save a meal or two. The public mischief was alleviated by the humanity of Leo, the widow of the emperor Gratian, who had fixed her residence at Rome, and consecrated, to the use of the indigent, the princely revenue, which she annually re
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many putrid and unburied carcasses, in
defaced the air; and the miseries of famine
were succeeded and aggravated by the contagion of a pestilential disease. The assurances of speedy and
effectual relief, which were repeatedly transmitted from the court of Ravenna, supported, for some time, the fainting resolution of the Romans, till at length the despair of any human aid tempted them to accept the offers of a preternatural deliverance. Pompeianus, a Tuscan plenipotentiary, held a listening ear, and was fascinated, either by the art or fanaticism of some Tuscan

diviners, that, by the mysterious force of spells and
sorceries, they could extract the lightning from the clouds, and point those celestial fires against the camp of the invader. The imperial secret was communi
ciated to Innocent, the bishop of Rome; and the successor of St. Peter is accused, perhaps without foundation, of preferring the safety of the republic to the rigid severity of the christian worship. But when the question was agitated in the senate, when it was presented as an essential condition, that those sacrifices
should be performed in the capital, by the authority, and in the presence, of the magistrates; the majority of that respectable assembly, apprehensive either of the Divine or of the imperial displeasure, refused to join in an act, which appeared almost equivalent to the public renunciation of the Chris
tian religion.

The last resource of the Romans was Abaric accepts a ransom, and raises the siege
of the city. That unfortunate city gradually succumbed to the pangs of famine. In the course
of a few days, the population of the city was reduced to about the one-half of the usual numbers; and the number of the inmates at the time of the capitulation was so small that no necessity existed for a large quantity of victuals. The Arabian

...
sented to raise the siege, on the immediate payment of five thousand pounds of gold, of thirty thousand pounds of silver, of four thousand rods of silk, of three thousand pieces of fine scarlet cloth, and of three thousand pounds weight of pepper. But the public treasury was exhausted by the payment of the great estates in Italy and the provinces, were intercepted by the calamities of war; the gold and gems had been exchanged during the famine, for the vilest sustenance; the heard of secret wealth were still concealed by the obstacles of prisons; and some remains of consecrated spoils afforded the only resource that could avert the impending ruin of the city. As soon as the Romans had satisfied the rapacious demands of Alaric, they were restored, in some measure, to the enjoyment of peace and plenty. Several of the gates were cautiously opened; the impertion of provisions from the river, and the adjacent country, was no longer obstructed by the Goths; the citizens resorted in crowds to the free market, which was held during three days in the suburbs; and while the merchants, who undertook this gainful trade, made a considerable profit, the future supply was secured to the city by the negotiations which Alaric opened a party of licentious Goths, who had insulted some Roman citizens on the road to Ostia. His army, enriched by the contributions of the capital, slowly advanced into the fair and fruitful province of Tuscany, where he proposed to establish his winter quarters; and the Gothic standard became the refuge of forty thousand barbarian slaves, who had broke their chains, and aspired, under the command of their great deliverer, to revenge the injuries and the disgrace of their cruel servitude. About the same time, he received a message from his lieutenant, the bishops and cities, whom Adolphus, the brother of his wife, had conducted, at his pressing invitation, from the banks of the Danube to those of the Tiber, and who had cut their way, with some difficulty and loss, through the superior numbers of the imperial troops. A victorious leader, who united the daring spirit of a barbarian with the art and discipline of a Roman general, was at the head of a hundred thousand fighting men; and Italy pronounced with terror and respect, the formidable name of Alaric.

At the distance of fourteen centuries, and in a more enlightened age, we may be satisfied with relating the facts of the expedition of the conquerors of Rome, without presuming to investigate the motives of their political conduct. In the midst of his apparent prosperity, Alaric was conscious, perhaps, of some secret weakness, some internal defect; or perhaps the moderation which he displayed, was intended only to deceive and disarm the easy credulity of the ministers of Honorius. The king of the Goths repeatedly declared, that it was his desire to be considered as the friend of peace, and of the Romans. Three senators, at his earnest request, were sent ambassadors to the court of Rome, to solicit the hostage, and the conclusion of the treaty; and the proposals, which he more clearly expressed during the course of the negotiations, could only inspire a doubt of his sincerity, as they might seem inadequate to the state of his fortune. The barbarian still aspired to the rank of master-general of the armies of the west; he stipulated an annual subsidy of corn and money; and he chose the provinces of Dalmatia, Noricum, and Venetia, for the seat of his new kingdom, which would have commanded the important posts of navigation between Italy and the Danube. If these modest terms should be rejected, Alaric showed a disposition to relinquish his pecuniary demands, and even to content himself with the possession of Noricum, an exhausted and impoverished country, perpetually exposed to the ravages of the barbarians of Germany. But the hopes of peace were disappointed by the weak obstinacy or interested views, of the minister Olympius. Without listening to the salutary remonstrances of the senate, he dismissed their ambassadors under the conduct of a military escort too numerous for a retreat of honor, and too feeble for an army of defence. Six thousand Dal- matians, the flower of the imperial legions, were ordered to march from Ravenna to Rome, through an open country, which was occupied by the formidable myriads of the barbarians. These brave legions, encounter ing the hostile bands of Alaric, were vanquished, with the loss of their general, Valens, with an hundred soldiers, escaped from the field of battle; and one of the ambassadors, who could no longer claim the protection of the law of nations, was obliged to purchase his freedom with a hundred silver crowns from the hands of the victorious barbarians. Instead of resenting this act of impotent hostility, immediately renewed his proposals of peace; and the second embassy of the Roman senate, which derived weight and dignity from the presence of Innocent, bishop of the city, was guarded from the dangers of the road by a detachment of Gothic soldiers. Yet Olympius 5 might have continued to his charge and consul the just resentment of a people, who on account of mislaidly accused him as the author of the public calamities; but his power was undermined by the secret intrigues of the palatine suite, which, with much treachery, had overthrown the government of Honorius, and the empire, to Jovius, the prætorian prefect; an unworthy servant, who did not alone, by the merit of personal attachment, for the errors and misfortunes of his administration. The exile, or escape of the guilty Olympius, reserved him for more viscissitudes of fortune; he experienced the adventures of an obscure and wandering life; he again rose to power; he fell a second time into disgrace; his ears were cut off; he expired under the lash; and his ignominious death afforded a grateful spectacle to the public justice. The unmerited advancement of Olympius, whose character was deeply tainted with religious fanaticism, the pagans and heretics were delivered from the impolite proscription which excluded them from the dignities of the state. The brave Gen- nerid, a soldier of barbarian origin, who still adhered to the worship of his ancestors, had been obliged to lay aside the military belt: and though he was repeatedly assured by the emperor himself, that laws were not made for persons of his rank or merit, he refused to accept any partial dispensation, and persevered in honourable disgrace, till he had extirpatedition, so the hardy and valorous inhabitants of the Roman Government. The conduct of Generid, in the important station to which he was promoted or restored, of master-general of Dalmatia, Panonnia, Noricum and Rhaetia, seemed to revive the discipline and spirit of the republic. From a life of idleness and want, his troops were soon imbued

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1. Peperus was a favorite ingredient of the most expensive Roman cookery, and the best sort: commonly 3-6 for fifteen denarii, or ten stirlings, the pound. See Pliny, Hist. Natur. xii. 50. 51. 
2. The Goths are called, in some account of the country, the Goths of Makara, still affords the greatest plenty; but the improvement of trade and navigation has reduced the reputation of the nation. See Hakluyt's Political and Philosophical, &c. Tom. l. p. 437. 
3. The Gothic kingdom, so called by Frederick and Lepper, Aethalo- phorus by Zosimus and Orosius, Alarophilus and by Olympiodorus, Adjab, chs. I. and X. I. I. have used the celebrated name of Adjabius, which seems to be preferable to the preceding or the ancients' name, which is given by the brothers, of the ancient Goths. 
4. Zosimus, I. v. 367. 368. Aristobulus of Alexandria, and the Romans, &c. is taken from Zosimus, I. v. 355, 356, 357, 360, 367, 368. The additional circumstance are too few and trivial to require any other quotation.

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9. Zosimus, l. i. p. 361. relates this circumstance with visible complacency, and characterizes the nature of Olympius, as a man of the most cherished and important interest, the senate being the representatives of the council of Carthage, which deputed four bishops to the court of Ravenna, to execute his will, which was a measure, that his conversions to Christianity should be free and voluntary. See Baroni, Annal. Eccl. A. D. 389. No. 15. A. D. Iv. No. 47, 48.
ated to severe exercise, and plentiful subsistence; and his private generosity often supplied the rewards, which were denied by the avarice, or poverty, of the court of Ravenna. The valour of Gennerid, formidable to the adjacent barbarians, was the finest bulwark of the Illyrian frontier; and his vigilant care assisted the emperor in his inheritance, the first thousand Huns, who arrived on the confines of Italy, attended by such a convey of provisions, and such a numerous train of sheep and oxen, as might have been sufficient, not only for the march of an army, but for the settlement of a colony. But the court and councils of Honorius, successively oppressed by the successive horrors of corruption and anarchy. Instigated by the prefect Jovius, the guards rose in furious mutiny and demanded the heads of two generals, and of the two principal eunuchs. The generals, under a perfidious promise of safety, were sent on ship-board, and privately executed; while the fate of the eunuchs procured them a mild and secure exile at Milan and Constantinople. Eusebius the eunuch, and the barbarian Allobich, succeeded to the command of the bedchamber and of the guards; and the mutual jealousy of these subordinate ministers was the cause of their mutual destruction. The insolent order of the court of the eunuchs, the great chamberlain was shamefully beaten to death with sticks, before the eyes of the astonished emperor; and the subsequent assassination of Allobich, in the midst of a public procession, is the only circumstance of his life in which Honorius discovered the least sympathy. But, having lost his heart, he could not, before they fell, Eusebius and Allobich had contributed their part to the ruin of the empire, by opposing the conclusion of a treaty which Jovius, from a selfish and perhaps a criminal motive, had negotiated with Alaric, in a personal interview under the walls of Rimini. But the insolent order of the court of the eunuchs, and the imperial displeasure, it was presently surmised to assume a lofty tone of inflexible dignity, such as neither his situation, nor his character, could enable him to support; and a letter, signed with the name of Honorius, was immediately despatched to the prætorian prefect, granting him a free permission to dispose of the public money, but sternly refusing to prostitute the military honours of Rome to the proud demands of a barbarian. This letter was imprudently communicated to Alaric himself, and the Goth, who, in the whole transaction had behaved with temper and decency, expressed, in the most outrageous language, his deadly sedition, as well as the insult so wantonly offered to a Christian, and to his nation. The conference of Rimini was hastily interrupted; and the prefect Jovius, on his return to Ravenna, was compelled to adopt, and even to encourage, the fashionable opinions of the court. By his advice and example, the principal officers of the state and army were obliged to swear, that, without listening, in any circumstances, to any conditions of peace, they would still persevere in perpetual and impalpable war against the enemy of the republic. This rash engagement opposed an insuperable bar to all future reparation. The ministers of Honorius were importuned to hear to declare, that, if they had only invoked the name of the Deity, they would consult the public safety, and trust their souls to the mercy of heaven; but they had sworn, by the sacred name of the emperor himself; they had touched, in solemn ceremony, that sacred and living symbol, of which their oath would expose them to the temporal penalties of sacrilege and rebellion.

While the emperor and his court enjoyed, with sullen pride, the security of the marshes and fortifications of Ravenna, they abandoned Rome, almost without defence, to the resentment of Alaric. Yet such was the moderation which he still preserved, or affected, that, as he moved with his army along the Flaminian way, he successively despatched the bishops of the towns of Italy to reiterate his offers of peace, and to conjure the emperor, that he would save the city and its inhabitants; but, in vain was the appeal forced by the positive decisions of the barbarians. These impending calamities were however averted, not indeed by the wisdom of Honorius, but by the prudence or humanity of the Gothic king; who employed a milder, though not less effectual, method of conquest. Instead of assaulting the capital, he proceeded to the conquest of his province, and of the province of Osia, one of the boldest and most stupendous works of Roman magnificence. The accidents to which the precarious subsistence of the city was continually exposed in a winter navigation, and an open road, had suggested to the genius of the first Caesar the useful design, which was executed under the reign of Claudius. The artificial moles, which formed the narrow entrance, advanced far into the sea, and firmly repelled the fury of the waves, while the largest vessels securely rode at anchor within three deep and capacious basins, which received the northern branch of the Tiber, and the much smaller one of the Ostia. The Roman Port insensibly swelled to the size of an episcopal city, where the corn of Africa was deposited in spacious granaries for the use of the capital. As soon as Alaric was in possession of that important place, he summoned the city to surrender at discretion; and his demand was mostly refused, on the ground of negotiation, that a refusal, or even a delay, should be instantly followed by the destruction of the city, on the life of the Roman people depended. The clamours of that people, and the terror of famine, subdued the pride of the senate; they listened, without refusal of terms, to the propositions of Alaric. This event, early in the sixteenth century, when the remains of this Augustan port were still visible, the antiquaries sketched the plan, (see Planilla, Mem. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tomo. xxx. p. 198,) and declared, with enthusiasm, that all the monarchs of Europe would be unable to execute so great a work. (Berger, Hist. des Grands Chemins des Romains, tomo. ii. p. 356.)

Oaths of the Ancients, in the Mem. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tomo. i. p. 296, 299.

* Zosimus, l. v. p. 398, 399. I have softened the expressions of Aula- ric, who expostulated with the proofs of a man, which he certainly could not be. Instead of the former interpretation, I have given this passage. See Soest in Claud., c. 39. Dion Cassius, l. xiv. p. 949. edit. Reiss. and this passage is still more manifest in the description of the reign of the Huns. The Roman Port insensibly swelled to the size of an episcopal city, where the corn of Africa was deposited in spacious granaries for the use of the capital. As soon as Alaric was in possession of that important place, he summoned the city to surrender at discretion; and his demand was mostly refused, on the ground of negotiation, that a refusal, or even a delay, should be instantly followed by the destruction of the city, on the life of the Roman people depended. The clamours of that people, and the terror of famine, subdued the pride of the senate; they listened, without refusal of terms, to the propositions of Alaric. This event, early in the sixteenth century, when the remains of this Augustan port were still visible, the antiquaries sketched the plan, (see Planilla, Mem. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tomo. xxx. p. 198,) and declared, with enthusiasm, that all the monarchs of Europe would be unable to execute so great a work. (Berger, Hist. des Grands Chemins des Romains, tomo. ii. p. 356.)

The Ostia Tiberina, (see Cluver Italia Antiqua, lib. ii. p. 870—872.) in the plural number, the two mouths of the Tiber, were separated by the Holy Island, an equilateral triangle, whose sides were each of them completed at about two miles. The colony of Ostia was founded immediately beyond the left, or southern, and the Port immediately beyond the right, or northern, arm of the Tiber, and the straight line between their remains measures something more than two miles on Corigliano's map. In the time of Strabo, the sand and mud deposited by the Tiber, had been so much increased by the harbours of Ostia and Port, that the same cause had added much to the size of the Holy Island, and gradually left both Ostia and the Port at a considerable distance from the shore. The dry channels, (flumina moris,) and the large estuaries (stagnati di Romano, di Leonardo,) mark the changes of the river, and the efforts of the Tiber, for a long time to obtain a regular and delectate tract, the excellent map of the ecclesiastical state by the mathematician Benedict XIV., an actual survey of the Port and Ostia Romano, in six sheets, by Corigliano, which contains 113,916 rubbia about 870,000 acres) and the large topographical map of Aetna, in eight sheets.

As early as the third, (Lardner's Credibility of the Gospel, part. i., vol. ii. p. 295,) and as late as the second volume of the Travels of Mr. Bruce in the East Indies, (see Ets. p. 47,) the port of Rome was an episcopal city, which was described by that great man as he should see it. That description, now preserved by Pope Gregory IV., during the incursions of the Arabs, is now reduced to an inn, a church, and the house, or palace, of the bishop; the latter of which ranks as our homes, are not to be overlooked. (See Eschanius, Descrizioni di Roma e dell'Agro Romano, p. 228.)

Attaul is revered emperor by the
Goths and Rom-

The gates of the city were thrown
open, and the new emperor of the Ro-
mans, encompassed on every side by
the Gothic arms, was conducted, in tu-
mutilous procession, to the palace of Augustus and
Trajan. As he proceeded, he distributed the civil and milita-
ry dignities among his followers and adherents. Attai-
lus convened an assembly of the senate; before whom, in
a formal and florid speech, he asserted his resolu-
tion of restoring the majesty of the republic, and of
uniting to the empire the provinces of Egypt and the
east, which had been aggrandized by the sovereignty
of Rome. Such extravagant promises inspired every
reasonable citizen with a just contempt for the charac-
ter of an unwarlike usurper; whose elevation was the
deepest and most ignominious wound which the re-
public had yet sustained from the insolence of the
barbarians. But the populace, with their usual levity,
applauded the change of masters. The public discon-
tent was favourable to the rival of Honorius; and the
sectaries, oppressed by his persecuting edicts, expect-
ed some degree of countenance, or at least of tolera-
tion, from Attaul, who, in his native country of Ionia,
had been educated in the pagan superstition, and who
had since received the sacrament of baptism from the
hands of an Arian bishop. The first days of the
reign of Attaul were fair and prosperous. An officer
of confidence was sent with an inconsiderable body of
troops, which in the obscurity of the night, and the
general rains, rolled over a large part of Italy submitted to the terror of the Gothic
powers; and though the city of Bologna made a vig-
orous and effectual resistance, the people of Milan,
dissatisfied perhaps with the absence of Honorius,
accepted, with loud acclamations, the choice of the
Roman senate. At the head of a formidable army, Alaric conducted his royal captive almost to the gates of
Ravenna; and a solemn embassy of the principal
ministers, of Jovius, the pretorian prefect, of Valens,
master of the cavalry and infantry, of the quaestor
Potamius, and of Julian, the first of the notaries, was
introduced, with martial pomp, into the Gothic camp.

In the name of their sovereign, they consented to
acknowledge the lawful election of his competitor, and
to divide the provinces of Italy and the west between
the two emperors. Their proposals were rejected with
disdain, and the rebels were aggravated by the insul-
ting clemency of Attaul, who condescended to promise,
that, if Honorius would instantly resign the
purple, he should be permitted to pass the remainder
of his life in the peaceful exile of some remote island.
So contemptible indeed did the situation of the son
of Theodosius appear to those whom Honorius had
acquainted with his strength and resources, that Jovius
and Valens, his minister and his general, betrayed their
trust, infaamously deserted the sinking cause of their
benefactor, and devoted their treacherous allegiance
to the service of his more fortunate rival. Astonished
by such examples of domestic treason, Honorius trem-
bled at the approach of every servant, at the arrival
of every messenger. He dreaded the secret enemies,
who might lurk in his capital, his palace, his bed-
cloths; the ships lay ready in a harbor of
Ravenna, to transport the abandoned monarch to the
dominions of his infant nephew, the emperor of the
east.

But there is a Providence (such at
least was the opinion of the historian
Procopius)5 that watches over innocence
and folly; and the pretensions of Honorius to its pecu-
cular care cannot reasonably be disputed. At
the moment when his despair, incapable of any wise or
manly resolution, mediated a shameful flight, a sea-
sonable reinforcement of four thousand veterans unex-
pectedly landed in the port of Ravenna. To these
valiant defenders, whose fidelity had not been tested
by the factions of the court, he committed the walls
and gates of the city; and the slumberers of the emperor
were no longer disturbed by the apprehension of im-
ninent and internal danger. The favourable intelli-
gence of this unexpected landing, changed the opinions of men, and the state of public
affairs. The troops and officers, whom Attaul had
sent into that province, were defeated and slain; and
the active zeal of Heraclian maintained his own alle-
giance, and that of his people. The faithful court
of Honorius conducted a large sum of money, which had
the attachment of the imperial guards; and his vigi-
lance, in preventing the exportation of corn and oil,
introduced famine, tumult, and discontent, into the
walls of Rome. The failure of the African expedition,
was the source of mutual complaint and recrimination
between the two emperors; and the policy of Attaul
was unsoundly alienated from the interest of a prince,
who wanted a spirit to command, or docility to obey.
The most impudent measures were adopted, without
the knowledge, or against the advice, of Alaric; and
valiant barbarians, who had been subdued by the
darkness of war and the mixture of the
barkation, the mixture even of five hundred Goths,
betrayed a suspicions and distrustful temper, which,
in their situation, was neither generous nor prudent.
The resentment of the Gothic king was exasperated by the malicious acts of Jovius, who had been raised
to the rank of patrician, and who afterwards exposed
his double perfidy, by declaring, without a blush, that
he had only seemed to abandon the service of Honorius,
more effectually to ruin the cause of the usurper.
In a large plain near Rimini, and in the presence of an
innumerable multitude of Romans and barbarians, the
wretched Attaul was publicly despoiled of the
dem and purple; and those ensigns of royalty were
sent by Alaric, as the pledge of peace and friendship, to
the son of Theodosius.6 The officers who returned to
their duty were reinstated in their employments, and
the merit of a tardy repentance was graciously
allowed; but the degraded emperor of the Romans,
desirous of life, and insolent of disgrace, implored the
permission of following the Gothic camp, in the
train of a haughty and capricious barbarian.

The defeated Attaul removed their
throne and the only real capital to the city of
the three miles of Ravenna, to press the ir-
resolution of the imperial ministers, whose insolence
soon returned with the return of fortune. His indigna-
tion was kindled by the report, that a rival chieftain,
that Sarus, the personal enemy of Adolphus, and the
hereditary foe of the house of Balti, had been received
into the palace. At the head of three hundred follow-
ers, that fearless barbarian immediately sallied from
the gates of Ravenna, and, after one hundred and
discourages the body of Goths; re-entered the city in

3. See the cause and circumstances of the fall of Attaul in Zosimus,
1. vi. p. 264. Ammian, i. x. 3. Philostorgios, i. x. 3. The
of the two acts of indemnity in the Theodosian Code, 1. ix. xxxvii. leg.
22, which was the last act of the emperor. Augustus, A. D. 410,
evidently relate to this usurper.

4. In his honor to impotens factum est ac recto, ac defecto...

5. Minus rust, et ludum spectacul imperio. Orosius, i. vii. c. 4.

3. In this place the text of Zosimus is mutilated, and we have lost
the remainder of his sixth and last book, which ended with the
0. Credulous and partial as he is, we must take our leave of that
historian with some regret.

1. A.D. 410.

2. See the cause and circumstances of the fall of Attalus in Zosimus,
1. vi. p. 264. Ammian, i. x. 3. Philostorgios, i. x. 3. The
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evidently relate to this usurper.
fully of the court of Ravenna was expelled a third time, by the calumnies of Rome. The king of the Goths, who no longer dissembled his appetite for plunder and revenge, appeared in arms under the walls of the capital; and the trebling senate, without any hopes of relief, prepared, by a desperate resistance, to delay the ruin of their country. But they were unable to guard against the wanton triumph of a savage king; and his slavish subjects, either from birth or interest, were attached to the cause of the enemy. At the hour of midnight, the Salarian gate was silently opened, and the inhabitants were awakened by the tremendous sound of the Gothic trumpet. Eleven hundred and sixty-three years after the downfall of the imperial city, which had been subdued and civilized so considerable a part of mankind, was delivered to the licentious fury of the tribes of Germany and Scythia.1

Respect of the Goths for the religious duties of the day, and a discerning, however, somewhat partial, regard for the laws of humanity and religion. He encouraged the Goths boldly to seize the rewards of valour, and to enrich themselves with the spoils of a wealthy and effeminate people; but he exhorted them, at the same time, to spare the lives of the unresisting citizens, and to be always guided by the zeal of ecclesiastics. While the barbarians roamed through the city in quest of prey, the humble dwelling of an aged virgin, who had devoted her life to the service of the altar, was forced open by one of the powerful Goths. He immediately demanded, though in civil language, all the gold and silver in her possession; and was astonished at the readiness with which she yielded up her wealth. He then received a peremptory order from Alaric, that all the consecrated plate and ornaments should be transported, without damage or delay, to the church of the apostle. From the extremity, perhaps, of the Quirinal hill, to the distant quarter of the Vatican, a numerous detachment of Goths, marching in order of battle through the principal streets, protected with glittering arms, the long train of their devout companions, who bore aloft, on their heads, the sacred vessels of gold and silver; and the martial shouts of the barbarians were mingled with the sound of religious psalmody. From all the adjacent houses of Christian piety, by way of attendance to this edifying procession; and a multitude of fugitives, without distinction of age, or rank, or even of sect, had the good fortune to escape to the secure and hospitable sanctuary of the Vatican.

The learned work, concerning the City of God, was professively composed by St. Augustine, to justify the ways of Providence in the destruction of the Roman greatness. He celebrates, with peculiar satisfaction, this memorable event, and insulates the Goths with a challenging them to produce some similar example of a town taken by storm, in which the fabulous gods of antiquity had been able to protect either themselves or their deluded votaries.2

In the sack of Rome, some rare and extraordinary phenomena, of which all extraneous circumstances were indispensable. In this decisive battle, the Goths were so completely surprised as to render its issue quite uncertain. The，of the Vandals, of the Heretic, of a thousand (as was said) were not deserted by such a manner of aid; for the day after the battle, a salt water was found by those who first entered the city, in the streets and in the houses of the inhabitants. These were the number of dead: 50,000 persons, and 6,000 horses; of whom, the majority of the inhabitants were killed in the night; and the Goths, by their presence during the subsequent celebration of the anniversary, were witnesses to the fact.3

1 See Augustin, de Civitat. Dei, lib. i. c. 1—6. He particularly alludes to the examples of Troy, Syracusae, and Tarsus. Jerom (tom. v. p. 121, ad Privilegiun.) has applied to the sack of Rome all the strong expressions of Virgil:

Quis quidem virtus morta, quis funera fando, 
Explicit, &c.

Procopius (i. c. 2) positively affirms, that great numbers were thrown into the sea by the Goths (de urbe, iii. c. 33). The same author (p. 570) affirms, that the Goths were the first barbarians who murdered their captives. (Polyc. c. xiv. cap. caper; note cecidit murus ejus, tom. i. p. 101, ad Privilegium.)

2 Grous, i. c. 50. p. 573—576. 3 This passage explains the piety of the Christian church for the death of those whose bodies (mala corpora or mortalibus, as the ecclesiastics have called them) were heretic. Jerom, with more authority and more reason, has desired, that the Goths should be delivered up to death as virgins, and not as captives. (Epist. c. xiv.)

3 See Augustin, de Civitat. Dei, lib. i. c. 17.) intimates, that some virgins or maids actually killed themselves to escape the violence; but professedly observes, that he is obliged, by his theology, to condemn their rash presumption. Perhaps the good resolutions of those who were killed in the same instant, the same day, and were buried in a heretical controversy, in the crime, of this act of female heroism. The twenty maidens (if they ever existed) who threw themselves into the Tiber, when Sab- deberg was taken by storm, have been mulcted by the number of twelve hundred. See Harte's History of Gustavus Adolphus, vol. i. p. 288.
fortune, the glorious crown of virility.1 They were other losses indeed of a more substantial kind, and more general concern. It cannot be presumed, that all the barbarians were at all times capable of perpetrating such monstrous outrages; and the want of youth, or beauty, or chastity, protected the greatest part of the Roman women from the danger of rape. But aforetime it was an inatant and universal passion; since the enjoyment of almost every object that can afford pleasure to the different tastes and tempers of mankind may be procured by the possession of wealth. In the pillage of Troy, some of their most splendid works were taken, which contain the greatest value in the smallest compass and weight; but after these portable riches had been removed by the more diligent robbers, the palaces of Rome were rudely stripped of their splendid and costly furniture. The sideboards of nassy plate, and the variegated wadges of silk and purple, were irregularly piled in the waggons, that always followed the march of a Gothic army. The most exquisite works of art were roughly handled, or wantonly destroyed: many a statue was melted for the sake of the precious materials; and many a vase, in the division of the spoils, was converted into fragments by the stroke of a battle-axe. The acquisition of riches served only to stimulate the avarice of the rapacious barbarians, who proceeded, by threats, by bribes, and by tortures, to force from their prisoners the confession of hidden treasures. The splendid jewels of those princes were all but as proof of a plentiful fortune: the appearance of poverty was invited to a parsimonious disposition; and the obstinacy of some misers, who endured the most cruel torments before they would discover the secret object of their affection, was fatal to many unfortunate persons. The heads of the barbary-king were whipped, there was a body of the rich captured, the loot, for refusing to reveal their imaginary treasures. The edifices of Rome, though the damage has been much exaggerated, received some injury from the violence of the Goths. At their entrance through the Salarian gate, they fired the adjacent houses to guide their march, and to distract the attention of the citizens: the flames, which encountered no obstacle in the disorder of the night, consumed many private and public buildings; and the ruins of the palace of Sullust 2 remained, in the age of Justinian, a statute monument of the Gothic conquerors. Yet contem- poraries observed, that fire could scarcely consume the enormous beams of solid brass, and that the strength of man was insufficient to subvert the foundations of ancient structures. Some truth may possibly be found in his devout assertion, that the wood was consumed from the foundations of houses, and that of Rome, decorated with the statues of so many gods and heroes, was levelled in the dust by the stroke of lightning.3

Whatever might be the numbers, of Captives and填充or plebeian rank, who perish- ed in the massacre of Rome, it is confidently affirmed, that only one senator lost his life by the sword of the enemy.4 But it was not easy to compute the multitudes, who from an honourable station, and a pros- perous condition, were reduced to the miserable condition of captives and exiles. As the barbarians had more occasion for money than for slaves, they fixed, at a moderate price, the redemption of their indigent prisoners; and the ransom was often paid by the sacrifices of the richest citizens.5 The captives, who were regularly sold, either in open market, or by private contract, would have legally regained their native freedom, which it was impossible for a citizen to lose, or to alienate.6 But as it was soon discovered, that the vindication of their freedom was the most secure, the most distant places of refuge. While the Gothic cavalry spread terror and desolation along the sea-coast of Campania and Tuscany, the little island of Ligurium, separated by a narrow channel from the Argentinian promontory, repulsed, or eluded, their hostile attempts; at so small a distance from Rome, great numbers of citizens were secretly concealed in the thick woods of that sequestered spot.7 The ample patrimonies, which many senatorial families possessed in Africa, invited them, if they had time and prudence to escape from the ruin of their country, to embrace the shelter of that hospitable prince. The most illustrious of these fugitives was the noble and pious Probus,8 the widow of the perfect Petronius.1

1 See Augustin, de Civit. Del. I. i. 16, 18. He treats the subject with remarkable accuracy; and after admitting that there can be no crime, where there is no consent, he adds, sed quis non solum quod de dolorum, verum etiam quod ad illustrem, perpetuo, in corpore damnose perpetrae potest; quodque tale 'actus, nisi eti remansat constantissimo animo, unaquaeque non excussit, paulum tantum inueniit, in re cunctae factae eum mentem excusisse voluit, quod fidei, et honoris, et omnium alius voluntatem non habeat. In c. 15., he makes some curious distinctions between moral and physical vir- tues.

2 Marcella, a Roman lady, equally respectable for her rank, her age, and her piety, was saved by the goodness and courtesy of a white slave. He whipped, cenam formulis digladiis, 460. Jerome, tom. i. p. 121. ad Princetam. See Augustin, de Civ. Del. I. i. 10. The modern Sizem of Rome, p. 258. It gives an idea of the various methods of tormenting prisoners for gold.

3 Augustin, who usefully practiced the vices which he has so eloquently censured, employed the plunder of Namibia to adorn his palace and gardens on the Quirinal hill. The spot where the plunder was marked by the remnants of St. Savinus, was approached only by a street from the baths of Diocletian, and not far distant from the Fora, within the city, and the great plan of Modern Rome, by Natai.

4 The expressions of Augustin are distinct and moderate, de Civ. Del. I. i. 23. The Chronicle of Marcellus speaks too strongly, parce urbem Romanum cremavit; and the words of Ptolemaeus graecus, quibus terrae spatio, qui captae sunt, et exsultatio ideae. Berosus has composed a particular dissertation (see tom. i. August. Rom. Graec.) to prove that the edifices of Rome were not subverted by the Goths and Vandals.

5 Orosius, I. i. c. 19, p. 143. He speaks as if he disapproved all

6 The island is now called Giglio. See Usteri, Iustit. Aeg. I. ii. c. 92. The Cornet, in his work on the State of Rome, is of opinion that from the end of the life of St. Augustin, they are diligently illustrated by Tilmontum, Mom, Rocas, tom. ii. 28, p. 620—623. Sometimes after their arrival in Africa, Demetrios took the veil, and made a vow of virginity; an event which was considered as the highest importance to Rome and the whole country. The favours of the emperor of that of Jerome is still extant, tom. i. 62—73, ad Demetrios, de serv. It was the most acceptable declaration, and curious facts, some of which relate to the siege and sack of Rome.
the death of her husband, the most powerful subject of Rome, she had remained at the head of the Aurelian family, and successively supplied, from her private fortune, the expense of the consulships of her three sons. When the city was besieged and taken by the Goths, Proba, supported, with Christian resignation, the loss of immense riches, embossed in a small vessel, from whence she beheld, at sea, the flames of her burning palace, and fled with her daughter Lata, and her grand-daughter, the celebrated virgin Demetrias, to the coast of Africa. The benevolent passion with which the matron distributed the fruits, or the price, of her estates, contributed to alleviate the misfortunes of the Christians, and even their captors, for herself was not exempt from the rapacious oppression of count Heracleian, who badly sold, in matrimonial prostitution, the noblest maidens of Rome, to the lust or avarice of the Syrian merchants. The Italian fugitives were dispersed through the provinces, along the coast of Egypt and Asia, as far as Constantinople and Jerusalem; and the village of Bethel, the solitary residence of St. Jerom and his female converts, was crowded with illustrious beggars of either sex, and every age, who excited the public compassion by the remembrance of their past fortunes. This awful estration of the Romans from the city of their birth, and terror. So interesting a contrast of greatness and ruin, disposed the fond credulity of the people to explore, and even to exaggerate the afflictions of the queen of cities. The clergy, who applied to recent events the lofty metaphors of oriental prophecy, were soon tempted to describe the destruction of the capital, and the dissolution of the globe.

The there exists a human nature a strong by the tropes of propensit to to deprive the advantages, Charles V., and to magnify the evils, of the present times. Yet when the first emotions had subsided, and a more calm, and learned and judicious contemporaries were forced to confess, that infant Rome had formerly received more essential injury from the Gauls than she had now sustained from the Goths in her declining age. The experience of eleven centuries had enabled posterity to produce a much singular parallel; and to affirm with confidence, that the ravages of the barbarians, whom Alaric had led from the banks of the Danube, were less destructive, than the hostilities exercised by the troops of Charles the fifth, a catholic prince who styled himself emperor of the Romans. The Goths evacuated the city at the end of six days, but Rome remained above nine months in possession of the imperialists; and every hour was stained by some atrocious act of cruelty, lust, and rapine. The authority of Alaric preserved some order and moderation among the ferocious multitude, which acknowledged him for their leader and king; but the constable of Bourbon had gloriously fallen in the attack of the walls; and the death of the general removed every restraint of discipline, from an army which consisted of three independent nations, the Italians, the Spaniards, and the Goths. In the beginning of the next century, the manners of Italy exhibited a remarkable scene of the depravity of mankind. They united the singular crimes that prevail in an unsettled state of society, with the polished vices that spring from the abuse of art and luxury; and the loose adventurers, who had violated every prejudice of patriotism and superstition to assault the palace of the Roman pontiff, must deserve to be considered as the most profligate of the Italians. At the same era, the Spaniards were an emperor and king both of this world: but their high-spirited value was disgraced by gloomy pride, rapacious avarice, and忘れ特 cruelty. Had they been in the pursuit of fame and riches, they had improved, by repeated practice, the most exquisite and effectual method of tormenting their prisoners, the capricious and cruel politician of Rome, were familiar of the holy inquisition; and some volunteers, perhaps, were lately returned from the conquest of Mexico. The Germans were less corrupt than the Italians, less cruel than the Spaniards, and the rustic, or even savage, aspect of those Teutonic wanderers, was enough to suppress a simple and merciful disposition. But they had imbibed, in the first fervour of the reformation, the spirit, as well as the principles, of Luther. It was their favourite amusement to insult, or destroy, the consecrated objects of catholic superstition; they indulged, without pity or remorse, a devilish rage against every exterminating and degenerate form of a considerable part of the inhabitants of modern Rome; and their fanatic zeal might aspire to subvert the throne of antichrist, to purify, with blood and fire, the abominations of the sinful Babylon.

The retreat the victorious Goths, Alaric evacuates who had encamped Rome the sixth day, ravaged might be the result of prudence; but it was age indeed was not surely the effect of fear. At the head of an army, encumbered with rich and weighty spoil, their intrepid leader advanced along the Appian way into the southern provinces of the empire, he destroyed, and destroyed, and plundered, and plundered, and destroyed, and destroyed, and contented himself with the plunder of the unsparing country. The fate of Capua, the proud and luxurious metropolis of Campania, and which was respected, even in its decay, as the eighth city of the empire, is buried in oblivion; whilst the adjacent town of Nola has been illustrated on this occasion, by the sanctity of Paulinus, who was successively a consul, a monk, and a bishop. At the age of forty, he renounced the enjoyment of wealth and honour, of society and literature, to embrace a life of solitude and silence. He was the son of a knight of the Carthusian order, which had been mercifully received by him, who had been considered in the world, as a man of letters; and he had been early taught to abhor the reproaches of his worldly friends, who ascribed this desperate act to some disorder of the mind or body. An early and passionate attachment determined him to fix his humble dwelling in one of the suburbs of Nola, near the miraculous tomb of St. Felix, which the public devotion had already surrounded with five large and populous churches. The remains of his fortune and of his unh.  

1. See the pathetic complaint of Jeron (tom. v, p. 269.) in his preface to the second book of his Commentaries on the prophet Esaias. He recommended this pathetic complaint, 2. See the pathetic complaint of Jeron (tom. v, p. 269.) in his preface to the second book of his Commentaries on the prophet Esaias. He recommended this pathetic complaint, l. i. c. 15, l. vi. c. 35, p. 357. But, in the history of the emperor Charles the fifth, we have the same examples of a people in their sufferings. We have seen the kindness of the emperor Charles the fifth, the Roman emperor, who protected the monks of the monastery of St. Mark in their sufferings. We have seen the kindness of the emperor Charles the fifth, the Roman emperor, who protected the monks of the monastery of St. Mark in their sufferings. 3. See the pathetic complaint of Jeron (tom. v, p. 269.) in his preface to the second book of his Commentaries on the prophet Esaias. He recommended this pathetic complaint, l. i. c. 15, l. vi. c. 35, p. 357. But, in the history of the emperor Charles the fifth, we have the same examples of a people in their sufferings. We have seen the kindness of the emperor Charles the fifth, the Roman emperor, who protected the monks of the monastery of St. Mark in their sufferings. 4. See the pathetic complaint of Jeron (tom. v, p. 269.) in his preface to the second book of his Commentaries on the prophet Esaias. He recommended this pathetic complaint, l. i. c. 15, l. vi. c. 35, p. 357. But, in the history of the emperor Charles the fifth, we have the same examples of a people in their sufferings. We have seen the kindness of the emperor Charles the fifth, the Roman emperor, who protected the monks of the monastery of St. Mark in their sufferings. 5. See the pathetic complaint of Jeron (tom. v, p. 269.) in his preface to the second book of his Commentaries on the prophet Esaias. He recommended this pathetic complaint, l. i. c. 15, l. vi. c. 35, p. 357. But, in the history of the emperor Charles the fifth, we have the same examples of a people in their sufferings. We have seen the kindness of the emperor Charles the fifth, the Roman emperor, who protected the monks of the monastery of St. Mark in their sufferings. 6. See the pathetic complaint of Jeron (tom. v, p. 269.) in his preface to the second book of his Commentaries on the prophet Esaias. He recommended this pathetic complaint, l. i. c. 15, l. vi. c. 35, p. 357. But, in the history of the emperor Charles the fifth, we have the same examples of a people in their sufferings. We have seen the kindness of the emperor Charles the fifth, the Roman emperor, who protected the monks of the monastery of St. Mark in their sufferings. 7. See the pathetic complaint of Jeron (tom. v, p. 269.) in his preface to the second book of his Commentaries on the prophet Esaias. He recommended this pathetic complaint, l. i. c. 15, l. vi. c. 35, p. 357. But, in the history of the emperor Charles the fifth, we have the same examples of a people in their sufferings. We have seen the kindness of the emperor Charles the fifth, the Roman emperor, who protected the monks of the monastery of St. Mark in their sufferings. 8. See the pathetic complaint of Jeron (tom. v, p. 269.) in his preface to the second book of his Commentaries on the prophet Esaias. He recommended this pathetic complaint, l. i. c. 15, l. vi. c. 35, p. 357. But, in the history of the emperor Charles the fifth, we have the same examples of a people in their sufferings. We have seen the kindness of the emperor Charles the fifth, the Roman emperor, who protected the monks of the monastery of St. Mark in their sufferings.
The Decline and Fall

Chap. XXXI

Understanding were dedicated to the service of the glorious martyr; whose praise, on the day of his festival, Paulinus never failed to celebrate by a solemn hymn; and in which he erected a sixth church, of superscription and beauty, which was decorated with many curious pictures, from the history of the Old and New Testament. Such assiduous zeal secured the favour of the saint; or at least of the people; and, after fifteen years' retirement, the Roman consilium was compelled to accept his advice. The bishopric of Nola, a few months before, was invested by the Goths. During the siege, some religious persons were satisfied that they had seen, either in dreams or visions, the divine form of their tutelary patron; yet it soon appeared by the event, that this was an empty and pernicious delusion, to preserves the captive flock, of which he had formerly been the shepherd. Nola was not saved from the general devastation; and the captive bishop was protected only by the general opinion of his innocence and poverty. Above four years elapsed from the successful invasion of Italy by the Arians of Alaric, to the vengeful retreat of the Goths under the conduct of his successor Adolphus; and, during the whole time, they reigned without control over a country, which, in the opinion of the ancients, had united all the various excellencies of nature and art. The prosperity of Italy, which was the bravo island in the suspicious age of the Antonines, had gradually declined with the decline of the empire. The fruits of a long peace perished under the rude grasp of the barbarians; and they themselves were incapable of tasting the natural luxuriance of the new governments of luxuriance which had been prepared for the use of the soft and polished Italians. Each soldier, however, claimed an ample portion of the substantial plenty, the corn and cattle, oil and wine, that was daily collected and consumed, in the Gothic camp; and the principal warriors insulted the villas and gardens, once inhabited by Lucullus and Cicero, along the beautiful coast of Campania. Their tumbling captives, the sons and daughters of Roman senators, presented, in goblets of gold and gems, large draughts of Falernian wine, to the haughty victors who stretched their huge limbs under the shade of plane trees, artificially employed to exclude the scorching rays, and to refresh the genial warmth of the sun. These delights were enhanced by the memory of past hardships: the comparison of their native soil, the black and barren hills of Sclavonia, and the frozen banks of the Elbe and Danube, added new charms to the felicity of the Italian climate. Death of Alaric. Whether fame, or conquests, or riches, A.D. 410. were the object of Alaric, he pursued that object with an indefatigable ardour, which could neither be quelled by adversity, nor satiated by success. No sooner had he reached the extreme land of Italy, than he was attracted by the neighbouring prospect of a fertile and peaceful island. Yet even the possession of Sicily he considered only as an intermediate step to the important expedition, which he already meditated against the continent of Africa. The straits of Rhgium and Messina are twelve miles in length, and, in the narrowest passage, about one mile and a half broad; and the fabulous monsters of the deep, the rocks of Scylla, and the whirlpool of Charybdis, were visited by the Goths without injury. Yet as soon as the first division of the Goths had embarked, a sudden tempest arose, which sunk, or scattered, many of the transports; their courage was daunted by the terrors of a new element; and the whole design was defeated by the premature death of Alaric, which, fixed, after a short illness, the fatal term of his conquests. The ferocious character of the barbarians was displayed, in the funeral of a hero, whose valour, and fortune, they celebrated with mournful applause. By the labour of a captive soldier, the island which the Goths disposed of the Buuentinus, a small river that washes the walls of Consentia. The royal sepulchre, adorned with the splendid spoils, and trophies, of Rome, was constructed in the vacant bed; the waters were then restored to their natural channel; and the secret spot, where the Goths had been forever concealed by the inhuman massacre of the prisoners, who had been employed to execute the work. The personal animosities, and heredimov, of the barbarians, were sus- pended by the strong necessity of their common interest, with the empire, to march into Italy; and they chose Valentinian's brother-in-law of the deposed monarch, G. Gaul, who was unanimously elected to succeed to his throne. The character and political system of the new king of the Goths, may be best understood from the relation of Jornandes, a historian of the Goths; and to acquire, like Augustus, the immortal fame of the founder of a new empire. By repeated experiments, I was gradually convinced, that laws are essentially necessary to maintain and regulate a well-constituted state; and that the fierce untractable humanity of the Goths, not to subvert, but to restore and maintain, the prosperity of the Roman empire. With these pacific views, the successor of Alaric suspended the operations of war; and seriously negotiated with the imperial court a treaty of friendship and alliance. It was the interest of the ministers of Honorius, who were now released from the obligation of their extravagant oath, to deliver Italy from the intolerable weight of the Gothic powers; and they readily accepted their service against the tyrants and barbarians who infested the provinces beyond the Alps. Adolphus, assuming the character of a Roman general, directed his march from the extremity of Campania to the southern provinces of Gaul. His troops, either by force or agreement, immediately occupied the cities of Narbonne, Thoulouse, and Bourdeaux; and though they were repulsed by count Boniface from the walls of Marcus, they soon extended their quarters from the Mediterranean to the ocean. The oppressed provinces of Africa, see Cluvierius, (Ital. Ant. liv. p. 1253, and Sicilias Anon., i. 161. The Goths were driven to seek the protecting shade of a Roman general, who had diligently consulted men and wits, and surveyed with a curious eye the actual face of the country. Jornandes, de Reb. Geticis, c. 30. p. 654. See G. Orussus, i. vii. c. 43. p. 584, 585. He was sent by St. Augustin, in the year 418, from Africa to Palestine, to visit St. Jerome, and to manage the affairs of the Church in that country. Jornandes, de Reb. Geticis, c. 30. p. 654. Jornandes supposes, without much probability, that Adolphus was a grandson of the Goths, and a relative of the imperial family. Yet he agrees with Orussus in supposing, that a treaty of peace was concluded between the Gothic prince and the Gallic emperor, Honorius, i. vii. c. 43. p. 584, 585. Jornandes, de Reb. Geticis, c. 31. p. 624, 625. 

1 The humble Paulinus once presumed to say, that he believed St. Paul to have used, at least, as a master of this little dog. 2 See Jornandes, de Reb. Get. c. 30. p. 653. 3 Philonisilia, l. xiii. c. 2. 4 Augustin., Civ. Vet. l. i. c. 10. 5 Baronihi, Ant. Eccles. A.D. 410. 6 ibid. 7 The platanes, or plane-tree, was a favourite of the ancients, by which it was propagated, for the sake of shade, from the east to Gaul. Pliny, Hist. Nat. xiii. 4, 5. He mentions several of an enormous size, as in the imperial villa at Tivoli, which Caligula had set his seat, where the branches were capable of holding a large table, the proper attendants, and the emperor himself, when Fliniy quaintly states the imperial residence; an expression which may be fairly applied to Alaric. 8 The march from the defeat to the destroyer yielded her boasted titles, and her golden fields; With grin delighted the broider of winter view A cloud of dust, and shades of sun. Scant the new fragrance of the opening row, The perfumed isle, the lingering pendant vines, They grace the scene of the Allaius. See Grey's poems, published by Mr. Mason, p. 197. Instead of compiling the evidence of natural and artificial history, why did not Mr. Gray apply the powers of his genius to finish the philosophic poem, of which he had left such an exquisite specimen? 9 For the perfect description of the straits of Alemnis, Sicily, Cha-
cials might, at least, claim, that the miserable remnant which the enemy had spared, was cruelly ravished by their pretended allies; yet some specious colours were not wanting to palliate, or justify the violence of the Goths. The cities of Gaul, which they attacked, might perhaps be considered as in a state of rebellion against the govern-
ment of Honorius; the articles of the treaty, or the sec-
curities of the court, might sometimes be alleged in favour of the seeming usurpations of Adolphus; and the guilt of any irregular, unsuccessful act of hos-
tility, might always be imputed, with an appearance of
truth, to the ungovernable spirit of a barbarian host, impa-
tient of peace or discipline. The luxury of Italy had been long since corrupted by the vanities of the Goths, and they had imbibed the vices, without imitating the arts and institutions, of civilized society. 6

His marriage

The professions of Adolphus were with Placidia, probably sincere, and his attachment to her.

It is the custom of the republic was secured by the ascendancy which a Roman princess had acquired over the heart and understanding of the barbarian king. Placidia, the daughter of the great Theodosius, and of Gallia, his second wife, had received a royal education in the palace of Constantinople; but the eventful story of her life is connected with the revolutions which agi-
tated the western provinces, or caused, by the accident of
Honors. When Rome was first invested by the arms of Alaric, Placidia, who was then about twenty years of age, resided in the city; and her ready consent to the death of her cousin Serena has a cruel and ungrateful ap-
pearance, which, according to the circumstances of the act, was not without the weight of evidence, and of the action of her tender age. 1 The victorious barbarians de-
tained, either as a hostage or a captive, the sister of
Honors; but, while she was exposed to the disgrace of following round Italy the motions of a Gothic camp, she experienced, however, decent and respectful treat-
ment. But this magnanimity of the Goths was not suf-
ficent; the scanty supply of Placidia, may perhaps be counterbalanced by the silence, the expressive silence of her flirtaters; yet the spendor of her birth, the bloom of youth, the elegance of manners, and the dexterous insinuation which she condescended to employ, made a deep impression on the mind of Adolphus; and the Gothic king aspired to call himself the brother of the emperor. The ministers of Honors rejected with disdain the proposal of an alli-
ance so injurious to every sentiment of Roman pride; and repeatedly urged the restitution of Placidia, as an indispensable article of the truce or peace. But the daughter of Theodosius submitted, without referring to the desires of the conqueror, a young and valiant prince, who yielded to Alaric in loftiness of stature, but who excelled in the more attractive qualities of grace and beauty. The marriage of Adolphus and Placidia 2 was consummated before the Goths retired from Italy, and the solemn, perhaps the anniversary, day of their nuptials was afterwards celebrated in the house of In-
genius, one of the most illustrious citizens of Narbonne in Gaul. The bride, attired and adorned like a Roman empress, was placed on a throne of state; and the king of the Goths, who assumed, on this occasion, the Ro-
man habit, contented himself with a less honourable

seat by her side. The nuptial gift, which, according to the custom of his nation, 3 was offered to Placidia, con-

sisted of the rare and magnificent spoils of her country. Fifty beautiful youths, in silken robes, carried a basin in each hand; and one of these basins was filled with pieces of gold, the other with precious stones of an ines-
timable value. Atalus, so long the sport of fortune, de-

spite himself in the exchange, of the chaste hymenal song; and the degraded emperor might aspire to the praise of a skilful musician. The barba-

rians enjoyed the insolence of their triumph; and the provincials rejoiced in this alliance, which tempered, by the mild influence of love and reason, the fierce spirit of their Gothic lord.

The hundred basins of gold and gems, The Gothic treas-
ured to Placidia at her nuptial feast, formed an inconceivable portion of the Gothic treasures; of which some extraordinary specimens may be selected from the history of the successors of Adolphus. Many curious and costly ornaments of pure gold, enriched with jewels, were found in their palace of Narbonne, when it was pillaged, in the sixth

century, by the Franks: sixty cups, or chalices; fifteen patens, or plates, for the use of the communion; twenty boxes, or cases, to hold the books of the gos-

tpel, and vessels; and, of this precious treasure, a por-
tion of Clovis among the churches of his dominions, and his pious liberality seems to upbraid some former sacrilege of the Goths. They possessed, with more

security of conscience, the famous missorium, or great dish for the service of the table, of nusy gold, of the greatest intrinsic value, from the precious stones, the exquisite work-

manship, and the tradition that it had been presented, by Rlius the patrician, to Terismond, king of the Goths. One of the successors of Terismond purchased the aid of the French monarch by the promise of this magnificent dish. When the son of Clovis, the throne of Spain, he delivered it with reluctance to the ambassadors of Dagobert; despoiled them on the road; stipulated, after a long negotiation, the inade-
quate ransom of two hundred thousand pieces of gold; and preserved the missorium, as the pride of the Gothic trea-

sury. 4 When that treasury, after the conquest of Spain, was plundered by the Arabs, they admired, and they have celebrated, another object still more remarkable: a table of considerable size, of one single piece of solid emerald, 5 enriched with three rows of fine pearls, supported by three hundred and sixty-five feet of gems and emeralds, and estimated at the price of five hundred thousand pieces of gold. 4 Some portion

1 The Visigoths (the subjects of Adolphus) restrained, by sub-
sequent laws, the promiscuity of conjugal love; it was illegal for a hus-
band to make any gift or settlement for the benefit of his wife during the first year of their marriage; and her literalty could not at any time, exceed the truth part of her property. The Lombards were somewhat more indulgent; they allowed the mourning period immediately after the wedding night; and this famous gift, the reward of virginity, might equal the fourth part of the husband's substance. Some au-
trious maidens, indeed, were wise enough to stipulate beforehand a dowry, which they were sure of not drawing. See Mgr. de Sainte Marie, Lettres de l'Espirit des Lois, I. xix. 25. Musarior, dell' Antichita Italiane, tom., I., Basilicata.

2 We owe the curious detail of this nuptial feast to the historian Olympeodorus, ap. Photius, p. 185, 186. 3 See in the great collection of the historians of France by Dem. Bouquet, tom. ii., Grec. Tatonv, 1. iii., c. p. 191. Gesta Regum Francorum, c. 55, p. 557. The anonymous writer, with an ignorance worthy of his times, supposes that these instruments of Christian worship had belonged to the temple of Solomon. If he has any meaning, it must be, that they were found in the temple.

4 Consult the following original testimonies in the historians of France, tom. ii., c. 25, p. 565. Gesta Reg. Dacorum, ii., c. 56. Gar. Fragment. iii., c. 463. Gesta Reg. Dacorem, c. 25, p. 557. The following account of the suppression of Sigefroi, and the consecration of Germanus, tom. III., L. xiv. 4. The one hundred and twenty thousand pieces of gold were appropriated by Dagobert to the foundation of the church of St. Denis.

5 The priceless table (the subject of the Loix, A. c. tom. ii., p. 529,) is of opinion, that the stupendous pieces of emerald, the statues and col-

This famous emerald dish, which is shown at Genoa, is supposed to be the ancient table of Clovis, after the example of the

6 Elgin, Hist. Saracenic, i. p. 55. Bodein, Tolet. Hist. Arab. c. 9. Cardine, Hist. de l'Afrique, et de l'Espagne sous les Arabes, tom. iv., l. p. 53. It was called the Table of Solomon, according to the
of the Gothic treasures might be the gift of friendship, or the tribute of obedience; but the far greater part had been the fruits of war and rapine, the spoils of the empire, and perhaps of Rome.

Laws for the re-

law of Italy and

Romulus.

A. D. 410—417.

The delivery of Italy from the oppression of the Goths, some secret councillors and law-makers had been engaged, but was not completed, till the mighty host, deserting his fortune and his friends, ignominiously fled with a single ship.

When Heracleian landed in the harbour of Carthage, he found that the whole province, disclaiming such an unworthy ruler, had returned to their allegiance. The rebel was beheaded. He had caused his name to be erased; the office of which he was the possessor was abolished; and the remains of his private fortune, not exceeding the moderate sum of four thousand pounds of gold, were granted to the brave Constantius, who had already defended the throne, which he afterwards shared with his feeble sovereign. Heracleian viewed with pain, the destruction of his dearly loved home of Rome and Italy; but the rebellious attempts of Attalus and Heracleian against his personal safety, awakened, for a moment, the torpid instinct of his nature. He was probably ignorant of the causes and events which preserved him from these impending dangers, and as Italy was no longer invaded by any foreign or domestic enemies, he peaceably existed in the palace of Ravenna, while the tyrants beyond the Alps were repeatedly vanquished in the name, and by the lieutenants, of the son of Theodosius. In the meantime, the course of events swept on, and no one could possibly forget to mention the death of such a prince: and I shall therefore take the precaution of observing, in this place, that he survived the last siege of Rome about thirteen years.

The usurpation of Constantine, who had received the legions from the legions of the Rhine and France, had been successful; and seemed to be secure. His title was acknowledged, from the wall of Antoninus to the columns of Hercules; and, in the midst of the public disorder, he shared the dominion, and the plunder, with the tribes of barbarians, whose destructive progress was no longer checked by the Rhine or Pyrenees. Stained with the blood of the kinsmen of Honorius, he extorted, from the court of Ravenna, with which he secretly corresponded, the ratification of his rebellion, which was already recognized. He was despatched to Constantinople, A. D. 403. 415.

Revolt and defeat of Heraclian, count of Africa.

A. D. 412.

This apparent tranquillity was soon disturbed by the approach of an hostile army; an event from which he had been entirely relieved, and which disturbed the daily subsistence of the Roman people. Heracleian, count of Africa, who, under the most difficult and distressful circumstances, had supported with active loyalty the cause of Honorius, was tempted, in the year of his consulship, to assume the imperial title, and the title of Roman emperor was immediately filled with the naval forces, at the head of which he prepared to invade Italy; and his fleet, when it cast anchor at the mouth of the Tyber, immediately surrounded the fleets of Zervas and Alexander, if of the vessels, including the royal galley, and the smallest boat, did actually amount to the incredible number of three thousand two hundred.

Yet with such an armament, which might have subverted, or restored, the greatest empires of the earth, the African usurper made a very faint and feeble impression on the provinces of his rival. As he marched from the port, along the road which leads to the gates of Rome, he was encountered, terrified, and routed, by one of the small Roman amirs, and with great difficulty delivered his mighty host, his fortune and his friends, ignominiously fled with a single ship.

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count pressed forwards, through the Pyrenees, to surprise the two emperors, Constantine and Constans, before they could prepare for their defence. The son was made prisoner at Vienne, and immediately put to death; and the unfortunate youth had scarcely leisure to weep his fate, before his father attempted or compelled him sacrilegiously to desert the peaceful obscurity of the monastic life. The father maintained a siege within the walls of Arles; but those walls must have yielded to the assailants, had not the city been unexpectedly relieved by the approach of some Italian troops. The obstinacy, and the unyielding resolution of the emperor, astonished the contending parties of the rebels. Gerontius, abandoned by his own troops, escaped to the confines of Spain; and rescued his name from oblivion, by the Roman courage which appeared to animate the last moments of his life. In the middle of the night, a great body of his perjured soldiers surrounded and attacked his house, which he had strongly barricaded. His wife, a valiant friend of the nation of the Alani, and some faithful slaves, were still attached to his person; and he used, with so much skill and resolution, a large magazine of disordered arms, and six hundred of the assailants lost their lives in the attempt. His slaves, when all the missile weapons were spent, fled at the dawn of day; and Gerontius, if he had not been restrained by conjugal tenderness, might have imitated their example; till the soldiers, provoked by starvation and want of hospitality, broke into the house. In this fatal extremity, he complied with the request of his barbarian friend, and cut off his head. The wife of Gerontius, who conjured him not to abandon her to a life of misery and disgrace, eagerly presented her neck to his sword; and the tragic scene was increased by the death of Constans, who had himself, after three ineffectual strokes, drew a short dagger, and stabbed it in his heart.  

The unprotected Maximus, whom he had invested with the purple, was inducted for his life to the contempt that was entertained for his power and abilities. The caprice of the barbarians who ravaged Spain, once more sealed this imperial phantom on the throne: but they soon resigned him to the justice of Honorius; and the tyrant Maximus, after he had been shown to the people of Ravenna and of Rome, was publicly executed.  

The general, Constantine, was seized with a new approach of the siege of Arles, and dissipated the troops of Gerontius, was born a Roman; and this remarkable distinction is strongly expressive of the decay of military spirit among the subjects of the empire. The latter was the son of an ancient, and famous in the person of that general, marked him, in the popular opinion, as a candidate worthy of the throne, which he afterwards ascended. In the familiar intercourse of private life, his manners were cheerful and engaging; nor would he sometimes disdain, in the licentious convivial mirth, to vie with the pantomimes themselves, in the exercises of their ridiculous profession. But when the trumpet summoned him to arms; when he mounted his horse, and, bending down (for such was his singular practice) almost upon the neck, fiercely rolled his large animated eyes round the field of battle, and inspired his soldiers with the assurance of victory. He had received from the court of Ravenna the important commission of extirpating rebellion in the provinces of the west; and the pretended emperor Constantin, after enjoying a short and anxious respite, was again besieged in his capital by the arms of a more formidable enemy. Yet this interval allowed time for a successful negociation with the Franks and Alamanni; and his ambassador, Eudocius, was permitted to obtain the surrender of the garrisons of the siege of Arles. The Roman general, instead of expecting the attack in his lines, boldly, and perhaps wisely, resolved to pass the Rhone, and to meet the barbarians. His measures were conducted with so much skill and secrecy, that, while they encircled the imperial camp in front, they were suddenly attacked, surrounded, and destroyed by the cavalry of his lieutenant Ulphilas, who had silently gained an advantageous post in the rear. The remains of the army of Eudocius were preserved by flight or submission, and their leader escaped from the field of battle to the house of a faithless friend; who too clearly understood, that the head of his obnoxious guest would be an acceptable and lucrative present for the imperial general. On this occasion Constantine behaved with the magnanimity of a genuine Roman. Subduing, or suppressing, every attempt on the part of the usurper, he ordered the person and property of Eudocius to be respected.  

Character and valour of Constans, son of Constans, A.D. 411—416.  

Fall of the usurper, usurper of Gaul, his last hopes, was tempted to place some confidence in so generous a conqueror. He required a solemn promise for his security; and after receiving, by the imposition of hands, the sacred character of a christian presbyter, he was ventured to open the gates of the city. But he soon experienced, that the principles of honour and integrity, which might regulate the ordinary conduct of Constantius, were superseded by the loose doctrines of political morality. The Roman general, indeed, refused to accept the sovereignty of Gaul, and privately his laurels with the blood of Constans, but the abdicated emperor, and his son Julian, were sent under a strong guard into Italy; and before they reached the palace of Ravenna, they met the ministers of death.  

At a time when it was universally confessed, that almost every man in the Roman empire was either a usurper or a friend to the usurpers, the princes whom the accident of their birth had seated on the throne, a rapid succession of usurpers, regardless of the fate of their predecessors, still continued to arise. This mischief was particularly observed in the province of Spain, where the principles of order and obedience had been extinguished by war and rebellion. Before Constantine resigned the purple, and in the fourth month of the siege of Arles, intelligence was received in the imperial camp, that Jovinus had assumed the diadem at Monts, in the Upper Germany, at the instigation of Goar, king of the Alani, and of Guntharius, king of the Burgundians; and that the candidate, on whom they had bestowed the empire, advanced with a formidable host of barbarians, from the banks of the Rhine to those of the Rhone. Every circumstance is dark and extraordinary in the short history of this Constantius. It was natural to expect, that a brave and skilful general, at the head of a victorious army, would have asserted, in a field of battle, the justice of the cause of Honorius. The hasty retreat of Constantius might be justified by weighty reasons; but he resigned, without a struggle, the empire to his successor, the praetorian prefect, who was recorded as the only magistrate who refused to yield obedience to the usurper.  

Suidas Apollinaris (C. vepit, p. 139, and Not. Simond, p. 98) says: 'The praetorian prefect, after extirpating the last vestiges of the old Roman empire, of which some fragmentary titles are now existent. (Burckhard, Barnes, tom. ii. p. 448, ver. 38.) This allusion may prove that the ancient tragic poets were still familiar to the Greeks of the fifth century.'
When the Goths, two years after the siege of Rome, established their quarters in Gaul, it was natural to suppose that their inclinations could be divided only between the emperor Honorius, with whom they had formed an alliance in the days of Theodosius, and the usurper of Gaul whom they reserved in their camp for the occasional purpose of acting the part of a musician or a monarch. Yet in a moment of disgust, (for it is not easy to assign a cause, or a date,) Adolphus connected himself with the usurper of Gaul; and imposed on Atalattus the ignominious task of negotiating the whole transaction. Atalattus, whom they had degraded, was again abandoned and insulted, by the foremost men of the realm, and the most illustrious domestic and foreign statesmen; and we may observe, as a sure symptom of domestic happiness, that, in a period of four hundred years, Spain furnished very few materials to the history of the Roman empire. The footsteps of the barbarians, who, in the reign of Gallienus, had penetrated beyond the Rhine, escaped the memory, and appeared to the Romans an object of peace; and in the fourth century of the Christian era, the cities of Emerita, or Merida, of Corduba, Seville, Bracara, and Tarragona, were numbered with the most illustrious of the Roman world. The various plenty of the animal, the vegetable, and the mineral kingdoms, was improved and manufactured by the skill of an industrious people; and the peculiar advantages of naval stores contributed to support an extensive and profitable trade. The arts and sciences flourished under the protection of the emperors; and the host of learning and science, which had been disturbed by frequent attempts of the barbarians. But no sooner had the national troops been compelled to resign their post to the Honorian bands, in the service of Constantine, than the gates of Spain were treacherously betrayed to the public enemy, about ten months before the ascension of ite to the throne of Gaul. The consciousness of guilt, and the thirst of rapine, prompted the mercenary guards of the Pyrenees to desert their station; to invite the arms of the Suevi, the Vandals, and the Alani; and to swell the torrent which was poured over the Sabinian frontier, and the two Pyrenean passes by the sea of Afriis. The misfortunes of Spain may be described in the language of its most eloquent historian, who has concisely expressed the passionate, and perhaps exaggerated, declamations of contemporary writers; a the irruption of these nations was followed by the most dreadful calamities: it was embodied by exercised their indiscriminate cruelty on the fortunes of the Romans and the Spaniards; and ravaged with equal fury the cities and the open country. The progress of famine reduced the miserable inhabitants to a condition of starvation, assailed by the wild beasts, who multiplied, without control, in the desert, were exasperated, by the taste of blood, and the impatience of hunger, boldly to attack and devour their human prey. Pessitude soon appeared, the inseparable companion of famine; a large proportion of the people was swept away; and the groans of the dying excited only the envy of their surviving friends. At length the barbarians, satiated with carmagn and rapine, and afflicted by the contagious evils which they themselves had introduced, fixed their permanent homes in the two provinces of Spanish Gaul, and a third in the Alani, whose limits included the kingdom of old Castille, was divided between the Suevi and the Vandals; the Alani were scattered over the provinces of Carthage and Lusitania, from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic ocean; and the fruitful territory of Buitaca was

In the church; held a devout correspondence with St. Austin and St. Jerome; and was complimented by the latter (tom. iii. p. 62.) with the epithets of Christian, friend of the Christian, and follower of Saint Austin.

a The expression may be understood almost literally: Olympiodo- dorus says, μεταγεμενων Συμεωνα (συμεώνα); Suidas (for συμεόνα) may signify a soldier of the Syntem, and this meaning of an enemy, faciunt centurio, was much practised by the Hunt. (Ammian. xxiii. 2.) It fut pro fio vi deo de des, is the translation of Théloéntem, des Légioners, tom. v. p. 620.

The situation of Spain, separated on its sides from the enemies of Rome, by the sea, the mountains, and by intermediate provinces, had secured the long period of independence and territorial existence. As we may observe, as a sure symptom of domestic happiness, that, in a period of four hundred years, Spain furnished very few materials to the history of the Roman empire. The footsteps of the barbarians, who, in the reign of Gallienus, had penetrated beyond the Rhine, escaped the memory, and appeared to the Romans an object of peace; and in the fourth century of the Christian era, the cities of Emerita, or Merida, of Corduba, Seville, Bracara, and Tarragona, were numbered with the most illustrious of the Roman world. The various plenty of the animal, the vegetable, and the mineral kingdoms, was improved and manufactured by the skill of an industrious people; and the peculiar advantages of naval stores contributed to support an extensive and profitable trade. The arts and sciences flourished under the protection of the emperors; and the host of learning and science, which had been disturbed by frequent attempts of the barbarians. But no sooner had the national troops been compelled to resign their post to the Honorian bands, in the service of Constantine, than the gates of Spain were treacherously betrayed to the public enemy, about ten months before the ascension of ite to the throne of Gaul. The consciousness of guilt, and the thirst of rapine, prompted the mercenary guards of the Pyrenees to desert their station; to invite the arms of the Suevi, the Vandals, and the Alani; and to swell the torrent which was poured over the Sabinian frontier, and the two Pyrenean passes by the sea of Afriis. The misfortunes of Spain may be described in the language of its most eloquent historian, who has concisely expressed the passionate, and perhaps exaggerated, declamations of contemporary writers; a the irruption of these nations was followed by the most dreadful calamities: it was embodied by exercised their indiscriminate cruelty on the fortunes of the Romans and the Spaniards; and ravaged with equal fury the cities and the open country. The progress of famine reduced the miserable inhabitants to a condition of starvation, assailed by the wild beasts, who multiplied, without control, in the desert, were exasperated, by the taste of blood, and the impatience of hunger, boldly to attack and devour their human prey. Pessitude soon appeared, the inseparable companion of famine; a large proportion of the people was swept away; and the groans of the dying excited only the envy of their surviving friends. At length the barbarians, satiated with carmagn and rapine, and afflicted by the contagious evils which they themselves had introduced, fixed their permanent homes in the two provinces of Spanish Gaul, and a third in the Alani, whose limits included the kingdom of old Castille, was divided between the Suevi and the Vandals; the Alani were scattered over the provinces of Carthage and Lusitania, from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic ocean; and the fruitful territory of Buitaca was
alloited to the Silingi, another branch of the Vandalian nation. After regulating this partition, the conquerors contracted with their new subjects some reciprocal engagements of protection and obedience: the lands were again cultivated; and the towns and villages of Galicia, to submit to the barbarians. The greatest part of the Spaniards was even disposed to prefer this new condition of poverty and barbarism, to the severe oppressions of the Roman government; yet there were many who still asserted their native freedom, and who refused, more especially in the mountains of Galicia, to submit to the barbarians. But when he removed the southern provinces of Spain, and, from the rock now covered by the fortress of Gibraltar, contemplated the neighbouring and fertile coast of Africa, Wallia resumed the designs of conquest, which had been interrupted by the death of Alaric. The winds and waves again dispirited the enterprising Gothic arm; and the minds of a superior people were deeply affected by the repeated disasters of storms and shipwrecks. In this disposition, the successor of Alarbus had no longer refused to listen to a Roman ambassador, whose proposals were enforced by the real, or supposed, approach of a numerous army, under the conduct of the brave Constantinus. A solemn treaty was stipulated and observed: Placidia was honourably restored to her brother; six hundred thousand measures of wheat were delivered to the hungry Goths; and Wallia engaged to draw his sword in the service of the empire. A bloody war was instantly planned by the barbarians, who contending princes are said to have addressed their letters, their ambassadors, and their hostages, to the throne of the western emperor, exhorting him to retain a tranquil spectator of their contest; the events of which must be favourable to the Romans, by the mutual slaughter and devastation of the barbarians. The Spanish war was obstinately supported, during three campaigns, with desperate valour, and various success; and the martial achievements of Wallia diffused through the empire the superior renown of the Gothic hero. He exterminated the Silingi, who had irrecoverably insulted the royal person of the emperor; he subdued the Vandals, who escaped from the field, instead of choosing a new leader, humbly sought a refuge under the standard of the Vandals, with whom they were ever afterwards confounded. The Vandals themselves, and the Suevi, yielded to the efforts of the invincible Goths. The promiscuous multitude of barbarians, whose retreat had been intercepted, were driven into the mountains of Galicia; where they still continued, in a narrow compass, and on a barren soil, to exercise their domestic triumphs and hostilities. In the pride of victory, Wallia was faithful to his engagements: he restored his Spanish conquests to the obedience of Honorius; and the tyranny of the imperial officers soon reduced an oppressed people to regret the time of their barbarian servitude. While the event of the war was still doubtful, we should probably find that a crowd of poets, and orators, of magistrates, and bishops, applauded the fortune, the wisdom, and the invincible courage, of the emperor Honorius.  

**Notes:**

1. Mariana de Rebus Hispaniae, l. v. c. tom. i. p. 148. Hag. Condit. 1733. He had read, in Orosius (l. vii. c. 41, p. 579.) that the barbarians had turned their swords into ploughshares: and that many of the provincials preferred inter barbaros passum libertatem quam incontinentias et fraternulli hostes. This mixture of force and persuasion may be fairly inferred from comparing Orosius and Jornandes, the Roman and the Gothic histories.

2. According to the system of Jornandes (c. 33. p. 659.) the true barbarians are those who occupied the land of the Goths; those princes, who were the vassals of the Huns, commanded the tribes of the Ostrogoths in some distant parts of Germany or Scythia, but are not barbarians, because they are not the posterity of those people with illuminations and Circassian games. (See Chron. Alexandrin.) It may seem doubtful, whether the Goths were actuated, on this occasion, by their hatred of the barbarians, or of the Latins.
The decline and fall

Such a triumph might have been justly claimed by the ally of Rome, if Wales, before he repassed the Pyrenees, had extended the dominion of the Spanish war. His victorious Goths, forty-three years after they had passed the Danube, were established, according to the faith of treaties, in the possession of the second Aquitain; a maritime province between the Garonne and the Loire, under the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Bourdeaux. This advantageous situation for the trade of the ocean, was built in a regular and elegant form; and its numerous inhabitants were distinguished among the Gauls by their wealth, their learning, and the polite-ness of their manners. The adjacent province, which had been assigned to the garden of Eden, was blessed with a fruitful soil, and a temperate climate: the face of the country displayed the arts and the rewards of industry; and the Goths, after their martial toils, luxuriously exhausted the rich vineyards of Aquitain. The Gothic limits were enlarged, by the additional gift of some neighbouring districts; and the successors of Alaric fixed their royal residence at Thoulouse, which included five populous quarters, or cities, within the spacious circuit of its walls. About the same time, in the last years of the reign of Honorius, the Burgundians, the Goths, the Burgundians, and the Franks, obtained the limits, which dominion in the provinces of Gaul. The liberal grant of the usurper Jovinus to his Burgundian allies, was confirmed by the lawful emperor; the lands of the First, or Upper, Germany, were ceded to those formidable barbarians; and they gradually occupied, either by conquest or treaty, the two provinces, which still retain, with the titles of Duchy and of County, the national appellation of Burgundy. The Franks, the valiant and faithful allies of the Roman republic, were soon tempted to imitate the invaders, whom they had so often resisted. Treason was procured by their lawless bands; and the humble colony, which they so long maintained in the district of Toxandria, in Brabant, insensibly multiplied along the banks of the Meuse and Scheldt, till their independent power filled the whole extent of the Second, or Lower, Germany. Some of those who, built by historic evidence: but the foundation of the Frankish monarchy by Pharamond, the conquests, the laws, and even the existence, of that hero, have been justly arraigned by the impartial severity of modern criticism.

The rain of the opulent provinces of Gaul may be dated from the establishment of these barbarians, whose alliance was dangerous and oppressive; and who were capriciously impelled, by interest or passion, to violate the public peace. A heavy and partial famine was imposed on the surviving provinces, who had escaped the calamities of war; the fairest and most fertile lands were assigned to the rapacious strangers, for the use of their families, their slaves, and their cattle; and the trembling natives relinquished with a sigh the inheritance of their fathers. Yet these domestic mis-1

quest, but in the madness of civil discord. The triumvirs proscribed eighteen of the most flourishing colonies of Italy; and distributed their lands and honours to the veterans to reave the death of Caesar. Thus oppressed the liberty of their country. Two poets, of unequal fame, have deplored, in similar circum-
stances, the loss of their patrimony; but the legions of Augustus appear to have surpassed, in violence and injustice, the barbarians who invaded Gaul. The conduct of those who, in the year 572, were driven from the capital, the guarded that remote province, had been gradually withdrawn; and Britain was abandoned, without defence, to the Saxon pirates, and the savages of Ireland and Caledonia. The Britons, reduced to this extremity, no longer relied on the tardy and doubtful aid of a defending monarch. They assembled in towns, repulsed the invaders, and rejoiced in the important discovery of their own strength. Afflicted by similar calamities, and actuated by the same spirit, the Armoricans, a nation which comprehended the maritime countries of Gaul between the Seine and the Loire 2), and Stockton, destroyed the example of the island. They expelled the Roman magistrates, who acted under the authority of the usurper Constantine; and a free government was established among a people who had so long been subject to the arbitrary will of a master. The independence of Britain and Armoric was soon confirmed by Honorius himself, the lawful emperor of the west; and the letters, by which he committed to the new states the care of their own


2 OLyd. edd. Zeno: a name

3 See the remarkable passage of the Armoricans of Paulinus, 357, and Mucius, l. i. c. 42.

4 The Armoricans were subdued by the authority of Tillyman, (Hist. des Emp. tom. v. p. 611.) and by the influence of the Abbe Noblesse, 1680, and the Roman governors of Gaule, tom. i. p. 229.)

5 See Mucius, l. i. c. 47, 44, 45.

6 Except in a short and suspicious line of the Chronicle of Prosper, (tom. i. p. 636.) the name of Pharamond is not mentioned before the 4th century. The author of the Gotha Fragments, (in tom. ii. p. 132.) suggests, probably enough, that the choice of Pharamond, by Honorius and the Franks, was recommended to the Franks by his father Marcomin, who was an exile in Tyuscany.
violated by bold and popular citizens; and the haughty nobles, who complained that they were become the subjects of their own servitors, would sometimes become the subjects of an arbitrary monarch. II. The jurisdiction of each city over the adjacent country, was supported by the patrimonial influence of the principal senators; and the smaller towns, the villages, and the proprietors of land, consulted their own safety by adhering to the interests of their city. The sphere of their attraction was proportioned to the respective degrees of their wealth and populousness; but the hereditary lords of ample possessions, who were not oppressed by the neighbourhood of any powerful city, aspired to the rank of independent princes, and boldly claimed the rights of independence and protection were succeeded by the mutual and voluntary offices of national friendship.*

State of Britain, A.D. 405-419. fabric of civil and military government; and the independent country, during a period of forty years, till the descent of the Saxons, was ruled by the authority of the clergy, the nobles, and the municipal towns. I. Zosimus, who alone has preserved the memory of this singular transaction, very accurately observes, that the letters of Honorius were addressed to the cities of Britain. Under the protection of the Roman empire, a number of cities had arisen in the several parts of that great province; and among these, thirty-three cities were distinguished above the rest by their superior privileges and importance.* Each of these cities, as in all the other provinces of the empire, formed a local corporation, for the purpose of regulating their domestic policy; and the powers of municipal jurisdiction, invested in an annual magistrate, a select senate, and the assembly of the people, according to the original model of the Roman constitution.* The management of a common revenue, the exercise of civil and criminal jurisdiction, and the habits of public counsel and command, were indulged to these cities, when they as- 

1. Gentem inter geminos annas Claudii amans, Armoricam prius veteri cogerem dieta, *

2. In incarnatione, intacta, inaudita,... *

3. Ineuntiosus, dispars a nobis nosse audieris.*

4. Petrius verbosus sed omnium facta. *

5. Ercrista, Monach, in Vit. St. Germanus, i. v. apud Yales. Not. Gallia- rum, p. 43. Valerius alleges several testimonies to confirm this character; to which I shall add the evidence of the pre-By the city of Constanti- stanes, (A.D. 485) who, in the life of St. Germanus, calls the Angles the Roman province of Galatia. See the Historia of France, i. tom. i. p. 645.

6. I thought it necessary to enter my protest against this part of the system of the Abbé Dacier, which Montesquieu has so vigori- passed. See Esprit des Lois, t. xxxi. c. 21.

7. Nunc, quam coeptum est, ultimum est... *

8. Are the words of Propertius, (de Bell. Vahgi. l. i. c. 2. p. 191. Laro de, edition,) in a very important passage, which has been too much neglected. Every Roman city, (Huet, chronologie universelle, ed. Sauthon) acknowledges that the Roman finally left Britain in the reign of Honorius. Yet our modern historians and antiquaries extend the term of their dominion; and there are some who allow only the interval of a few months between their departure and the arrival of the Saxons. *

9. I turn to myself, and to historic truth, to declare, that some cir- cumstances of the present time should make us view this period in a different light. The subductions of the language has sometimes forced me to deviate from the condition into the condition used.


11. Propertius, (de Bell, Vat. 

12. Britanniis sono fortissimo tyrannus, was the expression of Tertullian, (De spectaculis, c. 7.)"*
ed, contributions imposed, wise resolutions often concurred, and sometimes executed; and there is reason to believe, that, in moments of extreme danger, a Pendragon, or Dictator, was elected by the general consent of the Britons. These pastoral cares, so worthy of the episcopal character, were interrupted, however, by local and superstition: and the British clergy incessantly laboured to eradicate the Pelagian heresy, which they abhorred, as the peculiar distaste of their native country. It is somewhat remarkable, or rather it is entirely natural, that the revolt of Britain and Armenia should have introduced an appearance of liberty into the obedient provinces of Gaul. In a solemn edict, filled with the strongest assurances of that paternal affection which princes so often express, and so seldom feel, the emperor Honorius promulgated his intention of convening an annual assembly of the seven provinces; a name peculiarly appropriated to Aquitain and the ancient Narbonnese, which had long since exchanged their Celtic redness for the useful and elegant arts of Italy. Arles, the seat of government and commerce, was appointed for the place of the assembly; which was continued for twenty-eight days, from the fourth of August to the thirteenth of September, of every year. It consisted of the prætorian prefect of the Gauls; of seven provincial governors, one consul, and six presidents; of the magistrates, and perhaps the bishops, of about sixty cities; and of a competent, though individual number of the honourable and opulent possessors of land, who might justly be considered as the representatives of their country. They were empowered to interpret and communicate the laws of their sovereign; to expose the grievances and wishes of their constituents; to moderate the excessive demands of the tax gatherers; and to deliberate on every subject of local or national importance, that could tend to the restoration of the peace and prosperity of the seven provinces. If such an institution, which gave the people an interest in their own government, had been universally established by Trajan or the Antonines, the seeds of public wisdom and virtue might have been cherished and propagated in the empire of Rome. The privileges of the subject would have secured the throne of the monarch; the abuses of an arbitrary administration might have been prevented, in a greater degree, by the interposition of these representative assemblies; and the country would have been defended against a foreign enemy by the arms of natives and freemen. Under the mild and generous influence of liberty, the Roman empire might have remained invincible and immortal; or if its excessive magnitude, and the instability of human affairs, had opposed such perpetual continuance, its vital and constituent members might have separately preserved their vigour and independence. But in the decline of the empire, when every principle of health and life had been exhausted, the tawdry application of this partial remedy was incapable of producing any important or salutary effects. The emperor Honorius expresses his surprise, that he must compel the reluctant provinces to accept a privilege which they should ardently have solicited. A fine of three, or even five, pounds of gold was imposed on the absent representatives; who seemed to have declined this imaginary gift of a free constitution, as the last and most cruel insult of their oppressors.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Arcadius emperor of the east.—Administration and disgrace of Eutropius.—Revolt of Germanus.—Perscription of St. John Chrysostom.—Theodosius II. emperor of the east. His sister Pulcheria.—His wife Eudocia.—The Persian war, and division of Armenia.

The division of the Roman world began—The empire of the two sons of Theodosius, marks the A. D. 293.—413., final establishment of the empire of the Reign of Arcadius, east, which, from the reign of Arcadius, to 401, 383, or to the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, subsisted one thousand and fifty-eight years in a state of premature and perpetual decay. The sovereignty of that empire assumed, and obstinately retained, the vain, and at length disastrous title of the Emperor of the Romans; and the hereditary appellation of the Augusti and Arcuates continued to declare, that he was the legitimate successor of the first of men who had reigned over the first of nations. The palace of Constantinople rivalled, and perhaps excelled the magnificence of Persia, and the eloquent senecans of St. Chrysostom celebrate, while they condemn, the pompous luxury of the reign of Arcadius. "The emperor," says he, "wears on his head either a diadem, or a crown of gold, decorated with precious stones of inestimable value. These ornaments, and his purple garments, are reserved for a person alone, who knows how to wear them, and are embroidered with figures of golden dragons. His throne is of massy gold. Whenever he appears in public, he is surrounded by his courtiers, his guards and his attendants. Their spears, their shields, their cuirasses, the bridles and trappings of their horses, their armour, and the table, are all covered with gold, and the large splendid boss in the midst of their shield, is encircled with smaller bosses, which represent the shape of the human eye. The two mules that draw the chariot of the monarch, are perfectly white, and shining all over with gold. The chariot itself, of pure and solid gold, attracts the admiration of the spectators, who contemplate the purple curtains, the snowy carpet, the size of the precious stones, and the resplendent plate of gold, that glitter as they are agitated by the motion of the carriage. The imperial pictures are white, on a blue ground; the emperor appears seated on his throne, with his arms on his knees, and his guards beside him, and his vanquished enemies in chains at his feet." The successors of Constantine established their perpetual residence in the royal city, which he had erected on the verge of Europe and Asia. Inaccessible to the mercy of their enemies, and perhaps to the complaints of their people, they received, with each wind, the tributary productions of every climate: while the impregnable strength of their capital continued for ages to defy the hostile attempts of the barbarians. Their dominions were bounded by the Hadradian and the Tigrid; and the whole interval of twenty-five days' navigation, which separated the extreme cold of Scythia from the torrid zone of Ethiopia, was comprehended within the limits of the empire of the east. The populous countries of that empire were the seat of art and learning, of luxury and wealth; and the inhabitants, who had assumed

* Father Montfaucon, who, by the command of his Benedictine superiors, was compelled (see Longuemar, tom. i. p. 365.) to execute the labours of St. Chrysostom, in thirteen volumes in folio (Paris, 1739.) assumed himself with extracting from that immense collection of melops some curious epitaphs, which illustrate the manners and genius of the Eutropian age. (See Chaperon, Les Oeuvres de St. Chrysostom, tom. i. pp. 192—196, and his French Dissertation, in the Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, vol. xlii. p. 479—496.)

* According to the loose reckoning, that a ship could sail, with a fair wind, 1000 miles, or 125 leagues, in the revolution of a day and

* It is evident from the Notitia, that the seven provinces were the Vindonissa, the maritime Alps, the first and second Narbonnes, Nursus, Cappadocia, and the first and second Aegypt; in the reign of the first, Aquitain, the Abbe Dudas, on the authority of Minnair, desired to introduce the First Legionarius, or Lycaenians.

† See the correct text of this edict, as published by Sirmond, (Not. ad Sidon Apollin. p. 147.) Minnair, of Rheims, who assigns a precise date, 367, of the act. I am indebted to a most perfect copy, Dubis, Hist. Critica de la Monarchie Francaise, tom. ii. p. 637. In the year 367, Arcadius, by a most positive edict, ordered the extreme heat from the vorus of the torrid zone; but he speaks of the Moos in the 7th degree of northern latitudes, as if it lay within the polar circle.
the language and manners of Greeks, styled themselves, with some appearance of truth, the most enlightened and civilized portion of the human species. The form of government was a pure and simple monarchy; the name of the Roman Republic, which so long preserved a faint tradition of freedom, was confirmed by the custom and practice of the people. Claudian, 2:229—276, with that mixture of indifference and humour, which befits his title, this homage, this recognition of the empire, the disgrace of the empire, and the joy of the Goths.

**Footnotes**

1. Claudian, (l. cit. Ev. L. 1—22) after enumerating the various professions of monuments in honour of the emperor, speaking of blood or stones, doubleenums, &c. adds, with some exaggeration, Omnia ex eo eterba coniuti consensum. The first book concludes with a noble speech on the crowned head of Rome to her favourite Honorina, deprecating the new immunity to which she was exposed.

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require a more considerable sum. The enmity wishes to obliterate, by the general disgrace, his personal ignominy; and as he has been sold himself, he is desirous of selling the rest of mankind. In the eager contention, the balance, which contains the fate and fortunes of the province, often trembles on the beam; and the three of one side is inclined by trepanning weight, the mind of the impartial judge remains in anxious suspense. 1* Such the (continues the indignant poet) are the fruits of Roman valor, of the defeat of Antiochus, and of the triumph of Pompey. 2 This would yield more of noble honor than to incur the impiety of future crimes; but the riches, which Eutropius derived from confiscation, were already stained with injustice; since it was deceit to accuse, and to condemn, the proprietors of wealth which he was impotent to confiscate. Some noble blood was shed by the hand of the executioner, and the most inexcusable extremities of the empire were filled with innocent and illustrious exiles. Among the gen-

1 The decline and fall. Chap. XXXII.

Ruins of Abum-

dantium, emials and consuls of the east, Abundan-
tius had reason to dread the first effects of the recent
ment of Eutropius. He had been guilty of the unpunished introducing of introducing into the palace of Constantinople; and some degree of pride must be allowed to a powerful and ungrateful favourite, who was satisfied with the disgrace of his benefactor. Abundantius was stripped of his ample fortunes by an imperial rescript, and banished to Plia-
yria. Eutropius, the last from this Roman world; where he subsisted by the precarious mercy of the barbarians, till he could obtain, after the fall of Eutropius, a milder exile at Sidon in Phoenicia. The destruction of Timarius 3 required a still more serious and bloody mode of attach

Tact, that great officer, the master-general of the armies of Theodosius, had signified his valor to a decisive victory, which he obtained over the Goths of Thessaly; but he was too prone, after the example of his sovereign, to enjoy the luxury of peace, and to abandon his confidence to wicked and designing ministers. Timarius had despised the public clamour, by promoting an infamous dependent to the command of a cohort; and he deserved to feel the ingratitude of Bargas, who was secretly instigated by the favouritism of a treacherous conspirator. The general was arraigned before the tribunal of Arcadius himself; and the principal ene

ch stood by the side of the throne to suggest the questions and answers of his sovereign. But as this form of trial might be deemed partial and arbitrary, the further inquiry into the case of Timarius was deferred till Arcadius and Procopius; the former of consular rank, the latter still respected as the father-in-law of the emperor Valens. The appearances of a fair and legal proceeding were maintained by the blunt honesty of Procopius; and he yielded with reluctance to the obsta-

quis dexterity of his colleague, who pronounced a sentence of condemnation against the unfortunate Timarius. His immense riches were confiscated, in the name of the emperor, and for the benefit of the favourite; and he was doomed to perpetual exile at Oasis, a solitary spot in the midst of the sandy deserts of Libya. 4 Excluded from all human converse, the master-general of the Roman armies was lost for ever to the world; but the circumstances of his fate have been related in a various and contradictory manner. It is insinuated, that Eutropius despatched a private order for his secret execution. 5 It was reported, that, in 260, after the fall of Maximianus, he ordered the destruction of desert, of thirst and hunger; and that his dead body was found on the sands of Libya. 6 It has been as-

seemed to threaten, the personal safety 7 of Arcadius, and object sitting on the rock near the palace of Constantino

ple. 1, 1. 32.) of Pamphylia, a scene of the Thracian desert, a region of Af

Two of the enemies of Abundantia, in Estop. I. p. 37.

Marmaricae cliam victorius caditus Hannam, evidently alludes to his persuasion of the death of Timarius. "One of the most curious, violent, and impudent passages, in Claudian (I. 192-206) so curiously distinguishes the circumstances of the sale, that they all seem to shrewdly particular anecdotes. In Claudian (G. 154-165) mentions the guilt and exile of Abundantius, nor could be fail to quote the example of the arian, who murder his friend, and is on the seashore, but on the west side of the Mediter-

alia. See Zosimus, l. v. c. 92, Jeron. tom. i. p. 25. The difference of place is easily reconciled; but the condition of Abundantia, (ibid. p. 31) and most probably from the history of Eutropius has given to the unfavourable picture of Timarius. The account of his accusers, the falsity of which is directly inferred from the practice of African and modern courts. (See Zosimus, l. v. c. 285-286.) I am almost tempted to quote the romance of a great master, (Fielding's Works, vol. iv. p. 19, &c. 90. ed.) which may be considered as the history of human nature.

Claudian (I. 195.) 7. He speaks of the things that happened in the times of Numa, and the, Punic wars, in Estop. I. p. 37. The line of Claudian, in Estop. I. p. 30. Marmaricae cliam victorius caditus Hannon, 7 Zosimus, l. v. c. 300. Yet he seems to suspect that rumour which had been so long a subject of report and report;" 7 Zosimus, l. v. c. 300. Yet he seems to suspect that rumour which had been so long a subject of report and report;" 7 Zosimus, l. v. c. 300. Yet he seems to suspect that rumour which had been so long a subject of report and report; was the authority of Antiochus, (Athen. x. p. 302) and Timoleon, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 150, and this is the scale in favor of Ptolemy, and from Claurian, (ibid. p. 192) it must probably from the history of Eutropius has given to the unfavourable picture of Timarius. The account of his accusers, the falsity of which is directly inferred from the practice of African and modern courts. (See Zosimus, l. v. c. 285-286.) I am almost tempted to quote the romance of a great master, (Fielding's Works, vol. iv. p. 19, &c. 90. ed.) which may be considered as the history of human nature.
and that those rash men, who shall presume to solicit the pardon of traitors, shall themselves be branded with public and perpetual infamy. III. "With regard to the sons of traitors,*(continues the emperor,) although they ought to share the punishment, since they will probably be so ardent as they are base by the indirect effect of our imperial lenity, we grant them their lives: but, at the same time, we declare them incapable of inheriting either on the father's or on the mother's side, or of receiving any gift or legacy, from the testament either of kinsmen or of strangers. Stigmatized with hereditary contempt, the climate from the loss of honours or fortune, let them endure the pangs of poverty and contempt, till they shall consider life as a calamity, and death as a comfortable relief." In such words, so well adapted to insult the feelings of mankind, did the emperor, or rather his favourite council, applaud the moderation of a law, which transferred the same unjust and inhuman penalties to the children of all those who had seconded, or who had not disclosed, these fictitious conspiracies. Some of the noblest regulations of Roman jurisprudence have been suffered to expire; but this the same, and the popular fear and the onerous fiscal tyranny, was carefully inserted in the codes of Theodosius and Justinian; and the same maxims have been revived in modern ages, to protect the electors of Germany, and the cardinals of the church of Rome.b

Yet these sanguinary laws, which spread terror among a disconsolate and dissipated people, were of too weak a texture to restrain the bold enterprise of Trigidil the Ostrogoth. The colony of that warlike nation, which had been planted by Theodosius in one of the most fertile districts of Puglia, was, on the contrary, the slow returns of laborious husbandry with the successful and liberal rewards of Alaric: and their leader resented, as a personal affront, his own ungracious reception in the palace of Constantinople. A soft and wealthy province, in the heart of the empire, was astonishment by the sound of war; and the foolish valour, who had been disregarded or oppressed, was again respected, as soon as he resumed the hostile character of a barbarian. The vineyards and fruitful fields, between the rapid Marasys and the winding Meander, were consumed with fire; those valleys, the scene of lawless and the city of Ephesus, the first stroke of an enemy; the trembling inhabitants escaped from a bloody massacre to the shores of the Hellespont; and a considerable part of Asia Minor was desolated by the rebellion of Trigidil. His rapid progress was checked by the junction of the north with the Ostrogoths, attacked in a narrow pass, between the city of Selge, a deep morass, and the craggy cliffs of mount Taurus, were defeated with the loss of their bravest troops. But the spirit of their chief was not
dis DA Teunen (Flemont, Jer. Civil, i. p. 411.) I must approve he theory of Elton; but in practice I should incline to the opinion of Bishop Barrow: for it is gravely quoted by the lawyers of Cardinal Richelieu, and Eutropius was precipitated by the murder of the virtuous de Thine.

w Or, by a single, however, suspects, that this law, so populous to the maxims of Germanic freedom, has been surreptitiously fitted or adopted by the nobility of the Umer, viz. Thynne; see Lactant., i. vi. c. 6, and Solom., i. viii. c. 4. The second book of Claudian against Eutropius, is a fine, though imperfect piece of chivalry.

w Claudian (in Epist. I. ii. 272—278) very accurately observes, that the ancient name and nation of the Phrygians extended very far to the north side, and that they were contiguous to the Bithynians of Thrace, and the Greeks. His observation may have been taken from Strabo, i. p. 283, ed. Amstel. 

w The poem is short, and the copy of the Lacteanus is, as I think, unreliable: the Byzantine orures, besides twenty thousand citizens; but in the age of Zosimus it was reduced to a village, or small town. See Cellarius, Geograph. Antic. tom. ii. p. 617.

b The council of Eutropius, in Claudian, may be compared with that of Dominus in the fourth satire of Juvenal. The principal member of the former were juvenile, novicii, licentiae; one of them was a mere boy till he was a cook; the others, being in the original profession, exposed their assumed dignity; and their trifling regulations, description of a cook, is made still more ridiculous by the importance of the debate.

w Claudian (i. l. 339—461) has branded him with infamy; and the senate, in more than one instance, considers him, p. 305.

w The conspiracy of Gainas and Trigidil, which is attested by the Greek historian, had not reached the ears of Claudian, who attributes the revolt of the Ostrogoth to his own martial spirit, and the advice of his aide.
The bold satirist, who has indulged his discontent by the partial and passion-ate censure of the christian emperors, violates the dignity, rather than the truth, of history, by comparing the son of Theodosius to one of those harmless and simple animals, who scarcely feel that they are treated with their shelter. Two passions, however, fear and conjugal affection, awakened the languid soul of Arcadius; he was terrified by the threats of a victorious barbarian; and he yielded to the tender eloquence of his wife Eudoxia, who, with a flood of artificial tears, presenting her infant children to the emperor, Edition disguised his jealousies, and professed to attempt to circumscribe; and the most eloquent of the saints, John Chrysostom, enjoyed the triumph of protecting a prostrate minister, whose choice had raised him to the ecclesiastical throne of Constantinople. The archbishop, ascending the pulpit of the cathedral, then delivered a solemn and instructive sermon on some real or imaginary insult, which she imputed to the audacious curate.6 The emperor’s hand was directed to sign the condemnation of Eutropius; the magic spell, which during four years had bound the prince and the people, was instantly dissolved; and the acclamations, that so lately hailed the merit and fortune of the favours, were converted into the clamours of the soldiers and people, who reproached his crimes, and pressed his immediate execution. In this hour of distress and despair, his only refuge was in the sanctuary of the church, which he had revered, and professed to love; he refused to accept the edict, which he had retracted the day before, and which had been renewed by an insulterable crowd of either sex and of every age; pro- nounced a seasonable and pathetic discourse on the that the emperor had imputed to Eutropius, laboured to excite the contempt, that he might assure the fury, of the peas.7 The powers of humanity, of superstition, and of providence, prevailed; the empress Eudoxia was restrained, by her own prejudices, or by those of her subjects, from violating the sanctuary of the church; and Eutropius was tempted to capitulate, by the milder arts of persuasion, and by an oath, that his life should be spared.8 Careless of the dignity of their sovereign, the people immediately published an edict, to declare that his late favourite had disgraced the names of consul and patrician, to abolish his statues, to confiscate his wealth, and to inflict a perpetual exile in the island of Cyprus.9 A despora- ble and decrepit eunuch could no longer alarm the fears of the people; he was incapable of enjoying what yet remained, the comforts of peace, of solitude, and of a happy climate. But their implacable revenge still envied him the last moments of a miserable life, and Eutropius had no sooner touched the shores of Cyprus, than he was hastily recalled. The vain hopes of eluding, by a change of place, the obligation of an

6 This anecdote, which Philostorgius alone has preserved, (I. vi. c. 6. and Godefroy, Dissertat. ii. p. 455—456) is curious and important; since it connects the revolt of the Goths with the secret insinuations with the palace.

7 See the homily of Chrysostom, tom. iii. p. 381—396, of which the conduct is particularly beautiful. Socrates, vi. c. 5. Sozomen, i. vi. c. 7. Montfaucon, Dissertat. c. v. p. 325, has justly supposed that Tribigild was actually in Constantinople; and that he commanded the soldiers who were ordered to seize Eutropius. Even Claudian, a pagan poet, (Diatrib. ad. l. ii. in Eutrop. c. 7.) has mentioned the flight of the eunuch, to the sanctuary. The same history, which is the extant account of the Goths, (I. vi. c. 34.) who inadvertently uses the fashionable language of the Christians. Evagrius describes (i. c. 34.) the situation, architecture, and temples of the holy and sacred church, in which the imperial council of Chalcedon was afterwards held.

8 The letter of the emperor to the sacred council, which do not appear in his own writings, are strongly urged by Theodoret; but his insinuation that they were successful, is disapproved by me. (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 334.)

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astonished by the intelligence, that the flower of his army had been ingloriously destroyed; that he himself was declared a public enemy; and that his countryman, Fravitta, a brave and loyal confederate, had assumed the management of the war by sea and land. The enterprises of the rebel, against the cities of Thessaly, impelled by the assurance of his native defence: his hungry soldiers were soon reduced to the grass that grew on the margin of the fortifications; and Gainas, who vainly regretted the wealth and luxury of Asia, embraced a desperate resolution of forcing the passage of the Hellespont. He was desti-

tioned for the Prince of Persia, and his intrepid barbarians did not refuse to trust themselves to the waves. But Fravitta attentively watched the progress of their undertaking. As soon as they had gained the middle of the stream, the Roman galleys, impelled by the full force of oars, of the current, and of a favorable wind, rushed forwards in compact order, and with irresistible weight; and the Hellespont was covered with the fragments of the Gothic shipwreck. After the destruction of his hopes, and the loss of many thousands of his bravest soldiers, Gainas, anxious to follow them, and his countrymen being gradually annihilated; the river, in the month of December, would be deeply frozen; and the unbound prospect of Seythin was opened to the ambition of Gainas. This design was secretly communi-
cated to the national troops, who devoted themselves to the support of the most formidable place of his frontier. The embarkation of the troops was by night; and the destruction of the departure was given, a great number of provincial auxiliaries, whom he suspected of an attachment to their native country, were perfidiously massacred. The Goths advanced, by rapid marches, through the plains of Thrace; and they were soon delivered from the fear of a pursuit, by the vanity of Fravitta, who, instead of extinguishing the war, hastened to enjoy the popular applause, and to assume the peaceful honors of the consulship. But a formidable ally appeared in arms to vindicate the majesty of the empire, and to guard the liberty of the world. The successor of Ulpin, king of the Huns, who had been made the instrument of the progress of Gainas; an hostile and ruined country prohibited his retreat; he disdained to capitate; and after repeatedly attempting to eut his way through the ranks of the enemy, he was slain, with his despo-
iens in the field of battle.

Jan. 3. Eleven days after the naval victory of the Hellespont, the head of Gainas, the inestimable gift of the conqueror, was received at Constantinople with the most liberal expressions of gratitude; and the public delivery was celebrated by festivals and illuminations. The triumphs of Arcadius became the subject of epic poems; and the monarch, no longer oppressed by any hostile terrors, resigned himself to the mild and absolute dominion of his wife, the fair and artful Eudoxia; who has sullied her fame by the persecution of St. John Chrysostom.

After the death of the indolent Necta-

rius, the successor of Gregory Nazian-
zen, the church was left open to the indecision of the people, who were distracted by the ambition of rival candidates, who were not ashamed to solicit, with gold or flattery, the suffrage of the people, or of the favourite. On this occasion, Eutropius seems to have de-

vated from his ordinary maxim; and his uncorrupt-

ed judgment was deceived by the merit of a stranger. In a long journey to the east, he had admired the sermons of John, a native and presbyter of Antioch, whose name had been distinguish-
ed by the epiphany of Chrysostom, or the Golden Mouth. A private order was dispatched to the gov-

ernor of Syria; and as the people might be unwilling to resign their favourite preacher, he was transported, with speed and secrecy in a post-chariot, from Antioch to Constantinople. The unanimous and un-
solicited consent of the court, the clergy, and the people, ratified the choice of the minister; and both the action of the event and the disapprobation of the public, had rendered the sanguine expectations of the public. Born of a noble and eulogious family, in the capital of Syria, Chrysostom had been educated, by the care of a tender mother, under the tuition of the most skilful masters. He studied the art of rhetoric in the school of Libanus. After he had acquired the liberal learning, he composed a number of poems, which were highly admired by the talents of his disciple, ingeniously confessed, that John would have deserved to succeed him, had he not been stolen away by the Christians. His piety soon disposed him to receive the sacrament of baptism; and renounce the lucrative and honourable prof-

ileges to bury himself in the desert, where he subdued the lusts of the flesh by an austere penance of six years. His infirmities compelled him to return to the society of mankind; and the authority of Meletius devolved his talents to the service of the church; but in the midst of his family, and afterwards on the archiepiscopal throne, Chrysostom still persevered in the practice of the monastic virtues. The ample revenues, which his predecessors had consumed in pomp and luxury, he diligently applied to the establishment of hospitals; and the multitudes, who were supported by his char-

ity, preferred the doctrine of their archbishop, to the amusements of the theatre or the circus. The monuments of that eloquence, which was admired near twenty years at Antioch and Constantinople, have been carefully preserved; and the sermons of one thousand sermons, or homilies, has authorized the critics of succeeding times to ap-

preciate the genuine merit of Chrysostom. They

The sixth book of Socrates, the eighth of Sozomen, and the fifth of Theodoret, afford the genuine authority of the life of John Chrysostom. Besides these general historians, I have taken for my guides the four principal biographers of the saint: 1. The author of a partial and passing notice of the Archbishop of Con-

stantinople, composed, in the form of a dialogue, and under the name of his principal oratory, which is preserved by Sozomen, (M. Euseb. tom. xi. p. 500—503.) It is inserted among the works of Chrysostom, tom. xiii. p. 5—50, edit. Montfaucon; 2. The moderate Eranus, (Epist. l. epist. xiii. p. 134—147, edit. Lecl. Bas.) His vivacity and cool sense were his own; his errors, in the uncul-

tivated state of his talents, I have confided to the correct judgment of the learned Tillenius, (M. Euseb. tom. xxi. p. 1—495. Eram. De vita Chrysostomi, lib. ii. cap. 46—47. Eran. De vita Chrysostomi, lib. ii. cap. 46—47.) He has applied to the examination of the names of incredible patience, and religious accuracy. He has often exiled the voluminous works of Chrysostom himself, 1. Father Montfaucon; but he has perused with the most signal favor the works of his friends; he has discovered several new homilies, and again reviewed and composed the Life of Chrysostom, tom. xxiv. p. 1—76, edit. Montfaucon; 2. The learned Tillenius; (M. Euseb. tom. xxi. p. 1—495. Eran. De vita Chrysostomi, lib. ii. cap. 46—47.) He has applied to the examination of the names of incredible patience, and religious accuracy. He has often exiled the voluminous works of Chrysostom himself, 1. Father Montfaucon; but he has perused with the most signal favor the works of his friends; he has discovered several new homilies, and again reviewed and composed the Life of Chrysostom, tom. xxiv. p. 1—76, edit. Montfaucon; 2. The learned Tillenius; (M. Euseb. tom. xxi. p. 1—495. Eran. De vita Chrysostomi, lib. ii. cap. 46—47.) He has applied to the examination of the names of incredible patience, and religious accuracy. He has often exiled the voluminous works of Chrysostom himself, 1. Father Montfaucon; but he has perused with the most signal favor the works of his friends; he has discovered several new homilies, and again reviewed and composed the Life of Chrysostom, tom. xxiv. p. 1—76, edit. Montfaucon; 2. The learned Tillenius; (M. Euseb. tom. xxi. p. 1—495. Eran. De vita Chrysostomi, lib. ii. cap. 46—47.) He has applied to the examination of the names of incredible patience, and religious accuracy. He has often exiled the voluminous works of Chrysostom himself, 1. Father Montfaucon; but he has perused with the most signal favor the works of his friends; he has discovered several new homilies, and again reviewed and composed the Life of Chrysostom, tom. xxiv. p. 1—76, edit. Montfaucon; 2. The learned Tillenius; (M. Euseb. tom. xxi. p. 1—495. Eran. De vita Chrysostomi, lib. ii. cap. 46—47.)
unanimously attribute to the christian orator, the free command of an elegant and copious language; the judgment to conceal the advantages which he derived from the knowledge of rhetoric and philosophy; an inexhaustible fund of metaphors and similitudes, of interesting facts of history, and the most familiar topies; the happy art of engaging the passions in the service of virtue; and of exposing the folly, as well as the turpitude, of vice, almost with the truth and spirit of a dramatic representation.

The pastoral labours of the archbishop were incessant, and at Constantinople they were especially united against him, two sorts of enemies; the aspiring clergy, who envied his success, and the obstinate sinners, who were offended by his reproofs. When Chrysostom thundered, from the pulpit, against the degeneracy of the christians, his sermons were spent either in the crowd, without wounding, or even marking, the character of any individual. When he declaimed against the peculiar vices of the rich, poverty might obtain a transient consolation from his invectives; but the guilty were seldom enlightened by his precepts and the repentant of their errors, or the rich were dignified by some ideas of superiority and enjoyment. But as the pyramid rose towards the summit, it insensibly diminished to a point; and the magistrates, the ministers, the favourite eunuchs, the ladies of the court, the empress Eudoxia herself, had lost a large share of grace; but this did not increase among a smaller proportion of criminals. The personal applications of the audience were anticipated, or confirmed, by the testimony of their own conscience; and the intrepid preacher assumed the dangerous right of exposing both the offence and the offender to the public abhorrence. The church, which had long suffered from the discontent of the clergy and monks of Constantinople, who were too hastily reformed by the fervent zeal of their archbishop. He had condemned, from the pulpit, the domestic females of the clergy of Constantinople, who, under the name of servants, or sisters, afforded a perpetuity to the crowd of degenerates and who themselves were dignified by some ideas of superiority and enjoyment. The silent and solitary ascetics, who had secluded themselves from the world, were entitled to the warmest approbation of Chrysostom; but he despised and stigmatized, as the disgrace of their holy profession, the crowd of degenerates and who, from some unworthy motives of pleasure or profit, so frequently infested the streets of the capital. To the voice of persuasion, the archbishop was obliged to add the terrors of authority; and his arbour, in the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, was not always excusable. The court often interfered or provided by its influence. Chrysostom was naturally of a choleric disposition. Although he struggled, according to the precepts of the gospel, to love his private enemies, he indulged himself in the privilege of hating the enemies of God and of the church; and his sentiments were sometimes delivered with too much energy of countenance and expression. He still maintained, from some considerations of health, or abstinence, his former habits of taking his repasts alone; and this inhospitable custom, which his enemies imputed to pride, contributed, at least, to nourish the infamy of a morose and unsocial humour. Separated from that familiar intercourse, which facilitates the knowledge and the despatch of business, he reposed an unsuspecting confidence in his deacon Serapion; and seldom apprised, who displayed the fruits of his dependence or of his equals. Conscious of the purity of his intentions, and perhaps of the superiority of his genius, the archbishop of Constantinople extended the jurisdiction of the imperial city, that he might enlarge the sphere of his labours. But the archbishop, who was endeared to the populace by his admirable eloquence, the profane imputed to an ambitious motive, appeared to Chrysostom himself in the light of a sacred and indispensable duty. In his visitation through the Asiatic provinces, he deposed thirteen bishops of Lydia and Phrygia; and indirectly declared, that a deep corruption of simony and licentiousness had infected the whole episcopal order. If those bishops were innocent, such a rash and unjust condemnation must excite a well grounded discontent. If they were guilty, the numerous associates of their guilt would be removed, and the remainder of their safety depended on the ruin of the archbishop; whose services were considered to represent as the tyrant of the eastern church.

This ecclesiastical conspiracy was managed by Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, an active and ambitious man, who was son of the emperor Eudoxius, A.D. 403.

The first astonishment of his faithful people had been mute and passive; they at Constantinople suddenly rose with unanimous and irre-
sizable fury. Theophilus escaped; but the tumultuous crown of monks and Egyptian mariniers were slaughtered without pity in the streets of Constantinople. 4 A seasonable earthquake justifed the interposition of Heaven; the torrent of sedition rolled forwards to the gates of the palace; and the empress, agitated by fear or remorse, threw herself at the feet of her husband, that the public safety could be purchased only by the restoration of Chrysostom. The Bosphorus was covered with innumerable vessels; the shores of Europe and Asia were profusely illuminated; and the acclamations of a victorious people accompanied, from the port to the capital, the triumph of the archbishop; who too easily consented to resume the exercise of his functions, before his sentence had been legally reversed by the authority of an ecclesiastical synod. Ignorant, or careless, of the impending danger, Chrysostom indulged his zeal, or perhaps his resentment; declaimed with peculiar asperity against female voices; and condemned the profane honours which were addressed, almost in the precincts of St. Sophia, to the statue of the empress. His impudence tempted his enemies to inflame the haughty spirit of Eudoxia, by reporting, or perhaps inventing, the famous exordium of a sermon, "Herodias is again furious! Herodias again demands that she once more requires the head of John;" an insolent allusion, which, as a woman and a sovereign, it was impossible for her to forgive. 5 The short interval of a peridious truce was employed to concert more effectual measures for the disgrace and ruin of the archbishop; and, on the first accession of the eastern prelates, who were guided from a distance by the advice of Theophilus, confirmed the validity, without examining the justice, of the former sentence; and a detachment of barbarian troops was introduced into the city, to suppress the emotions of the people. On the way, it was gradually dispersed, by the vigour of the eastern rulers, who were alarmed by the modesty of the naked catechumens, and violated by their presence the awful mysteries of the christian worship. Arcasius occupied the church of St. Sophia, and the archiepiscopal throne. The catholics retreated to the baths of Constantinople, and afterwards to the fields: where they were still pursued and insulted by the guards, the bishops, and the magistrates. The fatal day of the second and final exile of Chrysostom was marked by the conflagration of the cathedral, of the senate-house, and of the adjacent buildings; and this calamity was imputed, without proof, but not without probability, to the despair of a persecuted faction. 6

Cicero might claim some merit, if his voluntary banishment preserved the peace of the republic & the submission of the provinces of Asia Minor, where he was continually threatened by the hostile attacks of the Iaurians, and the more implacable fury of the monks. Yet Chrysostom arrived in safety at the place of his confinement; and the three years, which he spent at Cucusus, and the neighbouring town of Arabissus, were a period of genuine and religious meditation. His character was consecrated by absence and persecution; the faults of his administration were not long remembered; but every tongue repeated the praises of his genius and virtue; and the respectful attention of the christian world was fixed on a desert spot among the mountains of Asia. From the same period, when this archbishop, whose active mind was invigorated by misfortunes, maintained a strict and frequent correspondence 7 with the most distant provinces; exhorted the separate congregation of his faithful adherents to persevere in their allegiance; urged the destruction of the temples of Phoebus and the extermination of heresy in the isle of Cyprus; extended his pastoral care to the missions of Persia and Scythia; negotiated, by his ambassadors, with the Roman pontiff, and the emperor Honorius; and boldly appealed, from a partial synod, to the supreme tribunal of a free and generous council. The mind of the archbishop was exalted by the discovery of his captive body was exposed to the revenge of the oppressors, who continued to abuse the name and authority of Arcadius. 1 An order was despatched for the instant removal of Chrysostom to the extreme desert of Pityus: and his guards so faithfully obeyed their cruel instructions, that, before he reached the sea-coast of the Euxine, he expired at Comana, in Pontus, in the sixtieth year of his age. The succeeding generation acknowledged his innocence and merit. The archbishops of the east, who might blush that their predecessors had been the enemies of Chrysostom, were reproved by his former felicity: and the Roman pontiff, to restore the honours of that venerable name. 8 At the piious solicitation of the clergy and people of Constantinople, his relics, thirty years after his death, were transported from their obscure sepulchre to the royal city. 9 The emperor Theodosius advanced to receive them as far as Chaledon; and, falling prostrate on the coffin, implored, in the name of his guilty parents, Arcadius and Eudoxia, the forgiveness of the injured souls. 10 Yet a pious devout may be entertained, whether the stain of hereditary guilt could be derived from Arcadius to his successor. Eudoxia was a young and beautiful woman, who indulged her passions, and despised her husband: count John enjoyed, at least, the familiar

4 Palladius owns, (p. 30) that if the people of Constantinople had found Theophilus, they would certainly have thrown him into the sea. Socrates mentions (I. vi. c. 17.) a battle between the mob and the governors of the city, in which many were slain, and some lives were lost. The massacre of the monks is observed only by Sozomenus, (I. vi. p. 364.) who says, "there was a general massacre of the monks, and Chrysostom had a singular talent to lead the illiterate multitude, c & g & i 10 * We see Socrates, I. vii. c. 13. Sozomen, I. vii. c. 30. Zosimus (I. v. p. 324, 327.) mentions, in general terms, his invectives against Eudoxia, Arcadius, and Chrysostom; and quotes as a confirmation of his assertions, several passages from the works of the men- tioned authors. Montfaucon, t. xiii. p. 131. Tillemont, Mem. Eccl. t. xiv. p. 257.

5 We might naturally expect such a charge from Sozomenus; (I. v. p. 327,) but it is remarkable enough, that it should be confirmed by So- crates, I. vi. c. 13. and the Paschal Chronicle, p. 397.

6 He displays those specious motives, (Post Rediman, c. 13, 14.) in the language of an orator and a politician.

7 Two hundred and forty-two of the epistles of Chrysostom are still extant, (Opera, tom. iii. p. 595–596.) They are addressed to a great variety of persons, and show a firmness of mind, much superior to that of Cicero in his exile. The fourteenth epistle contains a curious narrative of the dangers of his journey.

8 After the exile of Chrysostom, Theophilus published an unusu- al work, entitled "Letters and Sermons," in which he extols the virtues of his famous predecessor. It is a curious collection of the polite expressions of honest humanitatis, ecclesiasticorum, philosophorum, biblicorum, etc. in these letters, Chrysostom had delivered his soul to be adulterated by the devil; and wishes that some further punishment, adequate (if possible) to the magnitude of his guilt, may be inflicted on his body. At the request of his friend Theophilus, translated this edifying perfor- mance from Greek into Latin. See Panormus Herman, Defens. pro sua Capit. I. v. c. 5. published by Simons. Opera, tom. ii. p. 392, 393, 397. His name was inserted by his successor Attillius in the Register of the church of Constantinople, A. D. 418. Ten years afterwards, the work of Theodoret, (I. v. c. 45.) was written, and it was revised and corrected by the learned and eloquent Eutychius, bishop of Nicomedia. The col- liger, of his uncle Theophilus, yielded with much reluctance. See Cassianus, Herman. I. iv. c. 41. Tillemont, Mem. Eccle. tom. xiv. p. 277–280.

9 Socrates, I. vii. c. 45. Theodoret, I. v. c. 56. This event recon- ciled the Joannites, and the Joannites were received back into the bosom of the orthodox. Another party of successors. During his lifetime, the Joannites were respected by the people in the city of Antioch; and the daughters of the bishops of this sect were esteemed the wives of the people. Their obstinacy gradually drove them to the brink of schism. According to some accounts, (Baronius, Antiq. Eccles. A. D. 438. No. 9, 16.) the emperor was forced to send a letter of invitation and excuses, before the body of the pontifical see was restored to Comana.
confidence of the empress; and the public named him as the real father of Theodosius the younger. The birth of a son was accepted, however, by the pious husband, as an event the most fortunate and honourable to himself, to his family, and to the eastern world; and the royal infant, by an unprecedented favour, was invested with the titles of Caesar and Augustus, less than four years afterwards, Eudoxia, in the bloom of youth, was destroyed by the consequences of a miscarriage; and this untimely death confounded the prophecy of a holy bishop, who, amidst the universal joy, had ventured to foretell, that she should behold the land and the glorious reign of her glorious son. The catholics applauded the justice of Heaven, which avenged the persecution of St. Chrysostom; and perhaps the emperor was the only person who sincerely bewailed the loss of the haughty and rapacious Eudoxia. Such a domestic misfortune afflicted him more deeply than the public calamities of the east; the licentious excursions from Pontus to Palestine, of the Issaurian robbers, whose impunity accused the weakness of the government; and the earthquakes, the conflagrations, the famine, and the flights of locusts, which, from the beginning of the reign were commonly ascribed to the attribute of the incapacity of the monarch. At length, in the thirty-first year of his age, after a reign (if we may abuse that word) of thirteen years, three months, and fifteen days, Arcadius expired in the palace of Constantinople. It is impossible to delineate his character; for the period very briefly furnished, even with historical materials, it has not been possible to remark one action that properly belongs to the son of the great Arcadius.

His supposed murder. The historian Procopius has indeed related that the illustrious and dashing emperor with a ray of human prudence, or celestial wisdom, Arcadius considered, with anxious foresight, the helpless condition of his son Theodosius, who was no more than seven years of age, the dangerous factions of a minority, and the aspiring spirit of Jeze- gerd, the Persian monarch. Instead of tempting the allegiance of an ambitious subject, by the participation of supreme power, he boldly appealed to the magistr- ation of a king; and placed, by solemn testament, the sceptre in the east in the hands of Jeze-gerd himself. The royal guardian accepted and discharged this honour, and performed the unexampled act of renouncing the dignity of a child, and so rashly, though so fortunately, committed his son and his dominions to the unknown faith of a stranger, a rival, and a heathen. At the distance of one hundred and fifty years, this political question might be debated in the court of Justinian; but a prudent historian will refuse to examine the propriety, till he has ascertained the truth of the testament of Arcadius.

a Zosimus, l. v. p. 315. The charity of an empress should not be impeached on the production of a will, when it is acknowledged that the witnesses should write and live under a prince, whose legiti- macy is in question. We must suppose that his story was a party libel, privately read and circulated by the pagans. Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 762) is not averse to brand the re-putation of Eudoxia.
b Porphyry of Gaza. His zeal was transferred by the order which he had obtained for the destruction of eight pagan temples of that city. See the curious details of his life, (Baronius, A. D. 601, No. 17 51.) originally written in Greek, or perhaps in Syriac, by a monastic of the desert, in the year 1659.

c Philostorg. l. x. c. 1; and Godefroy, Dissertation. p. 437.
d Eutropius, vi. p. 36, describes, in lively colours, the reg-ular and destructive march of the locusta, which spread a dark cloud over the corn-fields and earth, over the land of Phænicia. Un-imaginable winds scattered them, partly into the Dead sea, and partly into the Mediterranean.

e Socrates, viii. l. c. 2. p. 8, edit. Louvre.
f Agathias, l. p. 136, 137. After he confesses the preva-ienge of the barbarians, he observes that Procopius and Agathias, who had committed it to writing, Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 517) argues very sensibly on the merits of this false. His criti- cism was not warped by any ecclesiastical authority. Both Proco- pus and Agathias are half pagans.

it stands without a parallel in the history of the world, we may justly require that it should be attested by the positive and unmistakable evidence of contemporaries. The strange novelty of the event, which excites our distrust, must have attracted their notice; and their universal silence annihilates the vain tradition of the Persian, or the Arabian, court.

The maxims of Roman jurisprudence, Administration of justice in the empire. A.D. 405 413. would have adjudged to the emperor Honorius the guardianship of his nephew, till he had attained, at least, the age of the quinquennium, or the more serious novici- us of Honorius, and the calamities of his reign, dis-qualified him from prosecuting this natural claim; and such was the absolute separation of the two mon-archie, both in interest and affection, that Constanti-nus might have obeyed, with less reluctance, the or- ders of the Persian, than those of the Italian, court. Under a prince, whose weakness is disguised by the external signs of manhood and discretion, the most worthless favourites may secretly dispute the empire of the palace; and dictate to submissive provinces the system of government, and the external policy of the state. But the ministers of a child, who is incapable of arming them with the sanction of the royal name, must acquire and exercise an independent authority. The great officers of the state and army, who had been appointed before the death of Arcadius, formed an aris-tocracy of the sword; and the empire was governed by a sort of a free republic; and the government of the eastern empire was fortunately assumed by the prefaet Anthenius, who obtained, by his superior abilities, a lasting ascendancy over the minds of his equals. The safety of the young emperor required the merit and in-terest of the barons of Constantinople; but the pru- nency of Theodosius was protected by the arms and counsels of Persia. Such is the singular narrative of Procopius; and his veracity is not disputed by Aga-thias, while he preserves to discompose from his judgment, and mar the reputation of the despotic, monarch, who was so rashly, though so fortunately, committed his son and his dominions to the unknown faith of a stranger, a rival, and a heathen. At the distance of one hundred and fifty years, this political question might be debated in the court of Justinian; but a prudent historian will refuse to examine the propriety, till he has ascertained the truth of the testament of Arcadius.

Character and administration of Pulcheria. The Romans had so long been accustomed to the authority of a monarch, that the first, even amongst the females, of A.D. 414 413— the imperial family, who displayed any courage or capacity, was permitted to ascend the vacant throne of the west. The imperial throne was occupied by an empress, twenty years older than himself, received at the age of sixteen, the title of Augusta; and though her favour might sometimes be clouded by caprice or intrigue, she con-
continued to govern the eastern empire near forty years; during the long minority of her brother, and, after his death, in her own name, and in the name of the her nominal husband. From a motive, either of prudence, or religion, she embraced a life of celibacy; and notwithstanding some aspersions on the chastity of Pulcheria, this resolution which she communicated to her brother, Arcadius, was generally esteemed by the christian world, as the sublime effort of her piety.

In the presence of the clergy and people, the three daughters of Arcadius dedicated their virginity to God; and the obligation of their solemn vow was inscribed on a tablet of gold and gems; which they publicly and amusingly exhibited to the emperor Flaccilla, in the presence of her court. Their palace was converted into a monastery; and all males, except the guards of their conscience, the saints who had forgotten the distinction of sexes, were scrupulously excluded from the holy threshold. Pulcheria, her two sisters, and a chosen train of favourite damsels, formed a religious community; they renounced the vanity of dress, interrupted, by frequent fasts, their simple and frugal diet; allotted a portion of their time to works of embroidery; and devoted several hours of the day and night to the exercises of prayer and psalmody. The piety of a christian virgin was adorned by the magnificence of her dress; and the Christian historical history describes the splendid churches, which were built at the expense of Pulcheria, in all the provinces of the east; her charitable foundations for the benefit of strangers and the poor; the ample donations which she bestowed for the perpetual maintenance of monastic societies; and the active severity, with which she laboured to suppress the opposite heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches. Such virtues were supposed to deserve the peculiar favour of the Deity; and the relics of martyrs, as well as the knowledge of future events, were communicated in visions and revelations to the imperial saint. Yet the devotion of Pulcheria never diverted her indefatigable attention from temporal affairs: and she alone, among all the descendants of the great Theodosius, appears to have inherited any share of his manly spirit and abilities. The Roman world was deeply interested in the education of his master. A regular course of study and exercise was judiciously instituted; of the military exercises of riding, and shooting with the bow; of the liberal studies of grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy; the moral influence of the one ambitious Theodosius, solicited the attention of their royal pupil; and several able youths were introduced into the palace, to animate his diligence by the emulation of friendship. Pulcheria alone discharged the important task of instructing her brother in the arts of government; but her precocious mind was not enabled to exceed the limits of truth; and the son of Arcadius was condemned to pass his perpetual infancy, encompassed only by a servile train of women and eunuchs. The ample leisure, which he acquired by neglecting the essential duties of his high office, was filled by useless and unprofitable studies. Reading was the only active pursuit that could tempt him beyond the limits of the palace; but he most assiduously laboured, sometimes by the light of a midnight lamp, in the mechanic occupations of painting and carving; and the taste of elegance was formed of the books, entitled the Roman emperor to the singular epithet of Calligraphes, or a fair writer. Separated from the world by an impenetrable veil, Theodosius trusted the persons whom he loved; he loved those who were accustomed to amuse and flatter his indulgence; and as he never perused the papers that were presented for his royal signature, the acts of injustice the most repugnant to his character, were frequently perpetrated in his name. The emperor himself was chaste, temperate, liberal, and merciful; but these qualities, which can only deserve the name of virtues, when they are supported by courage, and regulated by discretion, were seldom beneficial, and they sometimes proved mischievous, to mankind. His mind, enervated by a royal education, was oppressed and degraded by abject superstition: hefasted, he sung psalms, he blindly accepted and imitated the doctrines with which his faith was continually nourished. Theodosius devoutly worshipped the dead and living saints of the christian church; and he once refused to eat, till an insolent monk, who had cast an excommunication on his sovereign, condescended to heal the spiritual wound which he had inflicted.

The story of a fair and virtuous maiden, exalted from a private condition to the imperial throne, might be deemed an incredible romance, if such a story had not been verified in the marriage of Theodosius. The celebrated Athenodorus was educated by

The Roman world was deeply interested in the education of its master. A regular course of study and exercise was judiciously instituted; of the military exercises of riding, and shooting with the bow;
satisfaction of returning to Constantinople with the chains of St. Peter, the right arm of St. Stephen, and an
450
undoubtéd picture of the Virgin, painted by St. Luke.6
But this pilgrimage was the fatal term of the glories of Eudocia. Satuated with empty pomp, and unmind-
ful, perhaps, of her obligations to Pulcheria, she am-

ished at the /am, of her fortune, she had been a sufferer, /ac a culprit. The palace was distracted by female discord;
and the victory was at last decided, by the superior ascendant of the sister of Theodosius. The execution of
Paulinus, master of the offices, and the disgrace of
Olym, proctorum prefect of the east, convinced the
people that the government was, at least, determined

451
not to protect her most faithful friends; and the uncommon beauty of Paulinus encouraged the secret rumour, that
his guilt was that of a successful lover.7 As soon as
the emperor perceived that the affection of Theodosius was irretrievably lost, she requested the commission of
resignation to the distant solitude of Jerusalem. She
obtained her request; but the jealousy of Theodosius,
or the vindictive spirit of Pulcheria, pursued her in her
last retreat; and Saturinus, count of the domes-
ties, was directed to punish with death two ecclesi-
astics, who had publicly accused Pulcheria of having

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injured and dishonoured love; and the royal nuptials were celebrated amidst the acclamations of the capital and the provinces.

453
Eudocia, who was easily persuaded to renounce the
errors of paganism, received at her baptism the Chris-
tian name of Pulcheria; but the following year, he
withheld the title of Augusta, till the wife of Theo-
dosius had approved her Fruitfulness by the birth of a
daughter, who espoused, fifteen years afterwards, the
emperor of the west. The brothers of Eudocia obey-
ed, with some anxiety, her imperial summons; but as
she could easily forgive their fortunate unkindness, she
indulged the tenderness, or perhaps the vanity, of a
sister, by permitting them to the rank of consuls and
prefects. In the luxury of the palace, she still
cultivated those ingenuous arts, which had contributed to
the gracefulness of her person; and wisely dedicated her talents to the honour of religion and of her husband. Eudocia composed a poetical paraphrase of the first eight books of the Old Testament, and of the prophecies of Daniel and Zephariah; a cento of the verses of Homer, ap-
plied to the life and miracles of Christ, the legend of St. Malala, and a panegyrion on the Persian victories of Theodosius: and her writings, which were appau-
ed by a servile and superstitious age, have not been disdained by the candour of imperial criticism.1 The
fondness of the emperor was not abated by time and prosperity: the marriage of his daughter, was permitted to discharge her grateful vows by a solemn pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Her ostentations progress through the east may seem in-
consistent with the spirit of christian humility: she
pronounced, from a throne of gold and gems, an elo-
quent oration to the senate of Antioch, declared her
royal intention of enlarging the walls of the city, be-
stowed a donative of two hundred pounds of gold to
restore the public baths, and accepted the statues
which were decried by the gratitude of Antioch. In
the temple of Minerva, her alma and foundations ex-
ceded the munificence of the great Holena; and
though the public treasure might be impoverished by this excessive liberality, she enjoyed the conscious sat-

er of Leontius, an Athenian sophist; her baptism, marriage, and poetical genius. The most ancient account of her history is in John Malal
(part ii., p. 29, 31. ed. Venet. 1723.) and in the Paschal
Chronicle, (p. 311, 312.) Those authors had probably seen original papers from which Eudocia, Theodosius, and
Cassius, a clerk, have displayed the love, rather than the talent, of
fiction. From Nichephorus, Indeed, I have ventured to assume her age at fourteen years, which would render her
marriage was near twenty-eight years old when she informed the heat of a severe illness.
6 Sozomen, i. vi. c. 21. Photius, p. 417-420. The Homerico cent
is still extant, and has been repeatedly printed; but the claim of Eudocia and Paulinus, of a performance equal to that of Homer, is disproved by the critics.
7 Barusius (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 458. 459.) is copious and absurd; but he is by no means convincing the lives of different ages on the same level of authenticity.
8 In this short view of the disgrace of Eudocia, I have limited the catastrophe to the year (c. I. sect. 41.) and the Paschal Chronicle, (A. D. 449. and 444.) The two authentic dates assigned by the latter to the most important part of the catastrophe, and the history of the
instructed story of the apple, is for only the Arabian Nights, where something not very unlike it may be found.
9 Priscus, (Excerp. Legat. p. 69.) a contemporary, and a courtier, dirily mentions her pagan and christian names, without adding any title of honour or respect.
10 For the two pilgrimages of Eudocia, and her long residence at Constantinople, I refer the reader to the work of Eutropius, (l. c. 50. 21. 22.) The Paschal Chronicle may sometimes reserve record; and, in the domestic history of Antioch, the earnest desire of Eudocia to be a nun. Meletius of Antioch mentions a visit paid by Eudocia, in the reign of Theodosius, to the shrine of the Virgin, in a memoir on the fertility of Palestine, of which I have only preserved the name, and the number of pounds of gold, above 500,000 pounds sterling.
12 Porphyrius, Of the lads, a most interesting memoir, printed by me, and considered as one of the best of the kind. The Deoritian order was not intended only for the benefit of the monks, but prohibited their repairing the damage which we have unhappily committed.
of Armenia, and the plains of Mesopotamia, were filled with hostile armies; but the operations of two successive campaigns were not productive of any decisive result. After the death of Cyriacus, the Parthian general, possession of the country, which had been so long wrested from the Persians, was recovered, some towns were besieged, with various and doubtful success; and if the Romans failed in their attempt to recover the long-lost possessions of Nisibis, the Persians were repulsed from the walls of a Mesopotamian city, by the valour of a martial bishop, who put an end to the city's siege, even when the Parthian, Thomas the apostle. Yet the splendid victories, which the incredible speed of the messenger Palladius repeatedly announced to the palace of Constantineople, were celebrated with festivals and panegyrics. From these panegyrics the historians of the age might borrow their extraordinary, and perhaps fabulous, tales; for the proud challenge of a Persian hero, who was entangled by the net, and despatched by the sword, of Arctobius the Goth; of the ten thousand Immortals, who were slain in the attack of the Roman camp; and of the hundred thousand Arabs, or Saracens, who were impugned by a panic terror to throw themselves headlong into the Euphrates. Such events may be disbelieved or disregarded; but the charity of a bishop, Acacius of Amida, whose name might dignify the saintly calendar, shall not be lost in oblivion. But the most extraordinary expression of a leader's uselessness to a god who neither eats nor drinks, the generous prelate sold the plate of the church of Amida; employed the price in the redemption of seven thousand Persian captives; supplied their wants with affectionate liberality; and dismissed them to their native climes. The transactions of the Roman ambassadors degraded the personal character of their sovereign, by a vain attempt to magnify the extent of his power; when they seriously advised the Persians to prevent, by a timely accommodation, the wrath of a monarch, who was yet ignorant of this distress. And these one hundred years were solemnly ratified; and although the revolutions of Armenia might threaten the public tranquillity, the essential conditions of this treaty were respected near four score years by the successors of Constantine and Artaxerxes.

Since the Roman and Parthian standards first encountered on the banks of the Euphrates, the kingdom of Armenia was alternately oppressed by its formidable protectors; and in the course of this history, several events, which inclined the balance of peace and war, have been already related. A disgraceful treaty had resigned Armenia to the ambition of Sapor; and the scale of Persia appeared to preponderate. But the royal race of Arsaces impatiently submitted to the house of Sassan; their empire was restored, or betrayed them into a servile condition; and the nation was still attached to the christian princes of Constantineople. In the beginning of the fifth century, Armenia was divided by the progress of war and faction; and the unnatural division precipitated the downfall of that ancient monarchy. Chosroes, the Persian vassal, reigned over the eastern and most extensive portion of the empire; which the authority of his name acknowledged the jurisdiction of Arsaces, and the supremacy of the emperor Arcadius. After the death of Arses, the Romans suppressed the regal government, and imposed on their allies the condition of subjects. The military command was delegated to the prince of Armenia from their city of Choren; who, in the person of Thomas, a native of Armenia, rose to the dignity of a Persian king; and the promissory and conditional offer of his new sovereign was not unaccompanied by an address to the nation, which, at the time of his elevation to the throne, was in a state of destitution; and the promise of peace and protection was made with the utmost facility to the subjects of Chosroes, who had been induced to desert their prince by poverty and the fear of death. By the succession of Chosroes, and the abandonment of the Persian, to the Romans, the latter were enabled to recover the possession of Armenia; and to occupy the great cities of the Tigris and Euphrates with their victorious armies.
CHAPTER XXXIII.

Death of Honorius.— Valentinian III. emperor of the west.—Administration of his widow Placidia, Elvira and Bonifacius.—Conquest of Africa by the Vandals.

Last years and death of Honorius. A.D. 423. Aug. 27.

During a long and disgraceful reign of twenty-eight years, Honorius, emperor of the west, was separated from the court nearly the whole of the time, his friendship for his brother being more public than secret, and his jealousy of his sister, appeared owing to his own selfishness and secret joy, the calamities of Rome. The strange adventure of Placidia gradually renewed, and cemented, the alliance of the two emperors. The daughter of the great Theodosius was the captive and the queen of the Goths; she lost her affec tive husband; she was dragged in chains by his insatiable assassins; she tasted the pleasure of revenge, and was exchanged, in the treaty of peace, for six hundred thousand measures of wheat. After her return from Spain to Italy, Placidia experienced a new persecution in the bosom of her family. She was accused of a marriage, which had been stipulated without her consent; and the brave Constantius, as a noble reward for the tyrants whom he had vanquished, received, from the hand of Honorius himself, the struggling and reluctant hand of the widow of Adelphus. But her resistance ended with the ceremony of the nuptials; nor did Placidia refuse to become the mother of Honoria and Valentinian the third, or to assume and exercise an absolute dominion over the mind of her grateful husband. The generous soldier, whose time had hitherto been divided between social pleasures and military service, was taught the lessons of avarice and ambition; he extorted the title of Augustus; and the servant of Honorius was associated to the empire of the west. The death of Constantius, in the seventh month of his reign, instead of diminishing, seemed to increase, the power of Placidia; and the indeluct familiarity of her brother, which might be no more than the symptoms of a childish affection, were universally attributed to incestuous love. On a sudden, by some base intrigues of a steward and a nurse, this excessive fondness was converted into an irreconcilable quarrel: the debates of the emperor and his sister were not long confined within the walls of the palace; and as the Gothic soldiers adhered to their queen, the city of Ravenna was agitated with bloody and dangerous tumults, which could only be appeased by the forced or voluntary retreat of Placidia and her children. The royal exiles landed at Constantino ple, soon after the marriage of Theodosius, during the festival of the Persian victories. They were treated with kindness and magnificence; but as the statues of the emperor Constantius had been rejected by the eastern court, the title of Augustus could not decently be allowed to his widow. Within a few months after the arrival of Placidia, a swift messenger announced the death of Honorius, the consequence of a dropy; but the important secret was not divulged, till the necessary orders had been dispatched for the march of a large body of troops to the sea-coast of Dalmatia. The shops and the gates of Constanti no ple remained shut during seven days; and the loss of a foreign prince, who could neither be esteemed nor regretted, was celebrated with loud and affected demonstrations of the public grief.

While the ministers of Constanti no ple deliberated, the vacant throne of Honorius was assumed by his ambitious cousin, the name of the rebel was John; he filled the confidential office of Primicerius, or principal secretary; and history has attributed to his character more virtues than can easily be reconciled with the violation of the most sacred duty. Elated by the suspicion of the hope of a successor, the Huns, John presumed to insult, by an embassy, the majesty of the eastern emperor; but when he understood that his agents had been banished, imprisoned, and at length chased away with deserved ignominy, John prepared to march against his own, or his own sons'. In such a case, the grandson of the great Theodosius should have marched in person; but the young emperor was easily diverted, by his physicians, from so rash and hazardous a design; and the conduct of the Italian expedition was prudently intrusted to Arabusius, and his son Aspar, who had already signalized their valor against the Persians. It was resolved, that Arabusius should embark with the infantry, while Aspar, at the head of the cavalry, conducted Placidia, and her son Valentinian, along the sea-coast of the Dalmatian. The march of the emperor was performed with such active diligence, that they surprised, without resistance, the important city of Aquileia; when the hopes of Aspar were unexpectedly confounded by the intelligence, that a storm had dispersed the imperial fleet; and that his father, with only two gallers, was taken and carried a prisoner into the port of Ravenna. Yet this incident, unfortunate as it might seem, facilitated the conquest of Italy. Ardarius employed, or abused, the courtous freedom which he was permitted to enjoy, to revive among the troops a sense of loyalty and gratitude; and, as soon as the necessity was ripe for execution, he invited, by private messages, and pressed the approach of Aspar. A shepherd, whom the popular credulity transformed into an angel, guided the eastern cavalry, by a secret, and it was thought, an impassable, road, through the morasses of the Po; the gates of Ravenna, after a short struggle, were thrown open; and the defenceless tyrant was delivered to the mercy, or rather, to the cruelty, of the conquerors. His right hand was first cut off; and after he had been exposed, mounted on an ass, to the public derision, John was beheaded in the circus of Rome. The emperor, in his place, was proclaimed the successor of Theodosius, when he received the news of the victory, interrupted the horse-races, and singing, as he marched through the streets, a suitable psalm, conducted his people from the hippodrome to the church, where he spent the remainder of the day in grateful devotion.2

1 In a monarchy, which, according to various precedents, might be considered as elective, or hereditary, or patrimonial, it was impossible that the intricate claims of female and collateral succession should be clearly defined; and the Theodosians, by the right of consanguinity or conquest, might have reigned the sole legitimate emperor of the Romans. For a moment, perhaps, his eyes were dazzled by the prospect of unbounded sway; but his indolent temper gradually acquiesced in the dictates of sound policy. He contented himself with the possession of the east; and wisely relinquished the laborsious task of waging a distant and doubtful war against the barbarians beyond the Alps; or of securing the obedience of the Italians and Africans, whose minds were alienated by the irreconcilable difference

2 See pages 433—437.

3 See pages 433—437.

4 Except the revolutions of the western empire, consult Olympos, (apud Photunum, p. 107,) for whom see Elvira, perhaps, to describe the same caseness which Mahomet bestowed on his daughter Fatemah. Quapro, (says the prophet himself,) quando umi mali deditiam Pari dieo, illi visum est, ut non sequatur hominem. Elvira inter alias dicta, mercats, 1. vi. 53, 24, Philotechnus, l. xii. c. 10, 11, and Godfrey, Disertat. p. 456. Precoce, di Rebeco, Salern. i. p. 3, 182. Parians, (apud Thirum.,) in a letter from the Empress Theodora to a person of name Marcelli, in his Version and Conflation of the Koran. l. p. 22.
of language and interest. Instead of listening to the voice of ambition, Theodosius resolved to imitate the moderation of his grandfather, and seat his cousin Valentinian on the throne of the west. The royal infant was distinguished at Constantinople by the title of Niccolaus, and he beheld his departure to Thessalonica, to the rank and dignity of Cæsar; and, after the conquest of Italy, the patriotic Helen, by the authority of Theodosius, and in the presence of the senate, saluted Valentinian the third by the name of Augustus, and solemnly invested him with the crown and purple.2 By the agreement of the three females who governed the Roman world, the son of Placidia was betrothed to Eudoxia, the daughter of Theodosius and Athenais; and, as soon as the lover and his bride had attained the age of puberty, this honourable alliance was faithfully concluded, unless for the expenses of the war, the western Illyricum was detached from the Italian dominions, and yielded to the throne of Constantinople.1 The emperor of the east acquired the useful dominion of the rich maritime province of Dalmatia, and the dangerous source of seditions and disorders was filled and ravaged above twenty years by a promiscuous crowd of Huns, Ostrogoths, Vandals, and Bæcarii. Theodosius and Valentinian continued to respect the obligations of their public and domestic alliance; but the unity of the Roman government was finally diverted from the imperial to the cancellar.1 All future laws was limited to the dominions of their peculiar aunt; unless he should think proper to communicate them, subscribed with his own hand, for the approbation of his independent colleague.

Administration of the mother of Valentinian, Placidia, of age; and his long minority was intrusted to the guardian care of a mother, who might assert a female claim to the succession of the western empire. Placidia envied, but she could not equal, the reputation and virtues of the wife and sister of Theodosius; the elegant genius of Eudoxia, the wise and successful policy of Pulcheria. The mother of Valentinian was jealous of the power which she was incapable of exercising;2 she reigned twenty-five years, in the name of her son; and the character of that unworthy and blamable youth was too well known to the world. Placidia had envyraded his youth by a dissolute education, and studiously diverted his attention from every manly and honourable pursuit. Amidst the decay of military spirit, her armies were commanded by two generals, Aniés3 and Boniface,4 who may be deservedly named as the last of the Romans. Their union might have supported a sinking empire; their discord was the fatal and immediate cause of the loss of Africa. The invasion and defeat of Attila, have immortalized the name of Aniés; but though this was ascribed to the valor and valour of the warrior, which had once tempted him to retire from the battle, the people applauded his spotless integrity: the army dreaded his equal and inexorable justice, which may be displayed in a very singular example: A peasant, who complained of the criminal intimacy between his wife and a Gothic soldier, was directed to attend his tribunal the following day; in the evening the country, who had diligently inquired of himself the time and place of the assignation, mounted his horse, rode ten miles into the country, surprised the guilty couple, punished the soldier with instant death, and silenced the complaints of the husband, by presenting him with his head. The abilities of Aniés and Boniface might have been usefully employed against the public enemies, in separate and important commands; but the experience of their past conduct should have decided the real favour and confidence of the emperor Placidia. In the same holy season of dissolution and confusion, Boniface alone maintained his cause with unwavering fidelity; and the troops and treasures of Africa had essentially contributed to extinguish the rebellion. The same rebellion had been supported by the zeal and activity of Aniés, who brought an army of sixty thousand Huns from the Danube, to the confines of Italy, for the service of the Usurper. The untimely death of John compelled him to accept an advantageous treaty; but he still continued, the subject and the soldier of Valentinian, to entertain a secret, perhaps a treasonable correspondence with his ancient, whose retreat had been purchased by liberal gifts, and more liberal promises. But Aniés possessed an advantage of singular moment in a female reign: he was present: he besieged, with artful and assiduous flattery, the palace of Raveena; disguised his dark designs with the appearance of loyalty; and at length seduced the royal mistress. Placidia, with his mistresst and his absent rival, by a subtle conspiracy, which a weak woman, and a brave man could not easily suspect. He secretly persuaded, Placidia to recall Boniface from the government of Africa; he secretly advised Aniés to dismiss the imperial troops. He proposed to the one, he represented the order as a sentence of death; to the other he stated the refusal as a signal of revolt; and when the cralous and unsuspecting count had armed the province in his defence, Aniés applauded his sagacity in foreseeing the rebellion, which his own perfidy had excited. A tempestuous inquiry into the real motives of Boniface, would have restored a faithful servant to his duty, and to the republic; but the arts of Aniés still continued to betray and inflame, and the count was urged, by persecution, to embrace the most infamous counsels. The success with which he eluded or repelled the first attacks, could not inspire a vain confidence, that, at the head of some loose, disorderly Africans, he should be able to withstand the regular forces of the west, commanded by a rival, whose military character it was impossible for the emperor to despise. Aniés, according to the last struggles of prudence and loyalty, Boniface despatched a trusty friend to the court, or rather to the

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1 Procopius (De Bell. Vandal. 1, 1, 3, 4, p. 192—195) relates the fraud of Aniés, the revolt of Boniface, and the loss of Africa. This narrative is particularly abridged, which has been corroborated by the chroniclers; but the ruin and desolation, which befell the Roman empire in the reign of Valentinian and Amalasuntha, is more accurately related by the historian Huns. Phot. (in Ptol. 1, 34, 922) concerns to the practice of ancient and modern coins, and would be naturally revealed by the repentance of Boniface.
camp, of Gonderic, king of the Vandals, with the proposal of a strict alliance, and the offer of an advantageous and perpetual settlement.

He invites the Vandals, A.D. 429.

After the retreat of the Goths, the authority of Honorius had obtained a precarious establishment in Spain; except only in the province of Gallicia, where the Suevi and the Vandals had fortified their camps, in mutual discord, and hostile independence. The Vandals prevailed, and activity of their adversaries, were marches, under the threat of devastation, by the Vandals under the command of their warlike king; and they ravaged, with equal authority over the Alani, who had been promised to them by the emperor, from the cold of Scythia to the excessive heat of an African climate. The hopes of the bold enterprise had excited many brave adventurers of the Gothic nation; and many desperate provincials were tempted to repair their fortunes by the same means which had occasioned their ruin. But this various multitude amounted only to fifty thousand effective men; and though Genseric skilfully magnified his apparent strength, by appointing eighty chiliparchi, or commanders of thousands, the false air of his huge force and untractable race of men, whose savage temper had been exaggerated, rather than reclaimed, by their dread of the Roman arms. The wandering Moors, as they gradually ventured to approach the sea-shore, and the camp of the Vandals, must have viewed with terror and astonishment the dress, the armament, the martial pride and discipline of the unknown strangers who had landed on their coast; and the fair complexes of the blue-eyed warriors of Germany formed a very singular contrast with the swarthy or olive hue, which they derived from the woods and valleys of mount Atlas.

After the most difficult had in some measure been removed, which arose from the mutual ignorance of their respective language, the Moors, regardless of any future consequence, embraced the alliance of the enemies of Rome; and a crowd of naked savages rushed from the woods and valleys of mount Atlas, to satiate their revenge on the polished tyrants, who had injuriously expelled them from the native sovereignty of the land.

The persecution of the Donatists, an event of less importance, the Donatists, seventeen years before he landed in Africa, a public conference was held at Carthage, by the order of the magistrate. The Moors, instead of being satisfied, that, after the invincible reasons which they had alleged, the obstinacy of the schismatics must be inexorable and voluntary; and the emperor Honorius was persuaded to inflict the most rigorous penalties on a faction, which had so long abused his patience and clemency. Three hundred bishops, with many thousands of the inferior clergy, were torn from their churches, stripped of their ecclesiastical writers, who have marked for that event, one of the two preceding years. See Paul Critici, tom. ii. p. 355, &c.

Genseric, king of the Vandals. Genseric; a name, which, in the destruction of the Roman empire, has deserved an equal rank of honour among the Vandals. The king of the Vandals is described to have been of a middle stature, with a lameness in one leg, which he had contracted by an accidental fall from his horse. His slow and cautious speech seldom declared the deep purposes of his soul; he displeased to imitate the luxury of the Gauls, and to multiply the noise of his passions of anger and revenge. The ambition of Genseric was without bounds, and without scruples; and the warrior could dexterously employ the dark engines of policy to-sollicit the allies who might be useful to his end, or to satisfy his vanity among his enemies, by giving the seeds of hatred and contention. Almost in the moment of his departure he was informed, that Hermeric, king of the Suevi, had presumed to ravage the Spanish territories, which he was resolved to abandon. Impatient of the insult, Genseric pursued the hasty retreat of the Suevi as far as Merida; precipitated the king and his army into the river Ana; and calmly returned to the sea-shore, to embark his victorious troops. The vessels which transported the Vandals over the modern straits of Gibraltar, a channel only twelve miles in breadth, were furnished by the Spaniards, who anxiously wished their departure; and by the African general, who had implored their formidable assistance.

Our fancy, so long accustomed to review his army, exaggerate and multiply the martial swarms of barbarians that seemed to issue from the north, will perhaps be surprised by the account of the army which Genseric mustered on the coast of Mauritania. The Vandals, who in twenty years had penetrated from the Elbe to mount Atlas, were united under the command of their warlike king; and he reigned with equal authority over the Alani, who had been promised to them by the emperor, from the cold of Scythia to the excessive heat of an African climate. The hopes of the bold enterprise had excited many brave adventurers of the Gothic nation; and many desperate provincials were tempted to repair their fortunes by the same means which had occasioned their ruin. But this various multitude amounted only to fifty thousand effective men; and though Genseric skilfully magnified his apparent strength, by appointing eighty chiliparchi, or commanders of thousands, the false air of his huge force and untractable race of men, whose savage temper had been exaggerated, rather than reclaimed, by their dread of the Roman arms. The wandering Moors, as they gradually ventured to approach the sea-shore, and the camp of the Vandals, must have viewed with terror and astonishment the dress, the armament, the martial pride and discipline of the unknown strangers who had landed on their coast; and the fair complexes of the blue-eyed warriors of Germany formed a very singular contrast with the swarthy or olive hue, which they derived from the woods and valleys of mount Atlas. After the most difficult had in some measure been removed, which arose from the mutual ignorance of their respective language, the Moors, regardless of any future consequence, embraced the alliance of the enemies of Rome; and a crowd of naked savages rushed from the woods and valleys of mount Atlas, to satiate their revenge on the polished tyrants, who had injuriously expelled them from the native sovereignty of the land.

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siastical possessions, banished to the islands, and proscribed by the laws, if they presumed to conceal themselves. The circumstances of Africa, with her enormous congregations, both in cities and in the country, were deprived of the rights of the citizens, and of the exercise of religious worship. A regular scale of fines, from ten to two hundred pounds of silver, was curiously ascertained, according to the distinctions of rank and fortune, to the imposition of the possessors of each existing at a schismatical convention; and if the fine had been levied five times, without subduing the obstinacy of the offender, his future punishment was referred to the discretion of the imperial court. 1 By these severities, which obtained the warmest approbation of the clergy, the schismatics were reconciled to the church: but the fanatics, who still persevered in their opposition, were provoked to madness and despair; the distracted country was filled with tumult and bloodshed; the armed troops of Circumcellions alternately pointed their steel at each other, or against the council-spheres; and the calendar of martyrs received on both sides a considerable augmentation. 2 Under these circumstances, Genseric, a christian, but an enemy of the orthodox communion, showed himself to the Donatists as a powerful deliverer, from whom they might reasonably expect support and protection. The severest edicts of the Roman emperors. 3 The conquest of Africa was facilitated by the active zeal, or the secret favour, of its domestic faction; the wanton outrages against the churches and the clergy, of which the Vandals are accused, may be fairly imputed to the fanaticism of the Insubrian spirit, which disgraced the triumph of Christianity, contributed to the loss of the most important province of the west. 4

Tardy repentance of Boniface. The court and the people were astonished by the strange intelligence, that a powerful general, with his troops, and in so many services, had renounced his allegiance, and invited the barbarians to destroy the province intrusted to his command. The friends of Boniface, who still believed that his criminal behaviour might be excused by some honourable motive, solicited, during the absence of the emperor, Messalla, and Darius, an officer of high distinction, was named for the important embassy. 5 In their first interview at Carthage, the imaginary provocations were mutually explained; the opposite letters of Ætius were produced and compared; and the fraud was easily detected. Boniface had accused the Vandal leaders of vices that were not to be found among them; and the death of a citizen, which was ascribed to the Schismatic, and the death of a barbarian, which was ascribed to the Vandal, was determined to be the result of accidental causes; but the public accusation of the emperor was unfounded and a fatal error; and the count had sufficient magnanimity to confide in the forgiveness of his sovereign, or to expose his head to future resentment. His repose was long, current and sweet; but he soon discovered, that it was no longer in his power to restore the edifice which he had shaken to its foundations. Carthage, and the Roman garrisons, returned with their general to the allegiance of Valentinian; but the rest of Africa was still distracted with war and faction; and the inexpressible or the king of the Vandals, declining all terms of accommodation, was reduced to renounce the possession of his prey. The band of veterans, who marched under the standard of Boniface, and his hasty levies of provincial troops, were defeated with considerable loss: the victorious barbarians insulted the open country; and Carthage, Cirta, and Hippo Regius, were the only places that appeared to rise above the general inundation.

The long and narrow track of the African coast was filled with frequent monuments of Roman art and magnificence; and the respective degrees of improvement might be accurately measured by the distance from Carthage and the Mediterranean. A simple reflection will impress every thinking mind with the clearest idea of fertility and cultivation: the country was extremely populous; the inhabitants reserved a liberal subsistence for their own use; and the annual exportation might be estimated at 40,000 talents, which, after the first levies, was considered as a moderate tribute. Their agriculture, their manufactures, and their commerce, and the losses of the valiant countrymen were expiated by the ruin of the cities under whose walls they had fallen. Careless of the distinctions of age, or sex, or rank, they employed every species of indignity and torture, to force from the captives a discovery of their property, and the men of flesh and the women of fortune, and the deaths of their valiant countrymen were expiated by the ruin of the cities under whose walls they had fallen. Careless of the distinctions of age, or sex, or rank, they employed every species of indignity and torture, to force from the captives a discovery of their property, and the men of flesh and the women of fortune, and the deaths of their valiant countrymen were expiated by the ruin of the cities under whose walls they had fallen. Careless of the distinctions of age, or sex, or rank, they employed every species of indignity and torture, to force from the captives a discovery of their property, and the men of flesh and the women of fortune, and the deaths of their valiant countrymen were expiated by the ruin of the cities under whose walls they had fallen.

The generous mind of count Boniface 6 of Hippo, was tortured by the exquisite distress A.D. 429, May, of beholding the ruin which he had occasioned, and whose rapid progress he witnessed. After the loss of a battle, he retired into Hippo Regius, where he was immediately besieged by an enemy, who considered him as the real bulwark of Africa. The maritime colony of Hippo, 7 about two hundred

1 The fifth title of the sixteenth book of the Theodorus Calo, exhibits a series of the imperial laws against the Donatists, from the year 340 to the year 426. Of those the fifth law, promulgated by Honorius, A.D. 414, is the most severe and effectual.
2 St. Augustin altered his opinion with regard to the proper treatment of heretics. His patriotic declamation of pity and indulgence for the Manichees, has been inserted by Mr. Locke, (vol. iii. p. 469,) among the choice specimens of his commonplace book. Another philosopher, the celebrated Boyle, Tom. ii. p. 441—442, has reduced with superfluous difference and ingenuity, the arguments, by which the unbelief of Hippo justified, in his old age, the persecution of the Donatists.
3 See Tillenport, Mem. Eccles. tom. xiii. p. 398—399, 396. The existence of these voluminous works, of which Ambrose and St. Augustin asserted, and probably with truth, that these numbers were much exaggerated; but he sternly maintained that it was better that some should burn themselves in this world, than that all should burn in hell damnation.
4 According to St. Augustin and Theodoret, the Donatists were instructed to the principles, or at least to the party, of the Arian, which Gregory Thaumaturgus, bishop of Nyssa, 
5 See Barrows, Annu. Eccles. A.D. 429, No. 7, A.D. 439, No. 35. The circumstances of these various disasters, and the execution of the excommunication in heaven as well as on earth, has observed the apparent connexion of the Vandals and the Donatists. Under the reign of the barbarians, the whole province was pillaged in ten years; at the end of which time, we may ascend them by the light of the innumerable disasters which have been attributed to the Donatists in the sixth and seventh centuries, A.D. 429—512. 1
6 In a confidential letter to count Boniface, St. Augustin, without exasperating his talents, power, and authority, to charge the duties of a christian and a subject; to extricate himself without delay from his dangerous and guilty situation; and even, if he could obtain the consent of his wife, to embrace a life of celibacy and penance. (Tillenport, Mem. Eccles. tom. xiii. p. 398.)
7 The bishop was intimately connected with Darius, the minister of peace. (Ib. p. 392.)
miles westward of Carthage, had formerly acquired the distinguishing epithet of Regius, from the residence of Numidian kings; and some remains of trade and population still attached to it to the modern name of Bonn. The military labors and anxious reflections, of count Boniface, were alleviated by the edifying conversation of his friend St. Augustin; till that bishop, the light and pillar of the Catholic church, was gently released, in the third month of the siege, and in the seventy-sixth year of his age, from the actual and the impending calamities of his country. The youth of Augustin had been stained, by the vices and errors, which he so ingeniously confesses, but he preserved his honor; and preserved to that day that on his death the manners of the bishop of Hippo were pure and austere; and the most conspicuous of his virtues was an ardent zeal against heretics of every denomination; the Manichaeans, the Donatists, and the Pelagians, against whom he waged a perpetual controversy. When the city, some months after his death, was burnt by the Vandals, the library was fortunately saved, which contained his voluminous writings; two hundred and thirty-two separate books or treatises on theological subjects, besides a complete exposition of the psalms and the gospel, and a copious magazine of the Alexandrian fathers. Augustin, in the most impartial criticisms, the superficial learning of Augustin was confined to the Latin language; and his style, though sometimes animated by the eloquence of passion, is usually clouded by false and affected rhetoric. But he possessed a strong, capacious, argumentative mind; he boldly sounded the deep abyss of grace, predestination, free-will, and original sin; and the rigid system of Christianity, which he framed or restored, has been entertained, with public applause, and secret reluctance, by the Latin church.

Defeat and re- treat of Boniface.

A.D. 430.

By the ignorance of the Vandals, the siege of Hippo was protracted above fourteen months; the sea was continually open; and when the adjacent country had been exhausted by rigorous rapine, the besiegers themselves were compelled by famine to relinquish their enterprise. The importance and danger of Africa were deeply felt by the regent of the west. Placidus implored the assistance of her eastern ally; and the Italian fleet and army were re-inforced by Aspar, who sailed from Constantinopile with a powerful contingent. As soon as the Vandals were invested, his empire was united under the command of Boniface; he boldly marched against the Vandals; and the loss of a second battle irretrievably decided the fate of Africa. He embarked with the precipitation of despair; and the people of Hippo were permitted, with their families and effects, to occupy the vacant place of the soldiers, the greatest part of whom were either slain or taken prisoners, which is recorded in Europe by the corrupted name of Bonn.

Death of St. Augustin.

A.D. 430.

Aug. 28.

The republic was deprived, by the mutual discord, of an army, of barbarian followers; and such was the weakness of the government, that the two generals decided their private quarrel in a bloody battle. His death, A.D. 430, was mourned in the three provinces of Boniface was successful; but he received in the conflict a mortal wound from the spear of his adversary, of which he expired within a few days, in such christian and charitable sentiments, that he exalted his wife, a rich heiress of Spain, to accept aius for her second husband. But Aitus could not derive any immediate advantage from the generosity of his donors, and the judgment of the most impartial critics, the superficial learning of Augustin was confined to the Latin language; and his style, though sometimes animated by the eloquence of passion, is usually clouded by false and affected rhetoric. But he possessed a strong, capacious, argumentative mind; he boldly sounded the deep abyss of grace, predestination, free-will, and original sin; and the rigid system of Christianity, which he framed or restored, has been entertained, with public applause, and secret reluctance, by the Latin church. He embordered with the precipitation of despair; and the people of Hippo were permitted, with their families and effects, to occupy the vacant place of the soldiers, the greatest part of whom were either slain or taken prisoners, which is recorded in Europe by the corrupted name of Bonn.

The discovery of his fraud, the displeasure of the empress, and the distinguished favour of his rival exasperated the haughty spirit of Aitus. He hastily returned from Gaul to Italy, with a retinue of barbarians, and an army, of barbarian followers; and such was the weakness of the government, that the two generals decided their private quarrel in a bloody battle. His death, A.D. 430, was mourned in the three provinces.

Proper of the Vandals in Africa.

A.D. 430-439.

It might naturally be expected, after the retreat of Boniface, that the Vandals would achieve, without resistance or delay, the conquest of Africa. Eight years were however elapsed, from the evacuation of Hippo to the reduction of Carthage. In the midst of that interval, the ambitious Geneseric, in the full tide of apparent prosperity, negociated a treaty of peace, by which he gave his son Hunneric for a hostage; and consented to leave the western emperor in the undisputed possession of the three Mauritanias. This moderation, which cannot be imputed to the justice, must be ascribed to the policy, of the conqueror. His throne was encompassed with domestic enemies; who accused the baseness of his birth, and asserted the legitimate claims of his nephew. Before the hour of his death, he had concluded, by the sacrifice of his principles and of his life, to adhere to his safety; and his mother, the widow of the deceased king, was precipitated by his order, into the river Ampsaga. But the public discontent burst forth in dangerous and frequent conspiracies; and a rival tyrant is supposed to have reduced more Vandol blood by the hand of the executioner, than in the field of battle. The convulsions of Africa, which had favoured his attack, opposed the firm establishment of his power; and the various seditions of the Moors and Germans, the Donatists and catholics, continually disturbed, or threatened, the unsettled reign of the conqueror. As he advanced towards Car-
thage, he was forced to withdraw his troops from the western provinces; the sea-coast was exposed to the naval enterprises of the Romans of Spain and Italy; and in the heart of Numidia, the strong inland city of Cirta still persisted in obstinate independence. These difficulties were gradually assailed by the Gracchi, the foremost and truest patrons of Greece. P., who alternately applied the arts of peace and war to the establishment of his African kingdom. He subscribed a solemn treaty, with the hope of deriving some advantage from the term of its continuance, and the moment of its violation. The vigilance of his enemies was relaxed, and he publicly taught of himself, which ceased his hostile approach; and Carthage was at length surprised by the Vandals, five hundred and eighty-five years after the destruction of the city and republic by the younger Scipio.1

A new city had arisen from its ruins, with the title of a colony; and though to the trade of Alexandria, or the splendour of Antioch, she still maintained the second rank in the west; as the prime (if we may use the style of contemporary times) of the cities of the world. Territorial and appulent metropolises displayed in a dependent condition, the image of a flourishing republic. Carthage contained the manufactures, the arms, and the treasures of the six provinces. A regular subordination of civil honours gradually ascended from the procurators of the metropolis to the president of the court, and that of the metropolis was carried on. The buildings of Carthage were uniform and magnificent; a shady grove was planted in the midst of the capital; the new port, a secure and capacious harbour, was subservient to the commercial industry of citizens and foreigners; and the splendid games of the circus and theatre were exhibited almost in the presence of the barbarians. The reputation of the Carthaginians was not equal to that of their country, and the reproach of Punic faith still adhered to their subtle and faithless character. The habits of trade, the pride of luxury, the prodigal corruption of the people; but their impious contempt of monks, and the shameful practice of unnatural lusts, are the two abominations which excite the pious vehemence of Salvian, the preacher of the age.2 The king of the Vandals severely reformed the vices of a voluptuous people; and the ancient, noble, ingenuous freedom of Carthage (these expressions of Victor are not without energy) was reduced by Geuseric into a state of ignominious servitude. After he had permitted his licentious troops to satiate their rage and avarice, he instituted a more regular system of rapine and oppression. An edict was promulgated, which enjoined all persons, without fraud or delay, to deliver their gold, silver, jewels, and valuable furniture or apparel, to the royal officers; and the attempt to secrete any part of their patrimony, was inexorably punished with an ignominious death, and the annihilation of the state. The lands of the procouslars province, which formed the immediate district of Carthage, were accurately measured, and divided among the barbarians; and the conqueror reserved for his peculiar domain the fertile territory of Byzacianum, and the adjacent parts of Numidia and Gna.3

It was not enough that Geuseric African exile should hate those whom he had injured: and captives, the nobility and senators of Carthage were exposed to his jealousy and resentment; and all those who refused the ignominious terms, which their honour and religion forbade them to accept, were compelled by the Aryan tyrant to embrace the condition of perpetual banishment. Rome, Italy, and the provinces of the east, were filled with a crowd of exiles, of fugitives, and of ingenuous captives, who solicited the public compassion; and the benevolent epistles of Theodoret still preserved the friendship of Christianity and Maria.4 The Syrian bishop deplores the misfortunes of Cælestian, who, from the state of a noble and opulent senator of Carthage, was reduced, with his wife and family, and servants, to beg his bread in a foreign country; but he applauds the resignation of the christian exile, and the philosophic temper, which, under the pressure of such calamities, could enjoy more real happiness than was the ordinary lot of wealth and prosperity. The story of Maria, the daughter of the magnificent Eudoxian, is singular and interesting. In the sack of Carthage, she was purchased from the Vandals by some merchants of Syria, who afterwards sold her to a slave-dealer, and subjected her to the privations of the slave-exchange. A female attendant, transported in the same ship, and sold in the same family, still continued to respect a mistress whom Fortune had reduced to the common level of servitude; and the daughter of Eudoxian received from her grateful affection the domestic services which she had once required from her obedience. This remarkable behaviour divulged the real condition of Maria, who, in the absence of the bishop of Cyrinus, was redeemed from slavery by the generosity of some soldiers of the garrison. The personal and public liberality of Eudoxian sufficed to gain the esteem of Maria; and she passed ten months among the dependences of the church; till she was unexpectedly informed, that her father, who had escaped from the ruin of Carthage, exercised an honourable office in one of the western provinces. Her filial impatience was seconded by Theodoret; provided for her support in Italy, and, in letter still extant, recommends Maria to the bishop of Agige, a maritime city of Cilicia, which was frequented during the annual processions of the vessels of the west; most earnestly requesting, that his colleague would use the maiden with a tenderness suitable to her birth; that he would confide to her the management of such faithful merchants; as would esteem it a sufficient gain, if they restored a daughter, lost beyond all human hope, to the arms of her afflicted parent.

Among the insipid legends of eccle- Fable of the siastical history, I am tempted to distin- the insipid Stock and Stapler. guish the narrative from the true narrative, whose imaginary date corresponds with the reign of the younger Teodosius, and the conquest of Africa

2 See the Chronicles of Isidore, Indore, Prosper, and Marcellinus, This work mark the same period of luxury and corruption present Carthage.
3 The picture of Carthage as it flourished in the fourth and fifth centuries, is taken from the exposition toms Mitrius, p. 17, 18, in the third volume of Hudson's Minor Geographers, from Ausonius de Chris Urbanius, p. 323, 233; and principally from Salvianus, de Germanda Dei, i. vii. p. 257, 258. I am surprised that the Xaviola should not place a mint, or an arsenal, at Carthage; but only a gynaeceum, or female manufactur.
4 The insipid Nathan of the Expositio toms Mitrius, compares, in his barbarous Latin, the country and the inhabitants; the slavish-Vol. III. singing their want of fan, he coldly concludes, Diffferent autem intemperantia Carthaginensium, qui non per se turpim sententias, licet ab antiquis scriptis, qui ante temporum in septentrionalibus provincia, " Doct. 17, 18.
5 He declares, that the peculiar vices of each country were collected in the sink of Carthage, (l. vii. p. 237.) In the indulgence of vice, the Africans applauded their wanton virtue. Efi ci saeclis si ab antiquis beneficiis et rebus eorum, inopios sed quosque habuisse, quibus fontibus, si sit, limitat Dei, (p. 265.) The streets of Carthage were polluted with profane songs, and the streets of Rome, (p. 333.)
6 The dress of the Carthaginian was polluting, (p. 8.) so that the dress, and the character, of women, (p. 351.) If a monk appeared in the city, the holy man was pursued with impious scorn and ridicule; detestatissimum ridiculum casamium, (p. 253.)
The THE DECLINE AND FALL

Chap. XXXIV.

by the Vandals. 1 When the emperor Decius persecuted the christians, seven noble youths of Ephesus concealed themselves in a spacious cavern in the side of an adjacent mountain; where they were doomed to perish by the tyrant, who gave orders that the entrance should be firmly secured with a pile of huge stones. They immediately fell into a deep slumber, who through the influence of holy books had escaped the powers of life, during a period of one hundred and eighty-seven years. At the end of that time, the slavés of Adolius, to whom the inheritance of the mountain had descended, removed the stones, to supply materials for some rustic edifice; the light of the sun then entered the cavern, and instantly the Sleepers were permitted to awake. After a slumber, as they thought of a few hours, they were pressed by the calls of hunger; and resolved that Jamblichus, one of their number, should secretly return to the city, to purchase bread for the use of his companions. The youth (if we may still employ that appellation) could no longer recognize the once familiar aspect of his native country; and his surprise was increased by the appearance of a large cross, triumphantly erected over the principal gate of Ephesus. His singular dress and language, which resembled the Hebrew, to whom he offered an ancient medal of Decius as the current coin of the empire; and Jamblichus, on the suspicion of a secret treasure, was dragged before the judge. Their mutual inquiries produced the amazing discovery, that two centuries were almost elapsed since of the destruction of Ephesus and his friends had escaped from the rage of a pagan tyrant. The bishop of Ephesus, the clergy, the magistrates, the people, and, as it is said, the emperor Theodosius himself, hastened to visit the cavern of the Seven Sleepers; who bestow'd on them their protection, and at the same instant peaceably expired. The origin of this marvellous fable cannot be ascribed to the pious fraud and credulity of the modern Greeks, since the authentic tradition may be traced within half a century of the supposed miracle. James of Sarug, a Syrian bishop, who was born only two years after the death of the younger Theodosius, has devoted one of his two hundred and thirty homilies to the praise of the young men of Ephesus. 2 Their legend, before the end of the sixth century, was translated from the Syriac into the Latin language, by the care of Gregory of Tours. The hostile incursions of the east preserve their memory with equal reverence; and their names are honorably inscribed in the Roman, the Halybystian, and the Russian calendar. 3 Nor has their reputation been confined to the christian world. The sixth Apostle, whom Mahomet has learned to be, he drove his camels to the fairs of Syria, is introduced, as a divine revelation, into the Koran. 4 The story of

1 Two Syriac writers, as they are quoted by Assemani, (Bibl. Oriente, tom. i. p. 286, 288) place the resurrection of the Seven Sleepers in the year 376. (A. D. 523.) or 746. (A. D. 627.) of the era of the Seleucidae. Their Greek acts, which Photius had read, as he was then in the thirty-eighth year of the reign of Theodosius, may have coincided either with A. D. 429, or 446. The period which has been assigned to the resurrection of Decius or Christ is equally uncertain, and nothing less than the ignorance of Mahomet, or the legends, could suppose an interval of three or four hundred years.

2 James, one of the orthodox fathers of the Syriac church, was born A. D. 452; he began to compose his sermons A. D. 474; he was made a bishop in the diocese of Tyre, and province of the coponathia, A. D. 519, and died A. D. 521. (Assemani, tom. i. p. 285, 286.) For the homily of Priscian Eusebius, see p. 322.—though I could wish that Assemani had translated the text of James of Sarug, instead of answering the objections of Baronius.

3 Among the acts of the apostles, (Acts, x. 29, 30.) and amongst the homilies of Alcuin, we find, that Mahomet, had advanced no farther than the 7th day of October. The suppression of the Jews has most probably checked an undertaking, which would have occupied a vast extent of time. The Romish communions of the world were on the eve of a new triumph, much historical and philosophical instruction.

4 See Marcellus Alicorn, Socr. xxi. tom. i. p. 289—307, and tom. i. part iv. p. 103. With such an ample privilege, Mahomet has not shown much taste or ingenuity. He has invented the dog (At Rasin) 225, which they resolved to keep for course twice a day, that he might smite into the cavern: and the care of God himself, who preserved the bodies of the fathers from putrefaction, by turning them to the right and left.


6 See Paul, the despot of Kasel (Frangois Langoisbardum, l. c. p. 475, 476, edit. Grat.), who lived toward the end of the eighth century, has placed a cavern, under a rock, on the shore of the ocean, the Seven Sleepers of the north, whose long repose was respected by the Barbarians. Their dire declared them to be Romans, and they were commended by the Roman senate, to be evidence as the future apostles of those unbelieving countries.

7 The six cronicles of the history of Alcuin, found in Jorandec. (de Rebus Gentis, c. 34, 35, 36, 40, 46, edit. Gratt.) Priscian. (Excerpta legationum p. 33, 36, Paris, 1670.) I have not found any mention of Alcuin, in the works of Julius, Iusnus Damastinus, in the tenth century, or by Nicholas Olushi, archbishop of Grin, in the sixteenth. See Guevios History of the Germans, ii. 33, and Maffio Ostervazi Latinate. tom. i. pp. 88, 89. Whatever the modern Hungarians may have said of Alcuin, they do not seem to have excelled in the art of fiction. They suppose, that when Atilla invaded Gaul and Italy, married innumerable wives, &c. he was one hundred and twenty years of age. Thwaites Criton, p. 122, in Script. Hungar. tom. i. p. 76.
In the title of emigration, which immediately followed the conquest of Hungary.

China to those of Germany, the most powerful and populous tribes may commonly be found in Hungary. The Hungarians, who were captured by the blood of Attila, among their native kings, may affirm, with truth, that the horses, which were subject to his uncle Rums, or Rugillas, had formed their encampments within the limits of modern Hungary, and that the emperor should abdicate all treaties and engagements with the enemies of the Huns; and that all the fugitives, who had taken refuge in the court, or provinces, of Theodosius, should be delivered to the justice of their offended sovereign. This justice was frequently inflicted on some unfortunate youths of the royal race. They were crucified on the territories of the empire, by the command of Attila: and as soon as the king of the Huns had impressed the Romans with the terror of his name, he induced them in a short and arbitrary respite, whilst he subdued the rebellious or independent nations of Sestynia and Gaul.

Attila, the son of Mundzuk, deduced his figure and his noble, perhaps his regal, descent character, from the ancient Huns, who had formerly contended with the moorish of China. His features, according to the observation of a Gothic historian, bore the mark of a savage and a barbarian. He exhibited the genuine deformity of a modern Calmuck—a large head, a swarthy complexion, small deep-setted eyes, a flat nose, a few hairs in the place of a beard, broad shoulders, and a short square body, of nervous strength, though of a disproportioned form. The formidable step of one so ugly could be expressed the consciousness of his superiority above the rest of mankind; and he had a custom of fiercely rolling his eyes, as if he wished to enjoy the terror which he inspired. Yet this savage hero was not inaccessible to pity; his suppliant enemies might conjure in the name of peace or pardon; and Attila was considered by his subjects as a just and indulgent master. He delighted in war; but, after he had ascended the throne in a mature age, his head, rather than his hand, achieved the conquest of the north; and the fame of an adventurous soldier was usefully exchanged for that of a prudent and successful general. The effects of personal valor are so inconsiderable, except in poetry or romance, that victory, even among barbarians, must depend on the degree of skill, with which the passions of the multitude are combined and guided for the service of a single man. The Sycythin and Zingis, who were topass themselves as conquerors, and as conquerors to surpass their countrymen in art, rather than in courage; and it may be observed, that the monarchs, both of the Huns and of the Moguls, were erected by their founders on the basis of popular superstition. The miraculous conception, which fraud and credulity ascribed to the virgin-mother of the Moguls, raised him in the eye of human nature; and the naked prophet, who, in the name of the Deity, invested him with the empire of the earth, pointed the value of the Moguls with irresistible enthusiasm. The religious arts of Attila were not less skilfully adapted to the character of his age and country. It was natural enough, that the Scythians should adore, with peculiar devotion, the god of war; but as they were incapable of forming either an abstract idea, or a corporeal representation, they worshipped their tutelar deity under the symbol of an iron cimeter. One of the shepherds of

5 Hungarian has been successively occupied by three Sceythian colos 3. The Turks or Magyars, A. D. 889; the immediate and genuine ancestors of the modern Hungarians, whose connection with the ninth century, is deduced from the passages of the historical writers. The nation of Matthew Flinus appear to contain a rich field of information, and the history of the Huns is an interesting subject. The extracts in Bibliotheca Anecdia et Modesta, tom. iii. p. 511, and Bibliotheca Ennoman, tom. vi. p. 511, 519.

6 Tillemon, who always depends on the faith of his ecclesiastical authors, strenuousness in his conclusions. (Hist. des Emp. tom. vi. p. 126, 670.) that the wars and personages were not the same.

4 See Priens, p. 47. 48. and Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe, tom. vii. c. 200. 248.

5 Priens, p. 39. The modern Hungarians have deduced their genealogy, which extends, in the thirty-fifth degree, to Ham the son of Noah; yet they maintain, that he is descended from one of his father's concubines. (Hist. des Huns, tom. ii. p. 297.)

6 Compare Jordanus de vertices, tom. iii. p. 561, with Buffon, Hist. Naturale, tom. iii. p. 560. The former had a right to observe, original line are join and demolish. The character and portrait of Attila are probably transferred from the massacres of the Thuringians, and the Tillemon, who always depends on the faith of his ecclesiastical authors, strenuousness in his conclusions. (Hist. des Emp. tom. vi. p. 126, 670.) that the wars and personages were not the same.
The Huns perceived, that a heifer, who was grazing, had wounded herself in the foot, and curiously followed the track of the blood, till he discovered, among the long grass, the hasty wound which the hoof had dug on the ground, and presented to Attila. That magnanimous, or rather that artful, prince, accepted, with pious gratitude, this celestial favour; and, as the rightful possessor of the sword of Mars, asserted his divine and inalienable dominion to the dominion of the earth.  

If the veneration of Scythia was profaned in this solemn occasion, a lofty altar, or rather pile of faggots, three hundred yards in length and in breadth, was raised in a spacious plain; and the sword of Mars was placed erect on the summit of this rustic altar, which was annually consecrated by the blood of scape-horses, and of the hundredth captive.  

Whether human sacrifices formed any part of the worship of Attila, or whether he propitiating the god of war with the victims which he continually offered in the field of battle, the favourite of Mars soon acquired a sacred character, which rendered his conquests of last and more permanent; and the barbarian princes confessed, in the language of devotion or flattery, that they could not presume to gaze, with a steady eye, on the divine majesty of the king of the Huns.  

His brother Bleda, who reigned over a considerable part of his dominions, was more penetrated with this sceptre of his life. Yet even this cruel act was attributed to a supernatural impulse; and the vigour with which Attila wielded the sword of Mars, convinced the world, that it had been reserved alone for his invincible arm.  

But the extent of his empire affords the only evidence of its greatness, and instance, of his victories; and the Scythian monarch, however ignorant of the value of science and philosophy, might, perhaps, lament, that his illustrious subjects were destitute of the art which could perpetuate the splendour of his exploits, and acquire the empire of Scy-thia and Ger-many.  

He alone, among the conquerors of ancient and modern times, united the two mighty kingdoms of Germany and Scythia; and those vague appellations, when they are applied to his reign, may be understood with an ample latitude. Thuringius, which stretched beyond its actual limits as far as the Danube, and was in the number of his provinces; he interposed, with the weight of a powerful neighbour, in the domestic affairs of the Franks; and one of his lieutenants chastised, and almost exterminated, the Burgundians of the Rhine. He subdued the islands of the ocean, the king-rcins of Scandinavia, encompassed and divided by the waters of the Baltic; and the Huns might derive a tribute of furs from that northern region, which has been protected from all other conquerors by the severity of the climate and the courage of the natives. Towards the east, it is difficult to circumscribe an equal empire with the empire of the Scythian deserts; yet we may be assured that he reigned the banks of the Volga; that the king of the Huns was dreaded not only as a warrior, but as a magician; that he insulted and vanquished the Khan of the formidable Gojgean; and that he sent ambassadors to negociate an equal partition with the empire of China. In the proud review of the nations who acknowledged the sovereignty of Attila, and who never entertained, during his life-time, the thought of a revolt, the Gepidae and the Ostrogoths were distinguished by their numbers, their bravery, and the personal merit of their chiefs. The renowned Ardaric, king of the Ostrogoths, was the faithful and sagacious counsellor of the monarch, who esteemed his intrepid genius, whilst he loved the mild and discreet virtues of the noble Wala-mir, king of the Ostrogoths. The crowd of vulgar kings, who lead the snowy mountains of Armenia; possessed the Tigris, the Euphrates, and the Halys; recruited their weary cavalry with the generous breed of Cappadocian horses; occupied the hilly country of Cilicia, and disturbed the festal songs, and dances, of the citizens of Antioch. Egypt trembled at their approach; and the ancient and pious Holy Land prepared to escape their fury by a speedy embarkation. The memory of this invasion was still recent in the minds of the Orientals. The subjects of Attila might execute, with superior forces, the design which these adventurers had so boldly attempted; and it soon became the subject of anxious conjecture, whether the

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a See Hist, des Huns, tom. ii. p. 296. The Gojgeans believed, that the Huns could exist, at pleasure, storms of wind and rain. This phenomenon was described by Phlegon of Nicaea, Porphyry, Pausanius, &c.  

b The count de Buit (Hist des Peuples de l'Europe, tom. vii. p. 407) says, that Attila, from a circumstance of his birth, and is almost inclined to reject the concurrent testimony of Jornandes, is represented by the contemporary Chron icists.  

c The count de Buit (Hist, des Peuples de l'Europe, tom. vii. p. 407) says, that Attila, from a circumstance of his birth, and is almost inclined to reject the concurrent testimony of Jornandes, is represented by the contemporary Chron icists.  

dQuelle est le secret de la longueur de la vie? (Herodot.)  

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See likewise, in Edinb. l. 2. c. 26. and in Cantor, op. cit. 2. c. 25. &c.  

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See likewise, in Edinb. l. 2. c. 26. and in Cantor, op. cit. 2. c. 25. &c.  

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See likewise, in Edinb. l. 2. c. 26. and in Cantor, op. cit. 2. c. 25. &c.  

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The ambassadors of the Huns might The Huns in- 


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The most important events that would fall on the dominions of Rome or of Persia. Some of the great vessels of the king of the Huns, who were themselves in the rank of powerful princes, had been sent to ratify an alliance and society of arms with the emperor, or rather with the general, of the west. They related, during their residence at Rome, the breach of an engagement of peace, and that their knap, lately made into the east. After passing a desert and a morass, supposed by the Romans to be the lake Meotis, they penetrated through the mountains, and arrived, at the end of fifteen days' march, on the confines of Media; where they advanced as far as the unknown cities of Bashan. They entered, without resistance, the Persian army in the plains of Media; and the air, according to their own expression, was darkened by a cloud of arrows. But the Huns were obliged to retire before the numbers of the enemy. Their laborious retreat was effected by a different road; they lost the greatest part of their booty; and at length returned to the royal camp, with some knowledge of the country, and an impatient desire of revenge. In the free conversation of the imperial ambassadors, who discussed, at the court of Attila, the character and designs of their formidable enemy, the ministers of Constantinople expressed the hope of a speedy conclusion of a treaty of peace, with the sole purpose of defining the frontiers, and employed in a long and doubtfull contest with the princes of the house of Sassan. The more sagacious Italians admonished their eastern brethren of the folly and danger of such a hope; and convinced them, that the Medes and Persians were incapable of resisting the armies of the Huns; and, that the easy and important acquisition would exalt the pride, as well as power, of the conquerors. Instead of contenting himself with a moderate contribution, and a military title, which equalled him only to the generals of Theodosius, Attila would proceed to impose a disgraceful and intolerable yoke, the termination of the present war, and, perhaps, would then be encouraged, on all sides, by the empire of the Huns. They attack the empire. While the powers of Europe and Asia were solicitous to avert the impending disaster, the prince of the Vandals in the possession of Africa. An enterprise had been concerted between the courts of Ravenna and Constantinople, for the recovery of that valuable province; and the ports of Sicily were already filled with the military and naval forces of Thodosius. But the subtle Genseric, who spread his negociations round Italy and France, and sternly demanded the guilty prelate, the sacrilegious spoil, and the fugitive subjects, who had escaped from the justice of Attila. The refusal of the Byzantine court was the signal of war; and the Massilians at first applauded the generous fame of their sovereign. But they were soon intimidated by the destruction of Viminacium and the adjacent towns; and the people were persuaded to adopt the convenient maxim, that a private citizen, however innocent or respectable, may be justly sacrificed to the safety of his country. The bishop of Margus, who did not possess the spirit of a martyr, resolved to prevent the designs which he suspected. He boldly treated with the princes of the Huns; secured, by solemn oaths, his pardon and reward; posted a numerous guard, in spite of their numbers, in or near the banks of the Danube; and, at the appointed hour, opened, with his own hand, the gates of his episcopal city. This advantage, which had been obtained by treachery, served as a prelude to more honorable and decisive victories. The Illyrian frontier was covered by a line of castles; and the formidable part of them consisted only of a single tower, with a small garrison, they were commonly sufficient to repel, or to intercept, the inroads of an enemy, who was ignorant of the art, and impatient of the delay, of a regular siege. But these slight obstacles were instantly swept away by the incursion of the Huns. They destroyed, with fire and sword, the populous cities of Sinnum and Singidunum, of Ratiaria and Marcianopolis, of Naissus and Sardica; where every circumstance in the discipline of the people, and the construction of the buildings, had been gradually adapted to the sole purpose of defence. The whole extent of the empire of Europe, as it extends above five hundred miles from the Euxine to the Constaninople, was at once invaded, and occupied, and desolated, by the myriads of barbarians whom Attila led into the field. The public danger and distress could neither atone, however, for the Theodosian monuments, nor for the barbarian amusements and devotion, or to appear in person at the head of the Roman legions. But the troops, which had been sent against Genseric, were hastily recalled from Sicily; the garrisons, on the side of Persia, were exhausted; and a military force was collected in Europe, formidable, but trained from the campaigns which had understood the science of command, and their soldiers the duty of obedience. The armies of the eastern empire were vanquished in three successive engagements; and the progress of Attila may be traced by the fields of battle. The two former, on the banks of the Iius, and under the walls of Marcianopolis, were fought, in the extensive plains between the Danube and ancient Carnus. As the Romans were pressed by a victorious enemy, they gradually and unskillfully retired towards the Chersonesus of Thrace; and that narrow peninsula, the last extremity of the Roman empire, was taken and plundered by their third army. By the destruction of this army, Attila acquired the indisputable possession of the field. From the Hellespont to Thermopylae, and the suburbs of Constantinople, he ravaged, without resistance, and without mercy, the provinces of Thrace and Macedonia. He-racela and Hadrianople might perhaps escape this dreadful irruption of the Huns; but the words, the most expressive of total extirpation and ruin, are applied to the calamities which they inflicted on seventy cities of the eastern empire. Thodosius, his court, and the unwarlike people, were protected by the walls of Constantinople. But their third army was shaken by a recent earthquake, and the fall of fifty-eight towers had opened a large and tremendous breach. The damage indeed was speedily repaired; but this accident was aggravated by a superstitious fear, that Heaven itself had delivered the imperial city to the shepherds of Scythia, who were strangers to the laws, the language, and the religion, of the Romans.  

1 Priscus, de Edictis, I. iv. c. 5. Three fortresses were afterwards restored, strengthened, and enlarged, by the emperor Justinian; but they were soon destroyed by the Avars, who succeeded the Vandals in possession of the Danube.  
2 Septimania civitates (v. vatica Tyrin) de desperatione vastatum seriee. The language and expression are parallel. The original work was accessible, however, to the writers, from whom we borrow our imperfect knowledge. Journand, Theophras- tus, and Hadrianus, and the Alexandrians, or Paschel, Chronicler. M. de Batin (Hist. des Peuples de P'Europe, tom. vii. c. x.) has examined the causes, the circumstanc- es, and the duration, of this war; and will not allow it to extend beyond the year four hundred and forty-four.
In all their invasions of the civilized Tartar wars, the Scythian or Median adventurers, empires of the south, the Scythian shepherd-herds have been uniformly averted by a savage and destructive force. The devastations of the Tartar and the exercise of national rape and murder, are founded on two principles of substantial interest: the knowledge of the permanent benefits which may be obtained by a moderate use of conquest; and a just apprehension, lest the desolation which we inflict on the enemy's country, might be reflected on our own. But these慎重 considerations of hope and fear are almost unknown in the pastoral state of nations. The Huns of Attila may, without injustice, be compared to the Moguls and Tartars, before their primitive manners were changed by religion and luxury; and the evidence of oriental history may reflect some of the dark and imperfect annals of Rome. After the Moguls had subdued the northern provinces of China, it was seriously proposed, not in the hour of victory and passion, but in calm deliberate council, to exterminate all the inhabitants of that populous country, whose vacant land might be converted to the pasture of cattle. The firmness of a Chinese mandarin, who insinuated some principles of rational policy into the mind of Zungis, diverted him from the execution of this horrid design. But in the cities of Asia, which yielded to the Moguls the submission of their laws by the rights of war, the exercise, with a regular form of discipline, which may, with equal reason, though not with equal authority, be imputed to the victorious Huns. The inhabitants, who had submitted to their discretion, were ordered to evacuate their houses, and to assemble in some place adjacent to the city; and a division was made of the vanquished into three parts: The first class consisted of the soldiers of the garrison, and of the young men capable of bearing arms; and their fate was instantly decided: they were either enlisted among the Moguls, or they were massacred on the spot by the soldiery of Dary, the Persian, and hundreds of bows, had formed a circle round the captive multitude. The second class, composed of the young and beautiful women, of the artificers of every rank and profession, and of the more wealthy or honorable citizens, from whose private ransom might be expected, was distributed in equal or proportionable lots. The remainder, whose life or death was alike useless to the conquerors, were permitted to return to the city; which, in the meanwhile, had been stripped of its valuable furniture; and a tax was imposed on those wretched inhabitants, according to the indignity of their condition. Such was the behaviour of the Moguls, when they were not conscious of any extraordinary rigor. But the most casual provocation, the slightest motive, of caprice or convenience, often provoked them to involve a whole people in an indiscriminate massacre; and the ruin of some flourishing cities was executed with such unrelenting perseverance, that, according to their own expression, horses might run, without stumbling, over the ground where they had once stood. The three great capitals of Khorasan, Maru, Neisa, and Herat, were destroyed by the armies of Zungis, and the population accounted for, which was slain, amounted to four millions three hundred and forty-seven thousand persons. Timur, or Tamerlane, was educated in a less barbarous age, and in the profession of the Mahometan religion; yet, if Attila equalled the hostile ravages of Tamerlane, either the Tartar or the Hun must deserve the epithet of the Scythian conquistador. It may be affirmed, with bolder assurance, that the Huns depopulated the provinces of the empire, by the number of Roman subjects whom they led away into captivity. In the hands of a wise legislator, such an industrious colony would have been of advantage, and the ruins of Scythia, the rudiments of the useful and ornamental arts; but these captives, who had been taken in war, were accidentally distributed among the hordes that obeyed the empire of Attila. The estimate of their respective value was formed by the simple judgment of uncultivated minds, and the imagination of the devastated inhabitants, who might not understand the merit of a theologian, profoundly skilled in the controversies of the Trinity and the Incarnation; yet they respected the ministers of every religion; and the active zeal of the Christian missionaries was useful to the propagation of the gospel. The pastoral tribes, who were ignorant of the distinction of landed property, must have disregarded the use, as well as the abuse, of civil jurisprudence; and the skill of an eloquent and virtuous advocate, whose influence might have been the abhorrence. The perpetual intercourse of the Huns and the Goths had communicated the familiar knowledge of the two national dialects; and the barbarians were ambitious of conversing in Latin, the military idiom, even of the eastern empire. But they declined the invocation of the church and the sciences, of the Greeks; and the vain sophist, or grave philosopher, who had enjoyed the flattering applause of the schools, was mortified to find, that his robust servant was a captive of more value and importance than himself. The mechanical arts were encouraged and esteemed, as they tended to satisfy the vanity of the conquerors. The Huns, whose chief genius, one of the favourites of Attila, was employed to construct a bath: but this work was a rare example of private luxury; and the trades of the smith, the carpenter, the armourer, were much more adapted to supply the wants of the invading hordes in their advance. The peace and war. But the merit of the physician was received with universal favour and respect; the barbarians who despised death, might be apprehensive of disease; and the haughty conqueror trembled in the presence of a captive, to whom he ascribed, perhaps, the effects of the sovereign influence of a living god in life. The Huns might be provoked to insult the misery of their slaves, over whom they exercised a de- 2 Cherefeddin Ali, his servile panegyrist, would afford us many hitherto unknown examples. In his camp before Delhi, Timur massacred 360,000 Indian prisoners, who had smiled when the army of their countrymen appeared in sight. (Hist. de Timur Ber, tom. iii, p. 590.) The people of Ispahan supplied 54,000 camel scalps for the structure of several lofty towers. (Id. tom. i, p. 474.) A similar tax was levied by the conqueror of Baghdad; (tom. ii, p. 19.) and Attila, in the account, which Cherefeddin was not able to procure from the proper officers, is stated by another historian (Ahmed Arabanud, tom. ii, p. 94.) to have already paid 300,000 heads. 3 The ancients,ators, posterity, of the conquerors, and of the conquered. They were taken for the benefit of their sovereign by a herald of Gaul, to Attila, who was pleased to insert them among the tides of his royal dignity. Mazar, s. xii, 2, and Tilmaston, Hist. de l'Empire Turc, tom. i, p. 143. 4 The missionsaries of St. Chryseleos had converted great numbers of the Tartars, who dwelt beyond the Caspian and wagons. Theodore, l. v. c. 31, Photius, p. 1517. The Mahomedans, the Nestorians, and the Latin Christians, thought themselves restrained in the passage of the Isthmus of Bengal; (tom. ii, p. 9.) and their account, which Cherefeddin was not able to procure from the proper officers, is stated by another historian (Ahmed Arabanud, tom. ii, p. 94.) to have already paid 300,000 heads. 5 The conquerors of Timur, 200,000 sable, and 4,000,000 horses, and his legions, had been particularly offended with the Roman laws and laws. One of the emperors of the Sung dynasty is represented as having the tongue of an advocate, and squawking up his mouth, observed with much satisfaction, that the viper could no longer hiss. Florus, iv. 114. 6 Florus, p. 59. It should seem that the Huns preferred the Gothic or Teutonic languages to their own; which was probably a barbar and harren idiom. 7 Philip de Comines, In his admirable picture of the last moments of Lewis XI, (Memoriae in memoriam., p. 162.) expresses the insouciance of his physician, who, in five months, exerted 54,000 crowns, and a rich bullion, from the stern avaricious tyrants.
OF the ROMAN EMPIRE.

The historian Priscus, whose embassy is a source of curious instruction, was accosted in the camp of Attila, by a stranger, who saluted him in the Greek language, but whose dress and figure displayed his wealth. As the result of the siege of Viminacium he had lost, according to his own account, his fortune and liberty: he became the slave of Onegissus: but his faithful services, against the Romans and the Aetaciries, had gradually raised him to the rank of the native Huns; to whom he was attached by the same ties which fastened him to his several children. The spoils of war had restored and improved his private property; he was admitted to the table of his former lord; and the apostate Greek blessed the hour of his captivity, since it had been the introduction to an independent and happy state, which he held by the honourable tenure of military service. This re-
duction naturally produced a dispute on the advantages and defects of the Roman government, which was se-
verely arraigned by the apostate, and defended by Priscus in a prolix and feeble declamation. The freed-
man of Onegissus exposed, in true and lively colours, the misfortunes and avenging power of a master who had long been the victim; the cruel absurdity of the Ro-
man princes, unable to protect their subjects against the public enemy, unwilling to trust them with arms for their own defence; the intolerable weight of taxes, rendered still more oppressive by the intricate or arbi-
trary modes of collection; the obscurity of numerous and contradictory laws; the tedious and expensive forms of judicial proceedings; the partial administra-
tion of justice; and the universal corruption, which increased the influence of the rich, and aggravated the misfortunes of the poor. A sentiment of patriotic sym-
pathy, which might have been expected, was mitigated by these lamentations; he was arraigned for the endea-
vorex of peace. I. The emperor of the east, resigned,
by an express or tacit convention, an extensive and
important territory, which stretched along the south-
ern banks of the Danube, from Singidounum or Bel-
grade, as far as Novae, in the diocese of Thrace. The
brevity was defined by the vague computation of
fifteen days' journey; but, from the proposal of At-
tila, to remove the situation of the national market, it
soon appeared, that he comprehended the ruined city
of Naissus within the limits of his dominions. II.
The king of the Huns required and obtained, that his tribes should be discharged from several hundred pounds of gold to the annual sum of two thousand one hundred; and he stipulated the imme-
diate payment of six thousand pounds of gold to de-
fray the expenses, or to expiate the guilt, of the war. One might imagine this to be 

1 According to the description, or rather invective, of Chrysostom, an auction of Byzantine luxury must have been very productive. Every wealthy house was furnished with a large stock of costly silver, such as two men could scarcely lift; a vase of solid gold of the weight of forty pounds, capable of being supported by a single finger. Each rich house kept a fine tame eagle to the emperor Theodosius.

2 Priscus, p. 61.
3 Neya formis Orientis amictus ru
dui, quae nulla hab vasta
Domitianus ferrentur auxilium. Proper Tyro composed his Chronic in the west; and his observation implies a cen
date command; but their manners were not suscep-
tible of a refined system of oppression; and the efforts of courage and diligence were often recompensed by the gift of freedom. 

2 Phrases [p. 61] extol the equity of the Roman laws, which pro-
tected every life that had been pierced. The German monks, on receiving the的形象 of the Deity in heaven, were the subjects of Attila, claimed, and exercised, the power of life and death over their slaves. See a remarkable instance in the second book of the Numa.

4 See the whole conversation in Priscus, p. 59—62.
men, who so bravely asserted their natural independence; and the king of the Huns desisted to negotiate an equal exchange with the citizens of Azimun-
s. They demanded the restitution of some shepherds, who, with their cattle, had been accidentally slain. A strict, though fruitless, inquiry was allowed; but the Huns were obliged to swear that they would do no damage or preventies belonging to the city, before they could receive the indemnifying contributions, a number of men, whom the Azimuntines had reserved as pledges for the safety of their lost companions. Attila, on his side, was satisfied, and deceived, by their solemn as-

servation, that the rest of the captives had been put to death; but it was the constant practice, immediately to dismiss the Romans and the deserters, who had obtained the security of the public faith. This prudent and officious dissimulation may be condemned, or, excused, by the casuists, as they incline to the rigid decree of St. Augustin, or to the milder senti-

ment of St. Jerom and St. Chrysostom: but every soldier, every statesman, must acknowledge, that if the race of the Azimuntines had been encouraged and multi-
plied, the barbarians would have ceased to trample on the majesty of the empire.9

Embellishments from

Embassies from

A launce,

dis,

of honour, a secure and solid tran-

quility; or if his tameness had not invited the repu-

tition of injuries. The Byzantine court was insulted by five or six successive embassies; and the min-

isters of Attila were uniformly instructed to press the treaty for the union of their troops. A last treaty; to redu-

ce the names of fugitives and deserters, who were

still protected by the empire; and to declare, with

seeming moderation, that unless their sovereign ob-
tained complete and immediate satisfaction, it would

be impossible. The Romans were even his wish, to

clear the resentment of his warlike nation, for the

motes of pride and interest, which might prompt the

king of the Huns to continue this train of nego-

ciation, he was influenced by the less honourable

view of enriching his favourites at the expense of his

enemies. The imperial treasury was exhausted, to

procure the friendly offices of the ambassadors, and

their principal attendants, whose favourable report

might conduce to the maintenance of peace. The

barbarian monarch was flattered by the liberal recep-
tion of his ministers; he computed with pleasure the value of the emolument of their grace, for the perfor-

mance of every promise, which would contrib-

ute to their private emolument, and treated as an

important business of state, the marriage of his se-

cretary Constantius.7 That Gallic adventurer, who was

recommended to the king of the Huns, had

gen engagement to the ministers of Constanti-

nople, for the stipulated reward of a wealthy and

noble wife; and the daughter of count Saturnus was

chosen to discharge the obligations of her country.

The reluctance of the victim, some domestic troubles, and the unjust confiscation of her fortune, cooled the ardour of her interested lover; but he still demanded,

in the name of Attila, an equivalent alliance; and after many ambiguous delays and excuses, the Byzan-

tine court was compelled to sacrifice to this insolent

stranger the widow of Armatus, whose birth, op-


e, and beauty, placed her in the most illustrious

rank of the Roman matrons. For these importunate

and oppressive requests the court of Constantin-

pore was in a desolate and ruined condition; and even

ventured to insinuate, that every officer of the army or

household was qualified to treat with the most powerful

princes of Scythia. Maximin,9 a respectable

courtier, whose abilities had been long exercised in

civil and military employments, provoked such assis-
tance the troublesome, and perhaps dangerous, com-

mission, of reconciling the angry spirit of the king of

the Huns. His friend, the historian Priscus,1 embrac-

ed the opportunity of observing the barbarian hero

in the peaceful and domestic scenes of life; but the

secret of the embassy, a fatal and guilty secret, was

intrusted only to the interpreter Vigilans. The two

last ambassadors of the Huns, Orestes, a noble sub-

ject of the Pannonian province, and Edecon, a valiant

chief man of the tribe of the Sceyri, returned at the

expense of their lives. Their obscure names were afterwards illustrated by the extraordinary fortune and the contrast of their sons; the two servants of Attila became the fathers of the last Roman emperor of the west, and of the first

barbarian king of Italy.

The embassy of

The embassy of

Maximin to

Attila.

A.D. 448.

of three hundred and fifty miles,

or thirteen days' journey, from Constantinople. As

the remains of Sardica were still included within the

limits of his dominions, the count was directed to exer-

cise the duties of hospitality. They provided, with the assistance of the provincials, a sufficient num-

ber of sheep and oxen; and invited the Huns to a splen-

did, or, at least, a plentiful, supper. But the harmony of

this entertainment was soon disturbed by mutual prej-

udice and indiscretion. The greatness of the emperor and the empire was warmly maintained by their

ministers; the Huns, with equal ardour, asserted the su-

periority of their victorious monarch: the dispute was

inflamed by the rash and unreasonable flattery of Vi-

centius, the chief of the Huns, who praised his prince

more mortal with the divine Theodosius; and it was

with extreme difficulty that Maximin and Priscus were

able to divert the conversation, or to soothe the angry

minds, of the barbarians. When they arose from table, the imperial ambassador presented Edecon and Orestes with rich gifts of silk robes and Indian pearls, which they thankfully accepted. Yet Orestes could not for-

bear insinuating, that he had not always been treated

with such respect and liberality: and the offensive

distinction, which was implied, between his civil office

and the hereditary rank of his colleague, seems to have

made Edecon a doubtful friend, and Orestes an irre-

concilable enemy. After this entertainment, they trav-

elled about one hundred miles from Sardica to Nais-

sus. That flourishing city, which had given birth to the

great Constantine, was levelled with the ground; the

inhabitants were destroyed or dispersed, and the ap-

pearance of some sick persons, who were still per-


9 In the Persian treaty concluded in the year 422, the wise and
courageous general (as he was in all other respects) Scingithan
(sic.) (Socrates, c. v. c. 10.) When Maximian ascended the throne, the office of Great

may have been conferred on Maximin. He appears to have been a

edict, among the four principal ministers of state. (Novell. ad Cut, Cod, Thod., p. 56.) He executed a civil and military commission in the eastern provinces; and his death was lamented by the savages of

Athopias, whose incursions he had suppressed. See Priscus, p. 49. Edecon was a native of Tanium in Illyricum, and was the author of


Priscus was a pagan.
mitted to exist among the ruins of the churches, served only to increase the horror of the prospect. The surface of the country was covered with the bones of the slain; and the ambassadors, who directed their course to the north-west, were obliged to pass the hills of modern Servia, before they descended into the flat and marshy country. The hills were equally prepared for the massacre of a people by the sword, of hunting, or of war. No sooner had Maximin advanced about two miles from the Danube, than he began to experience the fatal insensibility of the conqueror. He was sternly forbid to pitch his tents in a pleasant valley, lest he should infringe the distant awe that was due to the royal mansion. The ministers of Attila pressed him to communicate the business, and the instructions, which he reserved for the ear of their sovereign. When Maximin temporarily urged the contrary practice of nations, he was still more contended to find, that the resolutions of the Sacred Consistory, though they might satisfy the person, and of the barian associates immediately hastened to the camp of Attila, in order to express their distress at the massacre of their kindred, and of their brave allies, by the hands of barbarians, and of the tyrant of his nation, whom they had treacherously disclosed to the public enemy. His refusal to comply with such ignominious terms, the imperial envoy was commanded instantly to depart; the order was recalled; it was again repeated; and the Huns resolved to undertake the expedition with a resolution of unyielding firmness of Maximin. At length, by the intercession of Scotta, the brother of Onegesius, whose friendship had been purchased by a liberal gift, he was admitted to the royal presence, but, instead of obtaining a decisive answer, he was compelled to understand that the emperor had determined, as he had been to do, to give his authority to the destruction of the Huns, to the honor of the Huns. The emperor might enjoy the proud satisfaction of receiving, in the same camp, the ambassadors of the eastern and western empires. His journey was regulated by the guides, who obliged him to halt, to hasten his march, or to deviate from the common road, as it best suited the convenience of the king. The Romans who traversed the plains of Hungaria, suppose that they passed several navigable rivers, either in canoes or portable boats; but there is reason to suspect that the winding stream of the Teyss, or Tibiscus, might present itself in different places under different names. From the country of the Barbarians, the Huns, abstained from the sale of provisions; mead instead of wine, milklet in the place of bread, and a certain liquor named cannus, which, according to the report of Priscus, was distilled from barley. Such fare might appear coarse and indecent to men who had tasted the luxury of Constantine; but in their accidental distress, they were relieved by the gentleness and hospitality of the same barbarians, so terrible and so merciless in war. The ambassadors had encamped on the edge of a large morass. A violent tempest of wind and rain, of thunder and lightning, overturned their tents, immersed their baggage in the water. The king of the Huns and his retinue, who wandered in the darkness of the night, uncertain of their road, and apprehensive of some unknown danger, till they awakened by their cries the inhabitants of a neighbouring village, the property of the widow of Bleda. A bright illumination, and in a few moments, a considerable fire of reeds, was kindled by their officious benevolence: the wants, and even the desires, of the Romans were liberally satisfied; and they seem to have been embarrassed by the singular politeness of Bleda's widow, who added

to her other favours, the gift, or at least the loan, of a sufficient number of beautiful and obsequious damsels. The sunshine of the succeeding day was dedicated to repose; to collect and dry the baggage, and to the refreshment of the men and horses; but, in the evening, before they pursued their journey, the ambassadors exhibited to the king the curiosity of the many villages, by a very acceptable present of silver cups, red beeswax, dried fruits, and Indian pepper. Soon after this adventure, they rejoined the march of Attila, from whom they had been separated about six days; and slowly proceeded to the capital of an empire, which was, in some respects, so remote, in the space of several thousand miles, a single city.

As far as we may ascertain the vague description of Priscus, this palace or capital appears to have been seated between the Danube, the Teyss, and the Carpathian hills, in the plains of Upper Hungary, and most probably in the neighbourhood of Jazberin, Agria, or Tokay. In its original state, it could be nothing more than an ancient camp, which, by the long and frequent residence of Attila, had insensibly swelled into a huge village, for the reception of his court, of the troops, who followed his example, and of the multitudes of indolent slaves and retainers. The baths, constructed by Onegesius, were the only edifice of stone; the materials had been transported from Pannonia; and since the adjacent country was destitute even of large timber, it may be presumed that the manner of raising the walls, of covering the roofs, and of disposing the various parts of the building, was adapted to the uses of royalty. A separate house was assigned to each of the numerous wives of Attila; and, instead of the rigid and illiberal confinement imposed by the kings of the Vandals and Sueves, the ambassadors had liberty of entering the palace to their presence, their table, and even to the freedom of an innocent embrace. When Maximin offered his presents to Cerca, the principal queen, he admired the singular architecture of her mansion, the height of the round columns, the size and beauty of the wood, which was curiously shaped, or turned, or polished, or carved; and his attentive eye was able to discover some taste in the ornaments, and some regularity in the proportions. After passing the guards, who watched before the gate, the ambassadors were introduced into the private apartment of the queen. The walls of Attila received their decoration, either by the7 or rather lying, on a soft couch; the floor was covered with a carpet; the domestics formed a circle round the queen; and her damsels, seated on the ground, were employed in working the variegated embroidery which adorned the dress of the barbaric warriors. The Huns

1 The Huns themselves still continued to despise the labours of agriculture: they abused the privilege of a victorious nation; and the Goths, their innumerable subjects who cultivated the earth, dread ed them as they had done the Huns of the Danube. See Genealogical History of the Huns, p. 45.) In the same manner the Sarts and Tadeci provide for their own subsistence, and for that of the Ubes, Tartaces, their lazy and rapacious sovereigns. See Genealogical History of the Tartars, p. 265. 20.
were ambitious of displaying those riches which were the fruit and evidence of their victories: the trappings of their horses, their swords, and even their shoes, were studded with gold and precious stones; and their tables were profusely spread with plates, and goblets, and vases of gold and silver, which had been fashioned by the hand of Greek art. The monarch himself assumed the superior pride of adhering to the simplicity of his Scythian ancestors. The dress of Attila, his arms, and the furniture of his house, were plain, without ornament, and of a single colour. The royal table was set in wooden cups and platters; flesh was his only food, and the conqueror of the north never tasted the luxury of bread.

The behavour of Attila to the Roman ambassadors. When Attila first gave audience to the Roman ambassadors on the banks of the Donum, his tent was encompassed with a formidable guard. The monarch himself was seated in a wooden chair. His stern countenance, angry gestures, and impatient tone, astonished the firmness of Maximin; but Virgilius had more reason to tremble, since he distinctly understood the menace, that if Attila did not respect the law of nations, he would carry the decisive influence to a cruel extremity, and leave his body to the vultures. The barbarian condescended, by producing an accurate list, to expose the bold falsehood of Virgilius, who had affirmed that no more than seventeen deserters could be found. But he arrogantly declared, that he apprehended only the disturbance which would be occasioned by his departure; since he despised their impotent efforts to defend the province which Theodosius had entrusted to their arms.

"For what fortress?" (added Attila.) "What city, in the wide extent of the Roman empire, can hope to exist, secure and impregnable, if it is our pleasure that it shall be erased from the earth?" The emperor, however, the interpreter, who returned to Constantine with his peremptory demand of more complete restitution, and a more splendid embassy. His anger gradually subsided, and his domestic satisfaction, in a marriage which he celebrated on the road with the daughter of Eslam, might perhaps contribute to modify the native fierceness of his temper. The entrance of Attila into the royal village, was marked by a very singular ceremony. A numerous troop of women came out to meet their hero and their king. They marched before him, formed into long and regular files; and intervals between the files were filled by white veils of thin linen, which the women on either side bore aloft in their hands, and which formed a canopy for a chorus of young virgins, who chanted hymns and songs in the Scythian language. The wife of his favourite Ongeusias, with a train of female attendants, saluted Attila at the door of her own house, on his way to the palace; and offered, according to the custom of the country, her respectful homage, by entreating him to taste the wine and meat, which she had prepared for his reception. As soon as the monarch had graciously accepted her hospitable gift, his domestics lifted a small silver table to a convenient height, as he sat on horseback; and Attila, when he had touched the goblet with his lips, again saluted the wife of Ongeusias, and continued his march. During his residence at the court of empire, time was wasted in the recluse idleness of a seraglio; and the king of the Huns could maintain his superior dignity, without concealing his person from the public view. He frequently assembled his council, and gave audience to the ambassadors of the nations; and his people, who were admitted to the sight of the monarch, which he held at stated times, and, according to the eastern custom, before the principal gate of his wooden palace. The Romans, both of the east, and of the west, were twice invited to the banquets, where Attila feasted with the princes and nobles of Scythia. The royal feast. Maximin and his colleagues were stopped on the threshold, till they had made a devout libation to the health and prosperity of the king of the Huns; and were conducted, after this ceremony, to their respective seats. A white couch, which the monarch allowed to be covered with carpets and fine linen, was raised by several steps in the midst of the hall; and a son, an uncle, or perhaps a favourite king, were admitted to share the simple and homely repast of Attila. Two lines of small tables, each of which contained three or four guests, were situated in order of age. The monarch was esteemed the most honourable, but the Romans ingenuously confess, that they were placed on the left; and that Berie, an unknown chiefman, most probably of the Gothic race, preceded the representatives of Theodosius and Valentinian. The barbarian monarch received from his cup-bearer, a goblet filled to the very brim, and courteously drank to the health of the most distinguished guest; who rose from his seat, and expressed, in the same manner, his loyal and respectful vows. This ceremony was successively performed for all, or, as the case required, for each of the ambassadors; and a considerable time must have been consumed, since it was thrice repeated, as each course or service was placed on the table. But the wine still remained after the meat had been removed; and the Huns continued to indulge their intemperance long after the departure of the foreign ambassadors; since the Huns had withdrawn themselves from the nocturnal banquet. Yet before they retired, they enjoyed a singular opportunity of observing the manners of the nation in their convivial amusements. Two Scythians stood before the couch of Attila, and recited the verses which had been composed, to celebrate the victory of his victories. A profound silence prevailed in the hall; and the attention of the guests was captivated by the vocal harmony, which revived and perpetuated the memory of their own exploits: a martial ardour dashed from the eyes of the warriors, who were impatient for battle; and the tears of the old men expressed their generous despair, that they could no longer partake the danger and glory of the field. This entertainment, which might be considered as a school of military virtue, was succeeded by a farce, that debased by the vilest of the Scythian buffoons successively excited the mirth of the rude spectators, by their deformed figure, ridiculous dress, antic gestures, absurd speeches, and the strange unintelligible confusion of the Latin, the Gothic, and the Hunnic languages; and the hall resounded with the shouts and raucous mirth of laughter. In the course of this intemperate riot, Attila alone, without a change of countenance, maintained his steadfast and inflexible gravity; which was never relaxed, except on the entrance of Irnc, the youngest of his sons: he embraced the hoi with a smile of paternal tenderness, gently pinched him by the cheek, and betrayed a partial affection, which was justified by the assurance of his prophets, that Irnc would be the future support of his family and empire. Two days afterwards, the ambassadors received a second invitation; and they had reason to conclude, that their hosts were not the hospitality of Attila. The king of the Huns held a long and familiar conversation with Maximin; but his civility was interrupted by rude expressions, and haughty reproaches; and he was provoked, by a motive of interest, to support with unbecoming insolence, the claims and accusations of his secretary Constantius. "The emperor," (said Attila) "has long promised him a rich wife; Constantius must not be disappointed; nor should a Roman emperor desire the name of a liar." On the third day, the ambassadors were dismissed; the free-
Conspiracy of Maximin. But the Roman ambassador was igno-

rant of the treacherous design, which Maximin had

undermined the faith of the public. The surprise and satis-

faction of Edeon, when he contemplated the splen-
dour of Constantiopolis, had encouraged the interpre-
ter Vigilius to procure for him a secret interview with

the empress Chryspheus, who governed the emperor and
the empire. After some previous appearance,

and a mutual oath of secrecy, the empress, who had not,
from his own feelings or experience, imbibed any
exalted notions of ministerial virtue, ventured to pro-

pose the death of Attila, as an important service, by

which Edeon might deserve a liberal share of the pre-
sent treasures, which his majesty had bestowed on

destructor of the Huns listened to the tempting offer; and

professed, with apparent zeal, his ability, as well as

readiness, to execute the bloody deed; the design was

communicated to the master of the offices, and the

devout Theodosius consented to the assassination of

his invincible enemy. But this perilous complicity

was defeated by the dissimulation, or the repen-
tance, of Edeon; and, though he might exaggerate

his inward abhorrence for the treason, which he seem-
ed to approve, he determerously asserted the merit of

an early and voluntary confession. If we now review
the whole story of this rash, and regardless of 

worthless faction, we must applaud the barbarian, who respected
the laws of hospitality, and generously entertained and

dismissed the ambassador of a prince who had conspired
against his life. But the rashness of Vigilius will ap-

pear still more extraordinary, since he returned, con-

scious of his guilt and danger, to the royal camp; ac-

companied by his son, and carrying with him a

weighty purse of gold, which the favourite empress
had furnished, to satisfy the demands of Edeon, and
corrupt the fidelity of the guards. The interpreter
was instantly seized, and dragged before the tribunal of

the empress. He was informed by our author, or our

crudest firmness till the threat of inflicting instant death
on his son, extorted from him a sincere discovery of
the criminal transaction. Under the name of ransom,
or confiscation, the king of the Huns accepted two
hundred pounds of gold for the life of a traitor, whom
he disdained to punish. He pointed his just indigna-
tion against a nobler object. His am-

and forgiven the

missioned and despatched to Constantiopolis, with

a peremptory instruction, which it was much

safer for him to execute than to disobey. He boldly

entered the imperial presence, with the fatal purse
hanging down from the neck of Orestes; who inter-

rogated the empress Chryspheus, as he stood beside

the throne, whether he recognised the evidence of his

guilt. But the office of reproof was reserved for the

supreme tribunal of the empire; yet, on the arrival

of the emperor, he was ordered to address the emperor of the east in the following

words:—Theodosius is the son of an illustrious and respectable parent; Attila likewise is descended from a noble race; and he has supported, by his actions, the dignity which he inherited from his father Mund-

zuk. But Theodosius has forfeited his paternal hon-
owns, and, by consenting to pay tribute, has degraded
himself to the condition of a slave. It is therefore
just, that he should reverence the man whom fortune
and merit have placed above him; instead of attempt-
ing, like a wicked slave, clandestinely to conspire
against his master." The son of Arcadius, who was
accustomed only to the voice of flattery, learnt with
painful dismay, that he had been betrayed into a

false friends and trembling; nor did he presume directly to ref-

use the head of Chryspheus, which Eslaw and Orestes were instructed to demand. A solemn em-
bassy, armed with full powers and magnificent gifts,

was hastily sent to depreciate the wrath of Attila;
and his pride was gratified by the choice of Nepius and

Antonius, two ministers of consular or patrician
rank, of whom the one was great treasurer, and the
other was master-general of the armies of the east.

He condescended to meet these ambassadors on the
banks of the river Drene; and though he at first af-

firmed, by resentments, that he thought himself insen-

singly mollified by their eloquence and liberality,

he condescended to pardon the emperor, the empress,

and the interpreter; bound himself by an oath to ob-
serve the conditions of peace; released a great num-

ber of captives; abandoned the fugitives and deser-

ters to their fate; and resigned a large territory, to the

south of the Danube, which he had already exhausted
of its wealth and inhabitants. But this treaty was

purchased at an expense which might have supported a

vigor and successful war; and the subjects of

Theodosius were compelled to redeem the safety of a

triumphant empire, by a payment which would more cheerfully have paid for his destruction.

The emperor Theodosius did not long live to sur-

vive the most humiliating circum-

stance of an inglorious life. As he was

justly reproached with the

riding, or hunting, in the neighbourhood

of Constantiopolis, he was thrown from his horse into

the river Lyco; the spine of the back was injured by the fall; and he expired some days afterwards, in

the fiftieth year of his age, and the forty-third of his reign. His sister Pulcheria, whose authority had

been controlled both in civil and ecclesiastical affairs by the proceedings of the faction, was unanimously proclaimed empress of the east; and the

Romans, for the first time, submitted to a female reign. No sooner had Pulcheria ascended the throne, than she indulged her own and the public resentment, by an act of popular justice. Without any legal trial, the empress Chryspheus was executed before the gates of the city; and the immense riches which had been accumulated by the rapacious favourite, served only
to hasten and to justify his punishment. Amidst the
general acclamations of the clergy and people, the

empress did not hesitate to oppress the provincials, and disadvantage to which her sex was exposed; and she expediently resolved to prevent their murmurs by the choice of a colleague, who would always respect the superior rank and virgin chastity of his wife. She was succeeded, by means of a secret instrument, by her brother Marcian, a senator, by Marcian, who was about sixty years of age. His mortal husband of Pulcheria was solemnly invested

Theodosius, the emperor, died. A.D. 450.

July 12.
with the imperial purple. The zeal which he displayed for the orthodox creed, as it was established by the council of Chalcedon, would alone have inspired the grateful eloquence of the catholics. But the behaviour of Marcellus in a private life, and afterwards on the throne, may support a more rational belief, that he was qualified to restore and invigorate an empire, which had been almost dissolved by the successive weakness of two hereditary monarchs. He was born in Thrace, and educated to the profession of arms; but Marcellus's youth had been severely exercised by poverty and misfortune, since his only resource, when he first arrived at Constantinople, consisted in two hundred pieces of gold, which he had borrowed of a friend. He passed nineteen years in the domestic and military service of Aspar, and his son Ardalarius; followed those powerful generals to the Persian and African wars; and obtained, by their influence, the honourable rank of tribune and senator. His mild disposition, and useful talents, without alarming the jealousy, recommended Marcellus to the esteem and favour, of his patrons; he had seen, perhaps he had felt, the abuses of a venal and oppressive administration; and his own example gave weight and energy to the laws, which he promulgated for the reformation of manners.  

CHAPTER XXXV.

Invasion of Gaul by Attila.—He is repelled by Attilus and the Visigoths.—Attilus invades and executes Italy.—The deaths of Attilus, Euthius, and Valentinian III. 

Attilus threatens war. It was the opinion of Marcellus, that war should be avoided, as long as it was possible to preserve a secure and honourable peace; but it was likewise his opinion, that presuming he had such, or secure, the sovereign betrays a pusillanimous aversion to war. This temperate courage dictated his reply to the demands of Attilus, who insolently pressed the payment of the annual tribute. The emperor signified to the barbarians, that they must no longer insult the majesty of Rome by the mention of a tribute; that he was disposed to reward, with becoming liberality, the faithful friendship of his allies; but that, if they presumed to violate the public peace, they should feel that the possessed troops, and arms, and resolution, to repel their attacks. The same language, even in the camp of the Huns, was used by his ambassador Apollonius, whose bold refusal to deliver the presents, till he had been admitted to a personal interview, displayed a sense of dignity, and a contempt of danger, which Attilus was not prepared to expect from the degenerate Romans. He threatened to chastise the rash successor of Theodosius; but he hesitated, whether he should first direct his invincible arms against the eastern or the western empire. While mankind awaited his decision with awful suspense, he sent an equal declaration of Roman friendship to Constantinople, and his ministers saluted the two emperors with the same haughty declaration. "Attilus, my lord, and thy lord, commands thee to provide a palace for his immediate reception." But as the barbarian despised, or affected to despise, the Romans of the east, whom he had not yet vanquished, he accused his resolution in suspending the easy conquest, till he had achieved a more glorious and important enterprise. In the memorable invasions of Gaul and Italy, the Huns were naturally attracted by the wealth and fertility of those provinces; but the particular motives and provocations of Attilus, can only be explained by the state of the western empire under the reign of Valentinian, or, to speak more correctly, under the administration of Attilus.  

After the death of his rival Boniface, Attilus had prudently retired to the tents of Euthus, and the administration of the Huns; and he was indebted to the alliance of Euthus, and their alliance for his safety and his reputation, to transfer the strength and language of a guilty exile, he solicited his pardon at the head of sixty thousand barbarians; and the empress Placidia confessed, by a feeble resistance, that the condescension, which might have been ascribed to clemency, was the effect of weakness or fear. She delivered herself, her son Valentinian, and the western empire, into the hands of an insolent subject; nor could Placidia protect the won-in-law of Boniface, the virtuous and faithful Sebastian, from the implacable persecutions, which urged him from one kingdom to another, till he miserably perished in the service of the Vandals. The fortunate Euthus, who was immediately promoted to the rank of patrician, and thrice invested with the honours of the consulship, assumed, with the title of master of the cavalry and infantry, the whole military power of the state; and he is sometimes said, by contemporary writers, the duke, or general, of the Romans of the west. His name was rather than his virtue, engaged him to leave the grand son of Theodosius in the possession of the purple; and Valentinian was permitted to enjoy the peace and luxury of Italy, while the patrician appeared in the glorious light of a hero and a patron. He restored near twenty years the ruins of the western empire. The Gothic historian ingenuously confesses, that Euthus was born for the salvation of the Roman republic; and the following portrait, though it is drawn in the fairest colours, must be allowed to contain a branch large proportion of truth. "Attilus, the hero; mother was a wealthy and noble Italian, and his father Gaudentius, who held a distinguished rank in the province of Scythia, gradually rose from the station of a military domestic, to the dignity of master of the cavalry. Their son, who was enrolled almost at his birth in the ranks of the guards, was given to him in the year of our Lord 400. He was sent first to Alaric, and afterwards to the Huns; and he succeeded obtained the civil and military honours of the palace, for which he was equally qualified by superior merit. The graceful figure of Attilus was not above my modest stature; but he was admirably formed for strength, beauty, and agility; and he excelled in the martial exercises of managing a horse, drawing the bow, and darting the javelin. He could patiently endure the want of food or of sleep; and his mind and body were alike capable of the most laborious efforts. He possessed the genuine courage, that can despise not only dangers but injuries; and it was impossible either to corrupt, or deceive, or intimidate, the firm integrity of his soul.  

1 Procopius, de Bell. Vand., lib. i., c. 4. Evagrius, lib. ii. c. 6. Theophanes, p. 90, 91. Novell. ad Calcidem Cod. Thod. tom. vi. p. 36. Theod. de Isid. was which St. Leo and the catholics have tested on Marcellus, are diligently transcribed by Baronius, as an encouragement for future princes.  

2 See Priscus, p. 29, 72.  

3 The Alexandrian or Paschal Chronicle, which introduce this history, appears to be the lifetime of the Huns, may have aimed at the period of the date; but the dull annalist was incapable of inventing the original and genuine style of Attilus.
The barbarians, who had seated themselves in the western provinces, were insensibly taught to respect the faith and value of the patrician Ætius. He soothed their passions, consulted their prejudices, balanced their interests, and checked their ambition. A seasonable treaty, which he concluded with Galla, restored to the Vandals; the independent Britons implored and acknowledged his salutary aid; the imperial authority was restored and maintained in Gaul and Spain; and he compelled the Franks and the Suevi, whom he had vanquished in the field, to become the useful federates of the empire.

From a principle of interest, as well with the Huns as with the Alani, Ætius assiduously cultivated the alliance of the Huns. While he resided in their tents as a hostage, or an exile, he had familiarly conversed with Attila himself, the nephew of his benefactor; and the two fabulous antagonists appeared to have been connected by a personal and military friendship, which they afterwards confirmed by mutual gifts, frequent embassies, and the education of Carpillio, the son of Ætius, in the camp of Attila. By the specious professions of gratitude and voluntary attachment of the Huns to the empire, the pressure of the incursions of the Scythian conqueror, who pressed the two empires with his innumerable armies. His demands were obeyed or eluded. When he claimed the spoils of a vanquished city, some vases of gold, which had been fraudulently embezzled, the civil and military faction of the empire were appeased; and Attila immediately despatched to satisfy his complaints; and it is evident, from their conversation with Maximin and Priscus, in the royal village, that the valour and prudence of Ætius had not saved the western Romans from the common ignominy of tribute. Yet his dexterous policy, which had succeeded in the advance of the Huns, and in the numerous army of Huns and Alani, whom he had attached to his person, was employed in the defence of Gaul. Two colonies of these barbarians were judiciously fixed in the territories of Valois and Orleans; and their active cavalry secured the important passages of the Rhone and of the Loire. These savage allies were not indeed less formidable to the subjects than to the enemies of Rome. Their original settlement was enforced with the licentious violence of conquest; and the province through which they marched was exposed to all the calamities of a hostile invasion. Proper Observations on the History of the First Period of the Gothic Wars, p. 27. The Alani of Gaul were devoted to the ambition of Ætius; and though he might suspect, that in a contest with Attila himself, they would revolt to the standard of their national king, the patrician laboured to restrain, rather than to excite, their zeal and resentment against the Goths, the Burgundians, and the Franks.

The Visigoths, in Gaul under the reign of Theodoric, A.D. 419-451:

The embassy consisted of count Romulus; of Promotus, president of Noricum; and of Romanes, the military duke. They were accompanied by an illustrious army of Gallic and Germanic troops, and by a general and liberal command. The Visigoths advanced slowly to the Rhone, crossed it at Savoy, and landed on the height of the Mont Cenis, which they admirably possessed. The basin of the Duc de Saint-Simon observes, that the Visigoths had been shaken by the battering engines, and the inhabitants had endured the last extremities of famine, when count Litorius, approaching in silence, and directing each horseman to carry behind him two sacks of flour, cut his way through the intrenchments of the besiegers. The Visigoths were immediately raised; and the more decisive victory, which is ascribed to the personal conduct of Ætius himself, was marked with the blood of eight thousand Goths. But in the absence of the patrician, who was hastily summoned to Italy by some public or private interest, count Litorius marched with the bishop of Autun, the emperor's brother-in-law, who had discovered, that far different talents are required to lead a wing of cavalry, or to direct the operations of an important war. At the head of an army of Huns, he rashly advanced to the gates of Thoulouse, full of careless contempt for an enemy, whom his misfortunes had rendered prudent, and his situation made desperate. The predictions of the augurs had inspired Litorius with the profane confidence that he should enter the Gothic capital in triumph; and the trust which he reposed in his pagen allies, encouraged him to reject the fair conditions of peace, which were repeatedly proposed by the Visigoths. This the king of the Goths had expressed his distress at the edifying contrast of Christian piety and moderation; nor did he lay aside his sackcloth and ashes till he was prepared to arm for the combat. His soldiers, animated with martial and religious enthusiasm, assaulted the camp of Litorius. The conflict was obstinate; the slaughter was mutual. The Roman general, after a total defeat, which could but only to his unskilful rashness, was actually led through the streets of Thoulouse, not in his own, but in a hostile, triumph; and the misery which he experienced, in the captivity, and ignominious andpiteoused the compassion of the barbarians themselves.

Delectabilis: parce fallentes vix unae
Ancestres ac nemo velit consociari: the complaint:
Nam sociis vir fer occisas, qui durus hoste.

The tradition of Litorius, the son of Theodoric, declares to Avitus his resolution of repenting, or expiating, the faults which his grandfather had committed.


This character, applicable only to the period of Theodoric, is taken from the genealogy of the Gothic kings, which has hitherto been unnoticed.

1 The name of Sapaudia, the origin of Savoy, is first mentioned in the old history of Arianus Maximus, and two miles S.W. of Ilerda, was assigned by the Notitia, within the limits of that province: a cohort was stationed at Gremont in Dauphine; and the bishops, or levies, defended a fleet of small vessels, which commanded the lake of Neufchâtel. See Scaliger, Not. Galliarum, p. 365. D'Anville, Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule, p. 251. 279.

Aelianus has attempted to explain the moral government of the Dелits; a task which may be readily performed by supposing, that the
Such a loss, in a country whose spirit and finances were long since exhausted, could not easily be repaired; and the Goths, assuming, in their turn, the sentiments of ambition and revenge, would have planted their victorious standards on the banks of the Rhine, if Tetricus had not recalled strength and discipline to the Romans.\(^2\) The two armies expected the signal of a decisive action; but the generals, who were conscious of each other's force, and doubtful of their own superiority, prudently sheathed their swords in the field of battle; and their reconciliation was permanent and happy. Theodoric, an offspring of the Visigoths, appears to have deserved the love of his subjects, the confidence of his allies, and the esteem of mankind. His throne was surrounded by six valiant sons, who were educated with equal care in the exercises of the barbarian camp, and in those of the Gallic schools; from the study of the Roman jurisprudence, they acquired the theory, at least, of law and justice; and the harmonious sense of Virgil contributed to soften the aspersion of their native manners.\(^3\) The two daughters of the Gothic king were given in marriage to the eldest sons of the kings of the Suevi and of the Vandals, whose names are lost. African birth and Prætorian alliances were pregnant with guilt and discord. The queen of the Suevi bewailed the death of a husband, inhumanly massacred by her brother. The princess of the Vandals was the victim of a jealous tyrant; he had sealed her father's hand, and, as it appears, suspected, that his son's wife had conspired to poison him; the supposed crime was punished by the amputation of her nose and ears; and the unhappy daughter of Theodoric was ignominiously returned to the court of Thoulouse in that deformed and mutilated condition. This at least seems incredible to a civilized age, drew tears from every spectator; but Theodoric was urged, by the feelings of a parent and a king, to revenge such irreparable injuries. The imperial ministers, who always cherished the discord of the barbarians, would have supplied the western world with arms, and ships, and treasures, for the African war; and the cruelty of Genevra might have been fatal to himself, if the artful Vandal had not armed, in his cause, the formidable power of the Huns. His rich gifts and pressing solicitations inflamed the ambition of Attila; and the designs of Ætius and Theodoric were prevented by the invasion of Gaul.\(^4\)

The Franks, whose monarchy was still confined to the neighbourhood of the Lower Rhine, had wisely established the right of hereditary succession in the noble family of the Merovingians.\(^5\) These princes

calamities of the wicked are judgments, and those of the righteous, trials.

\(^1\) Capitum terrarum domus patebant

Litoria, in Rhinodum propriis producere fines,

Thuridoreae saxum; nec erat purgare necesse.

Sed Migrare Getis; rubibus tuerit aspirat iram

Victor; quod ardent Sylvirum sol membris hostem

Imputat, et nihil est gratus; si forsan usquam

Vincere contingat, trèfido.

— Paneg. Afr. 310, &c.

Sisinius then proceeds, according to the duty of a panegyrist, to treat of the subject with figures from Ætius to Theodoric.

\(^2\) Theodoric ii. reversed, in the person of Avitus, the character of his preceptor.

Mihl Romula dudum

Per te juras parvum; parvumque ediscere juris

Ad teas verò pater, decrila quae praeas, Merovini

Carminis mollitit Syntropho hmi pagina mores

His paneg. Afr. 493, &c.

\(^3\) Our authorities for the reign of Theodoric i. are, Jornandes de Rebus Geticis, c. 34. 60, and the Chronicles of Isidore, and the two Proseps, inserted in the Historians of France, tom. i. p. 612, &c.

To these we may add Salvin. de Gueribus i. Tom. i. p. 212—215. Avitus, by Sallust in a.d. 557. 316.

\(^4\) Origines de civilis prope, de radicis aedibus, et quae prox. Merov. Carminis mollitit Clotionum sonta pagina mores

His paneg. Afr. 493, &c.

\(^5\) Our authorities for the reign of Theodoric ii. are, Jornandes de Rebus Geticis, c. 34. 60, and the Chronicles of Isidore, and the two Proseps, inserted in the Historians of France, tom. i. p. 612, &c.

To these we may add Salvin. de Gueribus. tom. i. p. 212—215. Avitus, by Sallust in a.d. 557. 316.

\(^2\) Reges Visigothorum esse visims de praeclara, et at textiles nobilium ab inhumatis famulis. (Greg. Turon. ii. l. ii. c. U. p. 116, of the second volume of the History of France.) Gregory himself does not mention the Merovingian name, which may be traced, however, to the beginning of the ninth century; and the conjectural appellation of the patres patris, and even of the French monarchy. An ingenious critic has deduced the Merovingians from the great and the small Burings. (Gibbon.) But it is not evident that the prince, who gave his name to the first race, was more ancient than the father of Clotilde. See the Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. x. p. 52—599, tom. xiv. 317—387.

\(^1\) This German custom, which may be traced from Tacitus to Gregory and Bec, and which has been most adopted by the compilers of Constantine, from a M.F. of the tenth century, Montanhemus has delineated the representation of a similar ceremony, which the ignorance of the age has applied to King David. See Monumenta de la Monarchia Françoise, tom. i. Discours Preliminaires.

\(^2\) Claudius, Magnus, ..., caudinis prope tergis dimidio, &c. See the Preface to the third volume of the Historians of France, and the Abbé Le Ducq, (Philosoph. i. tom. iii. p. 479—79.) This peculiar figure for an assembly of nations has been rendered by nature and superstition; by Frisius, (tom. i. p. 668,) by Agathias, (tom. ii. p. 46,) and by others. See Avitus, in the Chronicle of the Benedictine Abbey of Tournay. See Paneg. Afr. 326.

\(^3\) See original picture of the figures, dress, arms, and temper of the ancient Franks, in Sidonius Apollinaris; (Panegy. Majorian, 539—544,) and such pictures, though coarse drawn, have a real and intrinsic value. Father Daniel, (Hist. de la Milieu Françoise, tom. i. p. 2—7,) has illustrated the description.

\(^4\) Description de France, tom. ii. p. 271, &c. Some geographers have placed Disparagus on the German side of the Rhine. See a note of the Benedictine Editor to the Historians of France, tom. i. p. 165.

\(^5\) The Caronian word, was that part of the great forest of the Academicians, which lay between the Lozéral, or Chevalard, and the Meuse. See Vales, Notit. Galli. p. 125.


\(^7\) These terms are preserved.

\(^8\) Some exact spot was a town, or village, called Vcdi. 

— and both the name and place are discovered by modern geographers at Lens. See Vales, Notit. Galli. p. 246. Longuesief, Description de France, tom. ii. p. 88.
still maintained the possession of his Gallic kingdom from the Rhine to the Somme. Under his reign, and most probably from the enterprising spirit of his subjects, the three capitals, Mants, Treves, and Cologne, espoused the cause of the expatriated Gothic nation. The distress of Cologne was prolonged by the perpetual domination of the same barbarians, who evacuated the ruins of Treves; and Treves, which, in the space of forty years, had been four times besieged and pillaged, was disposed to lose the memory of her afflictions, and to adulate the promises of the Gregorian. The death of Clodion, after a reign of twenty years, exposed his kingdom to the discord and ambition of his two sons. Merovexus, the younger, was persuaded to implore the protection of Rome; he was received at the imperial court, as the ally of Valentinian, and the adopted son of the Emperor Julian; and dismiss- ed, to his native country, with splendid gifts, and the strongest assurances of friendship and support. During his absence, his elder brother had solicited, with equal ardour, the formidable aid of Attila; and the king of the Huns embraced an alliance, which facilitated the passage of the Rhine, and justified, by splendid and honourable pretence, the invasion of Gaul.

The adventures of the princes of supporting the cause of his allies, the Huns. The Vandals and the Franks, at the same time, and almost in expectation of the day, the savage monarch professed himself the lover and the champion of the princess Honorina. The sister of Valentinian was educated in the palace of Ravenna; and as her marriage might be productive of some danger to the state, she was raised, by the title of Augusta, above the hopes of the most presumptuous subjects. But the fair Honorina had no sooner attained the sixteenth year of her age, than she detested the importunate greatness which must for ever exclude her from the comforts of honourable love; in the midst of vain and unsatisfactory pomp, Honorina sighed, yielded to the impulse of nature, and threw herself into the arms of her chamberlain Eugenius. Her guilt and shame (such is the absurd language of impious man) were soon betrayed by the appearances of pregnancy; but the disgrace of the royal family was published to the world by the imprudence of the empress Placidia, who divested the Huns of the kings and emperors of perpetual confinement, to a remote exile at Constantinople. The unhappy princess passed twelve or fourteen years in the irksome society of the sisters of Theodosius, and their chosen virgins; to whose crown Honorina could no longer aspire, and whose monastic assemblie of persons, in the name of Civitas, was a mark of barbarous despotism. To her impiety of long and hopeless celibacy, urged her to embrace a strange and desperate resolution. The name of Attila was familiar and formidable at Constantinople; and his frequent embassies entered a perpetual intercourse between his camp and the imperial palace. In the pursuit of love, or rather of revenge, the daughter of Placidia sacrificed every duty and every principle; and when publicly she had been accused to the ears of a barbarian, of whose language she was ignorant, whose figure was scarcely human, and whose religion and manners she abhorred. By the ministry of a faithful eunuch, she transmitted to Attila a ring, the pledge of her affection; and earnestly conjured him to claim her as a lawful spouse, to whom persons of ambition, but had been driven to distress her number of times, and till her love was awakened by the more forcible passions of ambition and avarice. The invasion of Gaul was preceded, and justified, by a formal demand of the princess Honorina, with a just and equal share of the imperial patrimony. His predecessors, the ancient Tanjous, had often addressed, in the same hostile and peremptory manner, the daughters of Childeric. A firm but temporar-y refusal was announced. The right of female succession, though it might derive a specious argument from the recent examples of Placidia and Pulchirion, was strenuously denied; and the indissoluble engagements of Honorina were opposed to the claim of her Sclavonian lover. On the discovery of the king of the Huns who had been sent away, as an object of horror, from Constantinople to Italy: her life was spared; but the ceremony of her marriage was performed with some obscure and nominal husband, before she was immured in a perpetual prison, to bewail those crimes, which Honorina might have committed, had she not been born the daughter of an emperor.

A native of Gaul, and a contemporary, Attila invades the learned and eloquent Sidonius, who was afterwards bishop of Clermont, had made a promise to one of his friends, that he would compose a regular history of the war of Attila. If the modesty of Sidonius had not discouraged him from the prosecution of this interesting work, the historian would have related, with the simplicity of truth, those memorable events, to which the poet, in vague and doubtful metaphors, has aconceited alluded. The king of Germany, before whom the Volga perhaps to the Danube, obeyed the warlike summons of Attila. From the royal village, in the plains of Hungary, his standard moved towards the west; and, after a march of seven or eight hundred miles, he reached the conflux of the Rhine and the Neckar at the entrance to the country, where he had adhered to his ally, the elder of the sons of Clodion. A troop of light barbarians, who roamed in quest of plunder, might choose the winter for the convenience of passing the river on the ice: but the innumerable cavalry of the Huns required such plenty of forage and provisions, as could be procured only in a milder season; the Herecynian forest supplied materials for a bridge of

1 See a vague account of the action in Sidonius. Panegy. Majo- rian. 235-236. The French critics, intent on to establish their mon- archy in Gaul, have drawn a staurum argument from the silence of Sidonius, who does not designate, that the vanquished Franks were compelled to repose their arms. 3 See Priscus, in relation the contest, does not name the two brothers; the second of whom he had seen at Rome, a beardless youth, with loose flowing hair. (Historians of France, tom. i. p. 697, 698.) 4 The Benedictine Editors are inclined to believe, that they were the sons of Honorina, and married to the eldest daughter of Theodosius, and to the Nieber; but the arguments of M. de Foncineau (Mem. de l'Académie, tom. viii. p. 484.) seem to prove, that the succession of Clodion was not the child of Honorina, but the younger son, and the heir presumptive, the father of Childeric. 5 See Priscus, in contest, the race the throne was hereditary; but all the sons of the deceased monarch were equally entitled to their share of his crowns and territories. See the Declarations of M. de Foncineau, tom. iv. p. 374. 6 See the Monographie de l'Académie. 7 A model is still extant, which exhibits the pleasing countenance of Honorina, with the title of Augusta; and on the reverse, the implo- ing legend of Nobilis Regis Philippi round the monogram of Christ. See Ducange, Fam. Byzantin. p. 67, 73.
boats; and the hostile myriads were pored, with resi-

vile violence, into the Belgic provinces. The con-

sentation of Gaul was universal; and the various for-
tunes of its cities have been adorned by tradition with

many miracles. The towns were assailed by the

merits of St. Lupus; St. Servatius was removed from

the world, that he might not behold the ruin of Tong-
gres; and the prayers of St. Genevieve diverted the

march of Attila from the neighbourhood of Paris. But

as the greater part of the Gallic cities were alike des-
tinuious, there must have been a general revolt;

and this was caused by the idyls of Metz, their cus-
tomary maxims of war. They in-

volved, in a promiscuous massacre, the priests, who

served at the altar, and the infants, who, in the hour of
danger, had been providently baptized by the bishop;

the flourishing city was delivered to the flames, and a

solitary chapel of St. Stephen marked the place

where it formerly stood. From the Rhine and the Moselle,

Attila marched into the heart of Gaul; crossed the

Seine at Auxerre; and, after a long and laborious

march, fixed his camp under the walls of Orleans. He

was surrounded by besiegers of his most implacable

hostility. The place had secured its freedom by the pos-
session of an advantageous post, which commanded

the passage of the Loire; and he depended on the se-

cret invitation of Sangihan, king of the Alani, who

had promised to betray the city, and to revert from

the service of the empire. His preparations were de-
tected and disappointed: Orleans had been strengthened

with recent fortifications; and the assaults of the Huns

were vigorously repelled by the faithful valour of the

soldiers, or citizens, who defended the place.

The pastoral diligence of Anianus, a bishop of primitive

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Orleans, and to give battle to the innumerable host of Attila. 1

Attila retired to the plains of Champagne, and sounded a retreat to recall the foremost of his troops from the pillage of a city which they had already entered. 2 The valor of Attila was always guided by his prudence; and he knew the fatal consequences of a defeat in the heart of Gaul, he repassed the Seine, and expected the enemy in the plains of Chalons, whose smooth and level surface was adapted to the operations of his Saxon cavalry. But in this timorous retreat, the vanguard of the Romans and their allies continually pressed, and sometimes engaged, the troops whom Attila had posted before the camp. The height of the night, and the perplexity of the roads, might encounter each other without design; and the bloody conflict of the Franks and Geissæ, in which fifteen thousand barbarians were slain, was a prelude to a more general and decisive action. The Catallanian generals, Ebroin, the Bishop of Bayeux, and the Count, extended, according to the vague measurement of Jordanes, to the length of one hundred and fifty, and the breadth of one hundred, miles, over the whole province, which is entitled to the appellation of a chataignier country. This spacious plain was distinguished by its breadth, its rising and undulating character, and the importance of a height, which commanded the camp of Attila, was understood, and disputed, by the two generals. The young and valiant Torismond first occupied the summit; the Goths rushed with irresistible weight on the Huns, who laboured to ascend from the opposite side; and the possession of this advantageous post inspired both the troops and their leaders with a fair assurance of victory. The anxiety of Attila prompted him to consult his priests and haruspices. It was reported, that, after scrutinizing the entrails of the victims, and scraping their bones, they revealed, in mysterious language, his own defeat, with the death of his principal adversary; and that the barbarian, by accepting the equivalent, expressed his involuntary esteem for the superior merit of Attila. But the usual despondency, which seemed to prevail among the Huns, engaged Attila, and showed him the expedient, so familiar to the genius of antiquity, of animating his troops by a military oration; and his language was that of a king, who had often fought and conquered at their head. 3 He pressed them to consider their past glory, their actual danger, and the appellation of their country. He had opened the deserts and morasses of Sclavin to their unarmèd valour, which had laid so many warlike nations prostrate at their feet, had reserved the joys of this memorable field for the consummation of their victories. The cautions steps of their enemies, their strict alliance, and their advantageous posts, he artfully represented as the effects, not of prudence, but of fear. The Visigoths were those who were driven to the extremities of the opposite army; and the Huns might securely trample on the degenerate Romans, whose close and compact order betrayed their apprehensions, and who were equally incapable of supporting the dangers, or the fatigues, of a day of battle. The doctrine of predestination, so favourable to martial virtue, was carefully inculcated by the king of the Huns; who assured his subjects, that the warriors, protected by heaven, were safe and invulnerable amidst the darts of the enemy; but that the unerring Fates would strike their victims in the bosom of inglorious peace. Attila, "I myself," he exclaimed, "will be the only mark of javelin, and the wretch who refuses to imitate the example of his sovereign, is devoted to inevitable death." The spirit of the barbarians was rekindled by the presence, the voice, and the example, of their intrepid leader; and Attila, yielding to their impatience, immediately formed his order of battle. At the head of his brave and faithful Huns, he occupied in person the centre of the line. The nations subject to his empire, the Rugians, the Hermuli, the Thuringians, the Franks, the Burgundians, were extended, on either hand, over the ample space of the Cateral field of battle; without visible order, they stood to the left, on the right Adaric, king of the Gepidas; and the three valiant brothers, who reigned over the Ostrogoths, were posted on the left to oppose the kindred tribes of the Visigoths. The disposition of the allies was regulated by a different principle. Sangiban, the faithless king of the Alani, was placed in the centre, whose motions might be strictly watched, and whose treachery might be instantly punished. Attila assumed the command of the left, and Theodoric of the right, wing; while Torismond still continued to occupy the heights which appear to have stretched on the flank, and perhaps the rear, of the Saxon army. The nations from the Volga to the Atlantic were assembled on the plain of Chalons; but many of these nations had been divided by faction, or conquest, or emigration; and the appearance of similar arms and ensigns, which threatened each other, presented the image of a civil war.

The discipline and tactics of the Battle of Chalons. Greeks and Romans form an interesting part of their national manners. The attentive study of the military operations of Xenophon, or Caesar, or Cato, or Livy, whose descriptions, if we can believe them, which were conceived and executed them, may tend to improve (if such improvement can be wished) the art of destroying the human species. But the battle of Chalons can only excite our curiosity by the magnitude of the object; since it was decided by the blind insensibility of barbarians, and has been related by partial writers, whose civil or ecclesiastical profession secluded them from the knowledge of military affairs. Cassiodorus, however, had familiarly conversed with many Gothic warriors, who served in that memorable engagement; a conflict, as they informed him, fierce, various, and decisive; but, by which, they said, victory could not be paralleled, either in the present, or in past ages. The number of the slain amounted to one hundred and sixty-two thousand, and, or, according to another account, three hundred thousand persons: and these incredible exaggerations suppose a real and absolute loss, to justly remark, that whole generations may be swept away, by

1 The review of the army of Attila is made by Jornandes, c. 36, p. 561. Ren. tom, ii, p. 223, of the Historians of France, with the notes of the Benedictine editor. The Lotti were a promiscuous race of barbarians, born or naturalized in Gaul; and the Ripari, or Riparii, or Riparici, derived their name from their posts on the three rivers, the Rhone, the Meuse, and the Moselle; the Armoricans possessed the independent cities lying between the Seine and the Loire; A colony of Scythians had been planted in the diocese of Bayeux; the Burgundians and the Francs, or Franks, were the vanguard of the tribe of Hibernians, to the east of the lake of Constance.

2 Historian of the armies of Attila, opuscule, fragment, see directions 1, v. Sidon., Apolline, i. viii. Epist. 12, p. 346. The preservation of Orleans might be easily turned into a miracle, and forestold, by the holy bishop.

3 The common editions read xcm; but there is some authority of manuscript (and some any authority is sufficient) for the more reasonable number of kcm.

4 Chalons, or Duro-Catalanunum, afterwards Halberstadt, had formerly been the seat of the Huns, who divided the realm of Attila into twenty-seven districts. See Vales. Not. Gall. p. 130, D'Anville, Novalis, tom. ii, p. 292, 297, 312.

5 The name of Campania, or Champagne, is frequently mentioned by Gregory of Tours; and that great historian has left many other oblong districts in this region. Vales. Not. p. 120, 129, 133.

6 I am sensible that these military operations are usually composed by the historians of the Roman empire, from the accounts of these Massilius, and his historians, and from the disquisitions of a Siculius, who was an Italian of the sixth century who would have thought of the hujus certamine glandis.

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the madness of kings, in the space of a single hour. After the mutual and repeated discharge of missile weapons, in which the archers of Scythia might signalize their superior dexterity, the cavalry and infantry of the two armies were furiously mingled in closer combat. The Huns, who fought under the eyes of their king, pierced through the feeble and doubtful centre of the Visigoths. Though the Visigoth was exposed in the vanguard of his division, and trampled under the feet of his own cavalry; and this important death served to explain the ambiguous prophecy of the haruspices. Attila already exulted in the confidence of victory, when the valiant Torismond descended from the hills, and verified the remainder of the prediction. The Visigoths, who had been thrown into confusion by the flight, or defection, of the Alani, gradually restored their order of battle; and the Huns were undoubtedly vanquished, since Attila was compelled to retreat. He had expected to deal with the rashness of the enemy, but the intrepid troops of the centre had pushed forwards beyond the rest of the line; their attack was faintly supported; their flanks were unguarded; and the conquerors of Scythia and Germany were saved by the approach of the night from a total defeat. They retired in their usual order, the vanguard encamping at the skirt of the camp; and the dismounted squadrons prepared themselves for a defence, to which neither their arms, nor their temper, were adapted. The event was doubtful: but Attila had secured a fast and honourable retreat. The saddles and rich furniture of the cavalry were collected, by his order, into a funeral pile; and the magnanimous barbarian had resolved, if his intrenchments should be forced, to rush headlong into the flames, and to deprive his enemies of the glory which they might have acquired, by the death or captivity of Attila.  

But his enemies had passed the night in equal disorder and anxiety. The inconsiderate courage of Torismond was tempted to urge the pursuit, till he unexpectedly found himself, with a few of his followers, in the midst of the Huns. In the confusion of a nocturnal combat, he was thrown from his horse; and the Gothic prince must have perished like his father, if his youthful strength, and the intrepid zeal of his companions, had not rescued him from this dangerous situation. In the same manner, he had delivered the line; his men, struck down by his allies, ignorant of their victory, and anxious for their fate, encountered and escaped the hostile troops, that were scattered over the plains of Chalons; and at length reached the camp of the Goths, which he could only fortify with a slight rampart of earth, till the dawn of day. The imperial general was soon satisfied of the defeat of Attila, who still remained inactive within his intrenchments; and when he contemplated the bloody scene, he observed, with secret satisfaction, that the loss had principally fallen on the barbarians. The body of Thedoric, pierced with honourable wounds, was discovered under a heap of the slain: his subjects bewailed the death of their king and father; but their tears were mingled with songs and acclamations; and his funeral rites were performed with all the pomp of a triumph. The Goths, clasping their arms, elevated on a buckler his eldest son Torismond, to whom they justly ascribed the glory of their success; and the new king accepted the obligation of revenge, as a sacred portion of his paternal inheritance. Yet the Goths themselves were astonished by the force and undaunted aspect of their formidable antagonist; and their historian has compared Attila to a lion encompassed in his den, and threatening his hunters with redoubled fury. The kings and nations, who might have deserted his standard in the hour of distress, were made sensible, that the stern Convert of the Visigoths was a relentless and inevitable danger. All his instruments of martial music incessantly sounded a loud and animating strain of defiance; and the foremost troops who advanced to the assault, were checked, or destroyed, by showers of arrows from every side of the intrenched host. In short, Attila, who had determined, with the valor of a husbandman, to besiege the king of the Huns in his camp, to intercept his provisions, and to reduce him to the alternative of a disgraceful treaty, or an unequal combat. But the impatience of the barbarians soon disdained these cautious and dilatory measures; and the mature policy of Attila was apprehensive, that, after the expiration of the Huns, the republic would be oppressed by the pride and power of the Gothic nation. The patrician exerted the superior ascendancy of authority and reason, to calm the passions, which the son of this monarch had been able to excite in the private quarters of the aged and demented Attila. If he observed a seeming affection and true, the dangers of absence and delay; and persuaded Torismond to discontinue his pursuit, by his speedy return, the ambitious designs of his brothers, who might occupy the throne and treasures of Thoulouse.  

After the departure of the Goths, a division of the allied army, Attila was surprised at the vast silence that reigned over the plains of Chalons: the suspicion of some hostile stratagem detained him several days within the circle of his wagons; and his retreat beyond the Rhine confessed the last victory which was achieved in the name of the western empire. Meroveus and his Franks, observing a prudent distance, and magnifying the opinion of their strength, by the numerous fires which they kindled every night, continued to follow the rear of the Huns, till they reached the confines of Thuringia. The Thuringians served in the army of Attila; they were both in their march and in their return, the territories of the Franks; and it was perhaps in this war that they exerced the cruelties, which, about fourscore years afterwards, were revenged by the son of Clovis. They massacred the inhabitants of their captives; they tortured two hundred young maidens with exquisite and unrelenting rage; their bodies were torn asunder by wild horses, or their brains were crushed under the weight of rolling wagons; and their unburied limbs were abandoned on the public roads, as a prey to the beasts of the field. The barbarians, whose imaginary virtues have sometimes excited the praise and envy of civilized ages,  

Neither the spirit, nor the forces, nor the reputation of Attila, were impaired by the failure of the Gallic expedition. In the ensuing spring, he repeated his demand of the princess, Honoria, and her patrimonial treasures. The demand was again rejected, or eluded; and the indignant lover immediately took the field, passed the Alps, invaded Italy, and besieged Aquileia with an innumerable host of barbarians. Those barbarians were unskilled in the methods of conducting a regular siege, for their forces moved in irregular columns, and were unsupported on their march. 

Torismond, the son of Attila, was, or pretended to be, the last of the Gothic emperors. Though he was never acknowledged as king by his troops, Attila acknowledged him as his successor, and placed him at the head of the army. He was crowned king of the Huns at Torunda, in the year 495, in imitation of the ceremonies of his father, when he was transferred from the barbarous to the Roman empire, and when he was invested with regal authority. But the Huns were divided into two great battalions; the former near Orleans, the latter in Champagne: in the one Thedoric was slain; in the other he was revenged.
of Machmis. But and yet ii. yet princes Aquileia; to in dreadful multitude.

The Gothic auxiliaries, the princes Alaric and Ataulf, communicated their interpid spirit; and the citizens still remembered the glorious and successful resistance, which their ancestors had put to a fierce, incorrupt barbarian, who disregarded the majesty of the Roman purple. Three months were consumed without effect in the siege of Aquileia; till the want of provisions and the clamours of his army, compelled Attila to relinquish the enterprise. And reluctantly to issue his orders, that the troops should strike their tents next morning, and begin their retreat. But as he rode round the walls, perceiving the towers of stone, he asked a guide how they were preparing to leave her nest in one of the towers and to fly with her infant family towards the country. He seized, with the ready penetration of a statesman, this trifling incident, which chance had offered to superstition; and exclaimed, in a loud and cheerful tone, that such a domestic bird, so constantly attached to human society, would never have abandoned her habitation, unless those towers had been devoted to impending ruin and solitude. The favourable omen inspired an assurance of victory; the siege was renewed, and prosecuted with fresh vigour; a large breach was made in the wall of which he stork took refuge under her flight; the Huns mounted to the assault with irresistible fury, and the succeeding generation could scarcely discover the ruins of Aquileia. After this dreadful chastisement, Attila pursued his march; and as he passed, the cities of Altinum, Cordacora, and Padua, were reduced into Ruins and spared the hand ofAttila. The land towns, Vicenza, Verona, and Bergamo, were exposed to the rapacious cruelty of the Huns. Milan and Pavia submitted, without resistance, to the loss of their wealth; and applauded the unusual eclemy, which preserved from the flames the public, as well as private buildings; and spared the liberties of the citizen multitude. The popular traditions of Comun, Turin, or Modena, may justly be suspected; yet they concur with more authentic evidence to prove, that Attila spread his ravages over the rich plains of modern Lombardy, which are divided by the Po, and bounded by the Alps. At the accession of the palatine of Milan, he was surprised, and offended, at the sight of a picture, which represented the Cesar seated on their throne, and the princes of Sythia prostrate at their feet. The revenge which Attila inflicted on the Cesar was cowardly, and was harmless and ingenuous. He commanded a painter to reverse the figures, and the attitudes; and the emperors were delineated on the same canvas, approaching in a suppliant posture to empty their bags of tributary gold before the throne of the Sythian monarch.

The spectators must have witnessed the truth and propriety of the alteration; and were perhaps tempted to apply, on this singular occasion, the well-known fable of the dispute between the lion and the man.

It is a saying worthy of the ferocious Foundation of pride of Attila, and the warlike genius of the Huns, that the public would not be placated on the spot where his horse had stood. Yet the savage destroyer undesignedly laid the foundations of a republic, which revived, in the feudal state of Europe, the art and spirit of commercial industry. The celebrated name of Venice, or Venetia, was formerly diffused over a large and fertile province of Italy, from the confines of Pannonia to the river Adun, and from the Po to the Rhinian and Julian Alps. Before the irruption of the barbarians, fifty Venetian cities flourished in peace and prosperity: Aquileia was placed in the most conspicuous station; but the ancient and present dignity and importance of Venice are due to the courage and manufactures; and the propriety of five hundred citizens, who were entitled to the equestrian rank, must have amounted, at the strictest computation, to one million seven hundred thousand pounds. Many families of Aquileia, Padua, and the adjacent towns, who fled from the fury of the invader, took possession of small islands; and were extended, at first a through obscure, refuge in the neighbouring islands. At the extremity of the gulf, where the Hadrument feebly imitates the tides of the ocean, near a hundred small islands are separated by shallow water from the continent, and protected from the waves by several long trains of land, which admit of the entrance of vessels through some secret and natural channels. Till the middle of the fifth century, these remote and sequestered spots remained without cultivation, with few inhabitants, and almost without a name. But the manu

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1 This anecdote may be found under two different articles (adl:ita et eparcius) of the miscellaneous compilation of Suidas.

2 Los respondit, hominum hoc pictura pustat; Videut videamus spectaculum, aliique palam scient.

Appendix ad Phaedrum, Fab. xxv. The lion in Phaedra very feebly appeals from pictures to the amazement and clemency of Theseus; the native taste of La Fontaine (l. iii. fab. xix.) has omitted that incident, and imperfect conclusion.

3 Paul the Deacon (de Gestis Langobard. l. iii. c. 14. p. 783.) describes the province of Venice about the end of the eighth century, and professes not much to have understood the original history of Venice, and was not disposed to give the credit of any thing to the history of the Venetians.

4 In the Deaeniq, the city of the Romans, Alcuin, and unjust part of the Vetuscus Ilustratia, (p. 1. 385) in which the marquis Scipio Maffi has shown himself equally capable of enlarged views and minute disquisitions.

5 This consideration is not attested by any contemporary evidence; but the fact is proved by the event, and the circumstances might be preserved by tradition. The citizens of Aquileia restored to the rule of Gradus, those of Padua to Rivas Atus, or Banblo, where the city was after called Aquileia, & c.

6 The topography and antiquities of the Venetian islands from the Po to Cudzies, and the Lido, are accurately stated in the Dissertatio Chorographica Italica, &c. (I. c. 157.)

(1) The learned Count Figlieri in his Memoirs of the Venetians, (Monserrone de Venetis primum; secundum de Conte Figliari, vol. vi. Venezia, 1715.) has proved that from the earliest time which nation comprehended the country, and the remote period of the Venetian States, also inhabited the islands upon its coast, and hence arose the names of Venice Pruna and Seconds, the first of which is derived from the Latin word prunus, and is applied to the islands and lars.

(2) The names of the Pelasgi and Erucii, the first remnant of the Venetians inhabiting some of the islands, are derived to agriculture; the second being situated in the midst of canals, and entrance of several rivers, and within reach of the islands of Greece as well as the Friuli; and lands of the inhabitants ready for navigation and commerce. Both were subdued by the Romans a few years before the second Punic war. It was not, however, until after the victory gained by Marius over the Cimbri, that their country became a Roman province.

Under the reign of the emperors the first Venetia more than sufficed, and according to the practice of the time it was a place in the dominions of the state. But the maritime province was engaged in fisheries, in the manufacture of salt and in commerce. The Venetians regarded the people who inhabited it as beneath the dignity of history.
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ners of the Venetian fugitives, their arts and their government, were gradually formed by their new situation; and one of the epistles of Cassiodorus,\footnote{\textit{Cassiod. Varari. i. xxi. epist. 24. Maffei (Verona Illustrata, part i. p. 210—212) has translated and explained this curious letter, in the spirit of a learned antiquarian and a faithful subject, who considered Venice as the only legitimate offspring of the Roman republic. He fixes the date of the epistle, and consequently the prefecture, of Cassiodorus, A. D. 521; and the marquis's authority has the more weight, as he had prepared an edition of his works, and actually published a dissertation on the true orthography of his name. See \textit{Oberh. d. Italien. Geschicht.}, ii. p. 290—302.} which describes their condition about seventy years afterwards, may be considered as the primitive monument of the republic. The minister of Theodoric compares themselves to his own insignificant nation to water-fowls, who had fixed their nests on the bosom of the waves; and though he allows, that the Venetian provinces had formerly contained many noble families, he insinuates, that they were now reduced by misfortune to the same level. Fish was the common, and almost the universal, food of every rank; their oceanic treasure consisted in the plenty of salt, which they extracted from the sea; and the exchange of that commodity, so essential to human life, was substituted in the neighbouring markets to the currency of gold and silver. A people, whose habitations might be doubtfully assigned to the earth or water, soon became alike familiar with the two elements; and the demands of avance succeeded to those of necessity. The islanders, who, from Grado to Chioggia, were intimately connected with each other, penetrated into the heart of Italy, and to the most distant parts of Europe, though harrassed by the rivers and inland canals. Their vessels, which were continually increasing in size and number, visited all the harbours of the gulf; and the marriage, which Venice annually celebrates with the Hlidricat, was a part of this enterprize. The epistle of Cassiodorus, the provocator of this maritime tribune; and he exhorts them, in a mild tone of authority, to animate the zeal of their countrymen for the public service, which required their assistance to transport the magazines of wine and oil from the provinces of Italy to the royal city. The Venetian ambiguous office of these magistrates is explained by the tradition, that, in the twelve principal islands, twelve tribunes, or judges, were created by an annual and popular election. The existence of the Venetian republic under the Gothic kingdom of Italy, is attested by the same authentic record, which attests their lofty claim of original and perpetual independence.\footnote{\textit{Cassiodorius, in his treatise on the office of the tribunes, declares his wish that this great office might fall to a formidable barbarian, whom they abhorred, as the enemy of their religion, as well as of their republic. Amidst the general consternation, Etius alone was incapable of fear; but it was impossible that he should achieve, alone and unassisted, any military exploits without support. A barbarous people, who had defended Gaul, refused to march to the relief of Italy; and the succours promised by the eastern emperor were distant and doubtful. Since Etius, at the head of his domestic troops, still maintained the field, and harassed or retarded the march of Attila, he never showed himself more truly great, than at the time when his conduct was blamed by an ignorant and ungrateful people. If the mind of Valentinian had been and have left them in obscurity. They remained there until the time when their islands afforded a refuge to their ruined and fying countrymen.} with its dependencies, was re-established by the venetian republic.\footnote{\textit{Cassiod. Varar. i. xxi. epist. 24. Maffei [Verona Illustrata, part i. p. 210—212] has translated and explained this curious letter, in the spirit of a learned antiquarian and a faithful subject, who considered Venice as the only legitimate offspring of the Roman republic. He fixes the date of the epistle, and consequently the prefecture, of Cassiodorus, A. 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Attila gives peace

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of the Roman, nounced the exercise of arms, were sur-

prised, almost in their bed of idleness, to see the invaders of their coasts. The epistle of Cassiodorus, the provoca-

tor of the Roman prefecture, is a remarkable document, which gives us a view of the Roman emperor, and a translation of the epistle. This book, which has been exhaustively edited in all its parts, is stated, in every line, with the distinguishing marks of party: but the principal fact is this; that the vivid record of the relations of the emperor to the subject people, is one which the reader will easily choose the fair medium.\footnote{\textit{Cassiod. Varar. i. xxi. epist. 24. Maffei [Verona Illustrata, part i. p. 210—212] has translated and explained this curious letter, in the spirit of a learned antiquarian and a faithful subject, who considered Venice as the only legitimate offspring of the Roman republic. He fixes the date of the epistle, and consequently the prefecture, of Cassiodorus, A. D. 521; and the marquis's authority has the more weight, as he had prepared an edition of his works, and actually published a dissertation on the true orthography of his name. See \textit{Oberh. d. Italien. Geschicht.}, ii. p. 290—302.} On this subject, see also, Anon. Amico, p. 182. This paper has published a curious passage from the Chronicle of Prosper. Attila realignates virdis, quibus Gallicae munus dona, Italiam ingredi per Pannonias insidiam, ut nihil duo necesse Attili secundum priores bellorum opus prospicient &c.,
The pressing eloquence of Leo, his majestic aspect, and sacerdotal robes, excited the veneration of Attila for the spiritual father of the christians. The apparition of the two apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, who menaced the barbarian with instant death, if he rejected the prayer of their successor, is one of the noblest legends of the early chieftains of Rome; might deserve the interposition of celestial beings; and some indulgence is due to a fable, which has been represented by the pencil of Raphael, and the chisel of Algariz.

The death of Attila. Before the king of the Huns evacuated Italy, a treaty was concluded, by which the bold Ardarcius renounced personal enemies, more formidable, and more implacable, if his bride, the princess Honoria, were not delivered to his ambassadors within the time stipulated by the treaty. Yet, in the meanwhile, Attila relieved his tender anxiety, by adding a beautiful maid, whose name was Ildico, to the list of his innumerable wives. Their marriage was celebrated with barbaric pomp and festivity, at his wooden palace beyond the Danube; and the monarch, oppressed with wine and sleep, retired, at a late hour, from the banquet to the nuptial bed. His attendants continued to respect his pleasures, or his repose, till the early morn. Then, in the silence alarmed their fears and suspicions; and, after attempting to awaken Attila by loud and repeated cries, they at length broke into the royal apartment. They found the trembling bride sitting by the bedside, hiding her face with her veil, and lamenting her own danger, as well as the death of the king, who had expired during the night. An artery suddenly burst; and as Attila lay in a supine posture, he was suffocated by a torrent of blood, which, instead of finding a passage through the nostrils, regurgitated into the lungs and stomach. His body was solemnly exposed in the midst of the scene of conflict. The chosen squadrons of the Huns, wheeling round in measured evolutions, chanted a funeral song to the memory of a hero, glorious in his life, invincible in his death, the father of his people, the scourge of his enemies, and the terror of the world. According to their national custom, the barbarians cut off a part of their hair, gashed their faces with unseemly wounds, and bewailed their valiant leader as he deserved, not with tears of women, but with the blood of warriors.

The remains of Attila were inclosed within three coffins, of gold, of silver, and of iron, and privately buried in a hidden spot; his vizier, Tissaphernes, was ordered to inter his grave; the captives who had opened the ground were inhumanly massacred; and the same Huns, who had indulged such excessive grief, feasted, with dissemble and interminable mirth, about the recent sepulchre of their king. It was reported at Constantinople, that on the fortunate night in which he expired, Marcin, beheld in a dream the bow of Attila broken asunder: and the report may be allowed to prove, how sedulously the image of that formidable barbarian was absent from the mind of a Roman emperor. The revolution which subverted the destruction of the empire of the Huns, established the fame of Attila, whose genius alone had sustained the huge and disjoined fabric. After his death, the bold Ardarcius returned to the rank of kings; and the most powerful kings refused to acknowledge a superior; and the numerous sons, whom so many mothers bore to the deceased monarch, divided and disputed, like a private inheritance, the sovereign command of the nations of Germany and Scythia. The death of Attila served as an excuse to the warlike Gepida, with the Ostrogoths, under the conduct of three valiant brothers, encouraged their allies to vindicate the rights of freedom and royalty. In a bloody and decisive conflict on the banks of the river Netad, in Pannonia, the lance of the Gepida, the sword of the Goths, the arrows of the Huns, the Suevia infantry, the light arms of the Icruli, and the heavy weapons of the Alani, encountered or supported each other; and the victory of Ardarcus was accompanied with the slaughter of thirty thousand of his enemies. Ellac, the son of Attila, however, was preserved in the memorable battle of Netad; his early valor had raised him to the throne of the Aetziures, a Scythian people, whom he subdued; and his father, who loved the superior merit, would have enveiled the death, of Ellac. His brother Dengisch, with an army of Huns, still formidable in their flight and ruin, maintained his ground above fifteen years on the banks of the Danube. The palace of Attila, with the old country of Dacia, from the Carpathian hills to the Euxine, became the seat of a new power, which was erected by Ardarcus, king of the Gepida. The Pannonian confederates, from whom the Huns were driven, were divided among the Ostrogoths; and the settlements of the tribes, who had so bravely asserted their native freedom, were irregularly distributed, according to the measure of their respective strength. Surrounded and oppressed by the multitude of his father's slaves, the kingdom of Dengisch was confined to the circle of his waggon; his desperate courage urged him to invade the eastern empire; he fell in battle; and his head, ignominiously exposed in the Hippodrome, exhibited a grateful spectacle to the people of Constantinople. Attila had fondly or superstition believed, that Irm, the same who had superseded his father, would extirpate the honor and renown of his race. The character of that prince, who attempted to moderate the rashness of his brother Dengisch, was more suitable to the declining condition of the Huns; and Irmac, with his subject horses, retired into the heart of the Lesser Scythia. They were soon overwhelmed by a torrent of new barbarians, who followed the same road which their own ancestors had formerly discovered. The Gænæos, or Avaræs, whose residence is assigned by the Greek writers to the shores of the ocean, impelled the adjacent tribes; till at length the Iguns of the North, descending from the borders of the Danube, and which produced the most valuable furs, spread themselves over the desert, as far as the Boristhenes and the Caspian gates; and finally extinguished the empire of the Huns. A

The historian Priscus had positively mentioned the effect which this example produced on the mind of Attila. Jornandes, c. 12, pl. 432. A. D. 453. The picture of Raphael is in the Vatican; the base (or perhaps the foot) is in the church of St. Peter, Scutari. Bos, Réflexions sur la Poésie et sur l'Art en Pannonie, p. 359, 360. Barozzaro (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 420, No. 57. 58.) basely stains the truth of the apparition; which is rejected, however, by the learned and pious catholics.

Attila, in his lexicon, refers, extinctiones nov temperae, putulam Ildico nomine, decernam valde, sibi munitam post inerimorabiles uxoribus, socias. Jornand. c. 90, p. 653-654. He afterwards adds (c. 59, p. 662.) Filli Atilae, quos per licensionem Ildinae pape posuit ful. Polygeny has been established among the Thracians, that Ildica was not the only woman, but one of many, which was designed for his blooming rival. But in royal families the daughter of Atilla corresponds to their king a prior right of inheritance. See Genealogical History, p. 366-368.

The report of the genealogical Cosmas, from which is obtained a very different name; and Marcellinus observes, that the tyrant of the Huns had a son named Gellimer, by the hand of a lady, named Gellimer, Console. This lady has adapted the genuine account to his tragedy, describes the irruption of blood in forty bondmen, and Atilla exclaims with anguish—

S'il ne veut s'arrêter (his blood)

(Juilli) on me payera ce qui m'en va coûter.

5 The curious circumstances of the death and funeral of Attila, are related by Jornandes, (c. 49, p. 653-658.) and were probably transcribed from Priscus, and preserved only by their personal charms; and the faded matron prepares, as a morbid mourner, the scene which destined for her blooming rival. But in royal families the daughter of Atilla corresponds to their king a prior right of inheritance. See Genealogical History, p. 366-368.

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Such an event might contribute to the murder of the patrician. Safety of the eastern empire, under the 
Aetius. reign of a prince who conciliated the friendship, without forfeiting the esteem, of the barbarians, but the reign of a weak, fickle and dissolute Valentinian, who had reached his thirty-fifth year without attaining the age of reason or courage, abused this apparent security, to undermine the foundations of his own throne, by the murder of the patrician Aetius. From the instinct of a base and jealous mind, he hated the man who was universally celebrated as the terror of the barbarians, and the support of the republic; and his new favourite, the eunuch Heraclius, awakened the emperor from the supine lethargy, which might be disguised, during the life of Flaccidus, by the excuse of filial piety. The fame of Flaccidus, his wealth and dignity, the numerous and martial train of barbarian followers, his powerful dependents, who filled the civil offices of the state, and the hopes of his son Gaudentius, who was already contracted to Eudoxia, the emperor's daughter, had raised him above the rank of a subject, and the ambitious designs, of which he was accused, excited the fears, as well as the resentment, of Valentinian. Aetius himself, supported by the consciousness of his merit, his services, and perhaps his innocence, seems to have maintained a haughty and indi
creadulously, of the patrician's conduct, his sovereign was provoked into a hostile declaration; he aggravated the offense, by compelling him to ratify, with a solemn oath, a treaty of reconciliation and alliance; he proclaimed his suspicions, he neglected his safety: and from a vain confidence that the enemy, whom he despised, was incapable of a similar crime, he permitted a person in the palace of Rome. Whilst he urged, perhaps with intemperate vehemence, the marriage of his son, Valentinian, drawing his sword, the first sword he had ever drawn, plunged it in the breast of a general who had saved his empire; his courtiers and eunuchs, excited by his sovereign'std, and lead
ter, and Aetius, pierced with a hundred wounds, fell dead in the royal presence. Boethius, the prae
tor prefect, was killed at the same moment; and before the event could be divulged, the principal friends of the patrician were summoned to the palace, and separately murdered. The horrid deed, palliated by the specious names of justice and necessity, was immedi
dately communicated by the emperor to his soldiers, his subjects, and his allies. The nations, who were strangers or enemies to Aetius, generously deplored the unworthy fate of a hero: the barbarians, who had been attached to his service, dispersed their grief and resentment: and the public contempt, which had been so long entertained for Valentinian, was at once converted into deep and universal abhorrence. Such sentiments seldom pervade the walls of a palace; yet the emperor was confounded by the honest reply of a Roman, whose approbation he had not disdained to solicit: "I am ignorant, Sir, of your motives and pro
cussions: I only know, that you have acted like a man who cuts off his right hand with his left." And the bravery of the inglorious martyr seems to have won the favor of Maximus. His name is associated with the long and frequent visits of Valentinian; who was consequently more despised at Rome than in any other part of his dominions. A republican spirit was insensibly revived in the senate, as their authority, and even their supplies, became necessary for the support of his feeble government.

The stately demeanour of an hereditary monarch off
fended their pride; and the pleasures of Valentinian
families were injurious to the peace and honour of noble
families. The birth of the empress Eudoxia was equal
or superior to the birth of a gifted child of the west. She
was observed in the presence of the clergy, and the emperor;
he resolved to accomplish them, either by stratagem
or force. Deep gaming was one of the vices of the
court: the emperor, who, by chance or contrivance,
had gained from Maximus a considerable sum, un-
consequently excited his ring as a security for the de
bt; and sent it by a trusty messenger, to his wife, wit
an order, in her husband's name, that she should imme
diately attend the empress Eudoxia. The unsuspecting
wife of Maximus was conveyed in her litter to the imperial
palace; the empresses of her impatient lover conducted to a remote and silent bed
droom, which was afterwards converted, under the laws of hospitality, into the chambers of the laws of hospitality. Her tears, when she returned home; her deep affliction; and her bitter reproaches against a husband, whom she considered as the ac
complice of his own shame, excited Maximus to a desire of revenge. He rashly resolved his son, his ambition
by ambition; and he might reasonably aspire, by the
free suffers of the Roman senate, to the throne of a d
tested and despicable rival. Valentinian, who sup
posed that every human breast was devoted, like his
own, of friendship and gratitude, had imprudently
admitted among his wards several domestics and fol
lowers of Aetius. Two of these, of barbarian race,
were persuaded to execute a sacred and honourable
duty, by punishing with death the assassin of their
patron; and their intrepid courage did not long expec
moral spirit and ambition. Valentinian was less excusable,
se since he had passions, without virtues; even his re
ligion was questionable; and though he never deviat
ed into the paths of heresy, he scandalized the pious
christians by his attachment to the profane arts of

Death of Valen
tinian, A. D. 455. March 36.

As early as the time of Cicero and Seneca, it was the opinion of the Roman
and the ancients, that the twelve virtues, which the ancients esteemed, were the
result and the fruit of the best education. The principles of the Christian
may, perhaps in the season of health and prosperity, in
spire the people with glowing apprehensions, when the
fifteenth century, clouded with disgrace and mis
fortune, was almost elapsed; and even posterity

* With regard to the cause and circumstances of the deaths of Aetius and Valentinian, our information is dark and imperfect. Procopius, the Byzantine historian, who wrote sixty years after the events which preceded his own memory, his narrative must therefore be supplied and corrected by five or six Chronicles, none of which were composed in Rome or Italy; and which can only express, in broken sentences, the popular rumors, as they were conveyed to a foreign author. Such information,.correct, and not, perhaps, in its true grade of importance, stimu
late of anticipation or delay. The poets of the age, Claudian (d
must acknowledge with some surprise. It is a truism to say that the Roman government appeared every day less formidable to its enemies, more odious and oppressive to its subjects. The taxes were multiplied with the public distress; economy was neglected in proportion as it became necessary; and the injustice of the rich shifted the unequal burthen from themselves to the people, whom they defrauded of the indulgences that might sometimes have alleviated their misery. The severe inquisition, which confiscated their goods, and tortured their persons, compelled the subjects of Valentinian to endure the more intolerable tyranny of the barbarians, to fly to the woods and mountains, or to embrace the vile and abject condition of mercenary servants. They abjured and abhorred the name of Roman citizens, which had formerly excited the ambition of mankind. The Armoricane provinces of Gaul, and the greater part of Spain, were thrown into a state of disorderly independence, by the confederations of the Bagaudae; and the imperial ministers pursued with proscripive laws, and ineffectual arms, the rebels whom they had made. If all the barbarian conquerors had been an inability was incapable of the slightest acquisition, or the smallest remembrance of it would not have restored the empire of the west: and if Rome still survived, she survived the loss of freedom, of virtue, and of honour.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Sack of Rome by Generica, king of the Vandals. - His naval preparations. - Succession of the last emperors of the west, Maximian, Avitus, Majorian, Severus, Athenobius, Albinus, Glycerius, Nepos, Augustulus. - Total extinction of the western empire. - Reign of Odoacer, the first barbarian king of Italy.

The loss or desolation of the provinces, from the ocean to the Alps, impaired the glory and greatness of Rome: her internal prosperity was irretrievably destroyed by the separation of Africa. The rapacious Vandals confiscated the patrimonial estates of the emperors, and their prior subsidies, which relieved the poverty, and encouraged the idleness of the inhabitants. The distress of the Romans was soon aggravated by an unexpected attack; and the province, so long cultivated for their use by industrious and obedient subjects, was armed against them by an ambitious barbarian. The Vandals and Alans were conquerors. Valentinian, who had secured the successful standard of Generica, had acquired a rich and fertile territory, which stretched along the coast above ninety days' journey from Tangier to Tripoli; but their narrow limits were pressed and confined, on either side, by the sandy desert and the Mediterranean. The discovery and conquest of the black nations, that might dwell beneath the torrid zone, could not terminate the ambition of Generica; but he cast his eyes towards the sea; he resolved to create a naval power, and his bold resolution was executed with steady and active perseverance. The woods of mount Atlas afforded an inexhaustible nursery of timber; his new subjects were skilled in the art of navigation and ship-building; and he animated his daring Vandals to embrace a mode of warfare which would render every maritime country accessible to their arms; the Moors and Africans were allured by the hopes of plunder; and, after an interval of six centuries, the fleets that issued from the port of Carthage again claimed the empire of the Mediterranean. The success of the Vandals, the conquest of Sicily, the sack of Palermo, and the frequent descents on the coast of Lucania, awakened and alarmed the mother of Valentinian, and the sister of Theodosius. Alliances were formed; and armaments, expensive and ineffectual, were prepared, for the destruction of the common enemy; who reserved his courage to encounter those dangers which his policy could not prevent or elude. The designs of the Roman government were repeatedly baffled by his artful delays, ambiguous promises, and apparent concessions; and the inability was incapable of his character, which the king of the Huns, recalled the emperors from the coast of Africa to the care of their domestic safety. The revolts of the palace, which left the western empire without a defender, and without a lawful prince, dispirited the apprehensions, and stimulated the avarice, of Generica. He immediately equipped a numerous fleet of Vandals and Moors, and, with that armament, the mouth of the Tiber, about three months after the death of Valentinian, and the elevation of Maximus to the imperial throne.

The life of the senator Petronius Maximus, often alleged as a rare example of human felicity. His emperor Maximus, A.D. 455. March 17.

The character and reign of the emperor Petronius Maximus, which was the thirteenth of the episcopate of the see of Rome. This bishop is mentioned in the Chronicle of Isidore. He was one of the first prelates of Ravenna, and of that see, on which the city of Byzantium, or Constantinople, was transplanted. For the See of Ravenna was given to the bishop that first pitched battles with the Roman troops, are repeatedly mentioned in the Chronicle of Isidore. Sulpicius Severus, in the name hour, their total number in very forcible language. Hic numen circum Romanorum... unde ultra repetitur ac fugit, nec vide tamen sed etiam abominabile person habetur. Eodem anno, autem, praefatus est Magnus Apollinaris. De Bagaudis non nibis servante, qui potuit jube dicere et cunctas sermonis, aspici, necet, postquam, sive Romano libertas amaro est, cuncta honoris Romanorum nominis persidierunt... Vocavis rebellis, vocamus perdites quosque comatus criminosos. De Gubernat. Dei. l. x. p. 152, 159.
al house of Theodosius. The imprudent Maximus disregarded these salutary considerations: he gratified his resentment and ambition; he saw the bleeding corpse of Valentinian at his feet; and he heard himself saluted emperor by the unanimous voice of the senate and people. But the day of his inauguration was the last of his happiness. He was assassinated (such is the lively expression of Sidonius) in the palace; and after passing a sleepless night, he sighed that he had attained the summit of his wishes, and aspired only to descend from the dangerous elevation. Opposite to the weight of the diadem, he communicated his anxious thoughts to his son and successor, Fulgentius; and when he looked back with unavailing regret on the secure pleasures of his former life, the emperor exclaimed, "O fortunate Damocles! thy reign began and ended with the same dinner." A well known allusion, which Fulgentius afterwards repeated as an instructive lesson for princes and subjects.

His death, A.D. 455, had lost the command, were disturbed by remorse, or guilt, or terror, and his throne was shaken among the ranks of the soldiers and the people in the confederate barbarians. The marriage of his son Palladius with the eldest daughter of the late emperor, might tend to establish the hereditary succession of his family; but the violence which he offered to the empress Eudoxia, could proceed only from the blind impulse of his revenge. He was not unjustified by the indirect confession of Maximus himself; and he wantonly provoked the hatred of his unfortunate bride, who was still conscious that she descended from a line of emperors. From the east, however, Eudoxia could dig gold and silver at any effectual assistance; her father and her aunt Pulcheria were dead; her mother languished at Jerusalem in disgrace and exile; and the sceptre of Constantinople was in the hands of a stranger. She directed her eyes towards Carthage; secretly implored the aid of the King of the Vandals; and succeeded in impairing the fair opportunity of disguising his rapacious designs by the specious names of honour, justice, and compassion. Whatsoever abilities Maximus might have shown in a subordinate station, he was found incapable of administering an empire; and though he had renounced the immoral pleasures which were made on the opposite shores of Africa, he expected with supine indifference the approach of the enemy, without adopting any measures of defence, of negotiation, or of a timely retreat. When the Vandals disembarked at the mouth of the river, he was suddenly roused from his lethargy by the clamours of a trebling and exasperated multitude. The only hope which presented itself to his astonished mind was that of a precipitate flight, and he exhorted the senators to imitate the example of his prince. But the emperor did manifest any effectual assistance; he neither was assaulted by a shower of stones: a Roman, or a Burgundian, soldier, claimed the honor of the first wound; his mangled body was ignominiously cast into the Tiber; the Roman people rejoiced in the punishment which they had inflicted on the author of the public calamities; and the domesticus of Eudoxia signaled their zeal in the service of their mistress.

On the third day after the tumult, the successor of Rome Genseric boldly advanced from the port of Ostia to the gates of the defenceless city. Instead of a rally of the Roman youth, there issued from the gates an unruly and venal populace of the bishop at the head of his clerks; and the emperor, as usual, gave way to the importunities of his city. But it immediately mitigated the fierceness of a barbarian conqueror; the king of the Vandals promised to spare the unsuspecting multitude, to protect the buildings from fire, and to exempt the captives from torture; and although such orders were neither seriously given nor strictly obeyed, the mediation of Leo was glorious to himself, and in some degree beneficial to his country. But Rome and its inhabitants were delivered to the licentiousness of the Vandals and Moors, whose blind passions revenged the injuries of Carthage. The pillage lasted fourteen days and nights; and all that remained of public or private wealth, of sacred or profane treasure, was diligently transported to the vessels of Genseric. Among the spoils, the splendid relics of two temples, or rather of two religious, exhibited a memorable example of the vicesinhuman and divine things. The Christian senate took no measures to recover their treasure; even the statues, originally framed in an according to the particular instructions of God himself, and which were placed in the sanctuary of his temple, had been ostentatiously displayed to the Roman people in the triumph of Titus. They were afterwards deposited in the temple of Peace, and the system of four hundred years was preserved. The spoils of Jerusalem were transferred from Rome to Carthage by a barbarian who derived his origin from the shores of the Baltic. These ancient monuments might attract the notice of curiosity, as well as of avarice. But the Christian churches, enriched and adorned by the precious vessels from between our shores, were plundered with regard to the particulars of stone and materials; and the splendid relics of the Gothic invasion, the pious and luxury of Rome were in some measure restored; and it was difficult either to escape, or to satisfy, the avarice of a conqueror, who possessed leisure to collect, and ships to transport, the wealth of the capital. The imperial ornaments of the palace, the magnificent furniture and wardrobe, the sideboards of massive plate, were accumulated with disorderly rapine: the gold

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**Districtus ensis caui super insula**

Spanish enclave on an island.

**Cervice pendent, non sequitur depe**

Sons of the pendant.

**Dubitabant sequitur**

They doubted the sequitur.

**Non... stantantes eque**

Not standing on the stage.

---

**Iudexque tibi Burgundio ductum**

Judge, lead thee to Burgundio.

---

**Enatumque trepida mactans... innulla**

Sunk in the sea.

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**Sidoni, in Panegy. A.D. 442.**

A remarkable line, which intimates that Rome and Avitus were betrayed by their Burgundian mercenaries.

**The apparent success of Pope Leo may be justly inferred from Prosper, and the Historia Aviti.** But the interpretation of this text is problematic. (A.D. 455, No. 13.) That Genseric spared the three apostolical churches, is not countenanced even by the doubtful testimony of the Liber Pontificalis.

**The profusion of Catulus, the first who gilt the roof of the capital, was immediately approved.** (Pline, Hist. Nat. i. 88.)

**The same inscription, which was not removed after the sack or the Great Fire, or the Gothic.** (See Donatus, Roma Antiqua, i. i. c. 6. p. 123.) It would seem, therefore, that the roof of the capital was decorated with gilt statues, and character drawn by four horses.

**The curious reader may consult the learned and accurate treatise of Hadrian Reland, de Spoliis Tempori Hieronymiti in Atrici Titanae Romae conspicuo, in Io. Treuolt et Boven, 1716."**
and silver amounted to several thousand talents; yet even the base and common were laboriously removed. 

Vandals herself, who advanced to meet her friend, was attended by the imprudence of her own conduct. She was rudely stripped of her jewels; and the unfortunate empress, with her two daughters, the only surviving remains of the great Theodosius, was compelled, as a captive, to follow the haughty Vandals; who immediately hoisted sail, and returned with a prosperous navigation to the port of Cartaghes. Many thousands Romans, of both sexes, chosen for some useful or agreeable qualifications, reluctantly embarked on board the fleet of Genserici; and their distress was aggravated by the unfeeling barbarians, who, in the division of the booty, separated the wives from the husbands, and the children from their parents. The charity of Deodaghatas, bishop of Carthage, was their only consolation and support. He generously sold the gold and silver plate of the church to purchase the freedom of some, to alleviate the slaves of others, and to assist the wants of the indigent multitudes. The sick were distributed in convenient beds, and liberal supplies of food and medicine. The aged prelate repeated his visits both in the day and night, with an assiduity that surpassed his strength, and a tender sympathy which enhanced the value of his services. Compare this scene with the field of Cannæ; and judge between Hannibal and the successor of St. Cyprian.

The empress Avitus. A.D. 455. July 16th.

The deaths of Aëtius and Valentinian had relaxed the ties which held the barbarians of Gaul in peace and subordination. The sea-coast was infested by the Saxons; the Alamanni and the Franks advanced from the Rhine to the Rhone; and pressed the confines of Gaul, which seemed to meditate more extensive and permanent conquests. The emperor Maximus relieved himself, by a judicious choice, from the weight of these distant cares; he silenced the solicitations of his friends, listened to the voice of fame, and promoted a stranger to the general command of the forces of Gaul. Aëtius, the stranger, whose merit was so nobly rewarded, descended from a wealthy and honourable family in the diocese of Agvernum. The convulsions of the times urged him to embrace, with the same ardour, the civil and martial dignities which tempted the indolent youth. Blended the studies of literature and arms, he became acquainted with the exercise of arms and hunting. Thirty years of his life were lavishly spent in the public service; he alternately displayed his talents in war and negotiation; and the soldier of Aëtius, after executing the most important embassies, was raised to the station of prætorian prefect of Gaul. Either the merit of Aëtius excited envy, or his moderation was desirous of repose, since he calmly retired to an estate, which he possessed in the neighbourhood of Clermont. A copious stream, issuing from the mountain, and falling heavily, broad and foaming, at the source of the river, charged its waters into a lake about two miles in length, and the villa was pleasantly seated on the margin of the lake. The baths, the porticoes, the summer

and winter apartments, were adapted to the purposes of luxury and ease; and the adjacent country afforded many various prospects of a different sort.

In this retreat, where Avitus amused his leisure with books, rural sports, the practice of husbandry, and the society of his friends, he received the imperial diploma, which constituted him master-general of the cavalry and infantry of Gaul. He assumed the military command; the barbarians soon discovered that whatever power he might employ, whatever conquests he might hope to make, the people enjoyed the benefits of actual tranquillity. But the fate of Gaul depended on the Visigoths; and the Roman general, less attentive to his dignity than to the public interest, did not omit to visit the palace of an ambassador. He was received with courteous hospitality by Theodoric, the king of the Goths; but while Avitus laid the foundations of a solid alliance with that powerful nation, he was astonished by the intelligence, that the emperor Maximus was slain, and that Rome had been pillaged by the Vandals. A.D. 455. The Vandal king gave the1 2

Theodosic, whom Avitus was in the character of the purple, had acquired the title of king of the Gothicachen by the murder of his brother Theodoric. A.D. 455. 455. He suffered this atrocious deed by the design which his predecessor had formed of violating his alliance with the empire.2 Such a crime might not be incompatible with the virtues of a barbarian; but the manners of the senator Avitus were gentle and humane; and his posterity may contemplate without terror the original picture of a Gothic king, whom Sidonius had intimately observed, in the hours of peace and of social intercourse. In an epistle, dated from the court of Thoulouse, the orator satisfies the curiosity of one of his friends, in the following description.3 "By the majesty of his appearance, Theodoric would command the respect of those

1 After the example of the younger Pliny, Sidonius, (I. ii. c. 5.) laboured the florid, prolix, and obscure description of his villain, which bore the name (Aristeas,) and had been the property of a rhetorician. The present editor has not ascertained. Consult however the notes of Savaron and Strasburger.

2 Sidonius, (I. ii. epist. 5.) has described the country life of the barbarian nobles, in a most agreeable manner. "They but(Men.) were in the neighbourhood of Nimes. The morning hours were spent in the spheratation, or tennis court; or in the library, which was furnished with Latin authors, profane and religious: the former for the men, the latter for the ladies. The table was twice served, at dinner, and at the banquet, with most splendid fare. During the intermediate time, the company walked, took their regular meal on horseback, and drank the best wine. In this elegant habitation, the emperor Avitus, the senate, and the whole court, was tutored by the hands of the honest historian, Romanum ambass. imperii. (Greg. Turon. ii. 16."

3 Jerome, archbishop of Strasbourg, who was himself of the blood of the Goths, and who is celebrated for his knowledge, and almost justifies, (Hist. Goth. p. 718;) the crime which the slave Jornandes, was to meditate on his master. (c. 43. p. 673.)

4 This elaborate description (I. c. ep. ii. p. 2—7.) was dictated by some political motive. It was designed for the public eye, and had been shown by the friends of Sidonius, before it was inserted in the collection of his epistles. The first book was published separately. See Tillemont, Memoires Eccles. tom. xvi. p. 204.

who are ignorant of his merit; and although he is born a prince, his merit would dignify a private station. He is of a middle stature, his body appears rather plump than fat, and in his well-proportioned limbs agility is united with muscular strength. If you examine his countenance, you will distinguish a high forehead, large shaggy eyebrows, an aquiline nose, thin lips, a regular set of white teeth, and a fair complexion, that blushes more frequently from modesty than from anger. The ordinary distribution of his time, as far as it is exposed to the public view, may be concisely represented. Before day-break, he repairs, with a small train, to his domestic chapel, where the service is performed by the Arian clergy; but those who presume to interpret his secret sentiments, consider this assiduous devotion as the effect of habit and policy. The rest of the morning is employed in the administration of his kingdom. His chair is surrounded by some military officers of decent aspect and behaviour: the noisy crowd of his barbarian guards occupies the hall of audience: but they are not permitted to stand within the veils or curtains, that conceal the execrable visages beneath the abject demeanour of the nations are successively introduced: Theodoric listens with attention, answers them with discreet brevity, and either announces or delays, according to the nature of their business, his final resolution. About eight (the second hour) he rises from his throne, and with the air of a duty or his office to hunt, or at least to exercise himself on horseback, his bow is carried by a favourite youth; but when the game is marked, he bends it with his own hand, and seldom misses the object of his aim: as a king, he disdains to bear arms in such ignoble warfare: but as a soldier, he would blush to accept any military service which he could perform himself. On common days, his dinner is not different from the repast of a private citizen; but every Saturday, many honourable guests are invited to the royal table, which, on these occasions, is served with the elegance of Greece, the plenty of Gaul, and the order and diligence of Italy.

The gold or silver plate is less remarkable for its weight, than for the brightness and curious workmanship: the taste is gratified without the help of foreign and costly luxury; the size and number of the cups of wine are regulated with a strict regard to the laws of temperance; and the respectful silence that prevails is interrupted only by grave and instructive conversation. After dinner, Theodoric sometimes indulges himself in a short slumber; and as soon as he awakes, he calls for his followers, or his friends to meet the royal majesty, and is delighted when they freely express the passions which are excited by the incidents of play. At this game, which he loves as the image of war, he alternately displays his eagerness, his skill, his patience, and his cheerful temper. If he loses, he laughs: he is modest and silent if he wins. Yet, notwithstanding this seeming indifference, his courtiers choose to solicit any favour in the moments of victory; and I myself, in my applications to the king, have derived some benefit from my losses.

About the ninth hour (three o'clock) the tide of business again returns, and flows incessantly till after sunset, when the signal of the royal supper dismisses the weary crowd of applicants and pleaders. At the supper, a more familiar repast, buffoons and pantomimes are sometimes introduced, to divert, not to offend, the company, by their ridiculous wit: but female singers, and the soft effeminate modes of music, are severely banished, and such martial tunes as animate the soul to deeds of valour are alone grateful to the ear of Theodoric. He retires from the table; and the nocturnal guards are immediately posted at the entrance of the temple, the palace, and the private apartments.

When the king of the Visigoths, in obedience to his nation, assumed the purple, in Spain, he offered his person and his forces, as a faithful soldier of the republic. The exploits of Theodoric soon convinced the world, that he had not degenerated from the ercic virtues of his ancestors.

After the establishment of the Goths in Aquitain, and the passage of the Vandals into Africa, the Suevi, who had fixed their kingdom in Galicia, aspired to the conquest of Spain, and threatened to extinguish the feeble remains of the Roman dominion. The provincials of Cartagena and Tarraconae, afflicted by a hostile invasion, represented their injuries and their apprehensions. Count Fronto was despatched, in the name of the emperor Avitus, with advantageous offers of peace and alliance; and Theodoric interposed his voice, and expressed his sentiments in the following terms: "If law, the king of the Suevi, immediately retired, he should be obliged to arm in the cause of justice and of Rome. "Tell him," replied the haughty Rechriarius, "that I despise his friendship and his arms; but that I shall soon try, whether he will dare to expect the victory, or to enroll his name in history. If he chooses, in the first challenge urged Theodoric to prevent the bold designs of his enemy: he passed the Pyrenees at the head of the Visigoths: the Franks and Burgundians served under his standard; and though he professed himself the dutiful servant of Avitus, he privately stipulated, for himself and his successors, the absolute possession of the Spanish conquests. The two armies, or rather the two nations, encountered each other on the banks of the river Uricbus, about twelve miles from Astorga; and the decisive victory of the Goths appeared for a while to have extinguished the name and kingdom of the Suevi. From the field of battle Theodoric advanced to Braga, their metropolis, which still retained the splendid vestiges of its ancient commerce and dignity.

His entrance was not polluted with blood; and the Goths respected the chastity of their female captives, more especially of the consecrated virgins; but the greatest part of the clergy and people were made slaves, and even the churches and altars were confined in the universal pillage. The unfortunate king of the Suevi had escaped to the banks of the river Bidasoa; but the winds opposed his flight; he was delivered to his implacable rival; and Rechriarius, who neither desired nor expected mercy, received, with many constancy, a death which he probably would have inflicted. After this bloody sacrifice to policy or resentment, Theodoric carried his victorious arms as far as Merida, the principal town of Lusitania, without meeting any resistance, except from the miraculous powers of St. Elia; but he was stopped in the full career of success, and returned to Spain, before he was able to secure the security of his conquests. In his retreat towards the Pyrenees, he revenged his disappointment on the country through which he passed; and, in the sack of Pollentia and Astorga, he showed himself a faithless ally, as well as a cruel enemy. Whilst the king of the Visigoths fought and vanquished in the name of Avitus, the reign of Avitus had expired; and both the honour and the interest of Theodoric were deeply

1 Theodoric himself had given a solemn and voluntary promise of fidelity, which was understood both in Gaul and Spain.

2 TheDecline and Fall of the Roman Empire by Edward Gibbon, Vol. 6, pp. 482-483.
wounded by the disgrace of a friend, whom he had insulted on the throne of the western empire. 8

Avitus is deposed, and Avitus fixes his residence at Rome, and to accept the consulship for the ensuing year. On the first day of January his son-in-law, Sidonius Apollinaris, celebrated his praises in a panegyric of six hundred verses; but this composition, though it was preceded by a brass statue, 9 seems to contain a very moderate proportion either of genius or of truth. The poet, if we may degrade that sacred name, exag-

erates the merit of a sovereign and a father; and his prophecy of a long and glorious reign was soon con-

tradicted by the event. Avitus, at a time when the imperial dignity was vested in a character, such as he described in his pages, an em- 

danger, indulged himself in the pleasures of Italian luxury: age had not extinguished his amorous inclinations; and he is accused of insul- 

ting, with incredulous and ungenerous raillery, the husbands whose 

wives he had seduced or violated. But the Romans were not inclined, either to excuse his faults, or to acknowledge his virtues. The several parts of the empire became every day more alienated from each oth- 

er; and the stranger of Gaul was the object of popular hatred and contempt. The senate asserted their 

legitimate claim in the election of an emperor; and the 

by the basest means; but that, from the old constitution, was again fortified by the actual weakness of a declin- 

ing monarchy. Yet even such a monarchy might have resisted the votes of an unarmen senate, if their discontent had not been sup-

ported, or perhaps inflamed, by the count Rieinier, one of the principal captains of the barbarian armies, who, formed the military defence of Italy. The daughter of Wallia, king of the Visigoths, was the mother of Rieinier; but he was descended, on the father's side, from the nation of the Suevi: 10 his pride, or patriotism, might be exasperated by the misfortunes of his countrymen; and he obeyed, with reluctance, the claims of an emperor in whose elevation he had not been con-

sulted. His faithful and important services against the 

common enemy rendered him still more formi-

5 able; 11 and after destroying, on the coast of Corsica, a fleet of Vandals, which consisted of sixty galleys, Rieinier returned in triumph with the appellation of the Deliverer of Italy. He chose that moment to signify to Avitus, that his reign was at an end; and the feeble emperor, at a distance from his Gothic 

allies, was compelled, after a short and unavailing struggle, to fly from the court. But, if the emperor, on the contrary, of Rieinier, 12 he was per-

mitted to descend from the throne, to the more desir-

able station of bishop of Piacentia; but the resent-

ment of the senate was still unsatisfied; and their in-

flexible severity pronounced the sentence of his death. He fled towards the Alps, with the humble hope, not of 

saving the Visigoths in his cause, but of securing his person and treasures in the sanctuary of Julian, one of the tutelar saints of Auvergne. 13 Disease or the

8 This Suevic war is the most authentic part of the Chronicon of Isidore, who, in the year 585, Flavio Vincentius was the praetor and a sufferer. Jornandes (c. 44, p. 673, 676, 677, exp. has exhibited, with pleasure, on the Gothic victory.

9 In one of the portraits or galleries belonging to Trajan's library, among the statues of famous writers and orators. Sidon. Appol. I. ix. epist. 36, p. 261. Carm. viii. p. 266.

10 Luxurious aper ozonius senatorius projectus est, est. The sen- 

ator was proceeded against by the pres-ident, with the title of proconsul. 

11 An old Chronicle (in tom. II. p. 419) mentions an indirect jest of Avitus, which seems more applicable to Rome than to Treves.

12 The poet, Epist. 3, line 5 to 34, in the year 562. 

13 See the Chronicon of Isidore. Jornandes (c. xiv. p. 670) styles him "vir est qui virum esse atque tenui, cum tene tenui in Italia ad ex-

14 Persanes inno centes Avit, is the compassionate, but contemptu-

ous name of Rieinier, (in Chron. of Isidore, p. 668). In another place, he calls him, vir toius simplicitatis. This comparison is somewhat fanciful, but it is more solid and sincere, than the praises of Sidonius.

15 He suffered, as it is supposed, in the persecution of Diosclitus.
brian, whose birth excluded him from the imperial dignity, governed Italy, with the title of Patrician; residually, in the capacity of master-general of the cavalry and infantry; and, after an interval of some months, consented to the unanimous wish of the Romans, whose favour Majorian had solicited by a recent victory over the Allemaniacs. He was invested with the purple at Ravenna; and the episode which he addressed to the senate will best describe his situation and his sentiments. "Your election, Conspect Fathers! and the ordinance of the most valiant army, have made me your emperor. May the propitious Deity direct and prosper the counsels and events of my administration, to your advantage, and to the welfare of the state. For, if I did not aspire, I have submitted, to reign; nor should I have discharged the obligations of a citizen, if I had refused, with base and selfish ingratitude, to support the weight of those labours, which were imposed by the republic. Assist, therefore, the prince whom you have made; partake the duties which you have enjoined; and may our common endeavours promote the happiness of an empire, which I have accepted from your hands. Be assured, that, in our times, justice will resume her ancient vigour, and that virtue shall become the prevailing notion of every honest man, none, except the authors themselves, be apprehensive of delusions, which, as a subject, I have condemned, and, as a prince, will severely punish. Our own vigilance, and that of our father, the patrician Ricimer, shall guarantee the public affairs to the safety of the Roman world, which we have saved from foreign and domestic enemies. You now understand the maxims of my government: you may confide in the faithful love and sincere assurances of a prince, who has formerly been the companion of your life, and who never was so gloomy in the name of a senator; and who is anxious, that you should never repent of the judgment which you have pronounced in his favour." The emperor, who, amidst the ruins of the Roman world, revived the ancient language of law and liberty, which Trajan would not have disclaimed, must have derived those generous sentiments from his own heart; since they were not suggested to his imitation by the customs of his age, or the example of his predecessors.

His salutary The private and public actions of Majorian are very imperfectly known; but his laws, remarkable for an original cast of thought and expression, faithfully represent the character of a sovereign, who loved his people, who sympathized in their distress, who had studied the causes of the empires, and who was capable of applying (as far as such reformation was practicable) judicious and effectual remedies to the public disorders. His regulations concerning the finances manifestly tended to remove, or at least to mitigate, the most intolerable grievances. I. From the choice of the head of the state (he translated his own words) to relieve the weary fortunes of the provincials, oppressed by the accumulated weight of indignities and superindulgences.

With this view, he granted an universal amnesty, a final and absolute discharge of all arrears of tribute, of all debts, which, under any pretence, the fiscal officers might demand from the people. This wise derecution of obsolete, vexatious, and unprofitable claims, improved and purified the sources of the public revenue; and the subject who could now look back without despair, might labour with hope and gratitude for himself and for his country. 2. Majorian restored the ordinary jurisdiction of the provincial magistrates; and suppressed the extraordinary commissions which had been introduced, in the name of the emperor himself, or of the pretorian prefects. The favourite servants, who obtained such irregular powers, were insolent in their behaviour, and arbitrary in their demands: they affected to despise the subordinate tribunals, and they were discontented, if their fees and profits did not twice exceed the sum which they condescended to pay into the treasury. One instance of resistance to the authority of the emperor, seems not to be authenticated by the legislator himself. They exacted the whole payment in gold: but they refused the current coin of the empire, and would accept only such ancient pieces as were stamped with the names of those emperors of whom the provincials, unprovided with these curious medals, had recourse to the expedient of compounding with their rapacious demands; or, if he succeeded in the research, his imposition was doubled, according to the weight and value of the money of former times. 3. The municipal corporations, (says the emperor,) the lesser senators, (so antiquity has justly styled them,) deserve to be considered as the heart of the cities, and the sinews of the republic. And yet so low are they now reduced, by the injustice of magistrates, and the venality of collectors, that many of their members, renouncing their dignity and their country, have taken refuge in distant and obscure exile." He urges, and even compels, their return to their respective cities; but he removes the grievance which had forced them to desert the exercise of their municipal functions. They are to render the assistance of the provincial magistrates, to resume their office of leving the tribute; but, instead of being made responsible for the whole sum assessed on their district, they are only required to produce a regular account of the payments which they have collected, and of the defaulters who are still indebted to the public. 4. But Majorian was not ignorant, that these corporate bodies were too much inclined to retaliate the injustice and oppression which they had suffered; and he therefore revives the useful office of the defenders of cities. He exhorts the people to elect, in a full and free assembly, some man of discretion and integrity, who would dare to assert their privileges, to represent their grievances, to protect the poor from the tyranny of the rich, and to inform the emperor of the abuses that were committed under the sanction of his name and authority.

The spectacle who casts a mournful The edifices view over the ruins of ancient Rome, Rome, is tempted to accuse the memory of the Goths and very long and various) at the end of the Theodosian Code, Novell. (iv. p. 39—57. Godefroy has not given any commentary on these additional pieces.

2. The learned Graevius (vol. i. p. 293, 330, 331), has found, by a diligent inquiry, that a very ancient law of the Antonines weighed one hundred and eighteenth marks of silver, and on the death of the emperor, the mark of silver was reduced to the value of seven Moro of the ancient buton. Majorian gives currency to a spondon, excepting only the Graevius solidus, from its delicacy, not in the weight, but in the standard.
Vandals, for the mischief which they had neither leisure, nor power, nor perhaps inclination, to perpetrate. The tempest of war might strike some lofty turrets to the ground; but the destruction which undermined the base nine encumbered towers, even when none was pronounced, slowly and silently, during a period of ten centuries; and the motives of interest, that afterwards operated without shame or control, were severely checked by the taste and spirit of the emperor Majorian. The decay of the city had gradually impaired the last fragments of public works. The few buildings that were not razed might still excite, but they seldom gratified, the desires of the people: the temples, which had escaped the zeal of the christians, were no longer inhabited either by gods or men; the diminished crowds of the Romans were lost in the immense space of their baths and porticoes; and the reliefs and halls of justice were useless to an indolent generation, whose repose was seldom disturbed, either by study or business. The monuments of consular, or imperial, greatness were no longer revered, as the immortal glory of the capital: they were only esteemed as an inexhaustible mine of materials, cheaper, and more convenient than the distant quarry. Specious petitions were continually addressed to the easy magistrates of Rome, which stated the want of stones or bricks for some necessary service: the finest forms of architecture were rudely defaced for the sake of some paltry, or temporary, repairs; and the degenerate Romans, who converted the spoil to their own emolument, demolished, with sacrilegious hands, the labours of their ancestors. Majorian, who had often sighed over the desolation of the city, applied a severe remedy to the growing evil. He reserved to the prince and senate the sole cognizance of the public buildings which could be converted into materials of an ancient edifice; imposed a fine of fifty pounds of gold (two thousand pounds sterling,) on every magistrate who should presume to grant such illegal and scandalous licence; and threatened to chastise the criminal obedience of their subordinate officers, by a severe censure, and the amputation of both their hands. In the last instance, the legislator might seem to forget the proportion of guilt and punishment; but his zeal arose from a generous principle, and Majorian was anxious to protect the monuments of those ages, in which he would have desired and deserved to live. The new system, however, did not increase the number of his subjects; that it was his duty to guard the purity of the marriage-bed: but the means which he employed to accomplish these salutary purposes, are of an ambiguous, and perhaps exceptionable, kind. The pious maid, who consecrated her virginal innocence to the altar of true religion, could in no case be led astray by the allurements of this world; till they had reached their forty-fifth year. Widows under that age were compelled to form a second alliance within the term of five years, by the forfeiture of half their wealth to their nearest relations, or to the state. The extreme marriages were condemned or annulled. The punishment of confiscation and exile was deemed so inadequate to the guilt of adultery, that, if the criminal returned to Italy, he might, by the express declaration of Majorian, be slain with impunity. 2

While the emperor Majorian assiduously endeavoured to restore the happiness and virtue of the Romans, he encountered the arduous task of opposing the censures of Genseric the Visigoth, with great success. 3

2 The whole edict (Novell. Major. Al. vi. p. 53) is curious.  
3 Apart from some brief apocryphal stories, Bucolica, Epitoma, and Satyricon, the Emperor's personal correspondence is very scanty, and little, if anything, is to be gathered from the contemporary historians, with the exception of Suetonius. The real historian, in fact, is the poet, who, by the power of his imagination, has given us a more perfect picture of the state of the Empire at the time of Majorian, than any other writer of the period. The art of the commentator has in this instance been more distinctly united with the poetical faculty, and for this reason the poem is far more important than either Sestren or Sibonius.
The single envious, and ceiiinus many second but Sidonius Sidon. Peace is evidence. Sometimes rate he of Romanania who saved this fleet. Immediately he vied with each other in liberal contributions to the public service; and the imperial navy of three hundred large galleys, with an adequate proportion of transports and smaller vessels, was collected in secret and capacious harbour of Carthage in Spain. The city had counterspun the threads of its troops with a confidence of victory; and if we might credit the historian Procopius, his courage sometimes hurried him beyond the bounds of prudence. Anxious to explore, with his own eyes, the state of the enemy, he ventured, recognising the colour of his hair, to visit Carthage, in the chariot of his own ambassador; and Generis was afterwards mortified by the discovery, that he had entertained and dismissed the emperor of the Romans. Such an anec-

dote may be rejected as an improbable fiction; but it is a fiction which would not have been imagined, unless in the life of a hero.

The loss of his fleet Without the help of a personal inter-

view, Generis was sufficiently acquaint-
ed with the genius and designs of his adversary. He practised his customary arts of fraud and delay, but he prolonged his sallies and scoutings. Under the peace became hour more subservise, and perhaps more sincere; but the inflexible Majorian had adopted the ancient maxim, that Rome could not be safe, as long as Carthage existed in a hostile state. The king of the Vandals distrusted the valour of his native sub-

jects, and by the powerful league into which he suspected the fidelity of the vanquished people, who abhorred him as an Arius tyrant; and the despe-

rate measure which he executed, of reducing Mauritia to a desert, 2 could not defeat the operations of the Roman emperor, who was at liberty to direct his troops on the field of the African coast; and the Vandal craft of Generis was saved from impending and inevitable ruin by the treachery of some powerful subjects; envious, or ap-

prehensive, of their master's success. Guided by their secret intelligence, he surprised the unguarded fleet of the Vandals; and it is said he carried away their treasures, and several of their vessels, and the preparations of three years were destroyed in a single day. After this event, the behaviour of the two antagonists showed them superior to their fortune. The Vandals, in-

stead of being elated by this accidental victory, imme-

diately renewed his solicitations for peace. The em-

peror of the west, who was capable of forming great designs, and of supporting heavy disappointments, consented to a treaty, or rather to a suspension of arms; in the full assurance that, before he could re-

store his navy, he should be supplied with provoca-

tions to justify a second war. Majorian returned to

Italy, to prosecute his labours for the public happi-

ness; and as he was conscious of his own integrity, he might long remain ignorant of the dark conspiracy which threatened his throne and his life. The recent Marcellinus and Claudinus, who were reared in the same

place in the same period, and in the same

shiny, and the same delight in the same

knowledge, all that it should

be, the vicissitudes of

numbers, and the

He burnt the villages, and poisoned the springs, (Priscus, p. 422) Devis, (not Latin) which

into the midst of which the Moors buried in the earth, might escape its destructive

shreds in the same

place, and each pit contains at least four hundred bundles of corn, (Shaw's Travels, p. 152.)

in Gallicia, from the power of the Vandals

boldly and honestly declines, Vandals pretender admixture, &c he dissembles, however, the name of the traitor.

whole transaction, as it is related in the first book of Polybius, devi-

ates too much from the plausible course of human events.

e Intera duplici texus dum litterae clausum

In several places, which they could not avoid being hazarded, by an

difference in the figures of Atargemmon, Theseus, and Augustus.

2 Procopii de Bell. Vand. 1. i. c. p. 194. When Generis con-
ducted his unprepared guests into the arsenal of Carthage, the arms
carry of their own accord, Majorian had tinged his yellow locks with a black colour.

3 Diodorus Siculus politus

Immensus, robor luxo jurn penditid, same,

Quo valuit donee panper erat.

Majorian, 590.

He afterwards applies to Generis, urgently, as it should seem, the vis-
duum of a spectator.

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had improved his taste; and his military talents had recommended him to the esteem and confidence of the great Athius, in whose ruin he was involved. By a timely flight, Marcellinus escaped the rage of Valentinian, and boldly asserted his liberty amidst the convulsions of the western empire. His voluntary, or reluctant, submission to the authority of Majorian, was reward of his vanity, rather than his submission; for the command of an army, stationed in that island to oppose, or to attack, the Vandals; but his barbarian mercenaries, after the emperor's death, were tempted to revolt by the artful liberality of Ricimer. At the head of a band of faithful followers, the intrepid Marcellinus occupied the island of Corsica, and proceeded with the command of the west, secured the love of his subjects by a mild and equitable reign, built a fleet, which claimed the dominion of the Adriatic, and alternately the coasts of Italy and of Africa.*

and of Algidius in Gaul.

1 Negotiations with the eastern empire A. D. 482, &c.

2 The port is falsely pronounced Nilus, the river of Egypt, which is divers from the Nile.
the purpose of the present chapter, or even of the present volume, to continue the distinct series of the Byzantine history; but a concise view of the reign and character of the emperor Leo, may explain the last efforts that were attempted to save the falling empire of the west.

Leo, emperor of the east.

Since the death of the younger Theodosius, Constantianus had never been interrupted by war or factions. Pulcheria had bestowed her hand, and the sceptre of the east, on the modest virtue of Marcellian: he gratefully revered her august rank and virgin chastity; and, after her death, he gave his people the example of the religious worship, that was due to the memory of the imperial saint. \(^1\) Attention to the prosperity of his own dominions, Marcellian seemed to behold with indifference the misfortunes of Rome; and the obstinate refusal of a brave and active prince, to draw his sword against the Vandals, was ascribed to a secret promise, which had formerly been exacted from him when he was a captive in the power of Genseric. \(^2\) The death of Marcellian, after a reign of seven or eight years, would have exposed the east to the danger of a popular election, if the superior weight of a single family had not been able to incline the balance in favour of the candidate whose interest they supported. The patrician Aspar might have placed the diadem on his own head, \(^3\) and would have settled the Nervii and the Vandals above the condition of a private subject, by his marriage with Euphemia, the daughter of the emperor Marcellian. This splendid alliance, which might supersede the necessity of merit, hastened the promotion of Anthemius, a barbarian from the name of the emperor, of consular, and of patrician; and his merit or fortune claimed the honours of a victory, which was obtained on the banks of the Danube, over the Huns. Without indulging an extravagant ambition, the son-in-law of Marcellian might hope to be his successor; but Aspar, whose sons had watched his sovereign with a breach of promise, and insolently shaking his purple, "It is not proper (said he) that the man who is invested with this garment, should be guilty of lying." \(^4\) Nor is it proper (replied Leo) that a prince should be compelled to resign his own judgment, and the public interest, to the will of a subject. \(^5\) After this extraordinary scene, it was impossible that the reconciliation of the emperor and the patrician could be sincere; or, at least, that it could be solid and permanent.

An army of barbarians was secretly levied, and introduced into Constantinople; and while Leo undermined the authority, and prepared the disgrace, of the family of Aspar, his mild and cautious behaviour restrained them from any rash and desperate attempts, which might have been fatal to his enemies. The measures of peace and war were affected by this internal revolution. As long as Aspar degraded the majesty of the throne, the secret correspondence of religion and interest engaged him to favour the cause of Genseric. When Leo had delivered himself from that ignominious servitude, he listened to the complaints of the Italians; resolved to extirpate the tyranny of the Vandals; and declared his alliance with his colleague, Anthemius, whom he solemly invested with the diadem and purple of the west.

The virtues of Anthemius have perhaps been magnified, since the imperial situs of the west, descent, which he could only dedicate A. D. 467—472, from the usurper Procopius, has been swelled into a line of emperors. \(^6\) But the merit of his immediate parents, their honours, and their riches, rendered Anthemius one of the most illustrious subjects of the east. His father, Procopius, obtained, after his Persian embassy, the rank of general and patrician; and the name of Anthemius was derived from his maternal grandfather, the celebrated prefect, who protected, with so much ability and success, the infant reign of Theodosius. Anphemius was born above the condition of a private subject, by his marriage with Euphemia, the daughter of the emperor Marcellian. This splendid alliance, which might supersede the necessity of merit, hastened the promotion of Anthemius, a barbarian from the name of the emperor, of consular, and of patrician; and his merit or fortune claimed the honours of a victory, which was obtained on the banks of the Danube, over the Huns. Without indulging an extravagant ambition, the son-in-law of Marcellian might hope to be his successor; but Aspar, whose sons had watched his sovereign with a breach of promise, and insolently shaking his purple, "It is not proper (said he) that the man who is invested with this garment, should be guilty of lying." \(^4\) Nor is it proper (replied Leo) that a prince should be compelled to resign his own judgment, and the public interest, to the will of a subject. \(^5\) After this extraordinary scene, it was impossible that the reconciliation of the emperor and the patrician could be sincere; or, at least, that it could be solid and permanent.

The original authors of the reigns of Marcian, Leo, and Zeno, are reduced to some imperfect fragments, whose deficiencies must be supplied from the more recent compilations of Theophanes, Zonaras, and Cedrenus.

1. St. Pulcheria died A. D. 453, four years before her nominal husband, and her festival is celebrated on the 19th of September, by the modern Greeks; she besought an immense patrimony to pious, or at least pious, foundations, see Tillmann, Memoiren Ecclesiast. xxv. p. 151—155.

2. See Procopius de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 4, p. 185.

3. From the death of Aspar to the accession of Leo, it may be inferred that the main of the peregrina was perpetual and inevitable, while that of the sarmatica was interrupted in the second age of Germanic invasion.

4. Theophanes, p. 95. This appears to be the first origin of a cere monial, which all the christian princes of the world have since adopted; and from which the clergy have deduced the most formidable consequences.

5. Codex (p. 343, 316) who was conversant with the writiers of better days, has preserved the remarkable words of Aspar, εἴ δέ τις εὑρηκόμεν δεοδάτος εἰς τὴν αὐτοκρατορίαν καὶ τὴν ἔνωσιν τῆς οἰκουμενῆς ἱεράς, and οὐ ἔνιπτος, οὐδεπροκείμενος λίτα, οὐδεμισθάσας, τὸ δέ μαίναν ποιημένον, τὸ σαίναν ποιημένον, τὸ κόσμον ποιημένον αὐτοκρατορίαν, (210, &c.) who declined one sceptre, and reluctantly accepted another. (22, &c.) The word καὶ δεοδατός, although it might have applied to all the state: (15—22) and the Chronicle of Theodorus mentions the forces which attended his march.
ties who addressed the throne with con-
ventions, gratulations or complaints. The ear-
ed ends of January were now approaching, and the venal
poet, who had loved Avitus, and esteemed Majorian,
was persuaded by his friends, to celebrate, in heroic verse
his deliverance, and the future triumphs, of the emperor Anastinus.
Sidonius pronounced, with assurance and success, a
panegyric which is still extant; and whatever might
be the imperfections, either of the subject or of the
composition, the welcome flatterer was immediately re-
warded with the pension of Roman citizenship,
which placed him among the most illustrious person-
ages of the empire, till he wisely preferred the more
respectable character of a bishop and a saint.1
The festival of The Greeks ambitiously commend the
piety and catholic faith of the em-
peror whom they gave to the west; or do they forget
to observe, that when he left Constantinople, he
converted his palace into the pious foundation of a public
bath, a church, and an hospital for old men.2 Yet
some suspicious appearances are found to shilly the
theological fame of Anastinus. From the conversa-
tion of the Bishop, the Africa, he ascribed the
blight of the spirit of religious toleration; and the heretics
of Rome would have assembled with impunity, if the
bold and vehement censure which pope Hilary pro-
nounced in the church of St. Peter, had not obliged
him to abjure the unpopular indulgence.3 Even the
participants of the triumphs were denounced by an
in vain hopes of the indifference, or partiality, of An-
astinus; and his singular friendship for the philoso-
pher Sernicus, whom he promoted to the consulship,
was ascribed to a secret project of reviving the ancient
worship of the gods. The Calems were embittered to
dust: and the mythology which the common men of
nations, was so universally disbelieved, that it might be
employed without scandal, or at least without sus-
picion, by christian poets.4 Yet the vestiges of su-
perstition were not absolutely obliterated, and the fes-
tival of the Lupercalia, whose origin had preceded the
foundation of Rome, was still celebrated under the
reign of Anastinus. The savage and simple rites were
expressive of an early state of society before the
invention of arts and agriculture. The rustic deities
who presided over the toils and pleasures of the pas-
tong were still venerated, although by arts such as the fancy of shepherds might create, sportive,
pentulant, and lascivious; whose power was limited,
and whose malice was insensible. A goat was the
offering the best adapted to their character and attrib-
utes; the flesh of the victim was roasted on willow
spits; and the very blood, which was the least
least, ran naked over the fields, with leather thongs
in their hands, communicating, as it was supposed,
the blessings of fecundity to the women whom they
touched.1 The altar of Pan was erected, perhaps by
Evander the Arcadian, in a deep recess in the side of the
Palatine hill, watered by a perpetual fountain, and
shaded by a hanging grove. A tradition, that, in the
same place, Romulus and Remus were suckled by the
wolf, rendered the spot more sacred and venerable in the
eyes of the Romans; and this sylvan spot was gradu-
ally surrounded by the stately edifices of the
Forum.2 After the conversion of the imperial city,
the christians still continued, in the month of February,
the annual celebration of the Lupercalis; to which they
ascribed the descent and mysterious influence of the
genial powers of the animal and vegetable world.
The bishops of Rome were solicitous to abolish a pro-
fane custom, so repugnant to the spirit of christianity;
but their zeal was not supported by the authority of the
civil magistrate: the invertebrate abuse subsisted
till the close of the fifth century, and pope Gelasius,
who purified the capital from the last stain of idolatry,
appeased, by a formal apology, the murmurs of the
senate and people.3
In all his public declarations, the em-
peror Leo assumes the authority, and pro-
tests against the Van-


1 Ovid. (Fast. i. ii. 327—323) has given an amusing description of
the follies of antiquity, which still inspired so much respect, that a
grave magistrate, running naked through the streets, was not an ob-
ject of amusement or laughter.
2 See Dionys. Halicarn. i. i. p. 29, 63, edit. Hudson. The Roman
antiquaries, Donatus (qui fab. c. 18. p. 174, 175, and 176) and Curtius (p. 268, 269)
have laboured to ascertain the true situation of the Lupercal.
3 Barrows publishes the life of Leo, with a full account of the life of
pope Gelasius, (A. D. 395. No. 24—45) which is entitled Adversus Anastinus sive
Romani imperii in salutare imperii, ascribed to Dionysius of Sidon, who
published the festival all the calvinities of the age.
4 Barres quite natural that the Calems commit superbia provisio
... Pues et triumphator sumper Augustus filius monter An-
astinus filic Deiva Majestas et nosca creatio pietae ejus plemn im-
perans commissum... Such is the dignified and solemn
words of Leo, whom Anastinus respectfully names, Donatus et Pater meum
Jacob, in his speech sacratissimo in Civitas Constanti-
num, which was celebrated the eleventh of August, in the consulship of
Caius Theod. Pater.
5 The expeditions of Heracleus is clouded with difficulties, (Tilley-
mont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. vi. p. 646) and it requires some
dexterity to use the circumstances afforded by Theophanes, without in-
jury to the more remote evidence of his authority.
6 The march of Cato from Berenice, in the province of Cyrrene, was
much longer than that of Heracleus from Tripoli. He passed the
dry sandy desert in thirty days, and it was found necessary to pro-
vide, besides the ordinary supplies, a great number of skins filled
with water, and several vessels, which were supposed to arrest the
action of sucking the wounds which had been made by the serpents of their
native country. See Plutarch in Caec. Uticens. tom. iv. p. 525,
Strabo, Geog. i. xvii. p. 1193.
 Romans. The expense of the naval armament, which Leo sent against the Vandals, has been distinctly ascertained; and the curious and instructive account displays the wealth of the declining empire. The royal demesnes, or private patrimony of the prince, supplied seventeen thousand pounds of gold; forty-seven thousand pounds of gold, and seven hundred thousand of silver, were levied and paid into the treasury. The precious metals were reduced to extreme poverty; and the diligent calculation of fines and forfeitures, as a valuable object of the revenue, does not suggest the idea of a just or merciful administration. The whole expense, by whatsoever means it was defrayed, of the African campaign is reckoned to the sum of one hundred and thirty thousand pounds of gold, about five millions two hundred thousand pounds sterling, at a time when the value of money appears, from the comparative price of corn, to have been somewhat higher than in the present age. 1 The fleet that sailed from Constantinople to Carthage, consisted of eleven hundred and thirteen ships, and the number of soldiers and mariners exceeded one hundred thousand men. Basiliscus, the brother of the empress Vornia, was intrusted with this important command. His sister, the wife of Leo, had reared to the merit of his family the Scythians. But the discovery of his guilt, or incapacity, was reserved for the African war; and his friends could only save his military reputation, by assuring, that he had conspired with Aspar to spare Genseric, and to betray the last hope of the western empire. Fantasy has shown, that the unsuccessful expedition of an invader most commonly depends on the vigour and celerity of his operations. The strength and sharpness of the first impressions are blunted by delay; the health and spirit of the troops irretrievably languish in a distant climate; the naval and military force, a mighty effort which perhaps can never be repeated, is silently consumed; and every hour that is wasted in negotiation, accustoms the enemy to contemplate and examine those hostiles, which on their first appearance he deemed irresistible. The formidable navy of Basiliscus pursued its prosperous navigation from the Thracian Bosporus to the coast of Africa. He landed his troops at Cape Bon, or the promontory of Mercury, about forty miles from Carthage. 2 The army of Genseric, and his Christian auxiliaries, consisting of the imperial lieutenant, and the Vandals who opposed his progress by sea or land, were successively vanquished. 3 If Basiliscus had seized the moment of consternation, and boldly advanced to the capital, Carthage must have surrendered, and the kingdom of the Vandals was dismembered; Genseric beheld danger with firmness, and eluded it with his veteran dexterity. He protested, in the most respectful language, that he was ready to submit his person, and his dominions, to the will of the emperor; but he requested a truce of five days to regulate the terms of his submission; and it was universally believed, that his secret liberty contributed to the success of this public negotiation. Instead of obstinately refusing whatever inducement his enemy so earnestly solicited, the guilty, or the credulous, Basiliscus consented to the fatal trap; and his imprudent security seemed to proclaim, that he already considered himself as the conqueror of Africa. During this short interval, the wind became favourable to the designs of Genseric. He manned his largest ships of war with the bravest of the Moors and Vandals; and they towed after them many large barges, filled with combustible materials. In the obscurity of the night, these destructive vessels were impelled against the unguarded and unsuspecting Carthaginians. The whole populace was taken by surprise; and the sense of their instant danger. Their close and crowded assistance of the fire-ships, and to save at least a part of the navy, the galleys of Genseric assaulted them with temperate and disciplined valour; and many of the Romans, who escaped the fury of the flames, were destroyed or taken by the victorious Vandals. Among the events of that disastrous night, the heroe, or rather desperate, courage of John, one of the principal officers of Basiliscus, has rescued his name from oblivion. When the ship, which he had commanded, was covered by the flames, he leaped into the sea, and eluding himself in his armour into the sea, disdainfully rejected the esteem and pity of Genseric, the son of Genseric, who pressed him to accept honourable quarter, and sunk under the waves; exclaiming, with his last breath, that he would never fail alive into the hands of those abominable dogs. Actuated by a far different spirit, Basiliscus, whose station was the most remote from danger, disgracefully fled in the beginning of the engagement, returned to Constantinople with the loss of more than half of his fleet and army, and sheltered his guilty head in the sanctuary of St. Sophia, till his sisters in tears and entreaties, could obtain his pardon from the indignant emperor. Heracleius effected his retreat through the desert; Marcellinus retired to Sicily, where he was assassinated, perhaps at the instigation of Theimer, by one of his own captains; and the king of the Vandals expressed his surprise and satisfaction, that the Romans themselves should remove from the world his most formidable antagonists. 4 After the failure of this great expedition, Genseric again became the tyrant of the sea; the commerce of the whole empire was reduced to his revenge and avarice; Tripoli and Sardinia returned to his obedience; he added Sicily to the number of his provinces; and, before he died, in the fulness of years and of glory, he beheld the final extinction of the empire of the Goths. 5

1 The principal sum is clearly expressed by Procopius; (de Bell. Vandal., l. i. c. 6, p. 191,) the smaller constituent parts, which Titus Mommsen has laboriously collected from the Byzantine writers, are less certain and less important. The historian Majus mounts the public misery; (Excerpt. ex Syd. Const. 6. 12, &c., &c.) but Gellius affirms, that he levied taxes and charges Leo with loading the treasures which he extorted from the provinces. 

2 This promontory is forty miles from Carthage, (Procop., l. i. c. 6, &c.) and twenty from the African continent. It is the most distant part from Sicily. Scipio landed farther in the bay, at the fair promontory; see the annotated description of Livy, xiv. 36, 27. 

3 The Vandals were completely defeated; (Procop., l. i. c. 6,) and the assertion of Jornandes, (de Successione Regn, ii. 30,) that Basiliscus attacked Carthage, must be understood in a very qualified sense.

4 Domasius in Vit. Isidor, apud Phot. p. 1048. It will appear, by comparing the three short chronicles of the times, that Marcellinus had fought near Carthage, and was killed in Sicily.

5 The Vandals were reduced to the same condition; (Procop., l. i. c. 6, &c.) in the end, Genseric falls into the hands of his invader; (Jornandes, de Gent. Hist. c. ii. p. 360.) he released the majesty of his country, (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. vi. p. 266.) and charges Leo with loading the treasures which he extorted from the provinces. 

6 Jornandes is our best guide through the reign of Theodoric II, and Eurie, (de Rhet. Geticis, c. 44, 45, 16, 47, &c. 653-686.) Julianus landed soon, and Isidore in too sparing the information which he might have given on the affairs of Spain. The events that relate to Gaul are laboriously illustrated in the third book of the Abbe Dalos, Hist. Critique, tom. iii. p. 424-509.
violated his recent treaty with the Romans; and the ample territory of Narbonne, which he firmly united to his dominions, became the immediate reward of his perfidy. The selfish policy of Reimer encouraged him to attempt the union of Aquitania, his rival; but the active count, by the defence of Arles, and the victory of Orleans, saved Gaul, and checked during his lifetime the progress of the Visigoths. Their ambition was soon rekindled; and the design of extinguishing the Roman empire in Spain and Gaul, was abandoned, and united, in the reign of Euric, who acknowledged his brother Theodoric, and displayed, with a more savage temper, superior abilities both in peace and war. He passed the Pyrenees at the head of a numerous army, subdued the cities of Saragossa and Pampeluna, vanquished the Suevi in battle the "principal nobs of the Tarraconese province, carried his victorious arms into the heart of Lusitanian, and permitted the Suevi to hold the kingdom of Gallicia under the Gothic monarchy of Spain. The efforts of Euric were not less vigorous, or less successful in Gaul; and throughout the country that extends from the Pyrenees to the Rhone and the Loire. Burgundy and Auvergne were the only cities, or dioceses, which refused to acknowledge him as their master. In the defence of Clermont, their principal town, the inhabitants of Auvergne sustained, with inflexible resolution, the miseries of war, pestilence, and famine; and the little resistance, according to the first views of Euric, suspended the hopes of that important conquest. The youth of the province were animated by the heroic and almost incredible valour of Eudesius, the son of the emperor Avitus, who made a desperate sally with only eighteen horsemen, boldly attacked the Gothic troops, and after maintaining a flying skirmish, retired safe and victorious within the walls of Clermont. His charity was equal to his courage: in a time of extreme scarcity, four thousand poor were fed at his expense; and his private influence levied an army of Burgundians for the deliverance of Auvergne. From his virtues alone the faithful citizens of Gaul derived any hopes of safety or freedom; and even such virtues were insufficient to avert the impending ruin of their country, since they were anxious to learn from his authority and example, whether they should prefer the alternative of exile or servitude. The public concern was not resolved not to have the authority of a Sabin exalted; and the Gauls had too much reason to believe, that Anthenius, who reigned in Italy, was incapable of protecting his distressed subjects beyond the Alps. The feeble emperor could only procure for their assistance the help of twelve thousand British auxiliaries. Riethovenius, one of the independent kings of the Burgundians, or chieftains, of the island, was persuaded to transport his troops to the continent of Gaul; he sailed up the Loire, and established his quarters in Berry, where the people blamed of these oppressive allies, till they were destroyed, or dispersed, by the arms of the Visigoths.

Trials of Ardavan and Aurelianus:

One of the last acts of jurisdiction, which the Roman senate exercised over their subjects of Gaul, was the trial and condemnation of Ardavan the præfectus praetorio.

Sidonius, who rejoices that he lived under a reign in which he might pity and assist a state-criminal, has expressed, with tenderness and freedom, the faults of his indiscreet and unfortunate friend. From the ensemble of merits which he attributed to him, he has praised his prudence rather than wisdom; and such was the various, though uniform, imprudence of his behaviour, that his prosperity must appear much more surprising than his downfall. The second prefecture, which he obtained within the term of five years, abolished the indigence of his preceding administration. His easy temper was corrupted by flattery, and exasperated by opposition; he was forced to satisfy his importunate creditors with the spoils of the province; his capricious insolence offended the nobles of Gaul, and he sunk under the weight of the public hatred. The disgrace summoned him to justify his conduct before the senate; and he passed the sea of Tuscany with a favourable wind, the pressage, as he vainly imagined, of his future fortunes. A decent respect was still observed for the praefectorius rank; and on his arrival at Rome, Ardavan was committed to the hospitals, rather than to the custody, of Flavius Asellius, the count of the sacred largesses, who resided in the capital. He was eagerly pursued by his accusers, the four deputies of Gaul, who were all distinguished by their birth, their dignities, or their eloquence. In the name of a great province, and according to the jurisdiction of Romans jurisprudence, he was substituted a civil and criminal action, requiring such a restitution as might compensate the losses of individuals, and such punishment as must satisfy the justice of the state. Their charges of corrupt oppression were numerous and weighty; but they placed their case more strongly, by a confirmation, than they had intercepted, and which they could prove, by the evidence of his secretary, to have been dictated by Ardavan himself. The author of this letter seemed to disapprove the king of the Goths from a peace with the Greek emperor; he suggested the attack of the Britons on the Loire; and he recommended a division of Gaul, according to the law of nations, between the Visigoths and the Burgundians. These pernicious schemes, which a friend could only palliate by the reproaches of vanity and indigence, were susceptible of a reasonable interpretation; and the deputies had sufficiently established that Ardavan was involved in the downfall of his friends. Ignorant of his real situation, Ardavan showed himself in the capitol in the white robe of a candidate, accepted indiscriminate salutations and offers of service, examined the shops of the merchants, and enquired sometimes with the indifference of a spectator, and sometimes with the attention of a purchaser; and complained of the times, of the senate, of the prince, and of the delays of justice. His complaints were soon removed. An early day was fixed for his trial; and Ardavan appeared, with his accusers, before a numerous assembly of the Roman senate.

The mournful garb, which they affected, excited the compassion of the judges, who were scandalized by the gay and splendid dress of their adversary; and when the prefect Ardavan, with the first of the Gal-
lie deputies, were directed to take their places on the senatorial benches, the same contrast of pride and modesty was observed in their behaviour. In this memorable judgment, which presented a lively image of the old republic, the Gauls exposed, with force and frequency, the character of the prince; and as convinced as the minds of the audience were sufficiently inflamed, they recited the fatal epistle. The obstinacy of Arvan- dus was founded on the strange supposition, that a subject could not be convicted of treason, unless he had actually conspired to assume the purple. As the paper was read, he repeated, and with a loud voice, acknowledged it for his genuine composition; and his astonishment was equal to his dismay, when the unanimous voice of the senate declared him guilty of a capital offence. By their decree, he was degraded from the rank of a prefect to the obscure condition of a plebeian, and ignominiously dragged by servile hands to the public prison. After a fortnight's ad- journement, the senate was again convened to pro- nounce the sentence of his death: but while he expected, in the island of Esculapius, the expiration of the seventy days allowed by law to avenging malefactors, his friends interposed, the emperor or Anthemi us relented, and the prefect of Gaul ob- tained the milder punishment of exile and confiscation. The faults of Arvandus might deserve compassion; but the indignity of Seneca was the occasion of the ruin of the republic, till he was condemned, and exe- cuted, on the complaint of the people of Auvergne. That illustrious minister, the Catiline of his age and country, held a secret correspondence with the Visi- goths, to betray the province which he oppressed: his industry was continually exercised in the discovery of new taxes and obsolete offences; and his ex- travagant vices would have inspired contempt, if they had not excited fear and abhorrence. Such criminals were not beyond the reach of justice; but whatever might be the guilt of Ricimer, that prince, barbarian was able to contend or to nego- tiate with the prince, whose alliance he had con- descended to accept. The peaceful and prosperous reign which Anthemi us had promised to the west, was soon clouded by misfortune and discord. Ric-imer, apprehensive, or importunate, of a superior, retired from Rome and fixed his residence at Milan; an ad- vantageous situation, either to invite, or to repel, the warlike tribes that were settled between the Alps and the Danube. Italy was gradually divided into two insular kingdoms, and the Gallic and the Lombard kings and the nobles of Liguria, who trembled at the near approach of a civil war, felt proportionate at the feet of the patrician, and con- jured him to spare their unhappy country.  "For my own part," replied Ricimer, in a tone of insolent mod- eration, "I am still inclined to embrace the friendship of the Galatian, but who will undertake to appease his anger, or to mitigate the pride which always rises in proportion to our submission?" They informed him, that Epiphanius, bishop of Pavia, united the wisdom of the serpent with the innocence of the dove; and appeared confident, that the eloquence of such an ambassador must prevail against the strong- est opposition, either of interest or passion. Their recommendation was approved; and Epiphanius, asso- ciating the benevolence of his crown, and as a reward for a life, without delay to Rome, where he was received with the honours due to his merit and reputation. The or- ation of a bishop in favour of peace, may be easily supposed: he argued, that, in all possible circumstan- ces, the forgiveness of injuries must be the first of hu- man duties; that, instead of punishment, he instilled that energy, or discourse, and he seriously admonished the emperor to avoid a contest with a fierce barbarian, which might be fatal to himself, and must be ruinous to his dominions. Anthemi us acknowledged the truth of his maxims; but he deeply felt, with grief and indignation, the behaviour of Ricimer; and his passion roused eloquence and energy to his dis- course. "What favours," he warmly exclaimed, "have we refused to this ungrateful man? What pro- vocations have we not endured? Regardless of the majesty of the purple, I gave my daughter to a Goth; and in the presence of your ancestors, I declared to the senate, without fear or error, my sentiments. The liberty which ought to have secured the eternal attachment of Ricimer has exasperated him against his benefactor. What wars has he not excit- ed against the empire? How often has he instigated, with perfidious purpose, to a contest that he would accept his perfidious friendship? Can I hope that he will respect the engagements of a treaty, who has al- ready violated the duties of a son?" But the anger of Anthemi us evaporated in these passionate exclama- tions: he insensibly yielded to the proposals of Epiphanius; and the bishop returned to his diocese with the satisfaction of restoring the peace of Italy, by a reconciliation, of which the sincerity and con- tinuance might be reasonably suspected. The elem- ency of the emperor was extorted from his weakness; and Ricimer suspended his ambitious designs, till he had secretly prepared the sentence which Ricimer; he so resolved to subvert the throne of Anthemi us. The mask of peace and moderation was then thrown aside. The army of Ricimer was fortified by a numerous reinforcement of Burgundians and oriental Suevi; he disclaimed all allegiance to the Greek emperor, march- ed from Milan to the gates of Rome, and fixing his camp on the banks of the Anio, impatiently expected the arri- val of Olybrius, his imperial candidate. The senator Olybrius, of the Anici an family, might esteem himself the lawful- heir of the west, while Ricimer continued to reign. A.D. 472. Married Placidia, the younger daughter of Valentinian, after she was restored by Genseric; who still detained her sister Eudoxia, as the wife, or rather as the captive, of his son. The king of the Vandals supported, by threats and solicitation, the fair pretensions of his Roman ally; and assigned, as one of the motives of the war, the refusal of the sena- te and people to acknowledge their lawful prince, and the unworthy preference which they had given to a stranger. The friendship of the public enemy might under cover of justice, be more useful to him, than the death of Majorian. Perhaps the consilium of Olybrius (A. D. 464) was bestowed as a municipal present. 1 Senatusconsultum Tiberianum; (Sirmond, Not. p. 17.) but only allowed only days between the sentence and execution; the rest condemned in the reign of Olybrius. 2 Catilina seniri nostri. Sidonius, l. ii. epist. 1. p. 331; l. vii. epist. 13. l. vii. 143; l. vii. 165. He executes the crimes, and ex- pands the punishment, of Sertorius, perhaps with the indignation of a virtuous citizen, perhaps with the resentment of a personal enemy. 3 Ricimer, under the reign of Anthemi us, defeated and slew in bat- tle the Burgundians of the province; and as soon as he had married the king of the Burgundians, and he maintained an intimate connexion with the Suevic colony established in Pannonia and Noricum. 4 Galliarn concinnant. Sirmond (in his notes to Ennodius) applies this passage to Anthemi us himself. Anthemi us was probably born in the province of Galatia, whose inhabitants, the Gallo- Grecians, were, at that time, a nation of a very popular people. 5 Epiphanius was thirty years bishop of Pavia. (A. D. 467- 497; see Tillemont, Mem. Eccl. tomo. xvi. p. 78.) His name and actions would have been unknown to posterity, if Ennodius, one of his contemporaries, had not written his life, (which ran from 1647—1694) in which he represents him as one of the greatest char- acters of the age.
tion of an empire. Yet Olybrius yielded to the importunities of his friends, perhaps of his wife; rashly plunged into the dangers and calamities of a civil war; and, with the secret connivance of the emperor Leo, accepted the Italian purple, which was bestowed, and rested only on the barbaric weapon. He had landed without obstacle (for Genseric was master of the sea) either at Ravenna or the port of Ostia, and immediately proceeded to the camp of Ricimer, where he was received as the sovereign of the western world. 1

The patrician who had extended his posts from the Anio to the Milvian bridge, already possessed two quarters of Rome, the Vatican and the Janiculum, which are separated by the Tiber from the rest of the city; and it may be conjectured, that an assembly of preceding senators imitated, in the choice of Olybrius, the forms of a legal election. But the body of the senate and people firmly adhered to the cause of Antheius; and the more effectual support of a Gothic army enabled him to prolong his reign, and the public distress, by a resistance of three months, to the persiflage with which Ricimer, the Saxon and pestilence. At length, Ricimer made a furious assault on the bridge of Hadrian, or St. Angelo; and the narrow pass was defended with equal valor by the Goths, till the death of Gisiler their leader. The victorious troops, breaking down every barrier, rush with irresistible vehemence to the city, and (if we may use the language of a contemporary pope) was subdued by the civil fury of Antheius and Ricimer. The unfortunate Antheius was dragged from his concealment, and inhumanly massacred by the command of his son-in-law; who then added a third to the duration of his reign. Thebes surrendered of its own accord; the same artifices, the same motives, as those of the previous day, were repeated. The soldiers, who united the rage of fictitious citizens with the savage manners of barbarians, were indulged, without control, in the licence of rapine and murder: the crowd of slaves and plebeians, who were unconcerned in the event, could only gain by the indiscriminate pillage; and the face of the city exhibited the strange contrast of stern cruelty and absolute intemperance. 2 Forty days after this calamitous event, the subject, not of glory, but of guilt, Italy was delivered, by a peaceful disease, from the any of Olybrius, and was brought before the command of his nephew Gundobald, one of the princes of the Burgundians. In the same year, all the principal actors in this great revolution were removed from the stage; and the whole reign of Olybrius, whose death does not betray any symptoms of violence, is included within the term of seven months. He left one daughter, the offspring of his marriage with Phaeidia; and the family of the great Theodo- sius, transplanted from Spain to Constantinople, was propagated in the female line as far as the eighth generation. 3

While the vacant throne of Italy was abandoned to theCorsairs, the mother of a new collegae was seriously agitated in the council of Leo. The A. D. 473-475, eress, studies to promote the greatness of her own family, had married one of her nieces to Julius Nepos, who succeeded his uncle Marcellinus in the sovereignty of Dalmatia, a more difficult task than the title which he was persuaded to accept, of emperor of the west. But the measures of the Byzantine court were so languid and irresolute, that many months elapsed after the death of Antheius, and even of Olybrius, before their destined successor could show himself, with a respectable force, to his Italian subjects. During that interval, Glycerius, an obscure soldier, was invested with the purple by his patron Gundobald; but the Burgundian prince was unable, or unwilling, to support his nomination by a civil war; the pursuit of domestic ambition recalled him beyond the Alps, 4 and his client was permitted to exchange the Roman empire for the crown of Sicily. Pursuing such a competitor, the emperor Nepos was acknowledged by the senate, by the Goths, and by the provincials of Gaul: his moral virtues, and military talents, were loudly celebrated; and those who derived any private benefit from his government, announced, in prophetic similitude of a monarch who had triumphed over such a competitor, the emperor Nepos was acknowledged by the senate, by the Goths, and by the provincials of Gaul: his moral virtues, and military talents, were loudly celebrated; and those who derived any private benefit from his government, announced, in prophetic similitude of a monarch victorious over barbarians, who had proceeded from the Vacantis, to the Visigoths, is the only event of his short and inglorious reign. The most faithful subjects of Gaul were sacri- ficed to the avarice of the frontier pastors; the hope of domestic security; but his repose was soon invaded by a furious sedition of the barbarian confederates, who, under the command of Orestes, their general, were, in full march from Rome to Ravenna. Nepos trembled at their approach; and, instead of placing a just confidence in the strength of Ravenna, he hastily escaped to his ships, and retired to his Dalmatian principality, on the opposite coast of the Hadrstrian. By this shameless abdication, he protracted his life about five years, in a very ambiguous state, between an emperor and an ex- ile, till he was assassinated at Salona by the ungrateful cut Plugiarus. This punishment was the reward of his crime, to the archbishop of Milan. 5

The nations, who had asserted their in- tendances, and, after the possession of conquest, in the boundless countries to the north of the Danube; or in the Roman provinces between the Rhine and the Alps. But the bravest of their youths enlisted in the army of confederates, who formed the defence and the terror of Italy; and this promiscuous mul-

The_MS_Reading_5

1. See Darius, Family of Byzantium, p. 74, 75. Arcadii, who appears to have married the niece of the emperor Justinian, was the other eyewitness of the death of Olybrius.
2. The last revolutions of the western empire are minutely noticed in Thobomoc, (p. 162.) Joannes, (c. 43. p. 679.) the Chronicle of the Goths and Vandals, and the remains of an anonymous writer, published by Valmari as the end of Ammianus, (p. 716, 717.) If Placidus had not been so wrong-minded, we should have received from the contemporary histories of Molanus and Candidus. See their Extracts, p. 175-179.
3. See Cecchi, Tom. II, i. 298, in tom. ii. p. 173. Dukus Hist. Crit. tom. i. p. 615. By the murder or death of his two brothers, Gundobald acquired the sole possession of the kingdom of Burgundy, whose rains were hastened by their discord.
4. Julius Nepos, a son of the Roman Senate Augustus or mortals. Sulba
diis, 1, v. ex. 185.) Nepos had been born in Dalmatia, a district of the see, of a patrician, which Antheius had promised, descended Antheius d
5. Epigraphus, a man of considerable activity, without the use of arms. His name, Epigraphus, was received ambassador from Nepos to the Visigoths, more from the purpose of including the Vetra Imperial Hotel. Tenonius in Firmund, tom. i. pp. 1600, 1600.) The paucity of the documents occasioned the disastrous secret, which soon excited the just and bitter complaints of the rich and powerful. 
7. Our knowledge of those mercenaries, who subverted the western empire, is derived from Procopius, (de Bell. Gotico, I. c. 1, p.
titude, the names of the Heruli, the Seyri, the Alani, the Torellini, and the Regini, appear to have predominated. The example of these warriors was imitated by Orestes, the son of Tatullus, and the father of the last Roman emperor of the west. Orestes, who has been already mentioned in this history, had never deserted his country. His birth and fortunes rendered him one of the most illustrious subjects of Pannonia. He entered into the service of Attila, his lawful sovereign, obtained the office of his secretary, and was repeatedly sent ambassador to Constantineople, to represent the person, and signify the commands, of the imperious monarch. The death of that conqueror restored him to his native country, and Orestes might have either followed the sons of Attila into the Scythian desert, or to obey the Ostrogoths, who had usurped the dominion of Pannonia. He preferred the service of the Italian princes, the successors of Valentinian; and, as he possessed the qualifications of courage, industry, and experience, he advanced with rapid steps in the military profession, till he was elevated, by the favour of Nepos himself, to the dignities of patrician, and master-general of the troops. These troops had been long accustomed to reverence the character and attributes of their officers; and Orestes affected to converse with them in their own language, and was intimately connected with their national chieftains, by long habits of familiarity and friendship. At his solicitation they rose in arms against the obscure Greek, who presumed to claim their obedience; and when Orestes entered the camp, he ordered that the garrisons should be compensated with the same facility, to acknowledge his son Augustulus, the last emperor of the west.

A.D. 476. of Nepos, Orestes had now attained the summit of his ambitious hopes; but he soon discovered, that the first year of his reign was the least happy, either of perjury and ingratitude, which a rebel must inculcate, will be retorted against himself; and that the precarious sovereignty of Italy was only permitted to choose, whether he would be the slave, or the victim, of his barbarian oppressors. The dangerous alliance of these strangers had oppressed and insulted the last remains of Roman freedom and dignity. At each revolution, their pay and privileges were augmented; but their insolence increased in a still more extravagant degree; they envied the fortune of their brethren in Gaul, and perceived, that whose victorious arms had acquired an independent and perpetual inheritance; and they insisted on their peremptory demand, that a third part of the lands of Italy should be immediately divided among them. Orestes, with a spirit which, in another situation, might be entitled to our esteem, chose rather to encounter the rage of an armed multitude, than to subscribe the ruin of an innocent people. He rejected the audacious demand; and his refusal was favourable to the ambition of Odoacer; a bold barbarian, who assured his fellow-soldiers, that, if they dared to associate under his command, they might soon extort the justice which had been denied to their dutiful petitions. From all the camps and garrisons of Italy, the confederates, actuated by the same resentment and the same hopes, impatiently flocked to the standard of this popular leader; and the number of Odoacer's followers was overwhelming to the terrified subjects of the town, hastily retreated to the strong city of Pavia, the episcopal seat of the holy Epiphanius. Pavia was immediately besieged, the fortresses were stormed, the town was pillaged; and although the bishop might labour, with much zeal and industry, to save the property of the church, and the chastity of female cap-

2 See Ennodius, (in Vit. Epiphani. Sirmond, tom. i. p. 1699, 1670.) He adds weight to the narrative of Procopius, though we may doubt whether the devil actually contrived the siege of Pavia, to distress the bishop and his clergy. On the life and character of Ennodius, see Greg. Piac., 111. 162; and a Discourse on the Life of St. Jerome, vol. ii. p. 243.

3 Vide ad Italiam, vide vidissima nunc petitius propertiæ; sed maius obsequium, quod ad Epenim, et ad ostrogothos, ouitatis, quam ad Aulem, et ad ostrogothos, ouitatis. Vide Greg. Piac., 111. 162.

4 Vide ad Italiam, vide vidissima nunc petitius propertiæ; sed maius obsequium, quod ad Epenim, et ad ostrogothos, ouitatis, quam ad Aulem, et ad ostrogothos, ouitatis. Vide Greg. Piac., 111. 162.

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condescend to exercise as the viceroy of the emperor of the west. But Odosacer had resolved to abolish that useless and expensive office; and such is the weight of ancient prejudice, that it required some boldness and penetration to discover the extreme facility of the change. The emperor Zeno, the son-in-law and successor of Leo; who had lately been restored, after a short rebellion, to the Byzantine throne. They solemnly "declaim the necessity, or even the wish, of continuing any longer the imperial succession in Italy; since, in their opinion, the majesty of a sole monarch is sufficient to pervade and protect, at the same time, both the east and the west. In their own name, and in the name of the people, they consent that the seat of universal empire shall be transferred from Rome to Constantinople; and they basely renounce the right of choosing their master, the only vestige that yet remained of Roman jurisdiction; and they submit themselves to the world. The republic (they repeat that name without a blush) might safely confide in the civil and military virtues of Odosacer; and they humbly request, that the emperor would invest him with the title of patrician, and the administration of the diocese of Italy. The deposition of the last emperor of the west in the year 491, by a haughty, without marks of displeasure and indignation; and when they were admitted to the audience of Zeno, he sternly reproached them with their treatment of the two emperors, Anthemeus and Nepos, whom the east had successively granted to the prayers of Italy. "The first of these ambassadors," says he, "had shown you have expelled; but the second is still alive, and whilst he lives he is your lawful sovereign." But the prudent Zeno soon deserted the hopeless cause of his abdicated colleague. His vanity was gratified by the title of sole emperor, and by the statues erected to his honour in the several quarters of Rome; he entertained a friendly, though ambiguous, correspondence with the patrician Odosacer; and he gratefully accepted the imperial insignias, the sacred ornaments of the throne and palace, which the barbarian was not unwilling to remove from the sight of the people.\footnote{\textit{Ingrediens autem Ravennas domini Augustalum de resquit, cujus infantius minusius concessit et sanantium; et quo potius factum, tamen domum suam exstat, et usu eorum exstat omnibus suis, et usum eorum Campaniis suis parentibus sui libere vivent, Anonymous, p. 716.} \textit{Jornandii says, (c. 46. p. 650.) in Lucullano Campiani castelli celi poema domini.}}

After twenty years since his death, in the year 499, the death of Valentinian, nine emperors of the Roman empire died at Lucelli or Lucelliani villa.\footnote{\textit{Cesar Tibiius quam petebat Neapolium, in Mesenniam bellam venisset sum.} \textit{Cesaribos postea in exsilii Prospectus Scenium et prospectus Taurae maris.}}

The first was corrupted into Monymius, by the Greeks, and the second has been changed by the Latins into the contemptible diminutive Augustulus. The life of this inoffensive youth was spared by the generous clemency of Odosacer; who dismissed him, with his whole family, from Rome. In the year 547, after an annual allowance at six thousand pieces of gold, and assigned the castle of Lucullus, in Campania, for the place of his exile or retirement.\footnote{\textit{Siculla, in the language of a soldier, praised his pristia custrateare. [Plin. Hist. nat. vii. 7. Pliny makes his study walka (ita virgile) the scene of an insipid tale. (i. 5.) thus described the situation.}}

As soon as the Romans breathed from the toils of the Panic war, they were attracted by the beauties and the pleasures of Campa- nia; and the description of the elder Seipio at Jheronius exhibited a lasting model of their rustic simplicity.\footnote{\textit{See the eloquent Declamation of Seneca, (Epist. lxxvi.) The philosopher might have recollected, that all history is relative; and that the elder Seipio, whose manners were polished by study and conversation, was himselfAccuracy of the text. and his wishes, "had been destroyed by the wiles of a tyrant contem-}pom. (Mem.} \textit{A. D. 476.} \textit{In Lucullano Campiani castelli celi poema domini.}}

The delicious shores of the bay of Naples were crowded with villas; and Sylla applied the masterly skill of his rival, who had seated himself on the lofty promontory of Misenum, that command, on the one side, to the immediate, the other to the impending, the boundaries of the horizon.\footnote{\textit{Qua se rum habebat, et quo potius factum, tamen domum suam exstat, et usu eorum exstat omnibus suis, et usum eorum Campaniis suis parentibus sui libere vivent, Anonymous, p. 716.} \textit{Jornandii says, (c. 46. p. 650.) in Lucullano Campiani castelli celi poema domini.}}

The villa of Marius was purchased, within a few years, by Lucullus, and the price had increased from two thousand five hundred, to more than four thousand, pounds sterling.\footnote{\textit{Siculla, in the language of a soldier, praised his pristia custrateare. [Plin. Hist. nat. vii. 7. Pliny makes his study walka (ita virgile) the scene of an insipid tale. (i. 5.) thus described the situation.}}

It was adorned by the new proprietor with Greek arts, and Asiatic miracles of artificers, and it obtained a distinguished rank in the list of imperial palaces.\footnote{\textit{Cesar Tibiius quam petebat Neapolium, in Mesenniam bellam venisset sum.} \textit{Cesaribos postea in exsilii Prospectus Scenium et prospectus Taurae maris.}}

When the Vandals became formidable to the sea-coast, the Lucullian villa, on the promontory of Misenum, gradually assumed the strength and appeal-
and violence; the Italians alternately lamented the presence or the absence of the sovereigns, whom they detested or admired; and the succession of centuries inflicted the various evils of military licence, capricious despotism, and elaborate oppression. During the same period, the barbarians had emerged from obscurity and contempt, and the warriors of Germany and Scythia were introduced into the provinces, as the soldiers of fortune and as hangers-on and plunderers, and the Romans, whom they insulted or protected. The hatred of the people was suppressed by fear; they respected the spirit and splendour of the martial chiefs who were invested with the honours of the empire; and the fate of Rome had long depended on the sword of those formidable strangers. The stern Rheinhard, who trampled on the ruins of Italy, had exercised the power, without assuming the title, of a king; and the patient Romans were insensibly prepared to acknowledge the royalty of Odoacer and his barbaric successors.

Character and reign of Odoacer. The high station to which his valour had exalted him; his savage manners were polished by the habits of conversation; and he respected, though a conqueror and a barbarian, the institutions, and even the prejudices, of his subjects. After an interval of seven years, Odoacer restored the consulship of the west. For himself, he modestly, or proudly, declined an honour which was still accepted by the emperors of the east; but the eunuch chair was successively filled by eleven of the most illustrious senators; and the list is adorned by the respectable name of Basilius, whose virtues claimed the friendship and grateful applause of Sidonius, his client. The laws of the emperors were strictly enforced, and the civil administration of Italy was still exercised by the praetorian prefect, and his subordinate. The justice of the Roman nation was preserved, and the odious and oppressive task of collecting the public revenue; but he reserved for himself the merit of seasonable and popular indulgence. Like the rest of the barbarians, he had been instructed in the Arian heresy; but he revered the monastick and episcopal characters; and the silence of the Catholics attests the toleration which they enjoyed. The peace of the city required the interposition of his prefect Basilius in the choice of a Roman pontiff: the decree which restrained the clergy from alienating their lands, was ultimately designed for the benefit of the people, whose surplus was thus enabled to repay the dilapidations of the churches. Italy was protected by the arms of its conqueror; and its frontiers were respected by the barbarians of Gaul and Germany, who had so long insulted the feeble race of Theodosius. Odoacer passed the Hadriatic, to chastise the assassins of the emperor Nepos, and to acquire the maritime province of Dalmatia. He passed the Alps, to rescue the remains of Noricum from Fava, or Pelchenus, king of the Rugians, who held his residence beyond the Danube. The king was vanquished in battle, and led away prisoner; a numerous colony of captives and subjects were transplanted into Italy; and Rubeo, after a long period of defeat and disgrace, might claim the triumph of her barbarian master.

Notwithstanding the prudence and success of Odoacer, his kingdom exhibited the military and political decay. Since the age of Tiberius, the decadence of agriculture had been felt in Italy; and it was a just subject of complaint, that the life of the Roman people depended on the accidents of the winds and waves. In the division and decline of the empire, the tributary, harvests of the East, which formerly supplied the needs of the inhabitants, diminished. The exhaustion of the country, by the irrevocable losses of war, famine, and pestilence. St. Ambrose has described the ruin of a populous district, which had been once adorned with the towering cities of Bologna, Modena, Regium, and Piacenza. Pope Gelasius was a subject of Odoacer; and he affirms, with strong exaggeration, that in Emilia, Tuscany, and the adjacent provinces, the human species was almost extirpated. The plebeians of Rome, who were fed by the hand of their master, perished or disappeared. The king soon as his barbarians were frequently repulsed. The decline of the arts reduced the industrious mechanic to idleness and want; and the senators, who might support with patience the ruin of their country, bewailed their private loss of wealth and luxury. One third of the simple estates, to which the ruin of Italy was originally imputed, was taken by the conquerors. Injuries were aggravated by insults; the sense of actual sufferings was imbibed by the fear of more dreadful evils; and as new lands were allotted to new swarm of barbarians, each senator was apprehensive that all the arbitrary surveyors should provide his favourite villa, or his most profitable farm. The least unfortunate were those who submitted without a murmur to the power which it was impossible to resist. Since they desired to live, they owed some gratitude to the tyrant who had spared their lives; and they were assembled by their sovereign, in a council of national importance which he must be accepted as his pure and voluntary gift. The distress of Italy was mitigated by the prudence and humanity of Odoacer, who had bound himself, as the price of his elevation, to satisfy the demands of a licentious and turbulent multitude. The king soon as his barbarians were frequently repulsed. The decline of the arts reduced the industrious mechanic to idleness and want; and the senators, who might support with patience the ruin of their country, bewailed their private loss of wealth and luxury. One third of the simple estates, to which the ruin of Italy was originally imputed, was taken by the conquerors. Injuries were aggravated by insults; the sense of actual sufferings was imbibed by the fear of more dreadful evils; and as new lands were allotted to new swarm of barbarians, each senator was apprehensive that all the arbitrary surveyors should provide his favourite villa, or his most profitable farm. The least unfortunate were those who submitted without a murmur to the power which it was impossible to resist. Since they desired to live, they owed some gratitude to the tyrant who had spared their lives; and they were assembled by their sovereign, in a council of national importance which he must be accepted as his pure and voluntary gift.

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con. (de Gest. Langobard. i. i. c. 19, p. 217, edit. Grat.). In the two Chronicles of Cassiodorus and Cypriania. The life of St. Sernins by Eugenius, which the count de Buat, (Hist. des Peuples, &c. tom. viii. c. 1, § 8, 9.) has diligently studied, illustrates the ruin of Noregnum, and the decay of the monarchy; and the people were subjected by various a Tactit. Ann. ii. 53. The Recueilcs sur l'Administration des Terres chez les Romains. (p. 241—361.) clearly-state the progress of the national decline. A famine, which afflicted Italy at the time of the Irruption of Odoacer, king of the Heruli, is eloquently described in prose and verse, by a French poet, (Les Mois, tom. ii. p. 174, 260. edit. in 12mo.) I am ignorant from whence he derives his information: but I am able to say that it very well corresponds with the known facts of incompatible with the truth of history.

2 Sec the sixty-ninth epistle of St. Ambrose, as it is quoted by Muratori, supra l. Antichità. Italiani, tom. i. Dissert. xxvi. p. 551. Anas. Tuscia, elettorale provincia, from which the genus homonimius, such as Placina, was allotted to the Fravii. Basilius, Junior, possibly his son, was consul in the year 495.

3 Pope Gelasius, and the Emperor Liberius, the latter being consecrated after a long period of illness and uncertainty. The council were condemned by pope Symmachus in a Roman synod.

4 The wars of Odoacer are concisely mentioned by Paul the Dea-
CHAPTER XXXVII.

OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

Origin, progress, and effects of the monastic life.—Conversion of the barbarians to Christianity and Ariusism.—Persecution of the Vandals in Africa.—Extermination of Ariusism among the barbarians.

The indissoluble connexion of civil and ecclesiastical affairs, has compelled, and encouraged, me to relate the progress, the perseverance, the establishment, the privations, the disasters, the divisions, the final triumph, and the gradual corruption, of Christianity. I have purposely delayed the consideration of two religious events, interesting in the study of human nature, and important in the decline and fall of the Roman empire. I. The institution of the monastic life in the East, and II. The conversion of the northern barbarians.

I. Prosperity and peace introduced the distinction of the vulgar and the ascetic Christians. The loose and imperfect practice of religion satisfied the conscience of the soldier or merchant, reconciled their fervent zeal, and impious faith, with the exercise of their profession, the pursuit of their interest, and the indulgence of their passions; but the ascetics, who obeyed and abused the rigid precepts of the gospel, were inspired by their own enthusiasm, and despised all the which and transcendent monastic usages as criminal, and God as a tyrant. They seriously renounced the business, and the pleasures, of the age: abused the use of wine, of flesh, and of marriage; chastised their body, mortified their affections, and embraced a life of misery, as the price of eternal happiness. In the reign of Constantine, the ascetics fled from a profane and degenerate world, to perpetual solitude, or religious society. Like the first Christians of Jerusalem, they resigned the use, or the property, of their temporal possessions; established regular communities of the same sect, in a similar disposition; and purchased the objects of their faith with the money of their own. Such was the state of Her. Monasters and Marchonides, expressive of their lonely retreat in a natural or artificial desert. They soon acquired the respect of the world, which they despised; and the loudest applause was bestowed on this Divine Philosophy, which surpassed, without the aid of force, or magistrate, the laborious virtues of the Grecian schools. The monks might indeed contend with the stoics, in the contest of fortune, of pain, and of death; the Pythagorean silence and submission were revived in their servile discipline; and they disdained, as firmly as the eye, the breath, and the bones, of all the weights and the cares of society. But the vortices of this divine philosophy aspired to imitate a purer and more perfect model. They trod in the footsteps of the prophets, who had retired to the desert; and they restored the devout and contemplative life, which had been instituted by the Essenes, in Palestine and Egypt. The philosophic forms of Plato by the Origenus consecrated to the religious world, and inspired mystic and prophetic usages among the first and foremost ascetics; and the monks, who were men of the world, who dwelt among the palm-trees near the Dead sea; who subsisted without money, who were propagated without women, and who derived from the disgust and repentance of mankind, a perpetual supply of voluntary associates.

Egypt, the cradle of superstition and Christianity, was the first example of the monastic life of Egypt. The youth of the lower parts of Thebaïs, distributed his property, deserted his family and native home, and executed his monastic penance with original and inexpressible enthusiasm. After a long and laborious novitiate, among the tombs, and in a ruined tower, he boldly advanced into the desert three days' journey to the eastward of the Nile; discovered a lonely spot, which possessed the advantages of shade and water, and fixed his last residence on mount Colzin, near the Red sea; where an ancient monastery still preserves the name and memory of the saint. The curious devotion of the Christians pursued him to the desert, and when he was obliged to appear at Alexandria, in the face of mankind, he supported his fame with discretion and dignity. He enjoyed the friendship of Athanasius, who consecrated to his doctrine three of his monks, and they were respectively declined a respectful invitation from the emperor Constantine. The venerable patriarch (for Antony attained the age of one hundred and five years) held the nether progeny which had been formed by his example, and his lesson, the only herd of monks multiplied with rapid increase on the sands of Libya, upon the south of Thebaïs, and in the cities of the Nile. To the south of Alexander, the mountain, and adjacent desert, of Nitria, were peopled by five thousand monks; and the traveller may still investigate the ruins of fifty philanthropic establishments, which were planted in that barren soil by the disciples of Antony. In the Upper Thebaïs, the vacant island of Tabennœ was occupied by Psichonius and fourteen hundred of his brethren. That holy abbot successively founded nine monasteries of men, and one of women; and the festival of


2 See Athenaeus, We. op. ii. p. 450—505, and the Vit. Patr. vol. 10, p. 74, with Roscoe's Annotations. The former is the Greek original; the latter the a very ancient Latin version by Evagrius, the friend of St. Jerome.

3 The origin of the monastic institution has been laboriously dis- cussed by Thurmser (Disciplin de Eclesiae, tomo. p. 149—1426) and Helyot, (Hist. des Ordres Monastiques, tomo. i. p. 1—66). These authors are very learned and evidently honest, and their difference of opinion shows the subject in its full extent. Yet the cautious protestant, who distrusts any popey guides, may consult the several books of Bingham's Christian Antiquities.

4 See Eusebius, Contra. Evanget. (t. i. p. 20, 21, edit. Grac. Rob. Stephanus, 1633, 1634, vol. iii. p. 14) the History, published twelve years after the Monastery of Eusebius, (i. c. p. 17) asserts that the institution was first established in Egypt. That the Cenobites of Egypt had the same name as the regular institution was revived in Egypt.

5 Tertull. lib. viii. c. 58. (ch. v. 38) claims this origin for the institution of the Carabodes, which gradually decayed till it was restored by Anthony and his disciples.

6 See Paphnutius, De origine et institutione instituti monastici, (cit. Surius, Theol. tom. iii. p. 191.) Some modern writers, Lipsius (tom. iv. p. 318) Musculus (tom. ii. p. 337) and other biographers, have made the same discovery. When a similar institution was revived in Egypt. Eusebius, Contra. Evanget. (t. i. p. 20, 21, edit. Grac. Rob. Stephanus, 1633, 1634, vol. iii. p. 14) The Cenobites derive their pedigree, in regular succession, from the prophet Elijah. (See the Theor. of Eusebius, A.D. 1622, in Bayle's Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, Oeuvres, tomo. i. p. 92, &c. and the prolix many of the Ordres Monastiques, is an anonymous work, to which is prefixed a short discourse, which describes the silent and profound jealous of the Critics of the Jews of Flanders, (Helyot, Hist. des Ordres Monastiques, tomo. viii. p. 394—395), and to which is added a succinct narrative of the miracles of Elijah, the Carmelite, has been erected in the church of St. Peter. (Voyage au Fe. Levant, tom. iii. p. 87.)

7 This passage is quoted by Archbishop Usher's notes on the monastic life at p. 122. See also: "An Letter of 1811 to the Bishop of Liverpool," 1792, the author of this letter of January 1792 was afterwards transferred to the great monastery of Bau or Buda. (Mem. Eccles. tom. vii. p. 675—685.)
Easter sometimes collected fifty thousand religious persons, who followed his angelic rule of discipline. 1

The rich and cultivated monks, the scholars and devouts of Christian orthodoxy, had devoted the temples, the public edifices, and even the ramparts, to pious and charitable uses; and the bishop, who might preach in twelve churches, computed ten thousand females and twenty thousand males of the monastic profession. 2

The Egyptian, rich, between fourteen and eighteen revolutions, were disposed to hope, and to believe, that the number of monks was equal to the remainder of the people; and posterity might repeat the saying, which had formerly been applied to the sacred animals of the same country, that, in Egypt, it was less difficult to find a mummy than a monk. 3

Athanasius introduced into Rome the knowledge and practice of the monastic life; and a school of this new philosophy was opened by the disciples of Antony, who had accompanied their priest to the holy threshold of the Vatican. The strange and sanitary habits of these Egyptians excited, at first, horror and contempt, and, at length, applause and zealous imitation. The seminaries, and more especially the monasteries, transformed their palaces and villas into religious houses; and the institution of the monasteries was eclipsed by the频繁的修道院，which were seated on the ruins of ancient temples, and in the midst of the Roman forum. 4

Induced by the example of Antony, a Syrian youth, whose name was Hilarion, 5 fixed his abode on a sandy headland near the sea, and a mistress, about seven miles from Gaza. The austere penance in which he persisted forty-eight years, diffused a similar enthusiasm; and the holy man was followed by a train of two or three thousand monachos, whenever he visited the innumerable monasteries in Palestine, Syria, and Arabia. The fame of David 6 is immortal in the monastic history of the east. With a mind, that had tasted the learning and eloquence of Athens; with an ambition, scarcely to be satisfied by the archbishopric of Cæsaræa, Basil retired to a savage solitude in Pontus; and designed, for a while, to give law to the spiritual colony which he promiscuously scattered along the coast of the Black Sea. In Martin in Gaul, the west, Martin of Tours, 7 a soldier, a hermit, a bishop, and a saint, established the monasteries of Gaul; two thousand of his disciples followed him to the grave; and his example challenges the deserts of the Thebaid, to produce, in a more favourable climate, a champion of equal virtue. The progress of the monks was not less rapid, or universal, than that of Christianity itself. Every city, and every spot of the empire, was filled with their increasing multiplicities; and the bleak and barren isles, from Lérins to Lipari, that rise out of the Tuscan sea, were chosen by the monks, for the place of their voluntary exile. An easy and perpetual intercourse by sea and land connected the provinces of the Roman world; and the life of Hilarion displays the faith and wit which an indigent hermit of Palestine might traverse Egypt, embark for Sicily, escape to Epirus, and finally settle in the island of Cyprus. 8

The Latin Christians embraced the religious institutions of Rome. The pilgrims, who visited Jerusalem, eagerly sought the most distant climates of the earth, the faithful model of the monastic life. The disciples of Antony spread themselves beyond the tropic, over the christian empire of Ethiopia. 9

The monastery of Bancor, in Flintshire, which contained above two thousand monks, received a numerous colony of the barbarians of Ireland; 10 and Iona, one of the Hebrides, which was planted by the Irish monks, diffused over the northern regions a doubtful ray of science and superstition. 11

These unhappy exiles from social life, Caesars or of its Chars, were the secret dark and inexplicable genius of superstition. Their mutual resolution was supported by the example of millions, of either sex, of every age, and of every rank; and each proponent, who entered the gates of a monastery, was persuaded, that he trod the steep and thorny path of asceticism, and   

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2 When Hilarion sailed from Patrascum to Cape Pachynus, he offered to pay his passage with a book of the Apocalypse, by a Gallic monk who had visited Egypt, found a merchant-ship bound from Alexandria to Marseille, and performed the voyage in thirty days. (Sulp. Sever. Dial. l. 1.) Athanasius, who addressed his life of St. Antony to the foreign monks, was obliged to have the composition, that it might be ready for the sailing of the fleets, (I. H. P. 351. 354.)

3 See in the Codex Regalas (published by Lucas Hibernicus, Rome, 1613.) a preface of St. Jeron to his Latin version of the Rule of Pachomius, tom. i. p. 31.

4 Rufin. c. 7. in Vit. Pamm. p. 432. He calls it civitas amplectis et populus, and reckons twelve churches. Strabo l. xvii. p. 1167; Plin. l. iv. 118.; Ixionus, whose inhabitants adored a stuffed fish in a magnificent temple, near the admission, aedes Sylvarum.

5 Quantulum populi habuerit, tuas populus habuerat, in seculos antiquissimae monasticae. Rufin. c. 7. in Vit. Pamm. p. 461. He gives directions concerning the monastic change.

6 The introduction of the monastic life into Rome and Italy, is occasioned mentioned by Jérôme, tom. i. p. 231, 252. The story of Hilarion, Hellen, and St. Hilic, by the same author, are admirably told, and the only defect of the representation in this composition is the want of truth and common sense.

7 These were disturbed by long and frequent aggravations. Some critics have disputed the authenticity of his ecclesiastical rules; but the external evidence is very strong, and they can only prove that it is a work of later composition. Jérôme, tom. iv. p. 694, 695. Helyot, Hist. des Ordres Monastiques, tom. i. p. 172.

8 See his Life, and the Three Dialogues by Sulpicius Severus, who assures (Octav. 1. 16.) that the inhabitants of Rome were delighted with the quick and ready sale of his popular work.
or dignity on the monastic profession. The indignant father bewailed the loss, perhaps, of an only son; * the credulous maid was betrayed by vanity to violate the laws of nature; and the indelicate perfidy of their being the virtues of domestic life. * Paula yielded to the persuasive eloquence of Jerom; and the profane title of mother-in-law of God, * tempted that illustrious widow to consecrate the virginity of her daughter Eustochium. By the advice, and in the presence of her son, Jerom, she abandoned Rome and her infant son; retired to the holy village of Bethlem; founded an hospital and four monasteries; and acquired, by her alms and penance, an eminent and conspicuous station in the catholic church. Such rare and illustrious penitents were celebrated as the glory and example of the Christian age, whose passions were filled by a crowd of obscure and abject plebeians, * who gained in the cloister much more than they had sacrificed in the world.

Piousness, slaves, and mechanics, might escape from poverty and contempt, to a safe and honourable profession; whose apparent hardships were mitigated by the combination, and the relaxation of discipline. The subjects of Rome, whose persons and fortunes were made responsible for unqualified and exorbitant tributes, retired from the oppression of the imperial government; and the panhandle-rous youth preferred the penance of a monk to the luxury of a slave. The affrighted provincials of every rank, who fled before the barbarians, found shelter and subsistence; whole legions were buried in these religious sanctuaries; and the same cause, which relieved the distress of individuals, impelled the strength and fortitude of the empire.

Character of the monks. 4

One of the main objects of the anonymous writer, the monk, was an act of voluntary devotion. The inconstant fanatic threatened with the eternal vengeance of the God whom he desolated; but the doors of the monastery were still open for repentance. Those monks, whose condescension was fortified by reason or passion, were at liberty to resume the character of men and citizens; and even the spouses of Christ might receive the blessing of the cloister. * The examples of scandal, and the progress of superstition, suggested the propriety of more forcible restraints. After a sufficient trial, the fidelity of the novice was secured by a solemn and perpetual vow; and his irreproachable engagement was ratified by the hand of the church and state. He was pursued, arrested, and restored to his perpetual prison; and the interposition of the magistrate opposed the freedom and merit, which had alleviated, in some degree, the abject slavery of the monastic discipline. * The actions of a monk, his words, and even his thoughts, were determined by a code of laws, and the slightest offences were corrected by di grace or confinement, extraordinary farts or bloody flagellation; and disobedience, murder, or delay, were ranked in the catalogue of the most heinous sins. * A blind submission to the commands of the abbot, however absurd, or even criminal, they might seem, was the ruling principle, the first virtue, of the Egyptian monks; and their patience was frequently exercised by the most extravagant trials. They were directed to remove an enormous rock; assiduously to water a barren stuff, that was planted in the ground, till, at the end of three years, it should yield a crop; and a monk was allowed to make a lute; to walk into a fiery furnace; or to cast their infant into a deep pond; and several saints, or madmen, have been immortalized in monastic story, by their thoughtless and fearless obedience. * The freedom of the mind, the source of every generous and rational sentiment, was destroyed by the hypocrisy of the heretical submission; and the monk, contracting the vices of a slave, devoutly followed the faith and passions of his ecclesiastical tyrant. The peace of the eastern church was invaded by a swarm of fanatics, incapable of fear, or reason, or humanity; and the imperial troops acknowledged as illustrious a new name of barbarians, less apprehensive of an encounter with the fiercest barbarians.

Superstition has often framed and their dress and conspired the fantastic garments of the monks; but their apparent singularity sometimes creates an imitation. * The ecclesiastical and primitive model, which the revolutions of fashion have made ridiculous in the eyes of mankind, the father of the Benedictines expressly disclaims all idea of choice or merit; and sobriety exerts his disciples to

4 Dr. Middleton (vol. I. p. 110.) literally censures the conduct and writings of Chrysostom, one of the most eloquent and successful advocates for the monastic life. * The first statutes relative to the organization of monasteries forbid these abuses. The wife could not devote herself to the cloister and be consecrated to the service of God, without the consent of the husband. (St. Basil. epist. xxii. xiv.) A child war, or was the legitimate offspring of the marriage. (Graec. ch. 16.) A slave against the will of his master. (c. Chalcid. ch. 4.) But the emperor Justinian removed these prohibitions and permitted slaves, who were born in the possession of their masters, their parents or their husbands, (Nov. 22, c. 1.) to enter the holy Monastery. The excommunication is ridiculous and absurd. "If all the members of my body were changed into leeches, and all my limbs resounded with a human voice, yet should I be incapable," &c.


6 A Dominican friar, (Voyages du P. Lestib. tom. I. p. 18.) who lodged at Cudiz in a convent of his brethren, soon understood that his repose was never interrupted by nocturnal devotion; "slept upon" on the alm of the public, while his petrification of the people.

7 See a very sensible preface of Lucas Holstenius in the Codex Gregorii, the emperor attempted to substitute the obligation of particular duties for the abhorrence of the general law. This was the torrent of superstition; and Justinian surpassed the most extravagant fears of the early martyrs. (Instit. 1. vi. c. 2.) Danville, (in Comm. de l'Instruction publique, tom. ii. p. 237.)


9 (The romanus Valesius in particular has deserve for a touch: contre la grace, qu'est marte d'ailleurs, sa petite defense, ou s'acquit figure in solemne consistence. Des ouvrages d'art, ou les religions la constitution marseillaise. (Cod. Thom. ii. tit. 106, lib. ii. cap. 6-7.)
The DECLINE and FALL. Chap. XXXVII.

...adopt the coarse and convenient dress of the countries which they may inhabit. The monastic habits of the ancients varied with the climate, and their mode of life; and they assumed, with the same indifferency, the dress of Egyptians, or Syrians, or the gowns of the Grecian philosophers. They allowed themselves the use of linen in Egypt, where it was a cheap and domestic manufacture; but in the west, they rejected such an expensive article of foreign luxury. It was the practice of the monks either to cut or shave their hair, - they wrapped their sheets in a cowl, to escape the sight of profane objects; their legs and feet were naked, except in the extreme cold of winter; and their slow and feeble steps were supported by a long staff. The aspect of a genuine anachoret was horrid and disgusting; every sensation that is offensive to man, was thought acceptable to God; and the angelic rule of Tabenne condemned the salutary custom of bathing the limbs in water, and of anointing them with oil. The austere monks slept on the ground, on a hard mat, or a rough blanket; and the same bundle of palm-leaves, with which they warmed themselves, they used for a pillow in the night. Their original cellars were built, a little of the smallest materials; which formed, by the regular distribution of the streets, a large and populous village, enclosing, within the common wall, a church, an hospital, perhaps a library, sometimes a garden, and a cistern or reservoir of fresh water. Thirty or forty brethren composed a family of separate discipline and diet; and the great monasteries of Egypt consisted of thirty or forty families.

Their diet. Pleasure and guilt are synonymous terms in the language of the monks: and they had discovered, by experience, that rigid fasts and abstemious diet, are the most effectual preservatives against the impure desires of the flesh. The rules of abstinence, which they imposed, or practised, were not uniform or perpetual; the cheerful festival, in Lent, was balanced by the extraordi- nary mortification of Lent; the fervour of new monasteries was insensibly relaxed; and the voracious appetite of the Galls could not imitate the patient and temperate virtue of the Egyptians. The disciples of An- tony and Anthony were more cautious with their daily alms; and, with their daily sustenance, a piece of twelve ounces of bread, or rather biscuit, which they divided into two frugal repasts, of the afternoon, and of the evening. It was esteemed a merit, and almost a duty, to abstain from the boiled vegetables which were provided for the refectory; but the excess of the abbeys in luxury, induced them with the luxury of cheese, fruit, salted, and the small dried fish of the Nile. A more ample latitude of sea and river fish was gradually allowed or assumed; but the use of flesh was long confined to the sick or travellers; and when it gradually prevailed in the less rigid monasteries of Europe, a singular disposition in the monastic body, it was a necessary consequence, that the use of flesh and poultry, which had been less profane than the grosser animals of the field. Water was the pure and innocent beverage of the primitive monks; and the founder of the Benedicines regret the daily portion of half a pint of wine, which had been extorted from him by the domination of the age. Such an allowance might be easily supplied by the vineyards of Italy; and his victorious disciples, who passed the Alps, the Rhine, and the Baltic, required, in the place of wine, an adequate compensation of strong beer or cyder.

The candidate who aspired to the vi- - Their monastic use of evangelical poverty, abjured, at his first entrance into a regular community, the idea, and even the name, of all separate or exclusive possession. The brethren were supported by their manual labour; and the duty of labour was strenuously recommended as a penance, as an exercise of faith, as the almost burnt offering of the day.7 The garden, and fields, which the industry of the monks had often rescued from the forest or the moors, were diligently cultivated by their hands. They performed, without reluctance, the menial offices of husbandmen and domestics; and the several tasks of the kitchen were discernible in their habit, their utensils, and their lodging, exercised within the precincts of the great monasteries. The monastic studies have tended, for the most part, to darken, rather than to dispel, the cloud of superstition. Yet the curiosity or zeal of some learned solitaries has cultivated the ecclesiastical, and even the profane, sciences; and posterity must gratefully acknowledge, that the monuments of Greek and Roman literature have been preserved and multiplied by their indefatigable pens. But the more humble industry of the monks, especially in Egypt, was contended with the silent, solitary occupation, of making wooden sandals, or of twisting the leaves of the palm-tree into mats and baskets. The superfluous stock, which was not consumed in domestic use, supplied, by trade, the wants of the community; the monastic palaces, through the slavish orders of the abbots, described the Nile as far as Alexandria; and, in a christian market, the sanctity of the workmen might enhance the intrinsic value of the work.

But the necessity of manual labour, was insensibly superseded. The novice was taught to turn his hand to the arts and sciences of the saints, in whose society he was resolved to spend the remainder of his life; and the pernicious indulgence of the laws permitted him to receive, for their use, any future acquisitions of legacy or inheritance.6 Melania contributed her plate, three hundred pounds' weight of silver;
and Paula contracted an immense debt, for the relief of their favourite monks; who kindly imparted the merits of their prayers and penance to a rich and liberal sinner.

Time continually increased, and accumulated on the estates of the monasteries, which spread over the adjacent country and cities; and, in the first century of their institution, the indefat Zosimus has maliciously observed, that, for the benefit of the poor, the christian monks had reduced a great part of mankind to a state of beggary. As long as they maintained their original fervour, they焘warded themselves, however, the faithful and benedictive interest which was intrusted to their care. But their discipline was corrupted by prosperity: they gradually assumed the pride of wealth, and at last indulged the luxury of expense. Their public luxury might be excused by the magnificence of religious worship, and the decent motive of erecting durable habitations for an immortal society. But every age of the church has accused the licentiousness of the degenerate monks; who no longer remembered the object of their institution, embraced the vain and sensuous life of the worldly, and profaned the church, and scandalously abused the riches which had been acquired by the austere virtues of their founders. Their natural descent, from such painful and dangerous virtue, to the common vices of humanity, will not, perhaps, excuse much grief or indignation in the mind of a philosopher.

Their solitude. The lives of the primitive monks were consumed in penance and solitude; undisturbed by the various occupations which fill the time, and exercise the faculties, of reasonable, active, and social beings. Whenever they were permitted to step beyond the precincts of the monastery, two jealous companions were the mutual guards and spies of each other's actions; and, after their return, they were condemned to forget, or, at least, to suppress, whatever they had seen or heard in the world. Strangers, who professed the orthodox faith, were hospitably entertained in a separate apartment; but their dangerous conversation was restricted to some chosen elders of approved discretion and fidelity. Except in their presence, the monastic slave might not receive the visits of his friends or kindred; and it was deemed highly meritorious, if he afflicted a tender sister, or an aged parent, with his company. The monks themselves passed their lives, without personal attachments, among a crowd, which had been formed by accident, and was detained, in the same prison, by force or prejudice. Recluse fanatics have few ideas or sentiments to communicate; a special licence of the abbot regulated the time and manner of their familiar visits; and, at their silent meals, they were enveloped in their cowls, inaccessible, and almost invisible, to each other. Study is the resource of solitude.

h See Jerom, (tom. i. p. 176, 183.) The monk Pambo made a sublime answer to Melarich, who wished to specify the value of her gift. "Do you offer it to me, or to God? If to God, we suspend the money, and give it to such a beggar, that is not unfrequently our plate." (Pallad. Hist. Orient. c. 10. in the Vit. Patrum, i. viii. p. 171.)

1 It is not improbably that the sect of a tri-dimensional universe, in which the world is threefold, was for surpassed by the princiably greatest of the Benedictines.

2 The sixth general council (the Quinisext) in Trullo, Caro vivi, in Beveridge, tom. i. 313,) restricts women from passing the night in a male, or men in a female, monastery. The seventh general council (in the fourth century) thoroughly prohibited the erection of double or promiscuous monasteries of both sexes: otherwise, when the prohibition was not effectual. On the irregular pleasures and excesses which were prevalent in monasteries, see Thunman, tom. ii. p. 134—1365.

3 The celebration of this holiday is not without considerable confessions of a Benedictine abbots. "My vow of poverty has given me a hundred thousand spiritual riches, and I go from the abbeys to the rank of a sovereign prince."—I forget the consequences of his ostentation.

4 Plor, an Egyptian monk, allowed his sister to see him; but he shut his eyes during the whole visit. See Vit. Patrum, i. iii. p. 304. Madison. I. ii. pp. 545—546.

5 The 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th, of the Rule of Pachomius, impose most intolerable bans of silence and mortification.

In the diurnal and nocturnal prayers the monks are copiously discussed by Cassian, in the third and fourth books of his Institutions; and he constantly preserves the liturgy, which an angel had dictated to the monasteries of Tabulae.


The monks were divided into two classes. The Cenobites see the Origi-nale and regular discipline; and the Anachorists, who indulged their unsocial, independent fanaticism. The most devout, or most ambitious, of the spiritual brethren, renounced the convent, as they had renounced the world. The fervent monasteries of Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, were surrounded by a Laura; a
distant circle of solitary cells; and the extravagant penance of the hermits was stimulated by applause and derision.† They sunk under the painful weight of crosses and chains; and their emaciated limbs were confined by collars, bracelets, gauntlets, and greaves, of messy and rigid iron. All superfluous ornament had been removed; they crept along the earth, and some savage saints of both sexes have been admired, whose naked bodies were only covered by their long hair. They aspired to reduce themselves to the rude and miserable state in which the human brute is scarcely distinguished above his kindred animals; and with a numerous sort of punishment, and their minds from their humble practice of grazing in the fields of Mesopotamia with the common herd.‡ They often usurped the den of some wild beast whom they affected to resemble; they buried themselves in some gloomy cavern, which art or nature had scooped out of the rock; and the marble quarries of Thebais are still inscribed with the monuments of their penance. The most perfect hermits are supposed to have passed many days without food, many nights without sleep, and many years without speaking; and glorious was the man (I abuse that name) who contrived any cell, or set himself to construct a hut, which might expose him, in the most inconvenient posture, to the inclemency of the seasons.

Simeon Stylites. Among these heroes of the monastic A. D. 520. life, the name and genius of Simeon Stylites †† have been immortalized by the singular invention of an aerial penance. At the age of thirteen, Simeon deserted the profession of a shepherd, and threw himself into an austere monastery. After a long and painful noviciate, in which Simeon was repeatedly saved from pious suicide, he established his residence on a mountain, about thirty or forty miles to the east of Antioch. Within the space of a mandura, or circle of stones, to which he had attached himself by a ponderous chain, he ascended a column, which was successively raised from the height of nine, to that of sixty, feet from the ground. In this last, and lofty, station, the Syrian monarch resisted the heat of thirty summers, and the cold of as many winters. Habit and exercise instructed him to maintain his dangerous situation without fear or giddiness, and successively to assume the different postures of devotion. He sometimes prayed in an erect attitude, with his outstretched arms, in the figure of a cross; but his most familiar practice was that of bending his meagre skeleton from the forehead to the feet; and a curious spectator, after numbering twelve hundred and forty-four repetitions, at length desisted from the endless account. The progress of an ulcer in his thigh ‡‡ might shorten, but it could not disturb this celestial life; and the patient hermit expired, without descending from his column. A prince, who should capriciously inflict such tortures, would be deemed a tyrant; but it would surpass the power of a tyrant, to impose a long and miserable existence on the reluctant victims of his cruelty. This voluntary martyrdom must have gradually destroyed the sensibility both of the mind and the body; nor can it be presumed that the fanatics, who torment themselves, are susceptible of any lively affection for the rest of mankind. A cruel unfeeling tempest was in this instance kindled upon the reverend and stereotyped nation; their stern indifference, which is seldom modified by personal friendship, is inflamed by religious hatred; and their merciless zeal has strangled the holy office of the Lquisition.

The monastic saints, who excite only the contempt of the world, and are or were without the influence of miracles and the confusions of history, were respected, and almost adored, by monks; the princes and people. Successive crowds of pilgrims from Gaul and India saluted the divine pillar of Simeon; the tribes of Saracens disputed in arms the honour of his benediction; the queens of Arabia and Persia generally confessed his supernatural virtue; and the angelic hermit was consulted by the younger Theodosius, in the most important concerns of church and state. His remains were transported from the mountain of Telenissa, by a solemn procession of the patriarch, the master-general of the east, six bishops, seventy-two prelates, three thousand monks, and each one of these was an author. Theodoret, and Cyprian, the apocryphal historian, have preserved the story of the miraculous restoration of the two sons of the emperor of the East, mentioned in the first book of the Miracles of Simeon. The oracle of the monks, a secret delivered by storms of rain and thunder, and almost imitated by a true angel, invited him to ascend, like Elijah, into a new chariot. The story too highly raised his stature, and again seized the monastic stigmatics of inducing the stigmatism on his vanity.

These cells. When Genseric founded his monastery in the wilderness of Jordan, it was accompanied by a Laura of seventy cells.

† Theodoret, in a large volume, the Philosophers in Vit. Patrum, I. ix. 116, describes the lives and works of thirty-four Syrian monks. Evagrius (I. c. 12) more briefly celebrates the monks and hermits of Mesopotamia.

‡ Sxoumen, I. vi. c. 33. The great St. Epiphanius composed a panegyric on these avon, or grazing monks. (Tilmouritz, Mens. Eccl. tom. viii. p. 572.)

†† The P. Sicard, (Missions du Levant, tom. ii. p. 217—233.) examined the cellars of the Lower Thebais, with a very curious and learned work. The inscriptions are in the old Syrian character, which was used by the Christians of Hauran in the 6th century.†‡ and 111.


‡ The narrows circumstances of two cubes, or three feet, which Evangelist assigns for the summit of the column, is inconsistent with respect, with facts, and with the rule of architecture. The people who have designed, have not been easily deceived, for the number very much exceeds the thousand pages of that voluminous work. An elegant specimen may be found in the edification of the five thousand men at Martin. He restores the monks of Egypt; yet he insults them with the remark, that they never raised the dead; whereas this bishop of Tours had restored three dead men to life.

‡‡ I know not how to select or specify the miracles contained in the life of the Syrian monks. A thousand pages of that voluminous work. An elegant specimen may be found in the edification of the five thousand men at Martin. He restores the monks of Egypt; yet he insults them with the remark, that they never raised the dead; whereas this bishop of Tours had restored three dead men to life.
conversion to a countryman, or at least to a subject, worthy to be ranked among the inventors of useful arts, who have deserved the remembrance and gratitude of posterity. A great number of Roman provincials had been led away into captivity by the Goths, in the time of Gallienus; and of these captives, many were Christians, and several belonged to the ecclesiastical order. Those involuntary missionaries, dispersed as slaves in the villages of Daucia, successively laboured for the salvation of their masters. The seeds, which they planted, on the soil of their serfdom, were gradually sprouting; and before the end of a century, the pious work was achieved by the labours of Ulphilas, whose ancestors had been transported beyond the Danube from a small town of Cappadocia.

Ulphilas, a native of the Goths, acquired their love and reverence by his blameless life and indefatigable zeal; and they received, with implicit confidence, the doctrines of truth and virtue which he preached and practised. He executed the arduous task of translating the Scriptures into their native tongue, a dialect of the German, or Teutonic, language; but he prudently suppressed the four books of Kings, as they might tend to irritate the fierce and sanguinary spirit of the barbarians. The rude, imperfect idiom of soldiers and shepherds, so ill qualified to communicate any spiritual ideas, was improved and made serviceable; and he therefore could frame his version, was obliged to compose a new alphabet of twenty-four letters; four of which he invented, to express the peculiar sounds that were unknown to the Greek and Latin pronunciation. But the proselytizing state of the Gothic church was soon affected by the barbarians, who were gradually converted, and the Christians were divided by religion as well as by interest. Fritigern, the friend of the Romans, became the prince of Ulphilas; while the hungry soul of Athanaric disdained the yoke of the empire, and of the gospel. The faith of the new converts was tried by the persecution which they encountered. A waggon, bearing also the simple image of Thor, perhaps, or of Woden, was conducted in solemn procession through the streets of the camp; and the rebels, who refused to worship the god of their fathers, were immediately burnt, with their tents and families. The character of Ulphilas recommended him to the esteem of the eastern court, where he twice appeared as the minister of peace; he pleaded the cause of the distressed Goths, who implored the protection of Valens; and the name of Moses was applied to this spiritual guide, who conducted his people through the deep waters of the Danube, to the Land of Promise. The devout shepherds, who were attached to his person, and tractable to his voice, acquiesced in his settlement, at the foot of the Median mountains, in a country of woodlands and pastures, which supported their flocks and herds, and enabled them to purchase the corn and wine of the more plentiful provinces. These barbarian bishops were masters of obscure peace, and the profession of Christianity.\footnote{On the subject of Ulphilas, and the conversion of the Goths, see Socrates, Hist. c. 56. Sozomen, Lib. II. c. 35. Eusebius, Hist. c. 26. Philiorganus, I. ii. 5. The history of Philiorganus appears to have given no superior margin of information.}

\footnote{Had multitudes of the four copies, in the Gothic version, was published A. D. 1650, and is esteemed the most ancient manuscript of the Gothic language. The mutant language, to describe the former conjunctures, to deprive Ulphilas of the honour of the work. Two of the supposed MSS. have the name of Simian, Hist. Critica du Nouveau Testament, tom. ii. p. 219—223. Mill, Prolégomene, p. 133, edit. Keruy. et Wenzel. Prolégomene, tom. i. p. 114. Strabo, Geogr., tom. iv. p. 330. However, the difficulty may be overcome by the date. Constans; but I am much inclined to believe that it proceeded the genuine translation.}

Their fiercer brethren, the formidable Visigoths, universally adopted the religion of the Romans, with whom they maintained a perpetual intercourse, of friendship, of love and commerce. Those long and victorious march from the Danube to the Atlantic ocean, they converted their allies; they educated the rising generation; and the devotion which reigned in the camp of Alaric, or the court of Théodoric, might edify, or disgrace, the palaces of Strasme and Constantinople. The empire, by the period, was imbued with the spirit of Christianity; and this religion was embraced by almost all the barbarians, who established their kingdoms on the ruins of the western empire; the Burgundians in Gaul, the Suevi in Spain, the Vandals in Africa, the Ostrogoths in Pannonia, and the various hands of mercenaries, that first settled among the Teutonic races, of the island of Rome. The Franks and the Saxons still perished in the errors of paganism; but the Franks obtained the monarchy of Gaul by their submission to the example of Clovis; and the Saxons conquerors of Britian were reclaimed from their savage superstition by the missions of Rome. These barbarians, prudently employed in the propagation of the faith. The Merovingian kings, and their successors, Charlemagne and the others, extended, by their laws and victories, the dominion of the cross. England produced the apostle of Germany; and the evangelical light was gradually diffused from the neighbourhood of the Rhine, to the nations of the Elbe, the Vistula, and the Baltic.\footnote{Of the different motives which influenced the conversion of the Goths, see Comment. in libros I. vii. 6. c. 25.}

The different motives which influenced the conversion of the Goths, were as follows:

1. At the request of his Gothic brethren, the formidable Visigoths, universally adopted the religion of the Romans, with whom they maintained a perpetual intercourse, of friendship, of love and commerce. Those long and victorious march from the Danube to the Atlantic ocean, they converted their allies; they educated the rising generation; and the devotion which reigned in the camp of Alaric, or the court of Théodoric, might edify, or disgrace, the palaces of Strasme and Constantinople. The empire, by the period, was imbued with the spirit of Christianity; and this religion was embraced by almost all the barbarians, who established their kingdoms on the ruins of the western empire; the Burgundians in Gaul, the Suevi in Spain, the Vandals in Africa, the Ostrogoths in Pannonia, and the various hands of mercenaries, that first settled among the Teutonic races, of the island of Rome. The Franks and the Saxons still perished in the errors of paganism; but the Franks obtained the monarchy of Gaul by their submission to the example of Clovis; and the Saxons conquerors of Britian were reclaimed from their savage superstition by the missions of Rome. These barbarians, prudently employed in the propagation of the faith. The Merovingian kings, and their successors, Charlemagne and the others, extended, by their laws and victories, the dominion of the cross. England produced the apostle of Germany; and the evangelical light was gradually diffused from the neighbourhood of the Rhine, to the nations of the Elbe, the Vistula, and the Baltic.\footnote{On the subject of Ulphilas, and the conversion of the Goths, see Socrates, Hist. c. 56. Sozomen, Lib. II. c. 35. Eusebius, Hist. c. 26. Philiorganus, I. ii. 5. The history of Philiorganus appears to have given no superior margin of information.}

2. The Goths, Vandals, Burgundians, &c. embraced Christianity.\footnote{A.D. 400, &c.}

3. The Magyars, and others, embraced Christianity.\footnote{Conducted the conversion of the Burgundians, whose Christian piety is celebrated by Oro-}

4. The Suevi and Franks, the Franks, Saxons, and Jutes, embraced Christianity.\footnote{See an original and curious epitome from Danubii, the first bishop of Winchester. (Boll. Hist. Eccles. Anglicana, l. v. c. 15, 200, edit. Smith) to St. Dunstan, who preached the gospel among the savages of Hesse and Thuringia. Epistola, Bonificati, l. xlvii. in the Maximina Bollandiaca Patrum, tom. xiii. p. 53.}
which may be conceived by the mind, is it created or eternal? If created, how, or where, could the gods themselves exist before the creation? If eternal, how could they assume the empire of an independent and pre-existing world? Their magnitude and weight of all men's opinion, their excess and moderation, insinuate, at seasonable intervals, the truth and beauty of the christian revelation; and endeavour to make the unbelievers ashamed, without making them angry." This metaphysical reasoning, too refined perhaps for the barbarians of Germany, was not receivèd with the same gravity of weight and splendour of solar consent. The advantage of temporal prosperity had deserted the pagan cause, and passed over to the service of christianity. The Romans themselves, the most powerful and enlightened nation of the globe, had renounced their ancient superstition; and, if the ruin of their empire seemed to accuse the efficacy of the new faith, the disgrace was already retrieved by the conversion of the victorious Goths. The valiant and fortunate barbarians, who subdued the provinces of the west, successively received, and reflected, the same edifying example. Before the age of Charle- magne, the christian nations of Europe might excite a feeling of respect for the exclusive possession of the temperate climates, of the fertile lands, which produced corn, wine, and oil; while the savage idolaters, and their helpless idols, were confined to the extremities of the earth, the dark and frozen regions of the north;

Egerius, in their Christianity, which opened the gates of heaven to the barbarians, introduced an important change in their moral and political condition. They received, at the same time, the use of letters, so essential to a religion whose doctrines are contained in a sacred book, and while they studied the divine law, their view was at the same time enlarged by the distant view of history, of nature, of the arts, and of society. The version of the Scriptures into their native tongue, which facilitated their conversion, must excite, among their clergy, some curiosity to read the original text, to understand the sacred liturgy of the church, and to examine, in the writings of their fathers, the chain of ecclesiastical tradition. These spiritual gifts were preserved in the Greek and Latin languages, which concealed the inestimable monuments of ancient learning. The immortal productions of the apostle Paul and the Epistles of St. Peter, whose successors were the pre-existing world! It was to moderate their insolence of conquest, and to preserve, in the downfall of the empire, a permanent respect for the name and institutions of Rome. In the days of paganism, the priests of Gaul and Germany reigned over the people, and the world was regulated by the magistrates; and the zealous proselytes transferred by what equal, or more ample, measure of devout obedience, to the pontiffs of the christian faith. The sacred character of the bishops was supported by their temporal possessions; they obtained an honourable seat in the legislative assembly,
General toleration.  

Gaul, Spain, and Italy, enjoyed under the reign of the Arians, the free and peaceful exercise of their religion. Their haughty masters respected the zeal of a numerous people, resolved to die at the foot of a clear and unclouded banner. Bigotry was to be regarded as a mark of constancy, and imitated by the barbarians themselves. The conquerors evaded, however, the disgraceful reproach, or confession, of fear, by attributing their toleration to the liberal motives of reason and humanity; and while they affected the language, they imperceptibly imbied the spirit, of genuine christianity.

Armenian persecution the peace of the church was some- times interrupted. The catholics were indiscriminate, the barbarians were impatient; and the partial acts of severity or injustice which had been recom- mended by the Arian clergy, were exaggerated by the orthodox nations; by Gundamund, who reigns in Aquitain, 1 was permitted to be imputed to Euric, king of the Visigoths; he sus- pended the exercise of ecclesiastical, or at least of episcopal, functions; and published the popular bish- ops of Aquitain with imprisonment, exile, and con- fiscation. 2 Thrasimund, the most cruel and absurd enterprise of such a nature, was condoned, and his people was dis- pute his will in synods and churches; and his ferocious mind was incapable of fear or of compassion. His catholic subjects were oppressed by intolerant laws and arbitrary punishments. The language of Generic was furious and formidable; the knowledge of his intentions, not justify the most unfavourable interpretation of his speech of persecution; he was appro- ached with the frequent executions, which stained the palace and the dominions of the tyrant. Arms and ambition were, however, the ruling passions of Humurie, the monarch of the sea. But Humurie, his lugubrious son, who seemed to in- herit only his vices, tormented the catholics with the same unrelenting fury which had been fatal to his brother, his nephews, and the friends and favourites of his father; and even to the Arian patriarch, who was inhumanly burnt alive in the midst of Carthage. The religious war was preceded and prepared by an insidious truce; persons were admitted as ambas- sadors with the important business of the Vandal court; and the loathsome disease, which hastened the death of Humurie, revoked the injuries, without contributing to the deliverance, of the church. The throne of Africa was successively filled by the two nephews of Humurie.

Gundamund, A.D. 461, about twelve, and by Thrasimund, who governed the nation above twenty-seven years. Their administration was hostile and oppressive to the orthodox party. Gundamund appeared to emulate, or even to surpass the cruelty of his uncle; and, if at length he relented, if he recalled the abuse of freedom of Asrian worship, a prema- ture death intercepted the benefits of his tardy elem- nities. His brother, Thrasimund, was the greatest and most accomplished of the Vandal kings, and the excelled in beauty, pru- dence, and magnanimity of character. His ungla- norous character was degraded by his intolerant zeal and deceitful eloquence. Instead of threats and tor- tures, he employed the gentle but efficacious powers of seduction. Wealth, dignity, and the royal favour were the liberal rewards of apostasy; the catholics, who had violated the laws, might purchase their pardon by the renunciation of their faith; and whenever Thrasimund meditated any rigorous measure, he patently waited till the indiscretion of his adversary furnished him with a specious opportunity. But when he had used the means of dissuasion, and he exalted from his successor a solemn oath that he would never tolerate the sectaries of Athanasius. But his successor, Hilderic, the gentle son of the savage Hunnerie, preferred the duty of humanity and justice, to the vain obliga- tion of an impious oath; and he let his deposition be observed by the restoration of peace and universal freedom. The throne of that virtuous, though feeble monarch, was usurped by his cousin Gelimer, a zealous Arian; but the Vandal kingdom, before he could enjoy or abuse his power, was subverted by the arms of Belisarius; and the orthodox party retaliated the injuries which they had endur'd. 3

The passionate declamations of the Arians, the oaths of these per- secutors, cannot afford any distinct series of causes and events, and any impartial view of characters most remarkable; and it is only necessary to state those that deserve either credit or notice, may be referred to the following heads: I. In the original law, which is still extant, Hunnerie expressly declares, and the declaration appears to be correct, that he had faithfully transcended the regulations and penalties of the imperial edicts, in the persecutions, the clergy, and the people, who dissented from the established religion. If the rights of conscience had been understood, the catholics must have condemned their past conduct, or acquiesced in their actual sufferings. But they still persisted to refuse the indulgence which they claimed. While they troubled under the religious war, they praised the laudable severity of Hunnerie himself, who burnt or banished great numbers of Manichaens; 2 and they rejected, with horror, the ignominious compromise, that the dis- ciples of Arians, and of Athanasius, should enjoy a reci- procal and similar toleration in the territories of the Romans and in those of the Vandals. 2 I. The prac- tice of a conference, which the catholics had so fre- quently used to insult and punish their obstinate antag- onists, was retorted against themselves. 3 At the command of Hunnerie, four hundred and sixty-six orthodox bishops assembled at Carthage; but when they were no longer in the hands of their master, he had the mortification of beholding the Arian Cirila exalt ed on the patriarchal throne. The disputants were separated, after the mutual and ordinary re- proaches of noise and silence, of delay and precipita- tion, of military force and of popular clamour. One martyr and one confessor were selected among the catholic bishops; twenty-eight escaped by flight, and eighty-eight by conformity; forty-six were sent into Corsica to cut timber for the royal navy, and two thousand were banished to the different parts

1 Theological monuments of the Vandal persecution are preserved in the five books of the History of Victor of Viturien, (ed. by Vandalus,) a bishop who was exiled by Hunnerie; in the Life of St. Gregory, (on Thecla, who was imprisoned in the persecution of Thrasimund, (in Bibliah. Max. Patrum, tom. i. p. 143, 4.) and in the first book of the Vandalic War, by the imperial Procopius, (c. 7, p. 196, 197, 198.) Dom. Hunter, in his History of the Church, has noted his death; and the sacrifice of the bishop had the mortification of beholding the Arian Cirila exalted on the patriarchal throne. The disputants were separated, after the mutual and ordinary re- proaches of noise and silence, of delay and precipita- tion, of military force and of popular clamour. One martyr and one confessor were selected among the catholic bishops; twenty-eight escaped by flight, and eighty-eight by conformity; forty-six were sent into Corsica to cut timber for the royal navy, and two thousand were banished to the different parts

2 Such are the contemporary complaints of Sidonius, bishop of Clermont, (ii. 1. p. 342.) and Sigismund. Gregory of Tours, who quotes this Epistle, (i. ii. c. 35, in tom. ii. p. 171.) extorts an un- warrantable assertion, that of the nine vacancies in Aquitain, some had been produced by episcopal murderdoma.
of Africa, exposed to the insults of their enemies, and carefully deprived of all the temporal and spiritual comforts of life. The hardships of ten years' exile must have reduced their numbers; and if they had complied with the law of Thrasmund, which prohibited any episcopal consecrations, the orthodox clergy must have been deprived of the live and actual services of their pastors. They disobeyed; and their disobedience was punished by a second exile of two hundred and twenty bishops into Sardina; where they languished fifteen years, till the accession of the great Genseric. The two isles afterwards called Sicily, were ruled by tyrants chosen by the will of their Arian tyrant. Seneca, from his own experience has deplored and exaggerated the miserable state of Corsica, and the plenty of Sardinia was overbalanced by the unwholesome quality of the air. The zeal of Genseric, and his successors, for the conversion of the Catholics, must have rendered them still more jealous to guard the purity of the Vandal faith.

Before the churches were finally shut, it was a crime to appear in a barbarian dress; and those who presumed to neglect the royal mandate, were rudely dragged backwards by their lawful authority. The enlisted officers, for the loss of the religion of their prince, were ignominiously stripped of their honours and employments: banished to Sardinia and Sicily; or condemned to the servile labours of slaves and peasants in the fields of Utica. In the districts which had been peculiarly allotted to the clergy, the discipline of the church was more strictly prohibited; and severe penalties were denounced against the guilt of both the missionary and the proselyte. By these arts, the faith of the barbarians was preserved, and their zeal was inflamed; they discharged, with devout fury, the office of spies, informers, and executioners; and, in the course of a year, they took the field it was the favourite amusement of the march, to delude the churches, and to insult the clergy of the adverse faction. The citizens who had been educated in the luxury of the Roman province, were delivered, with exquisite cruelty, to the Moors of the desert. A venerable train of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, with a faithful crowd of four thousand and ninety-six persons, whose guilt is not precisely ascertained, were torn from their native homes, by the command of Hunneric. During the night they were surrounded by a herd of cattle, and left to their purdure: during the day they pursued their march over the burning sands; and if they fainted under the heat and fatigue, they were gloved or dragged along, till they expired in the hands of their tormentors. These unhappy exiles, when they reached the Moorish huts, might not only imagine the oppression of their native humanity was neither improved by reason, nor corrupted by fanaticism; but if they escaped the dangers, they were condemned to share the distress, of a savage life. It is incumbent on the authors of persecution previously to reflect, whether they are determined to support it in the last extremity. They excite the flame which they strive to extinguish; and it soon becomes necessary to chastise the contumacy, as well as the crime, of the offender. The fire, which is unable or unwilling to discharge, exposes his person and property to the punishment of the law, and the severer penalties suggests the use and propriety of capital punishment. Through the veil of fiction and declamation, we may clearly perceive, that the Catholics, especially under the reign of Hunneric, endured the most cruel and ignominious treatment. Respectable and valuable persons, were stripped naked, and raised in the air by pulleys, with a weight suspended at their feet. In this painful attitude their naked bodies were torn with scourges, or burnt in the most tender parts with red-hot plates iron. The multitude of the cars, the noise, the tongue, and the right hand, was inflicted by the Arians; and although the precise number cannot be defined, it is evident that many persons, among whom a bishop and a procuslus may be named, were entitled to the crown of martyrdom. The same honour was justly due to those who suffered for the defence of the faith, and who professed the Nicene creed with unshaken constancy; and Genseric might detect, as an heretic, the brave and ambitious fugitive whom he drenched as a rival. A new mode of conversion, which might subdue the feeble, and alarm the timorous, was employed by the Vandal clergy. They exhorted their people to an innovation, so fiercely maintained by the Vandals, can be imputed only to the example and advice of the Donatists. The Arian clergy surpassed, in religious cruelty, the king and his Vandals; but they were incapable of cultivating the spiritual way, which they were so desirous to possess. A patriarch might seat himself on the throne of Carthage; some bishops, in the principal cities, might usurp the place of their rivals; but the smallness of their numbers, and their ignorance of the Latin language, disbarred them from the consecration of a great church; and the Africans, after the loss of their orthodox pastors, were deprived of the public exercise of Christianity. The emperors were the natural protectors of the Homonian doctrine: and the faithful people of Africa, both as Romans and as Christians, and by the influence of their lawful sovereignty, supported the usurpation of the barbarous heretics. During an interval of peace and friendship, Hunneric restored the cathedral of Carthage; at the intercession of Zeno, who reigned in the east, and of Phocadius, the daughter and regent of emperors, and the sister of the queen of the Vandals. But this decent regard was but of short duration; and the haughty tyrant displayed his...
CONTEN'T FOR THE RELIGION OF THE EMPIRE, BY STUDIOUSLY ARRANGING THE BLOODY IMAGES OF PERSECUTION, IN ALL THE PRINCIPAL STREETS THROUGH WHICH THE ROMAN AMBASSADOR MUST PASS, IN HIS WAY TO THE PALACE. An oath was requested from the bishops, who were assembled at Carthage, that they should support the succession of his son Hildecr, and that they would renounce all foreign interests. Correspondence of this engagement, consistent, as it would seem, with their moral and religious duties, was refused by the more sagacious members of the assembly. Their refusal, faintly coloured by the pretence that it is unlawful for a Christian to swear, must provoke the suspicions of a jealous tyrant.

The catholics, oppressed by royal and military force, were far superior to their adversaries in numbers and learning. With the same weapons which the Greek and Latin fathers had already provided for the Arian controversy, they repeatedly silenced, or vanquished, the fierce and blustering successors of Ulpianus. The consciousness of their own superiority might have raised them above the arts and passions of religious warfare. Yet, instead of assuming such honourable pride, the orthodox theologians were tempted, by the assurance of impunity, to conduct their arguments with a pertinacity that seemed to lose all respect for the epithets of fraud and forgery. They ascribed their own polemical works to the most venerable names of Christian antiquity; the characters of Athanasius and Augustin were awkwardly personated by Vigilus and his disciples; and the famous creed, which so clearly exposed the mysteries of the Trinity and the Incarnation, is deduced, with strong probability, from this African school. Even the Scriptures themselves were profaned by their rash and sacrilegious hands. The memorable text, which asserts the unity of the Three who bear witness in heaven,", is condemned by the Pope of Carthage and the bishops of the province. And it was not in vain that those persons, who were distrusted, were distributed through the provinces of Africa. Their success was ascribed to the influence of a senatorial family, and had received a liberal education. He could repeat all Honorius and Measurin before he was allowed to study Law (Sta. Greg. iv. c. 11, p. 308.); he might understand Greek, and many Greek theologians were translated into Latin.

Compare the two prefaces to the Dialogue of Vigilus of Thapsos. (p. 118, 119, ed. Chite.) He might amuse his learned reader with an innocent fiction; but the subject was too grave, and the Africans were too ignorant.

The P. Queneau started this opinion, which has been favourably received. But the three following truths, however surprising they may seem, are now universally acknowledged. (Gerald Vesavia, tom. vi. p. 565—572.) The Church of Carthage is the Church of St. Athanasius; it is not the author of the creed which is so frequently repeated in every province; it does not appear until the end of the fourteenth century after his death. 2. It was originally composed in the Latin tongue, and, consequently, in the western provinces. Germain, pope, and bishop of Paris, so much admired by this extraordinary composition, that he frankly pronounced it to be the work of a drunken man, Poy, Domat, Theologus, tom. ii. t. vii. c. 8. p. 86.

1 John v. 7. See Simon, Hist. Critique du Nouveau Testament, part 2. p. 184. (Hist. Aug., p. 15); and the elaborate Prolegomena and Announcements of Dr. Mill and Wetstein to their editions of the Greek Testament. In 1669, the papist Simon Monitius published a polemic work against Dr. Mill; and his antagonist, John Beausire, in the next year, published a book of sixty pages. In 1731, the Arminian Wetstein used the liberty of his times, and of his sect.

Of all the MSS now extant, above forsores in number, some of which are more than 1300 years old, (Wetstein ad loc.) the orthoepical order of the Greek language is preserved by the Syriac, Coptic, and Armenian. The Canons of the Councils; the lives of the saints; the apocrypha, are becoming inviolable; and the two MSS. of Dublin and Berlin have been preserved, with the utmost care, by the learned Jacobus. (Satis is 227—225—225—227, and M. de Mies's four ingenuous letters, in tom. viii. et ix. of the Journal Britannique.) The three bishops who composed and published the profession of faith in the name of their brethren. They style this text, lucis claritas. (Vetus Vincens de Ferrarese, Vandal, I. iii. c. 11, p. 54.) It is quoted soon afterwards by the African poles, Vigilus and Fulgentius.

NEWED AND CORRECTED IN A DARK PERIOD OF TEN CENTURIES. After the invention of printing, the editors of the Greek Testament yielded to their own prejudices, or to those of the times; and the pious fraud, which was embarked with equal zeal at Rome and Geneva, has been infinitely multiplied in every country and every language of modern Europe. The example of fraud must excite suspicion; and the spectres by which the African catholics have defended the truth and justice of their cause, may be ascribed, with more reason, to their own industry, than to the visible protestation of heaven, the historian affirms, that in this religious conflict with an imperial eye, may condescend to mention one preternatural event, which will edify the devout, and surprise the incredulous. Tipasa, a maritime colony of Mauritania, sixteen miles to the east of Casaraca, had been distinguished, in every age, by the orthodox zeal of its inhabitants. They had braved the fury of the Donatists; they resisted, or eluded, the tyranny of the Arians. The town was deserted on the approach of an heretical bishop: most of the inhabitants who could procure ships passed over to the coast of Spain; and the unhappy remnant, refusing all communion with the usurper, still preserved the faithful tradition of the Bishop of Tipasa. Their disobedience exasperated the cruelty of Hunneric. A military count was despatched from Carthage to Tipasa; he collected the catholics in the forum, and in the presence of the whole province, deprived the guilty of their right hands and their tongues. But the holy confessors continued to speak without tongues; and this miracle is attested by Victor, an African bishop, who published a history of the persecution within two years after the event. 3. If any one," says Victor, "should doubt of the truth, let him repair to Constantineopolis, and listen to the clear and distinct profession of the sacred language, which these glorious sufferers, who is now lodged in the palace of the emperor Zenon, and is respected by the devout empress." At Constantineopolis we are astonished to find a cool, a learned, and unexceptionable witness, without interest, and without passion. (Annal. of Gaza, a Platonic philosopher, has accurately described his own observations on these African sufferers. 4. I saw them myself; I heard them speak: I diligently inquired by what means such an articulate voice could be formed without any organ of speech: I used my eyes to examine the report of my ears: I opened their mouth, and saw the tongue. The language of the Gentiles was thus completely torn away by the roots: an operation which the physicians generally suppose to be mortal. The testimony of Annal. of Gaza might be confirmed by the superfluous evidence of the emperor Justinian, in a perpetual edict; of count Marcellinus, in his Chroni-
of the times; and of pope Gregory the first, who had resided at Constantinople, as the minister of the Roman pontiff. They all lived within the compass of a century; and they all appeal to their personal knowledge, or the public notoriety, for the truth of a miracle, which was repeated in several instances, displayed on the greatest theatre of the world, and submitted, during a series of years, to the calm examination of men. Their superintendence of the confessors, who spoke without tongues, will command the assent of those, and of those only, who already believe, that their language was pure and orthodox. But the subborn mind of an infidel is guarded by secret, infecible suspicion; and the Arian, or Socinian, who has seriously rejected the doctrine of the Trinity, will not be shaken by the most plausible evidence of an Athenian miracle.

The Vandals and the Ostrogoths preserved in the profession of Arianism till the final ruin of the kingdoms which they had founded in Italy and Spain. The barbarians of Gaul submitted to the orthodox dominion of the Franks; and Spain was restored to the catholic church by the voluntary conversion of the Visigoths.

This salutary revolution was hastened by the example of a royal martyr, whom our calmer reason may style an ungrateful rebel. Leovigild, the Gothic monarch of Spain, deserved the respect of his enemies, and the love of his subjects; the catholic doctrine, with all its saner sanction, was attempted, without much success, to reconcile their scruples by abolishing the unpopular rite of a second baptism. His eldest son Hermengild, who was invested by his father with the royal diadem, and the fair principality of Bética, contracted an honourable and orthodox alliance with a Merovingian princess, the daughter of Sigibert, king of Austrasia, and of the famous Brunehild. The beautiful Ingundis, who was no more than thirteen years of age, was received, beloved, and persecuted, in the Arian court of Toledo; and her religious constancy was alternately assaulted with blandishments and violence by her guardian, the Arian king. To the heathen princess, who abused the double claim of maternal authority, ascended by her resistance, Goisvintha seized the catholic princess by her long hair, inhumanly dashed her against the ground, kicked her till she was possessed of reason, and at last gave orders that she should be stripped, and thrown into a basson, a fish-pond. Love and honour might excite Hermengild to resent this injurious treatment of his bride; and he was gradually persuaded that Ingundis suffered for the cause of divine truth. Her tender complaints, and the weighty arguments of Leander, archbishop of Seville, accomplished his conversion; and the heir of the Gothic monarchy was initiated in the Nicene faith by the solemn rite of confirmation. The rash youth, inflamed by zeal, and perhaps by ambition, was tempted to violate the duties of a son, and a subject; and the catholics of Spain, although they could not comply with the common law of the land, were determined to resist, or to escape, was compelled to surrender himself into the hands of an ungraced father. Leovigild was still mindful of that sacred character; and the rebel, despoiled of his regal ornaments, was still permitted, not degraded himself a profane, but exhibited him. He repeated and unsuccessful treasons at length provoked the indignation of the Gothic king; and the sentence of death, which he pronounced with apparent reluctance, was privately executed in the tower of Seville. The infidel Goisvintha, who had been refused to accept the Arian communion, as the price of his safety, may excuse the honours that have been paid to the memory of St. Hermengild. His wife and infant son were detained by the Romans in ignominious captivity; and this domestic misfortune tarnished the glory of Leovigild. He was succeeded by his son Recared.

His son and successor, Recared, the Conversion of first catholic king of Spain, had imbibed the faith of his unfortunate brother, which he supported with more prudence and A.D. 586–589.

success. Instead of revolting against his father, Recared had promised to his mother to renounce the Arian communion, and to remove the bones of his predecessor from the niche made for them. He had promised to imitate the example of his prince. The laborious interpretation of doubtful texts, or the curious pursuit of metaphysical arguments, would have excited an endless controversy; and the monarch discreetly prostrated himself before the truths of history and visible arguments, the testimony of earth and of heaven. The earth had submitted to the Nicene synod: the Romans, the barbarians, and the inhabitants of Spain, unanimously professed the same orthodox creed; and the Visigoths resisted, almost alone, the concession of the christian world. A superstitious life was prepared to reverence, as the testimony of heaven, the preternatural cures, which were performed by the skill or virtue of the catholic clergy; the baptismal fonts of Osset in Bética, which were spontaneously replenished each year, on the vigils of Easter; and the miraculous shrine of St. Martin of Tours, which had already converted the Suevic prince and people of Gallicia. The catholic king encountered some difficulties on this important change of the national religion. A conspiracy, secretly fomented by the queen-dowager, was formed against his life; and two counts both visible and invisible. See Charlot, Hist. des Sacraments, tom. i. p. 466–552. Onch, Julia Constantina, was opposite to Seville on the north side of the Bética; (Plin. Hist. Natural, iii. 3) and the authentic reference of Gregory of Tours, (Hist. Franc. i. c. 43, p. 568,) which was spontaneously replenished each year, on the vigils of Easter; and the miraculous shrine of St. Martin of Tours, which had already converted the Suevic prince and people of Gallicia. The catholic king encountered some difficulties on this important change of the national religion. A conspiracy, secretly fomented by the queen-dowager, was formed against his life; and two counts...
excited a dangerous revolt in the Narbonnese Gaul. But Recared disarmed the conspirators, defeated the rebels, and executed severe justice; which the Arians, in their turn, might brand with the reproach of persecution. Eight bishops, whose names betray their heretical and barbaric origin, suffered their errors; and all the books of Arian theology were reduced to ashes, with the house in which they had been purposely collected. The whole body of the Visigoths and Suevi were allured or driven into the pale of the catholic communion; the faith, at least, of ninety thousand of them, was confirmed by the second council, and the devout liberty of the barbarians enriched the churches and monasteries of Spain. Seventy bishops, assembled in the council of Toledo, received the submission of their conquerors; and the zeal of the Spaniards improved the Nicene creed, by declaring the procession of the Holy Ghost, from the Son, as well as from the Father: a weighty point of doctrine, which produced, long afterwards, the schism of the Greek and Latin churches. The royal proselyte immediately saluted and consulted pope Gregory, whom he summoned, the Great, a learned and holy prelate, whose reign was distinguished by the conversion of heretics and the establishment of the whole church on the first principles. Gregory fully offered on the threshold of the Vatican his rich presents of gold and gems: they accepted, as a lucrative exchange, the hairs of St. John the Baptist; a cross, which enclosed a small piece of the true wood; and a key, that contained some particles of iron which had been sacred by the Christians of Jerusalem.

The same Gregory, the spiritual conqueror of Britain, encouraged the pious Theodelinda, queen of the Lombards, to propagate the Nicene faith among the victorious savages, whose recent Christianity was polluted by the Arian heresy. The defection of the bishops of the Lombards left the road open to the industry and success of future missionaries, and many cities of Italy were still disputed by hostile bishops. But the cause of Arianism was gradually suppressed by the weight of truth, of interest, and of example; and the controversy, which Egypt had carried from the Pelagian, was terminated, after a war of three hundred years, by the final conversion of the Lombards of Italy.2


The first missionaries who preached the gospel to the barbarians, appealed to the evidence of reason, and claimed the benefits of civilization. The new faith quickly established their spiritual dominion, than they exported the christian kings to extirpate, without mercy, the remains of Roman or barbaric superstition. The successors of Clovis inflicted one hundred lashes on the paschas who refused to destroy their idols; the crime of sacrificing to the demons was punished by the Anglo-Saxon laws, with the heavier penalties of imprisonment and confiscation; and even the wise Alfred adopted, as an indispensable duty, the extreme rigour of the Mosaic institutions.3 But the punishment and the crime were gradually abolished among a christian people. The theological lapsed schools of the schools were suspended by propitious ignorance; and the intolerant spirit, which could find neither idolaters nor heretics, was reduced to the persecution of the Jews.

The exiled nation had founded some synagogues in the cities of Gaul; but Spain, since the time of Hadrian, was filled with their numerous colonies.4 The wealth which they accumulated by trade, and the management of the first flocks of the church, excited their masters; and they might be oppressed without danger, as they had lost the use, and even the remembrance of arms. Sisebut, a Gothic king, who reigned in the beginning of the seventh century, proceeded at once to the last extremes of persecution.5 He ordered all the Jews who were not willing to receive the sacrament of baptism; the fortunes of the obstinate infidels were confiscated, their bodies were tortured; and it seems doubtful whether they were permitted to abandon their native country. The excessive zeal of the Catholic king was moderated, even by the clergy of Spain, who solemnly pronounced the inconvenient sentence: that the sacrament should not be forcibly imposed; but that the Jews who had been baptized should be constrained, for the honour of the church, to persevere in the external practice of a religion which they despised and detested. Their frequent relapses provoked one of the successors of Sisebut to pronounce from his throne, that of all the sins of a king of the council of Toledo published a decree, that every Gothic king should swear to maintain this salutary edict. But the tyrants were unwilling to dismiss the victims, whom they delighted to torture, or to deprive themselves of the industrious slaves, over whom they might exercise a lucrative oppression. The Jews were thus continued in Spain, under the weight of the civil and ecclesiastical laws, which in the same country have been faithfully transcribed in the code of the inquisition. The Gothic kings and bishops at length discovered, that injuries will produce hatred, and that hatred will produce crime and robbery. They were determined to reconcile the religious of Christ and of Zoroaster, had secretly introduced themselves into the provinces; but these foreign sectaries were involved in the common disgrace of the sectaries, and were suspended by the public hatred. The rational opinions of the Pelagians were propagated from Britain to Rome, Africa, and Palestine, and silently expired in a superstitious age. But the cast was distracted by the Nestorian and Eutychian controversy; which attracted the attention of Gregory. A nation, the secret or professed enemies of christianity, still multiplied in servitude and distress; and the intrigues of the Jews promoted the rapid success of the Arabian conquerors.6 As soon as the barbarians withdrew, the powerful support, the impious heresy of Arians sunk to contempt and oblivion. But the Greeks still retained their sublime and loquacious position: the establishment of an obscure doctrine suggested new questions, and new disputes; and it was always in the power of an ambitious prelate, or a fanatic monk, to violate the peace of the church, and, perhaps, the peace of the empire. The political and the ecclesiastical interests of those disputes which were confined to the obscurity of schools and synods. The Manicheans, who laboured to reconcile the religions of Christ and of Zoroaster, had secretly introduced themselves into the provinces; but these foreign sectaries were involved in the common disgrace of the sectaries, and were suspended by the public hatred. The rational opinions of the Pelagians were propagated from Britain to Rome, Africa, and Palestine, and silently expired in a superstitious age. But the cast was distracted by the Nestorian and Eutychian controversy; which attracted the attention of Gregory. 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CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Relig and conversion of Clovis.—His victories over the Burgundians, and Visigoths.—Establishment of the French monarchy in Gaul.—State of the barbarians.—State of the Romans.—The Visigoths of Spain.—Conquest of Britain by the Saxons.

The revolution of Gaul, who impudently supported the Roman yoke, received a memorable lesson from one of the lieutenants of Vespasian, whose weighty sense has been refined and expressed by the genius of Tacitus. The protection of the republic has delivered Gaul from internal discord and foreign invasions. By the loss of national independence, you have acquired the name and privileges of Roman citizens. You enjoy, in common with our subjects, the permanent benefits of civil government; and the situation is less exposed to the general mischiefs of tyranny. Instead of exercising the rights of conquest, we have been content to impose such tributes as are requisite for your own preservation. Peace cannot be secured without armies; and armies must be supported at the expense of the people. It is for your safety and for our own, that we guard the barrier of the Rhine against the ferocious Germans, who have so often attempted, and who will always desire, to exchange the solitude of their woods and morasses for the wealth and fertility of Gaul. The fall of Rome would be fatal to the provinces; and you would be buried in the ruins of that mighty fabric which has been raised by the valour and wisdom of eight hundred years. Your imaginary freedom would be insulted and oppressed by a savage master; and the expulsion of the Romans would be succeeded by the universal hostility of the barbarian conquerors. This salutary advice was accepted, and this strange prediction was accomplished. In the space of four hundred years, the hardy Gauls, who had encountered the arms of Caesar, were imperceptibly melted into the general mass of citizens and subjects: the western empire was dissolved; and the Germans who had passed the Rhine, fiercely contended for the possession of Gaul, and excited the contempt, or abhorrence, of its peaceful and polished inhabitants. With that conscious pride which the pre-eminence of knowledge and luxury seldom fails to inspire, they derided the hairy and gigantic savages of the north; their rustic manners, dissolute joy, voracious appetite, and their horrid appearance, equally disgusting to the sight and to the smell. The liberal studies were still cultivated in the schools of Autun and Bordeaux; and the language of Cicero and Virgil was familiar to the Gauls. Their ears were astonished by the harsh and unknown sounds of the German dialect, and they ingeniously lamented that the trembling masses fled from the harmony of a Burgundian lyre. The Gauls were endowed with all the advantages of art and nature; but as they wanted courage to defend them, they were justly condemned to obey, and even to flatter, the victorious barbarians, by whose elementy they held their present fortun es and the continuance of their lives.

As soon as Odocus had extinguished Euric, King of the western empire, he sought the friendship of the most powerful of the barbarians. The new sovereign of Italy resigned to Euric, King of the Visigoths, all the Roman conquests beyond the Alps, in return for which the Rhine and the Rhone might be considered this liberal gift with some ostentation of power, and without any real loss of revenue or dominion. The lawful pretensions of Euric were justified by ambition and success; and the Gothic nation might aspire, under his command, to the monarchy of Gaul and Britain. Alaric and Euric were, to his authority; nor did he restore the captive Franks, till he had imposed on that fierce nation the terms of an unequal peace. The Vandals of Africa cultivated his useful friendship; and the Ostrogoths of Pannonia were supported to the utmost of their power by the opposing power of the neighbouring Huns. The north (such are the lofty strains of the poet) was agitated, or appeased, by the sound of Euric; the great king of Persia consulted the oracle of the west; and the aged god of the Tiber was protected by the swelling genius of the Garamon. The formidable nations have often depended on accidents; and France may ascribe her greatness to the premature death of the Gothic king, at a time when his son Alaric was a helpless infant, and his adversary Clovis an ambitious and valiant youth.

While Childeric, the father of Clovis, King of Italy, was living in exile in Germany, he was found hospitably entertained by the queen, as well as by the king, of the Thuringians. After his restoration, Basina escaped from her husband's bed to the arms of her lover; freely declaring, that if she had not been more valiant, stronger, or more beautiful, than Childeric, she should have been the object of his preference. Clovis was the offspring of this voluntary union; and when he was no more than fifteen years of age, he succeeded, by his father's death, to the command of the Slavish tribe. The narrow limits of his kingdom were confined to the island of the Batavians, with the ancient dioceses of Tournay and Arras; and at the baptism of Clovis, the number of his warriors could not exceed fifteen thousand. The kindred tribes of the Franks, who had seated themselves along the Belge rivers, the Scheld, the Meuse, the

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1. In this chapter I shall draw my quotations from the Recueil des Histoires des Gaules et de France, Paris, 1739–1740, in eleven volumes in folio. By the laborious industry of the translators, it is believed that almost all the original testimonies, as far as A. D. 1000, are disposed of in the chronological order, and illustrated with learned notes. Such a national work, which will be continued to the year 1500, might possess the importance of a national undertaking.

2. Tact. Hist. xx. 73. In the 1. p. 249. To abbreviate Tacitus would, indeed, be presumptuous; but I may select the general ideas which he applies to the particular, and illustrated with learned notes. Such a national work, which will be continued to the year 1500, might possess the importance of a national undertaking.

3. CArCk, flo a f. 24O. In the 1. p. 249. To abbreviate Tacitus would, indeed, be presumptuous; but I may select the general ideas which he applies to the particular, and illustrated with learned notes. Such a national work, which will be continued to the year 1500, might possess the importance of a national undertaking.

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4. Sidonius was a diplomatist, p. 46. The character of Gelasius inclines me to believe, that he has not submitted the description of the Rhine (Hist. Geor. li. 170.) without the authority of some MS.

5. Sidonius, i. vii. epist. 3. In the 1. p. 90. Jordanes (de Rebus Gestis, c. 57. P. 69) justifies, in some measure, this portrait of the Gothic hero.

6. I use the familiar appellation of Clovis, from the Latin Dico- livius, or Chlodovius. But the Ch describes only the German aspiration; and the true name is not different from Ludovicus, or Luduvicus, in their original form: hence the appellation Clovis was derived. The name of Ludovicus is well known in French, and Clovis was probably intended for the French form.

7. GREY, Yorin. l. c. 12. In the 1. p. 165. Basina speaks the language of her husband, and her sons, and she might converse with Germanie in their old age: and the bishop of Neustria could not, without doing the mother of the first Christian king, have been the object of her preference.

8. The Abbe Dubois (Hist. Critique de l’Establishsement de la Monarchie Francise dans la Gaule, tom. i. p. 265–266) has the secret of defining the form of the primitive king of Clovis, and of ascertaining the correct number of his subjects.

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9. Eusebius, a more learned and less prepossessed historian, civilianum praetorium permanens, verum decretae opusculum, &c. VI. ST. Vedasti, in tom. iii. p. 524. This subject appears to have been passed over by the classic writers; but I have thought it necessary to give it a place in the present volume, as it contains a subject of the greatest importance to the history of the Romans.
Moselle, and the Rhine, were governed by their independent kings, of the Merovingian race; the equals, the allies, and sometimes the enemies, of the Salic prince. But the Germans, who obeyed in peace the hereditary jurisdiction of their chiefs, were free to follow their own peculiar laws and usages; and the superior merit of Clovis attracted the respect and allegiance of the national confederacy. When he first took the field; he had neither gold and silver in his coffer, nor wine and corn in his magazine: but he imitated the example of Cesar, who, in the beginning of his reign, encountered wealth by the sword, and purchased soldiers with the fruits of conquest. After each successful battle or expedition, the spoils were accumulated in one common mass; every warrior received his proportionable share; and the royal prerogative submitted to the equal regulations of military law. The untamed spirit of the barbarians was taught to acknowledge the advantages of regular discipline. At the annual review of the month of March, their arms were diligently inspected; and when they traversed a peaceful territory, they were prohibited from touching a blade of grass. The justice of Clovis was incorruptible; and his careless or disobedient officers were punished with instant death. It would be superfluous to praise the valour of a Frank; but the valour of Clovis was directed by cool and consummate prudence. In all his transactions with mankind, he calculated the weight of interest, of passion, and of opinion. From his hour of accession, he had determined to preserve the sanguinary manners of the Germans, and sometimes moderated by the milder genius of Rome, and Christianity. He was intercepted in the career of victory, since he died in the forty-fifth year of his age; but he had already accomplished, in a reign of thirty years, but the standard of a popular and victorious empire, and had preserved the title, or at least with the authority, of king of the Romans. As a Roman, he had been educated in the liberal studies of rhetoric and jurisprudence; but he was engaged by accident and policy in the familiar use of the Germanic idiom. The independent barbarians resist the tribunal of a stranger, who possessed the singular talent of explaining, in their native tongue, the dictates of reason and equity. The diligence and affability of their judge rendered him popular, the impartial wisdom of his decrees obtained their voluntary obedience, and the reign of Syagrius over the Franks and Burgundians, from his return to the old civilisation of society. In the midst of these peaceful occupations, Syagrius received, and boldly accepted, the hostile defiance of Clovis; who challenged his rival, in the spirit, and almost in the language, of chivalry, to appoint the day, and the field, of battle. But the time of chivalry, the hour of the Frank, was yet to come. The Franks, for a day, did with a body of fifty thousand horse; and such an array might have been plentifully supplied with shields, cuirasses, and military engines, from the three arsenals, or manufactories, of the city. But the courage and numbers of the Gallic youth were long since exhausted; and the loose bands of volunteers, or mercenaries, who frequented the sandy soil, were incapable of containing with the national valour of the Franks. It would be ungenerous, without some more accurate knowledge of his strength and resources, to condemn the rapid flight of Syagrius, who escaped, after the loss of a battle, to the distant part of Thuringia. The minority of Alaric could not assist, or protect, an unfortunate fugitive; the pusillanimous Gotths were intimidated by the menaces of Clovis; and the Roman king, after a short confinement, was delivered into the hands of the conqueror. The Belgo cities surrendered to the king of the Franks; and the dominions of the Ostrogoths were directed towards the east by the ample diocese of Tongres, which Clovis subdued in the tenth year of his reign.

The name of Alemannia has been absurdly derived from their imaginary set-massion of the element on the banks of the Leman lake. From the year 428, the northern parts of Helvetia had been subdued by the ferocious Alemanni, who destroyed with their own hands the fruits of their conquest. A province, improved and adorned by the arts of Rome, was reduced to a savage wilderness; and some vestige of the stately Vindobonna may be discovered in the fertile and populous valley of the Aar. From the source of the Rhine, to its confluence with the Men and the Moselle, the formidable swarms of the Alemannia commanded either side of the river, by the right of ancient possession or recent victory. They had spread themselves into Gaul, over the modern provinces of Alsace and Lorraine; and their bold invasion of the kingdom of Cologne summoned the Salic prince to the defence of his Ripuarian allies. Clovis encountered the invaders of Gaul in the plain of Tolbiac, about twenty-four miles from Cologne; and the
two fiercest nations of Germany were mutually ani-
mated by the memory of past exploits, and the pros-
ppect of future greatness. The Franks, after an obsti-
nac fatigued, gave way; and the Alamanni, raising a
shout of victory, impetuously pressed their retreat.
But the latter, finding no resistance, retraced their
steps; and perhaps by the piety, of Clovis; and the event of
the bloody day decided for ever the alternative of em-
pire or servitude. The last king of the Alamanni was
slain in the field, and his people were slaughtered and
pursued, till they threw down their arms, and yielded
to the mercy of the conquerors. Without discipline it
was impossible for them to rally: they had contem-
platively demolished the walls and fortifications which
might have protected their distress; and they were
followed into the heart of their forests, by an enemy
not less active than valiant, than the first. the great
Theodoric congratulated the victory of Clovis, whose
sister Aibofleda the king of Italy had lately married;
but he mildly interceded with his brother in
favour of the suppliants and fugitives, who had
importuned his protection. The Gallic territories,
which were possessed by the Alamanni, became the
property of their conqueror; and the haughty nation, invincible,
or rebellious, to the arms of Rome, acknowledged the
sovereignty of the Merovingian kings, who graciously
promised them to enjoy their peculiar manners and
institutions, under the government of official, and at least,
the respect of the conquerors. At last, in the western provinces, the Franks alone maintained
their ancient habitations beyond the Rhine. They
gradually subdued, and civilized, the exhausted coun-
tries, as far as the Elbe, and the mountains of Boh-
emia; and the peace of Europe was secured by the
obedience of Germany.

Conversion of
Clovis
A. D. 506.

Till the thirteenth year of his age, Clovis continued to worship the gods of
his ancestors. His disbelief, or rather
disregard, of Christianity, might encourage him to pil-
lage with less remorse the churches of a hostile terri-
tory; but his subjects of Gaul enjoyed the free exer-
cise of religious worship; and the bishops entertained
a more favourable hope of the idoler, than of the her-
etics. The Merovingian prince had contracted a for-
tunate alliance with the fair Clotilda, the niece of the
king of Burgundy, who, in the midst of an Arian court,
was confirmed in the Christian faith by the profession
of her husband. It was her interest, as well as her duty, to achieve the conversion of his
husband; and Clovis insensi-

bly listened to the voice of love and religion. He con-
sewed (perhaps such terms had been previously stipu-
lated) to the baptism of his eldest son; and though
the Frenchie were not firmly deter-
mined, he was persuaded, a second time, to repeat
the dangerous experiment. In the distress of the bat-
tle of Tolbiac, Clovis loudly invoked the God of
Clo-
tilda and the Christians; and victory disposed him to hear, with respectful gratitude, the eloquent
Remi.

1 Gregory of Tours, (i. ii. 36. 37, in tom. ii. p. 176, 177, 182; the Gesta Francorum, (in tom. ii. p. 551, and the epistle of Theodore, (Cassiodorus, (in tom. iv. p. 41 in tom. iv. c. 19) and Nollius, (de Alemanni, c. 11) and Gilduinian, (De Reb. Helvet. i. c. 10. 12. p. 72—89.)

2 Clovis, or rather Gregory, supposes that Clovis worshiped the gods of Greece and Rome. The fact is incredible, and the mistake only shows how completely, in less than a century, the national rel-
gions of the Franks had been abolished, and even forgotten.

3 Gregory of Tours relates the marriage and conversion of Clovis, (c. 16. p. 175. 176, 177, and the Gesta Francorum, (in tom. ii. p. 296—300.) the author of the Gesta Francorum attributes the marriage, (c. 16. a. D. 504; and the conversion of Clovis, (c. 16. a. D. 506; and in tom. iii. p. 37—46, may be heard without disdain. Tradition might long preserve some curious circumstances of these important events.

4 A traveller who returned from Rheims to Avignon, had stolen a volume of sacred books from the secular prelate, Benedict, (ibidem ed. Le Constable, and the=numerous Epitomier, in tom. ii. p. 296—300.) the author of the Gesta Francorum, (ibidem) and the nation of the Alamanni, (c. 16. a. D. 504, and a. D. 506) and the historian of Clovis himself, 9. 9. 10. in tom. iii. p. 37—46, may be heard without disdain. Tradition might long preserve some curious circumstances of these important events.

5 His memory is preserved, (ibidem) and the nation of the Alamanni, (c. 16. a. D. 504, and a. D. 506) and the historian of Clovis himself, 9. 9. 10. in tom. iii. p. 37—46, may be heard without disdain. Tradition might long preserve some curious circumstances of these important events.

6 He wished to redeem his war-horse by the gift of a hundred pieces of gold, but the enchained steed could not move from the ground. See the admirable biographer of Clovis, (ibidem) and the nation of the Alamanni, (c. 16. a. D. 504, and a. D. 506) and the historian of Clovis himself, 9. 9. 10. in tom. iii. p. 37—46, may be heard without disdain. Tradition might long preserve some curious circumstances of these important events.
alone, in the Christian world, reserved the name and prerogatives of a Catholic king. The emperor Amas- 
sius entertained some dangerous errors concerning the 
nature of the divine incarnation; and the barbarians of 
Italy, Africa, and Gaul, who had two brothers, this 
Arian heresy. The eldest, or rather the only, son of 
the church, was acknowledged by the clergy as their 
lawful sovereign, or glorious deliverer; and the arms of 
Clovis were strenuously supported by the zeal and 
favour of the Catholic faction.

Submission of the Roman empire. Under the Roman empire, the wealth 
and jurisdiction of the bishops, their sa-
tred character, and perpetual office, their 
numerous dependents, popular eloquence, and provincial assemblies, had rendered 
them always respectable, and sometimes dangerous. 
These foundations were augmented with the progress of 
superstition, and the establishment of the French mon-
archy may, in some degree, be ascribed to the firm 
ance of a hundred prelates, who reigned in the dis-
contested, or independent, cities of Gaul. The slight 
foundations of the Armoniac republic had been repea-
tedly shaken by the king of the Franks. They guar-
died their domestic freedom; asserted the dignity 
of the Roman name; and bravely resisted the preda-
tory inroads, and regular attacks, of Clovis, who la-
boured to extend his conquests from the Seine to the 
Loire. Their successful opposition introduced an eq-
ual and imitable benefit; the Franks delivered the 
victory of the Armoniacs, and the Armoniacs were 
reconciled by the religion of the Franks. 
The military force, which had been stationed for the 
defence of Gaul, consisted of one hundred different bands 
of cavalry or infantry; and these troops, while they 
assumed the title and privileges of Roman soldiers, 
were renewed by an incessant supply of the barbarian 
youth. The extreme fortifications, and scattered frag-
ments, of the empire, were still defended by their 
hopeless courage. But their retreat was intercepted, 
and their communication was impracticable; they 
were abandoned by the Greek princes of Constanti-
nople, and they piously disclaimed all connexion with 
the Arian usurpers of Gaul. They accepted, without 
shame or reluctance, the generous capitulation, which 
was proposed by a catholic hero; and this spurious, or 
legitimate, progeny of the Roman legions, was disting-
uinguished by their virtues, the simplicity of their en-
signs, and their peculiar dress and institutions. 
But the national strength was increased by these powerful 
and voluntary auxiliaries; and the neighbouring 
kings dreaded the numbers, as well as the spirit, of the 
Franks. The reduction of the northern provinces of 
Gaul, by the king of the Franks, seemed, at the first 
sight, to be slowly effected by the gradual operation of 
war and treaty; and Clovis acquired all object of his ambition, by such efforts, or 
such concessions, as were adequate to its real value. 
His savage character, and the virtues of Henry IV., 
suggested the most opposite ideas of human nature; yet 
some resemblance may be found in the situation of two 
princes, who conquered France by their valor, their 
policy, and the merits of a seasonable conversion.

The Burgundians were the kingdom of the Burgundians, 
which was defined by the course of two 
Gallic rivers, the Saone and the Rhone.

1 See the epitap from pope Anastasius to the royal convert, (iv. pp. 120, 121.) 
2 See the epitap from pope Anastasius to the royal convert, (iv. pp. 120, 121.) 
3 Instead of the Armoniacs, an unknown people, who now appear in the 
text of Procopius, Haddim du Valois has restored the proper 
names of the Armoniacs, which have, however, not been universally 
approved. Yet an unjudged reader would naturally suppose, that Procopius 
intended to describe a tribe of Germans, as the allies of Rome; and not a confederacy of Gallic cities, which had 
revelved from Gaul.

4 This important dissertation of Procopius (de Bell. Gotich., t. i. c. 12. 
in. p. 22—36.) illustrates the origin of the French monarchs, 
and shows the mistakes and prejudices, which should leave some lasting traces, 
which are totally insinuated in Gregory of Tours, the Salle laws, &c.: 

5 Extended from the forest of Vosges to the Alps and the sea of Marseilles. 
6 The sceptre was in the hands of Gundobald. That valiant and ambitious 
 prince had reduced the number of royal canons, and declared that his brother 
who was the father of Clota-
7 But his imperfect prudence still permitted God-

8 Regnum circa Rhodanum et Aparia cum provincia Marsilleni-
si renuente, Greg. Turon., i. ii. c. 22. in. ii. p. 175. 
9 The province of Marseiles, as far as the Rhone, was afterwards ceded to 
the Ostrogoths; and the title of rex Frigorum, which was confer-
posed to represent the kingdom of Burgundy, A. D. 519. (Concil. 
Bib., tom. ii. p. 194, 195.) Yet I would except Visamund. 
10 The bishop, who lived under the pagan Alamanon, would naturally 
return to the synod of the next Christian kingdom, Mascon (in his four 
first annotations,) has explained many circumstances relative to 
the Burgundian monarchy.

4 Greg. Turon., in. ii. c. 22. in. ii. p. 175. 
5 See the first original conference. (in. iv. p. 109—102.) 
6 Aultus the principal actor, and the event, are supposed to be 
the office of Vienna. 
7 A short account of his person and works may be found in Dupa. 
(Biblotheca Ecclesiastica, tom. v. p. 160.) 
8 Gregory of Tours, Lib. ii. c. 7. in. ii. p. 203. It describes his ge-
9 Gregory of Tours, Lib. ii. c. 7. in. ii. p. 203. It describes his ge-

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Avignon, at the distance of two hundred and fifty miles from the field of battle. A long siege, and an ardent negociation, dished the King, of the Frankish monarchy, the danger and difficulty of his enterprise. He imposed a tribute on the Burgundian prince, compelled him to pardon and reward his brother's treachery, and proudly returned to his own dominions, with the spoils and captives of the southern provinces. This splendid victory was soon clouded by the recollection, that Gundobald had violated his recent obligations, and that the unfortunate Godegisel, who was left at Vienna with a garrison of five thousand Franks, had been besieged, surprised, and massacred by his inhuman brother. Such an outrage might have exasperated the prince to the sacrifice of the most distinguished, yet the conqueror of Gaul dispersed the injury, released the tribute, and accepted the alliance, and military service, of the King of Burgundy. Clovis no longer possessed those advantages which had assured the success of the preceding war; and his rival, instructed by adversity, had found new resources in the affections of his people. The Gauls or Romans applauded the mild and impartial laws of Gundobald, which almost raised them to the same level with their conquerors. The bishops were reconciled, and flat- tered, who had been lively suspected of his approaching conversion; and though he eluded their accomplishment to the last moment of his life, his moderation secured the peace, and suspended the ruin, of the kingdom of Burgundy. 

The first victory of Clovis had suited the honour of the Goths. They viewed his rapid progress with jealousy and terror; and the youthful fame of Alaric was despised by the more potent genius of his rival. Some disputes inevitably arose on the edge of their contiguous dominions; and after the delays of fruitless negotiation, a personal interview of the two kings was proposed and accepted. This conference of Clovis and Alaric took place in the vicinity of Vienna. They embraced, familiarly conversed, and feasted together; and separated with the warmest professions of peace and brotherly love. But their apparent confidence concealed a dark suspicion of hostile and treacherous designs; and their mutual complaints showed, at least, which was the accuser. A Paris, which he already considered as his royal seat, Clovis declared to an assembly of the princes and warriors, the pretense, and the motive, of a Gothic war. "It grieves me," he said to the Arlens, "we still possess the fairest portion of Gaul. Let us march against the invader of our rights. If you follow me, the heritage, we will possess, and divide, their fertile provinces." The Franks, who were inspired by hereditary valour and recent zeal, applauded the generous design of their monarch; expressed their resolu- tion to conquer or die; and their enterprise would be equally profitable; and solemnly protested that they would never spare their swords, till victory should absolve them from that inconvenient vow. The enterprise was promoted by the public or private expor- tations of Clotilda. She reminded her husband, that he had once promised the enterprise; and determined to accede to his request. At Tours, he proposed a dialogue of the sacred and profane, which was accepted. 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than in his diocese. To resist these foreign and domestic enemies, who were fortified by the alliance of the barbarian tribes, he began to secure their doubtful and reluctant aid. The Visigoths resumed the exercise of arms, which they had neglected in a long and luxurious peace; a select band of valiant and robust slaves attended their masters to the field; and the cities of Gaul were occupied by their troops. The last and most abject of the Burgundians, Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, who reigned in Italy, had laboured to maintain the tranquillity of Gaul; and he assumed, or affected for that purpose, the impartial character of a mediator. But the sanguinary monarch dreaded the rising empire of Clovis, and was anxious to prevent the combination of his subjects to support the national and religious cause of the Goths.

Victory of Clovis. The accidental, or artificial, prodigies, which adorned the expedition of Clovis, were accepted, by a superstitious age, as the manifest declaration of the divine favour. He marched from Paris; and, as he proceeded with decisive reverence through the holy diocese of Tours, his anxiety tempted him to consult the shrine of St. Martin, the sanctuary, and the oracle of Gaul. His messengers were instructed to remark the words of the Psalm, which should happen to be chanted at the precise moment when they entered the church. They immediately expressed the valour and victory of the champions of heaven, and the application was easily transferred to the new Joshua, the new Gideon, who went forth to battle against the enemies of the Lord. Orleans secured to the Franks a bridge on the Loire; but, at the distance of forty miles from Poitiers, their progress was intercepted by an extraordinary swell of the river Vienne, or Vienne; and the opposite banks were covered by the encampment of the Visigoths. Delay must be always dangerous to barbarians, who consume the country through which they march; and Clovis possessed leisure and materials, it is likely, but impracticable to construct a bridge; or to force a passage, in the face of a superior enemy. But the affectionate peasants, who were impatient to welcome their deliverer, could easily betray some unknown, or unguarded, ford; the merit of the discovery was enhanced by the useful interposition of fraud or fiction; and a white hart of singular size and beauty, appeared to guide and animate the march of the catholic army. The counsels of the Visigoths were irresolute and distracted. A crowd of impatient warriors, presumptuous in their strength, and disdainful of wisdom, insisted on their immediate ascent in arms the name and blood of the conqueror of Rome. The advice of the graver chieftains pressed him to clude the first aourd of the Franks; and to expect in the southern provinces of Gaul, the veteran and victorious Ostrogoths, whom the king of Italy had already sent to his assistance. The decisive moments were wasted in idle deliberation; the Goths too hastily abandoned, perhaps, an advantageous post; and the opportunity of a secure retreat was lost by their slow and disorderly motions. After Clovis had passed the ford, as it is still named, of the Hort, he advanced with bold and hasty steps to prevent the escape of the connivance Goths. His troops were dirrected by a flaming meteor, suspended in the air above the cathedral of Poitiers; and this signal, which might be previously concerted with the orthodox successor of St. Hilary, was compared to the column of fire that guided the Israelites in the desert. At the third hour of the day, after an engagement with the Visigoths, Clovis overtook, and instantly attacked, the Gothic army; whose defeat was already prepared by terror and confusion. Yet they rallied in their extreme distress, and the martial youths, who had clamorously demanded the battle, refused to survive the ignominy of flight. The two kings encountered each other in single combat. Abaric fell by the hand of his rival; and the victorious Frank was saved by the goodness of his cuirass, and the vigour of his horse, from the spears of two desperate Goths, who boldly rode against him, to revenge the death of their sovereign. The vague expression of a mountain of the slain, serves to indicate a cruel, though indefinite, slaughter; but Gregory has carefully observed, that his valiant countryman Apollinaris, the son of Sitolnas, lost his life at the head of the nobles of Auvergne. Perhaps these suspected Catholics had devoted to their holy cause the son of the inveterate enemy; and perhaps the influence of religion was superseded by personal attachment, or military honour. Such is the empire of Fortune, (if we may still disfigure our ignorance under that popular name,) that it is almost always equally difficult to foresee the events of war, or to explain their various consequences. A bloody and complete victory has sometimes yielded no more than the possession of the field; and the loss of ten thousand men has sometimes been sufficient to destroy, in a single day, the victory of Clovis. The decisive battle of Poitiers was followed by the conquest of Aquitaine. Abaric had left behind him an infant son, a bastard competitor, factious nobles, and a disloyal people; and the remaining forces of the Goths were oppressed by the general consternation, or opposed to each other in civil discord. The victorious king of the Franks proceeded without delay to the siege of Angoulême. At the sound of his trumpets the walls of the city imitated the example of Jericho, and instantly fell to the ground; a splendid miracle, which may be reduced to the supposition, that some clerical engineers had employed the night before to undermine the rampart. At Bordeaux, which had submitted without resistance, Clovis established his winter-quarters; and his prudent economy transported from Toulouse the royal treasures, which were deposited in the capital of the monarchy. The conqueror penetrated as far as the confines of Spain; restored the honours of the catholic church; fixed in Aquitaine a colony of Franks; and delegated to his lieutenants the easy task of

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2 After accepting the text or excusing the mistake, of Procopius, who places the defeat of Stilicho near Carthage, it appears that the rubric of 503. from the evidence of Gregory, Fortunatus, and the author of the History of Francorum, is inaccurate, and that the victory was gained, not in the year 503. on the banks of the Oron, but in ten months to the south of Poitiers. Clovis overtook and attacked the Visigoths near Vivonne, and the victory was decided near a village still called Chaparral St. Hilare, opposite. See the Dissertations of the Albert le Bonf., tom. I. p. 291—293.

3 Angoulême is still a place of importance. The ancient victory of Gregory delays the siege, I can more readily believe that he confirmed the order of history, than that Clovis neglected the rules of

4 Pyrenees moutes eque Perpiniannum subjectis is the expression in the inscription of the tomb of St. Victor, which hands the more correct date. It is the only inscription that existed before the tenth century. (March Hugonis, p. 45.) This florid and fabulous writer, (perhaps a monk of Amiens, who wrote the Albert le Bonf., Mem., c. 50.) confounds the title of the allogrephical character of a shepherd, the general history of his countrymen the Franks, or his own nation, but his narrative ends with the death of Clovis.

5 The name of the German Francorum, positively affirms, that Clovis fixed a body of Franks in the Substance and Bourgius; and he is not undoubtedly followed by Honorius, electors nobles, utque fertissim, cam parvis suis materiam. Yet it should seem that they were soon mingled with the Romans of Aquitain, till Charlemagne
of subduing, or extirpating, the nation of the Visi-
goths. But the Visigoths were protected by the wise and
powerful monarch of Italy. While the balance
was still equal, Theodoric had perhaps delayed the
march of the Ostrogoths; but their strenuous efforts
successfully resisted the ambition of Clovis; and
the army of the Franks, and their Burgundian allies,
was compelled to raise the siege of Arles, with the loss, as
it is said, of two thousand men. These vicissitudes
inclined the fierce spirit of Clovis to acquiesce in an
advantageous treaty of peace. The Visigoths
were suffered to retain the possession of Septimania, a
narrow tract of sea-coast, from the Rhone to the Pyre-
nees; but the ample province of Aquitain, from those
mountains to the Atlantic coast, was, indissolubly united to the
kingdom of France.8

After the success of the Gothic war,
Clovis accepted the honors of the Ro-
man consulship. The emperor Anastas-
ianus ambitiously bestowed on the most powerful rival
of Theodosius, the title and ensigns of that eminent
dignity; yet, from some unknown cause, the name of
Clovis has not been inscribed in the Pontifii either of the
east or west. 1

On the solemn day, the monarch of Gaul,
placing a diadem on his head, was invested, in the
presence of Martin, with the insignia of his
mantle. From thence he proceeded on horseback
to the cathedral of Tours; and, as he passed through
the streets, profusely scattered, with his own hand, a
donative of gold and silver to the joyful multitude,
who incessantly repeated their acclamations of Consol
and Augustus. But the accession of actual or legal
right could not receive any new accessions from the consu-
lar dignity. It was a name, a shadow, an empty pa-
gent; and if the conqueror had been instructed to
claim the ancient prerogatives of that high office, they
must have expired with the period of its annual dura-
tion. If the successors of the Franks were disposed to reverence
in the person of their master, that antique title which the
emperors consecended to assume: the barbarian him-
self seemed to contract a sacred obligation to respect
the majesty of the republic; and the successors of
Theodosius, by soliciting his friendship, tactfully for-
gave, and almost ratified, the usurpation of Gaulian
Final establish-
ment of the
French
monarchy in Gaul.
A.D. 536.

Between his sons and the Emperor Justinian,
the monarchs of Ostrogothic Italy, unable to defend their
distant acquisitions, had ceded to the Franks the
Cities of Arles and Marseilles; of Arles, still adorned
with the seat of a prerogative prelate, and of Marseilles,
enriched by the advantages of trade and navigation. 10
This transaction was confirmed by the imperial au-
thority; and Justinian, generously yielding to the
Franks the sovereignty of the countries beyond the
Alps, which they already possessed, absolved the prov-
incials from their allegiance; and established on a
more lawful, though not more solid, foundation, the
throne of the Merovingians.9 From that era they en-
joyed the ambiguous position of a privileged tributary
of the circus; and by a singular privilege, which was
denied even to the Persian monarch, the gold coin
pressed with their name and image, obtained a legal
currency in the empire. 4 A Greek historian of that
age has praised the private and public virtues of the
Franks, as a people nobly conformed and excellently
sufficiently justified by their domestic annals. 5 He
celebrates their politeness and urbanity, their regular
government, and orthodox religion; and boldly asserts,
that these barbarians could be distinguished only by their
dress and language from the subjects of Rome. Perhaps
their name was comprehended in the vague position
and lively grace, which in every age have disguised their vices, and sometimes concealed their
intrinsic merit. Perhaps Agathias, and the Greeks,
were dazzled by the rapid progress of their arms, and
the splendour of their empire. Since the conquest of
Burgundy, Gaul except the Gothic province of Sep-
timania, was subject, in its whole extent, to the sons
of Clovis. They had extinguished the German king-
dom of Thuringia, and their vague dominion penetrated
beyond the Rhine, into the heart of their native forests.
The Roman provinces of Aquitaine, and the
eastern provinces of Gaul and Spain, which
were once covered with a Christian populace,
were reduced to provinces inhabited by the
Arians, and the Persians. The Franks were extended far beyond the limits of modern France,
Yet modern France, such has been the progress of arts
and policy, far surpasses in wealth, populousness, and
power, the spacious but savage realms of Clotaire or
Dagobert.

The Franks, or French, are the only political contro-
people of Europe who can deduce a
perpetual succession from the conquerors of the west-
ern empire. But their conquest of Gaul was followed by
ten centuries of anarchy and ignorance. On the re-
vival of learning, the students who had been formed
in the schools of all except Gothic tribes were soon
extended far beyond the limits of modern France.
According to the historians of France, the
Gothic kingdom was terminated in the year 537,
from the historian of the Franks, the
Merovingians. This work was dedicated to the
emperor of the Franks, and to the Franks them-
selves. It was completed in the year 575, and
was finished with the death of the emperor.
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The Franks, who probably used the mints of Trier, Lyons,
and Arles, imitated the coinage of the Roman emperors of seventy-two
soldi, or pieces, to the pound of gold. But as the Franks established
their sovereignty upon the whole empire, they adopted as a
reasonable proportion of gold their own coinage, for which they
had a sufficient valuation of their products of gold. It was the common
experience of the Vandals, and the Franks, that these
monies of the Visigoths, and the Goths, had been maintained
during three centuries. Twelve of these denarii made a solidus, or shilling,
the twentieth part of the ponderal and numeral denarius, or pound of
silver, which has been so strangely reduced in modern France.
See Le Blanc Traite Historique des Monnoyes de France, p. 37-
38, 2d ed. 1733, 3d ed. 1740.

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nately defended: and the intertemporal disputants have accused each other of conspiring against the preroga-
tive of the crown, the dignity of the nobles, or the freedom of the people. Yet the sharp conflict has usefully exercised the adverse powers of learning and genius; and each antagonist, alternately vanquished and victorious, has extirpated some ancient errors, and established by conflicting truths the stranger, instructed by their discoveries, their disputes, and even their faults, may describe, from the same original materials, the state of the Roman provincials, after Gaul had submitted to the arms and laws of the Merovingian kings.1

1. Lawed the bar

The rudest, or the most servile, condition of human society, is regulated however by some fixed and general rules. When Tacitus surveyed the primitive simplicity of the Germans, he discovered some permanent maxims, or customs, of public and private life, which were preserved by faithful tradition, till the introduction of the art of writing, and of the Latin tongue. Before the election of the Merovingian kings, the most powerful tribe, or nation, of the Franks, appointed four venerable chieftains to compose the Salic laws; and their labours were examined and approved in three successive assemblies of the nation, and their laws were to assuage the territories of Christi
ty: the Salic law was again amended by his sons; and at length, under the reign of Dagobert, the code was revised and promulgated in its actual form, one hundred years after the establishment of the French monarchy. Within the same period, the customs of the Ripuarian were transcribed and published; and Charlemagne himself, the legislator of his age and country, had accurately studied the two national laws, which still prevailed among the Franks.2 The same care was extended to their vassals; and the rude institu-
tions of the Alemanni and Bavarians were diligently compiled, and ratified by the supreme authority of the Merovingian kings. The Visigoths and Burgundians, whose conquests in Gaul preceded those of the Franks, showed less impatience to attain one of the principal benefits of civilized society. Euric was the first of the Gothic princes who expressed in writing the simple customs of his people; and the definition of the Burgundian laws was a measure of policy rather than of justice; to alleviate the yoke, and regain the affections, of their Gallic subjects.3 Thus, by a sin-
gular coincidence, the Germans framed their artless insti-
tutions, at a time when the elaborate system of Ro-
man jurisprudence was finally consummated. In the Salic laws, and the Pandects of Justinian, we may consider the first rudiments, and of Justinian, we may consider the first rudiments, and of the salic laws, and the Pandects of Justinian, we may consider the first rudiments, and of the salic laws, and the Pandects of Justinian, we may consider the first rudiments, and of the salic laws, and the Pandects of Justinian, we may consider the first rudiments, and of the salic laws, and the Pandects of Justinian, we may consider the first rudiments of civil wisdom; and whatever prejudices may be sug-
gested in favour of barbarism, our calmer reflections

1 In the space of thirty years, (1728—1758) this interesting subject has been agitated by the free spirit of the confédérat de Bayeux; (Messieurs du Bocage sur l'Etat de la France, articles XVI., XVII., XVIII., et XIX. 15—49) the learned incertitude of the Abbé Dubos; (Histoire Critique de Paris, etc.) and by the able observations of the learned Dra
ing the work of two learned works of Hel

necius, the History, and the Elements, of the Germanic law. In a judicious perusal of the Elements, he considers, and tries to excuse, the partiality of this learned work. He shows, that the book, so

2 Salic appears to have been the original language of the Salic law. It is in Saxo, the principal author of the history of the Franks, that we

3 The Ripuarian law declares, and defines, that indulgence in fa
er of the plaintiff; (dil. xxxi. in tom. iv. p. 293) and the same tele

4 This liberty of choice has been apolyly declared (Kapit des Lois, l.xxxi. 3) from the law of Lodsburg (Capitol. de Lodsburg, l.xxxi. 3)

5 Consult the ancient and modern prejudices of the several Codes, in the Institutes of the Germanic law, favourably suggests, that at Rome and Athens, homicide was only punished as a crime. It is true, but

6 The Ripuarian law declares, and defines, that indulgence in fa


conquest. In the calm moments of legislation they solemnly pronounced, that the life of a Roman was of smaller value than that of a barbarian. The "Austrasia," a name expressive of the most illustrious birth or dignity, among the Franks, was appreciated at the same rate of price as the sixtieth degree of the royal provincial, who was admitted to the king's table; might be legally murdered at the expense of three hundred pieces. Two hundred were deemed sufficient for a Frank of ordinary condition; but the meager Romans were exposed to disgrace and danger by a trifling compensation; by fifty, or sixty, pieces, or a gold. Had these laws been regulated by any principle of equity or reason, the public protection should have supplied in just proportion the want of personal strength. But the legislator who weighed in the scale, not of justice, but of policy, the loss of a soldier against that of a slave; the head of an insolent and rapturous barbarian was guarded by a heavy fine; and the slightest aid was afforded to the most defenseless subjects. Time insensibly abated the pride of the conquerors, and the patience of the vanquished; and the boldest citizen was taught by experience, that he might suffer more than he could obtain. As the conquerors of the Franks became less ferocious, their laws were rendered more severe; and the Merovingian kings attempted to imitate the impartial rigour of the Visigoths and Burgundians. Under the empire of Childebram, murder was universally punished with death. The capital punishment of crimes was liberally multiplied in the jurisprudence of modern Europe.

Judgments of the civil and military professions, which had been separated by Constantine, were again united by the barbarous laws. The height of the Teutonic appellations was mollified into the Latin titles of duke, of count, or of prefect; and the same officer assumed, within his district, the command of the troops, and the administration of justice. But the fierce and illustrious chieftain was seldom qualified to discharge the duties of a judge, which require all the faculties of a philosophic mind, laboriously cultivated by experience and study; and his rude ignorance was compelled to encroach some simple, and visible, methods of ascertaining the cause of justice. In every religion, the Deity has been invoked to confirm the truth of the one and falsehood of the other; but this powerful instrument was misapplied and abused, by the simplicity of the German legislators. The party accused might justify his innocence, by producing before their tribunal a number of friendly witnesses, who solemnly declared the belief, or assurance, that he was not guilty. According to the weight of the charge, this legal number of compurgators was multiplied; seventy-two voices were required to absolve an incendiary, or assassin; and when the chastity of a queen of France was suspected, three hundred gallant nobles swore, without hesitation, that the infant prince had actually been begotten by her deceased husband. The sin and scandal of manifest impiety were eagerly sought, and the perjuries engaged the attention of the judges, to remove these dangerous temptations and to supply the defects of human testimony, by the famous experiments of fire and water. These extraordinary trials, were so capriciously contrived, that in some cases guilt, and innocence in others, could not be proved without the fire, which was provided by fraud and credulity; the most intricate causes were determined by this easy and infallible method; and the turbulent barbarians, who might have disowned the sentence of the magistrate, submissively acquiesced in the judgment of God.

But the trials by single combat, judicial combats, usually obtained superior credit and authority, among a warlike people, who could not believe, that a brave man deserved to suffer, or that a coward deserved to live. Both in civil and criminal proceedings, the plaintiff, or accuser, the defendant, or accused, was judged by his sword, without the intervention of the court. The evidence and accusation were readily provided by fraud and credulity; the most intricate causes were determined by this easy and infallible method; and the turbulent barbarians, who might have disowned the sentence of the magistrate, submissively acquiesced in the judgment of God.

1. Greener, Turin, i. viii. c. 9. In Dom. p. 316. Montesquieu observes, (Esprit des Lois, i. xxxvii. c. 13.) that the Salic law did not admit these negative proofs so universally established in the barbaric codes. Yet this obscure confessor, (Fredenskiold) who became the wife of the grandson of Corsis, must have followed the Salic code.

2. Morast, in the antiquities of Italy, has given two dissertations (xxvi. 6-7; xxxvii. 9) on the judicatures of the Salian Franks, and therefore fire would not burn the innocent; and that the pure element of water would not sink the guilty, to the destruction of the constitution.

3. Montesquieu (Esprit des Lois, i. xxxvii. c. 17.) has condescended to explain and excuse "la maniere de punir de nos peres," on the subject of judicial combats. He follows this strange institution from the age of Gumbrich to that of St. Lewis; and the philosopher is not the less astonished at the local antiquity.

4. In a memorable duel at Aix-la-Chapelle, (A. D. 899) before the emperor Lewis the Pious, his legate, the Edict of Worms, secondary documents, and all the posthumous cacophonies, have only served to obscure the facts. It was a sort of fighting on horseback, which was unknown to the Franks.

5. In his original edict, published at Lyons (A. D. 902.), Gumbrich establishes and justifies the use of judicial contest. (Leg. Bermond, i. 100. E.) But in the regulations of the ecclesiastical laws, (Note de Mr. Marchand, Sirey, p. 15, 1796.) and the decrees of the eighth council, (Reformed Edict of Worms, February 16, A. D. 884.) very violent and personal actions are ordered against the person of an opponent in duels. (Leg. Bermond, i. 100.)

6. Aciealis, (Averoldi) gives a satiram valentius viribus, sed adhuc infirmi et sunt necessario ad pugnam, etiam pro vincullis rebus, qui tribus legitimis contingunt hominum u quantum;
champion. This oppressive jurisprudence was imposed on the provincials of Gaul, who complained of any injuries in their persons and property. Whatever they did to gratify the conquerors, the victorious barbarians excelled in the love and exercise of arms; and the vanquished Roman was unjustly summoned to repeat, in his own person, the bloody contest, which had already been decided against his country. 9

Division of lands. A devouring host of one hundred and by the barbarians, who delighted in the rapine of the vanquished, passed the Rhine under the command of Atilius. One third of the fertile lands of the Sequani was appropriated to their use; and the conqueror soon repeated his oppressive demand of another third, for the accommodation of a new colony of twenty-four thousand. After the death of the third, the Roman emperor had invited to share the rich harvest of Gaul. 10 At the distance of five hundred years, the Visigoths and Burgundians, who revenged the defeat of Atilius, usurped the same unequal proportion of two thirds of the subject lands. But this distribution, instead of spreading over the provinces, may be reasonably confined to the regions where the victorious people had been planted by their own choice, or by the policy of their leader. In these districts, each barbarian was connected by the ties of hospitality with some Roman provincial. To this un-welcome guest, the proprietor was compelled to abandon a third of his lands; but the German, a shepherd, and a hunter, might secure to himself a spacious range of wood and pasture, and resign the smallest, though most valuable portion, to the toll of the industrious husbandman. 11

The silence of ancient and authentic testimony has encouraged an opinion, that the rapine of the Franks was not moderated, or disguised, by the forms of a legal division; that they dispersed themselves over the provinces of Gaul, without order or control; and that each victorious robber, according to his wants, his avarice, and his strength, measured with his sword the extent of his new inheritance. At a distance from their sovereign, the barbarians might indeed be tempted to exercise such arbitrary depredation; but the firm and artful policy of Clovis must curb a licentious spirit, which would aggravate the misery of the vanquished, whilst it corrupted the union and discipline of the conquering army. The valuable vassalage of a Roman provincial, a testament, and a pledge, of the regular distribution of Gallic spoils. It was the duty, and the interest, of Clovis, to provide rewards for a successful army, and settlements for a numerous people; without inflicting any wanton or superfluous injuries on the loyal Catholics of Gaul, which might lawfully acquire, of the imperial patrimony, what they held by right of their own freedom and Gothic usurpation, would diminish the cruel necessity of seizure and confiscation; and the provinces would more patiently acquiesce in the equal and regular distribution of their loss. 12

et cruetis ne perversus eventus judiciorum," Like a prudent rhetorician, he supposes the local privilege of herial champions.

8. See the rustic edict, or rather code, of Charlemagne, which contains seventy distinct and minutiae regulations of that great monarch, (in tom. v. pp. 260-371.) He required the proprietors of vineyards to plant a tree for every one hundred and thirty acres, and double the number for every one hundred and thirty trees; and the settler (Monseigneur) fifty acres and twelve pecks. Modillon de la Diplomatique has investigated the names of the owners, the number, and the situation, of the Merovingian villas.

9. From a passage of the Burgundian law (cit. i. 4. in tom. iv. p. 247.) it is evident that the Franks were not content to hold the lands which his father had received from the royal house of the Merovingians.

10. The Burgundians would firmly maintain their privileges, and their example was followed by the Franks.

11. The privileges of the benefactors and feoffees are clearly fixed by the laws of Merovingian Gaul, and a long succession of charters confirm the right which even Montenegray is a stranger.

12. See the Sakozen, (cit. in tom. iv. p. 246.) The origin and nature of these Sakozen lands, which extended over a very large extent of territory, were fully understood, nor perplexed our most learned and sagacious critics.

13. Many of these parcels of land were still held in an ancient private capacity. The count of Bouihonville (Cit. de la France, tom. i. p. 282.) shows a strong understanding, through a cloud of ignorance and prejudice.

The wealth of the Merovingian princes consisted in their extensive domain.

After the conquest of Gaul, they re-introduced the rustic simplicity of their ancestors; the cities were abandoned to solitude and decay; and their coins, their charters, and their synods, are still inscribed with the names of the villas, or rural palaces, in which they successively resided. One hundred and sixty of these palaces, a title which need not excite any fear of the art or vanity which adorned the country, and spread through the provinces of their kingdom; and if some might claim the honours of a fortress, the far greater part could be esteemed only in the light of pleasant farms. The mansion of the long-haired kings was surrounded with convenient yards, and stables, for the cattle; and the garden was garnished with useful vegetables; the various trades, the labours of agriculture, and even the arts of hunting and fishing, were exercised by servile hands for the emulation of the sovereign; his magazines were filled with corn and wine, either for sale or consumption; and the whole administration was conducted by the strictest maxims of private economy. 1 This ample patrimony was appropriated to supply the hospitality plenteous of Clovis, and his successors; and to reward the fidelity of their brave companions, who, both in peace and war, were devoted to their personal service. Instead of a horse, or a suit of armour, each companion, according to his rank, was supplied with a benefice, the primitive name, and most simple form, of the feudal possessions. These gifts might be resumed at the pleasure of the sovereign; and his feeble prerogative derived some support from the influence of his liberality. But this dependent tenure was gradually abolished by the independent and opulent barons, who dared to provoke the vengeance of the court, and the eternal enmity of the nobles whom they had seduced from the love of the sovereign. They earned respect, the common, public, or private rights of nature, such as they had always been deemed by the Roman jurisprudence, were severely restrained by the German conquerors, whose amensurate, or rather passion, was the exercise of hunting. The vague doctrine, which...
MAN has assumed over the wild inhabitants of the earth, the air, and the waters, was confined to some fortunate individuals of the human species. Gaul was again overspread with woods; and the animals, who were reserved for the use, or pleasure, of the lord, might ravage, with impunity, the fields of his industrious tenants. The chase was the sacred privilege of the nobles and their domestic servants, and transgressors were legally chastised with stripes and imprisonment; but in an age which admitted a slight composition for the life of a citizen, it was a capital crime to destroy a stag or a wild bull within the precincts of the royal forests.  

The wolf and the conqueror became the lawful master of the enemy whom he had subdued and spared; and the fruitful cause of personal slavery, which had been almost suppressed by the peaceful sovereignty of Rome, was again revived and multiplied by perpetual hostilities of the independent barbarians. The Goth, the Burgundian, or the Frank, who returned from a successful expedition, dragged after him a long train of sheep, of oxen, and of human captives, whom he treated with the same brutal contempt. The young, the strong, and intelligent aspect, were set apart for the domestic service; a doubtful situation, which alternately exposed them to the favourable, or cruel, impulse of passion. The useful mechanics and servants (smiths, carpenters, tailors, shoemakers, cooks, gardeners, dyers, and workmen in gold and silver) formed the intermediate ranks of society; and their situation was of course, obscure and narrow interval between the noble and the slave. This arbitrary and recent division has been transformed by pride and prejudice into a national distinction, universally established by the arms and the laws of the Merovingians. The nobles, who claimed their genuine, or fabulous, descent from the independent and victorious Franks, have asserted, and abused, the indefeasible right of conquest, over a prostrate crowd of slaves and plebeians, to whom they imputed the imaginary disgrace of a Gallic, or Roman, extraction.

The general state and revolutions of the Gallic, a name which was imposed by the conquerors, may be illustrated by the particular example of a province, a diocese, or a senatorial family. Auvergne had formerly maintained a just pre-eminence among the intermediate ranks of society. The bravery and numerous inhabitants displayed a singular trophy; the sword of Clovis himself, which he had lost when he was repulsed before the walls of Gergovie, as the common offering of Troy, they claimed a fraternal alliance with the Romans; and, by the same means of conquest and spoils, they filled the fields of Auvergne, the fall of the western empire might have been prevented or delayed. They firmly maintained the fidelity which they had reluctantly sworn to the Visigoths; but when their bravest nobles had fallen in the battle of Poitiers, they accepted, without resistance, a victorious and deceitful sovereignty. This easy and valuable conquest was achieved, and possessed, by Theodoric, the eldest son of Clovis: but the remote province was separated from his Austrasian dominions, by the intermediate kingdoms of Soissons, Paris, and Orleans, which formed, after their father's death, the personal tritheism of the kingdom. The king of Paris, Childebert, was tempted by the neighbourhood and beauty of Auvergne. The lower country, which rises towards the south into the mountains of the Cevennes, presented a rich and various prospect of woods and pastures; the sites of the hills were clothed with vines; and each eminence was crowned with a villa or castle. In the Lower Auvergne, the river Allier flows through the fair and spacious plain of Limagne; and the inexhaustible fertility of the soil supplied, and still supplies, without a murmur, a perfect and model of reposes, the constant repouls of the same harvests. On the false report, that their lawful sovereign had been slain in Germany, the city of the poor, who purchased life by the sacrifice of all that can render life desirable, was gradually imitated by the feeble and the devout, who, in times of public disorder, pusillanimously crowded to shelter themselves under the battlements of a powerful chief, and around the shrine of a popular saint. Their submission was accepted by these temporal, or spiritual, potentates; and the barbarians, without materially altering their own condition, and that of their latest posterity. From the reign of Clovis, during five successive centuries, the laws and manners of Gaul uniformly tended to promote the increase, and to confirm the duration, of personal servitude. Time and violence almost obliterated the outmost limits of the intermediate ranks of society, and the slave became the necessary complement of the free.
and diocese of Auvergne were betrayed by the grand-
son of Sidonius Apollinaris. Childerich enjoyed this
clandestine victory; and the free subjects of Theodoric
threatened to desert his standard, if he indulged
his private resentment, while the nation was en-
gaged in foreign war. He scourged him, and soon yielded
to the persuasive eloquence of their king.
"Follow me," said Theodoric, "into Auvergne: I
will lead you into a province, where you may acquire
gold, silver, slaves, cattle, and precious apparel, to
the full extent of your wishes. I repeat my promise;
I give you my word, and their wealth shall be yours,
and you may transport them at pleasure into your
own country." By the execution of this promise,
Theodoric justly forfeited the allegiance of a people,
whom he devoted to destruction. His troops, rein-
forced by the fiercest barbarians of Germany, spread
desolation over the fruitful face of Auvergne; and two
places only, a strong castle, and a holy shrine, were
saved, or redeemed, from their licentious fury. The
castle of Merialce* was seated on a lofty rock, which
rose a hundred feet above the surface of the plain;
and a large reservoir of fresh water was enclosed,
with some arable lands, within the circle of its fortifi-
cations. The Franks beheld with envy and despair
this impregnable fortress: but they surprised a party
of fifty stragglers; and, as they were oppressed by the
number of their captives, they fixed, at a trifling ran-
som, the alternative of life or death for these wretched
victims. They were then sent to Paris, and placed on
massacre on the refusal of the garrison. Another de-
tachement penetrated as far as Brivas, or Brioude,
where the inhabitants, with their valuable effects, had
taken refuge in the sanctuary of St. Julian. The
doors of the church resisted the assault; but a daring
soldier, who enjoyed the confidence of his chief,
opened a passage to his companions. The clergy and
people, the sacred and the profane spoils, were rudely
torn from the altar; and the sacrilegious division was
made at a small distance from the town of Brioude.
But this act of impiety was severely chastised by the
devout son of Cloris. He punished with death the
most atrocious offenders; left their secret accomplices
to the vengeance of St. Julian; released the captives;
restored the plunder; and extended the rights of sancti-
fy five miles round the sepulchre of the holy
martyr."

**Story of Attalus.**

Before the Austrasian army retreated
from Auvergne, Theodoric exacted some
pledges of the future loyalty of a people, whose just
hatred could be restrained only by their fear. A
select band of noble youths, the sons of the principal
senators, was delivered to the conqueror, as the hos-
tage of a treaty, entered into by the Franks and
men. On the first rumour of war, or conspiracy, these
guiltless youths were reduced to a state of servitude;
and one of them, Attalus, whose adventures are more
particularly related, kept his master's horses in the
distance of the river. After a painful search he was
discovered, in this unworthy occupation, by the emis-
saries of his grandson, Gregory bishop of Langres; but
his offers of ransom were sternly rejected by the

* Parisien gendarmes, quo de ulteriori Rhei anna parte venerant, superatoque potest, (Gregor. Turon, I. ix. c. 50, in tom. ii. 229.) was the excuse of another king of Austrasia. (A. D. 574,) for the ravages which his troops committed in the neighbourhod of Paris.

* From the date of the capture, the Benedictine editors of Gregory of Tours (in tom. ii. p. 422,) have fixed this fortress at a place named Castel Martini, two miles from Mailly, in the Upper Auvergne. In this description, the castle, instead of being in ruins, as it was, appears as a large, strong fortress, in the midst of the village of St. Julian, c. 13. in the year p. 566.) He frequently betrays his extraordinary attention to his native country.

* See these revolutions, and wars, of Auvergne in Gregory of Tours, G. ii. c. 40. in tom. ii. p. 178. He has some doubt respecting this date, as several MSS. and editions of Gregory, or this translation (recul St. Julian, c. 13. in the year p. 566.) He frequently betrays his extraordinary attention to his native country.

* As the same important, see Gregory of Tours (I. iii. c. 15. in the year p. 152. to 153.) His editor, the B. Guissart, confirms this Attilus with a passage in the book of the Franks, (G. ii. c. 40.) to which he refers. He says, that an inscription, of the same name, who was count of Auvin, fifty or sixty years before. Such an error, which cannot be imputed to ignorance, is excused, in some degree, by its own magnificence.

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This Gregory, the great grandfather of Gregory of Tours, (in tom. ii. p. 197. 198.) lived ninety-two years; of which he passed forty as count of Auvin, and thirty-two as bishop of Langres. According to the poet Fortunatus, he displayed equal merits in these different sta-
tions.

Nobilis antiquae decumaret poetam parentum.

Nobilissimus, meae superae sanctae mentis

Artifices Georgiae, dejctus imperii supero.

Quae domini juxta, foertis amaritatis.

As M. de Vauban, en Beauce, Ruinard, explained to change the Musella of the text into Musae, it becomes mete in sequence to the following. Yet, on the examination of the typography, I could defend the common reading.

* The parents of Gregory (Gregorii Floriensi Georgius) were of noble birth, (Hieron, Historia, l. iii. c. 13.) and of good fortune. (G. ii. c. 40. et 41.) Both were native of Auvergne and Burgundy. He was born in the year 523, was consecrated a priest in the year 550, and bishop in the year 553, or 555, soon after he had terminated his historical work. See his Life, by Odo, abbot of Cluny, (in tom. ii. p. 130. 133.) and a new Life in the Memoria of the Academie, Ac. tom. xxvi. p. 367. 368.
The Decline and Fall

Chap. XXXVIII.

ly ascertain how much, in so short a space, the human mind had lost of its energy and refinement. The Franks, however, were now prepared to despise the Romans of Gaul, and to depopulate it to an extent that would have been deemed incredible to the Romans of Gaul. Opposite, and, perhaps, artful, misrepresentations, which have softened, or exaggerated, the oppression of the Romans of Gaul under the reign of the Merovingians. The conquerors never pronounced any universal edict of servitude, or confiscation; but, for the part, people, who were in their weak state, by the specious names of politeness and peace, was exposed to the arms and laws of the ferocious barbarians, who contemptuously insulted their possessions, their freedom, and their safety. Their personal injuries were partial and irregular; but the great body of the Roman laws were suspended, and still possessed the property, and privileges, of citizens. A large portion of their lands was exacted for the use of the Franks; but they enjoyed the remainder, exempt from tribute; and the same irrepressible violence which swept away the arts and manufactures of Gaul, destroyed the elaborate and expensive system of imperial despotism. The provinces must frequently deplore the savage jurisprudence of the Salic or Riparian laws, but their private life, in the important concerns of marriage, testaments, or inheritance, was still that of the Romans. The Theodosian Code, and a discontented Roman might freely aspire, or descend, to the title and character of a barbarian. The honours of the state were accessible to his ambition; the education and temper of the Romans more peculiarly qualified them for the offices of civil government; and, as they held that it was their duty to preserve their military prowess, they were permitted to march in the ranks, or even at the head, of the victorious Germans. I shall not attempt to enumerate the generals and magistrates, whose names attest the liberal policy of the Merovingians. The supreme command of Burgundy, with the title of king, the signet, and military emblems, intrusted to the hands of three Romans; and the last, and most powerful, Mummolus, who alternately saved and restored the monarchy, had supplanted his father in the station of count of Autun, and left a treasure of thirty talents of gold, and a hundred and fifty talents of silver. The fierce and illiterate barbarians were excluded, during several generations, from the dignities, and even from the orders, of the church. The clergy of Gaul consisted almost entirely of native provincials; the haughty Franks feasted at the feet of their subjects, who were dignified with the ecclesiastical character; and the power and riches which had been lost in war, were insensibly recovered by superstition. In all temporal affairs, the Theodosian Code was the universal law of the clergy; but the barbarous jurisprudence had liberally provided for their personal safety; a sub-deacon was equivalent to two Franks: the antrustion, and priest, were held in similar estimation; and the life of a bishop was appreciated far above the common standard, at the price of nine hundred pieces of gold. The Roman iPhones of their conquerors the use of the christian religion and Latin language; but their language and their religion had alike degenerated from the simple purity of the Augustan, and apostolic, age. The progress of superstition and barbarism was rapid and universal; the emblems of Christianity were swept away, and the God of the Christians; and the rustic dialect of peasants and soldiers was corrupted by a Teutonic idiom and pronunciation. Yet such intercourse of sacred and social communion eradicated the distinctions of birth and victory; and the nations of Gaul were submerged, and identified under the name and government of the Franks.

The Franks, after they mingled with the Gallic subjects, might have imparted the most valuable of human gifts, a spirit, and a constitution, of the liberty. Under a king, hereditary but limited, the chiefs and counsellors might have debated, at Paris, in the palace of the Cassars: the adjacent field, where the emperors reviewed their mercenary legions, would have admitted the legislative assembly of freemen and warriors; and the rude mobs of most of these fragments of modern Germany, might have been polished and improved by the civil wisdom of the Romans. But the careless barbarians, secure of their personal independence, disdained the labour of government; the annual assemblies of the month of March were silently abolished; and the nation was separated and dissolved, by the conquest of Gaul. The monarchy was left without any regular establishment of justice, of arms, or of revenue. The successors of Clovis wanted resolution to assume, or strength to excise, the legislative and executive powers, which in the council were vested in the hands of three lords, distinguished only by a more ample privilege of rapine and murder; and the love of freedom, so often invigorated and disgraced by private ambition, was reduced, among the licentious Franks, to the contempt of order, and the desire of immortality. Twenty-five years after the death of Clovis, his grandson, Contran, king of Burgundy, sent an army to invade the Gothic possessions of Septimania, or Languedoc. The troops of Burgundy, Berry, Auvergne, and the adjacent territories, were excited by the hopes of spoil; and the commanders of the episcopal See of Bourges, who had been insulted in the presence of the people, was swept away, and the nation was desolated and dissolved. The Franks, whose churches themselves, were consumed by fire; the inhabitants were massacred, or dragged into captivity; and, in the disorderly retreat, five thousand of these inhuman savages were destroyed by hunger or intestine discord. When the piouis Contras reproached the guilt, or neglect, of their leaders; and threatened to inflict, not a legal sentence, but instant and arbitrary execution; they accused the universal and incurable corruption of the people. "No one," they said, "any longer fears or respects his king, his drake, his See the Riparian Code, ch. xxxvii. in tomo ii. p. 541.) The public laws of Gaul were, for the sake of safety, so arranged, that it is impossible to determine which, on the behalf of the more civilized tribe, that they did not foreseen such an inopportun act as the murder of a priest. Yet Franks, at Paris, in the church of St. Esprit, archbishop of Rouen, was assassinated by the order of queen Godfreda before the altar. (Greg. Turon. i. vii. c. 31. in tomo ii. p. 278.) M. Brissot (Mem. de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. xxvii. p. 457.) has called the Longobards, the Lombarbardi. It is possible, through the medium of the Romans, has gradually been polished and in the actual form of the French language. Under the Carolingians, the nobles and the nobles of France still understand the dialect of their German ancestors. Cege de Manche, etc., a travail des bois, Montboissier, Esquis des Lois, 1. xii. c. 56. See the Mabille, Observations, etc., tom. i. p. 34--36. It should seem that the institution of national assemblies, which are coeval with the French church, have never been compulslory

1 Decedent a quo inno potus percutiit ab urbibus Gallicanis liberaliorum culturam literarum, &c. (Quo prado, in tomo ii. p. 127.) is the complaint of Gregory himself, which he fully verifies by his own work. His style is equally devoid of elegance and simplicity. In a complaint, the Parthians, who formerly remained in their own age, country: and in a prolix work (the five last books contain ten years) he has omitted almost every thing that this society had desires to learn; and has appeared offended by a painful surprise, the result of hounding this unfavourable sentence.

2 The Atha de Mably, tom. i. p. 247--367, has diligently con

3 See Dubois, Histoire de la France, tom. i. vii. c. 31. in tomo ii. p. 278.) Claudius, a barbarian, (i. viii. c. 31.) is probably repeatedly mentioned by Gregory of Tours, from the fourth (c. 12., p. 224.) to the seventh (c. 50., p. 310.) book.

4 Their language is insensibly deteriorated. The term to which, the names of the may be distinguished by their names.

5 See Fleury, Discours sur l'Histoire Ecclésiastique.

6 The bishop of Tours himself has recorded the complaint of Childepere, the grandam of Clovis. Ego pauper remansis Franciae, mea ecclesia divinae ad coelestis sanctum transfugis, meus regnabit episcopus, (i. viii. c. 40. in tomo ii. p. 541.)
or his count. Every man loves to do evil, and freely indulges his criminal inclinations. The most gentle correction provokes an immediate tumult, and the rash magistrate, who presumes to censure or restrain his delinquent subjects, finds the only way to pacify his revenues. It has been reserved for the same nation to expose, by their intertemperate vices, the most odious abuse of freedom; and to supply its loss by the spirit of honour and humanity, which now alleviates and dignifies their obedience to an absolute sovereign.

The Goths

The Visigoths had removed the Clovis of Spain;...3 vis the greatest part of their Gallic possessions; but their loss was amply compensated by the easy conquest, and secure enjoyment of the provinces of Spain. From the monarchy of the Goths, which soon involved the Suevic kingdom, the Teutonic clergy, who were to some extent the state. To Toledo, the ancient vizigoth capital, the Metropolitan Council of the provinces of Spain, but that the monarchy, and the union to the Germanic tribes, have been already explained. I have anticipated, in the preceding chapter, the most important of their ecclesiastical events, the fall of Ari- anism, and the persecution of the Jews; and it only remains to observe some interesting circumstances, which throw light on the ecclesiastical constitution of the Spanish kingdoms.

Legislative assemblies of Spain, or heresy, the Franks and the Visigoths were disposed to embrace, with equal submission, the inherent evils, and the accidental benefits, of superstition. But the prelates of France, long before the extinction of the Merovingian race, had degenerated into fighting and hunting barbarians. They disdained the use of synods; forgot the laws of temperance and chastity; and preferred the indulgence of private ambition and luxury, to the general interest of the sacerdotal profession.3 The bishops of Spain respected themselves, and were respected by the public: their indissoluble union disguised their vices, and confirmed their authority: and the regular discipline of the church introduced peace, order, and stability, into the government of the state. From the reign of Recared, the first Frankish pope, Peter the Iky; and the first Teutonic pope of the unfortunate Roderic, sixteen national councils were successively convened. The six metropolitans, Toledo, Seville, Merida, Braga, Tarragona, and Narbonne, presided according to their respective seniority; the assembly was composed of the clergy and laity, represented by their proxies; and a place was assigned to the most holy or opulent of the Spanish abbots. During the first three days of the convocation, as long as they agitated the ecclesiastical questions of doctrine and discipline, the profane laity was excluded from their debates; which were conducted however with decent solemnity. But on the morning of the fourth day, the doors were thrown open for the entrance of the great officers of the palace, the dukes and counts of the provinces, the judges of the cities, and the Gothic nobles: and the decrees of heaven were ratified by the consent of the people. Such synods were observe in the provincial assemblies, the annual synods which were empowered to hear complaints and to redress grievances; and a legal government was supported by the prevailing influence of the Spanish clergy. The bishops, who were the true ministers of justice, fatter the victorious, and to insult the prostrate, bauored, with diligence and success, to kindle the flames of persecution, and to exalt the mitre above the crown. Yet the national councils of Toledo, in which the free spirit of the barbarians was tempered and guided by episcopal policy, have established some prudent laws for the common benefit of the king and people. The vacancy of the throne was supplied by the choice of the bishops and palatines; and, after the failure of the line of Abacic, the regal dignity was still limited to the pure and noble blood of the Goths. The Teutonic, which was the first race recommended, and sometimes practised, the duty of allegiance; and the spiritual censures were denounced on the heads of the impious subjects, who should resist his authority, conspire against his life, or violate, by an indecent union, the chastity even of his widow. But the principle, which made itself felt, that the throne, was bound by a reciprocal oath to God and his people, that he would faithfully execute his important trust. The real or imaginary faults of his administration were subject to the control of a powerful aristocracy; and the bishops and palatines were guarded by a fundamental privilege, that they should not be degraded, imprisoned, tortured, nor punished with death, exile, or confiscation, unless by the free and public judgment of their peers.

One of the legislative councils of Code of the Visigothic Councils of Toledo examined and ratified the Code of Laws, which had been compiled by a succession of Gothic kings, from the fierce Eureic to the devout Egeria. As long as the Visigoths themselves were satisfied with the rude customs of their ancestors, they indulged their subjects of Aquitan and Spain in the enjoyment of the Roman law. Their gradual improvement in arts, in policy, and at length in religion, encouraged them to imitate, and to supersede, these foreign institutions: and to compose a code of civil and criminal jurisprudence, for the use of a great and united people. The same obligations, and the same privileges, were communicated to the nations of the Spanish monarchies, by the constitutions of the Teutonic idiom, submitted to the restraints of equity, and exalted the Romans to the participation of freedom. The merit of this impartial policy was enhanced by the situation of Spain, under the reign of the Visigoths. The provinces were long separated from their Arian masters by the wide ocean;...4 And the most beneficial religion. After the conversion of Recared had removed the prejudices of the catholics, the coasts, both of the ocean and Mediterranean, were still possessed by the eastern emperors; who secretly excited a discontented people to reject the yoke of the barbarians, and to assert the name and dignity of Roman citizens. The allegiance of doubtful subjects is indeed most effectually secured by their own persuasion, that they hazard more in a revolt, than they can hope to obtain by a revolution; but it has appeared so natural to oppress those whom we hate and fear, that the contrary system well deserves the praise of wisdom and moderation.

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1 The acts of the councils of Toledo are still the most authentic records of the church and state of Spain. The following passages are particularly important, (Jil. 17, iv. 15, 22, 35, v. 11, 27, vi. 14, vii. 17, v. 20; ancient Germans, xx. 20 and Annotations, xxv. and xxvi.) and the council of Potenza (Hist. Generale de l'Eglise, tom. ii.) very useful and accurate guides.

2 The Code of the Visigoths, rapidly divided into twelve books, has been correctly published by Dom Bonnet, (in tom. iv. p. 973—460.) It has been treated by the president De MONTESQUIEU ("Esprit des Lois," livre xxi. ch. 20, note 1.) As a general reader, I do not pretend to find any immense volume of information, but I shall presume to think, that the civil jurisprudence displays a more civilized and enlightened state of society, than that of the Burgundians, or even of the Lombards.
The Decline and Fall

Chapter XXXVIII

While the kingdoms of the Franks and Visigoths were established in Gaul and Spain, the Saxons achieved the conquest of Britain, the third great diocese of the praefecture of the west. Since Britain was already separated from the Roman empire, I might, without reproach, decline a story, familiar to all, and learned, of my readers. The Saxons, who excelled in the use of the ear or the battle-axe, were ignorant of the art which could alone perpetuate the fame of their exploits; the provincials, relapsing into barbarism, neglected to describe the ruin of their country; and the doubts of tradition were, before Christianity, dispelled, before the missionaries of Rome restored the light of science and Christianity. The declamations of Gildas, the fragments, or fables, of Nennius, the obscure hints of the Saxon laws and chronicles, and the ecclesiastical tales of the venerable Bede, have been illustrated by the diligence, and sometimes embellished by the fancy, of succeeding writers, whose works I am not ambitious either to censure or to transcribe. Yet the historian of the empire may be tempted to pursue the revolutions of a Roman province, till it vanishes from his sight; and, in this way, he may curiously trace the establishment of the barbarians, from which he derives his name, his laws, and perhaps his origin.

About forty years after the dissolution of the Roman government, Vortigern appears to have obtained the supreme command of a civil war, though precarious. The alliances of states and cities, as well as of monarchs, were almost unanimously condemned for the weak and mischievous policy of inviting, a formidable stranger, to repel the vexatious intruders of a domestic foe. His ambassadors were despatched, by the gravest historians, to the court of Germany; they addressed a pathetic oration to the general assembly of the Saxons, and those warlike barbarians resolve to assist with a fleet and army the suppliants of a distant and unknown island. If Britain had indeed been unknown to the Saxons, the measure of its calamities would have been less complete. But the strength of the Roman government could not always guard the maritime province against the pirates of Germany; the independent and divided states were exposed to their attacks; and the Saxons might sometimes join the Scots and the Picts, in a league against the federacy of Roman Britain. Though Vortigern could only balance the various perils, which assaulted on every side his throne and his people; and his policy may deserve either praise or excuse, if we preferred the alliance of those barbarians, whose naval power rendered them the most dangerous enemies, and the taxes, which were allotted to them, they ranged along the eastern coast with three ships, were engaged, by the promise of an ample stipend, to embrace the defence of Britain; and their intrusted valour soon delivered the country from the Caledonian invaders. The isle of Thanet, a secure and fertile district, was allotted for the residence of these German auxiliaries, and they were supplied, according to the treaty, with a plentiful allowance of clothing and provisions. This favourable reception encouraged five thousand warriors to embark with their families in several vessels, and the infant power of Hengist was fortified by this strong and reasonable reinforcement. The crafty barbarian suggested to Vortigern the obvious advantage of fixing, in the neighbourhood of the Picts, a colony of faithful allies: a third fleet of forty ships, under the command of his son and nephew, was sent to the north of Scotland, and assembled near the Orkneys. Vortigern embarked a new army on the coast of Northumberland, or Lothian, at the opposite extremity of the devoted land. It was easy to foresee, but it was impossible to prevent, the impending evils. The two nations were soon divided and exasperated by mutual jealousies. The desertion of the Christians who had been received was punished by their exclusion. Some were murdered in the cause of an ungrateful people; while the Britons regretted the liberal rewards which could not satisfy the avarice of those haughty mercenaries. The causes of fear and hatred were inflamed into an irreconcilable quarrel. The Saxons flew to arms; and, if they perpetrated a treacherous massacre during the security of a feast, they destroyed the reciprocal confidence which sustains the intercourse of peace and war.

Hengist, who boldly aspired to the conquest of Britain, exhorted his countrymen to embrace the glorious opportunity; A.D. 456. He painted in lively colours the fertility of the soil, the wealth of the cities, the pusillanimous temper of the natives, and the convenient situation of a spacious solitary island, accessible on all sides to the Saxon fleets. The Britons were called to recover, within a century, from the mouths of the Elbe, the Weser, and the Rhine, were principally composed of three valiant tribes or nations of Germany; the Jutes, the old Saxons, and the Anglos. The Jutes, who fought under the peculiar banner of Hengist, assumed the general name of Saxons from their countryman, the supposed founder of the Worms, and of erecting, in Kent, the first independent kingdom. The fame of the enterprise was attributed to the primitive Saxons; and the common laws and language of the conquerors are described by the national Britons of a people, which, at the end of four hundred years, produced the first monarchs of South Britain. The Angles were distinguished by their numbers and their success; and they claimed the honour of fixing a perpetual name on the country, of which they occupied the most ample portion. The conquering Saxons, from their insular and desolated situation, were insensibly blended with this triple confederacy; the Frisians, who had been tempted by their vicinity to the British shores, might balance, during a short space, the strength and reputation of the native Saxons; the Danes, the Frisians, the Burgundians, the Huns, who had wandered as far as the Baltic, might embark on board the German vessels, for the conquest of a new world. But this arduous achievement was not prepared or executed by the union of national powers. Each intrepid chief, according to the measure of his fame and fortunes, assembled his followers; equipped a fleet of three, or perhaps of sixty, vessels; chose the place of the attack; and conducted his subsequent operations according to the events of the war, and the dictates of his private interest. In the invasion of Britain many heroes vanished and fell; but only seven victorious leaders assumed, or at least maintained, the title of kings. Seven independent thrones, the Saxon Heptarchy, were founded by the conquerors, and seven families, one of which has been continued, by female succession, to our present sovereign, the Estbriton of the Saxon heptarchy, Eadbald, says Nennius, and his contemporaries, of the new kingdom, which was created by a council of twelve kings, whom he enumerates in his chronicle. He says, that Stonehenge is their monument, which the giants had formerly built, and which they transported by means unknown, from the territories of the Britons, to the district of the Thames, by the order of Ambrosius, and the art of Merlin. All these tribes are expressly enumerated by Bede. (L. iv. c. 13. p. 216.) They are divided into the seven families, and their several marks, (Hist. of Manchester, vol. ii. p. 358—363.) I do not perceive the absurdity of supposing that the Frisians, &c. were mingled with the Anglo-Saxons.


2. The labourious Mr. Carter, and the ingenious Mr. Whitaker, are the two modern writers to whom I am principally indebted. The particular historian of Manchester embarks, under that obscure title, justice, we are not less indebted to the careful labour of Mr. Pickering, for the correct history of England.

3. This narration, which may derive some countenance from the loose communications of Bede and Beowulf, is framed into a regular narrative by Wilson and Whitkiiol, a Saxon monk of the tenth century. (See Cousin, Hist. de l'Empire d'Ocident, toms. ii. p. 565.) Roffe, and even Imlie, have too freely used this suspicious evidence, without regarding the precise and probable testimony of Nennius: Interes voseo rusti west Chielis a Germans in celtic pulse in quibus erat Hors et Hlogin.
rived their equal and sacred lineage from Woden, the god of war. It has been pretended, that this republic of kings was moderated by a general council and a supreme magistrate. But such an artificial scheme of policy is open to such objections as strictly disqualifies the state of Britain, at the time of its separation from the western empire. Gildas describes in florid language the improvements of agriculture, the foreign trade which flowed with every tide into the Thames and the Severn, the solid and lofty construction of public and private edifices; he accuses the sensual luxury of the British people; of a people, according to the same writer, ignorant of the most simple arts, and incapable, without the aid of the Romans, of providing walls of stone, or weapons of iron, for the defence of their native land.2 Under the long dominion of the emperors, Britain had been enriched by various and servile form of a Roman province, whose safety was intrusted to a foreign power. The subjects of Honorius contemplated their new freedom with surprise and terror; they were left destitute of any civil or military constitution; and their uncertain rulers were without resources to provide against the public force against the common enemy. The introduction of the Saxons betrayed their internal weakness, and degraded the character both of the prince and people. Their constitution magnified the danger; the want of union diminished their resources; and the madness of civil factions was more solicited to excuse, than to remedy, the evils, which they imputed to the misconduct of their adversaries. Yet the Britons were not ignorant, they could not be ignorant, of the manufacture or the use of arms; the successive and disorderly attacks of the Saxons allowed them to recover from their amazement, and the prosperous or adverse events of the war added discipline and experience to their native valour.

While the continent of Europe and Africa yielded, without resistance, to the barbarians, the British island, alone and unaided, maintained a long and continuous series of successful struggles, against the formidable pirates, who, almost at the same instant, assaulted the northern, the eastern, and the southern coasts. The cities which had been fortified with skill, were defended with resolution; the advantages of ground, hills, forests, and mountains were more diligently improved by the inhabitants; the conquest of each district was purchased with blood; and the defects of the Saxons are strongly attested by the discreet silence of their annalist. Hen- gist might hope to achieve the conquest of Britain; but his ambition, in an active reign of thirty-five years, was confined to the possession of Kent; and the renowned colony which he had planted in the north, was extinguished by the sword of the Britons. The monarchy of the West Saxons was laboriously founded by the persevering efforts of three martial generations. The name of Cerdic, one of the bravest of the children of Woden, was consumed in the conquest of Hamp- shire and the Isle of Wight; and the loss which he sustained in the battle of Mount Badon, reduced him to a state of inglorious repose. Kenric, his valiant son, advanced into Wiltshire; besieged Salisbury, at that time seated on a commanding eminence; and vanquished an army which advanced to the relief of the city. In the subsequent battle of Marlborough, his British enemies displayed their military science. Their modern lines of battle consisted of three distinct bodies, and the cavalry, the archers, and the pikemen, were distributed according to the principles of Roman tactics. The Saxons charged in one weighty column, boldly encountered with their short swords the long lances of the Britons, and main- tained till the close of the engagement, two decisive victories, the death of three British kings, and the reduction of Cirencester, Bath, and Gloucester, established the fame and power of Cerdin, the grandson of Cerdic, who carried his victorious arms to the banks of the Severn.

After a war of a hundred years, the independent Britons still occupied the whole extent of the western coast, from the wall of Antoninus to the extreme promontory of Cornwall; and the principal cities of the inland country still opposed the arms of the barbarians. Resistance became desperate; and the Britons showed that they were not satisfied with their freedom, which survived the heaptarchy, and even the monarchy of the Saxons. The brave warriors, who preferred exile to slavery, found a secure refuge in the mountains of Wales; the reluctant submission of Cornwall was delayed for some ages; and a band of Britons, who had retired to the settle in Gaul, by the natural valour, or the liberality of the Merovingian kings.2 The western angle of Armorica acquired the new appellation of Cornwall, and the Lesser Britain; and the vacant lands of the Osismi were filled by a strange people, who, under the authority of their counts and bishops, preserved the laws and language of their ancestors. To the feeble descendants of Clovis and Charlemagne, the Britons of Armorica refused the customary tribute, subdued the neighbouring dioceses of Vannes, Rennes, and Nantes, and formed a powerful though vassal state, which has been united to the crown of France.

In a century of perpetual, or at least The fame of impecuniable, war, much courage and Arthur, some skill, must have been exercised for the defence of every age, however destitute of science or virtue, suffi-
gence abounds with acts of blood and military renown. The tomb of Vortimer, the son of Vortigern, was7 credited by the monks of the said college, as a landmark formidable to the Saxons, whom he had thrice vanquished in the fields of Kent. Ambrosius Aurelianus was descended from a noble family of Romans; his modesty was equal to his valor, and his valour, till the last fatal action, 8 was crowned with splendid success. The very British cause is illu-

minated by the illustrious name of Arthur, 9 the hereditary prince of the Sibures, in South Wales, and the elective king or general of the nation. According to the most rational account, he defeated, in twelve successive battles, the Angles of the north, and the Saxons of the west; but the greatness of the hero was obliterated by popular ingratitude, and domestic misfortunes. The events of his life are less interesting than the singular revolutions of his fame. During a period of five hundred years the tradition of his exploits was preserved, and ruthfully embellished, by the obscure bands of chiv-

alry and Armornica, who were odious to the Saxons, and unknown to the rest of mankind. The pride and curiosity of the Norman conquerors, prompted them to inquire into the ancient history of Britain: they listened with fond curiosity to the tale of Arthur, and eagerly sought the home of a prince who had triumphed over the Saxons, their common enemies. His romance, transcribed in the Latin of Jeffrey of Monmouth, and afterwards translated into the fashionable idiom of the times, was enriched with the various, though incoherent, ornaments, which were familiar to the readers of the learning, of the twelfth century. The progress of a Phrygian colony, from the Tiber to the Thames, was easily ingrained on the fable of the Abned; and the royal ancestors of Ar-

thur derived their origin from Troy, and claimed their alliance with the Cæsars. His trophies were decorated with the names of the heroes, and justly regarded as popular victors, who were avenged by the enterprises of the Normans. Pilgrimage, and the holy wars, introduced into Europe the specious miracles of Arabian magic. Fairy and giant stories were inspired, and enchantress, palaces, were blended with the more simple fictions of the west; and the fate of Britain depended on the art, or the predictions, of Merlin. Every nation embraced and adorned the popular romance of Arthur, and the Knights of the Round Table; their names were celebrated in Greece and Italy; and the voluminous tales of Sir Lancelot and Sir Tristram were devoutly studied by the princes and nobles, who disregarded the genuine heroes and historians of antiquity. At length the light of science and reason was rekindled; the tlalism was broken; the visionary fabric melted into air; and by a natural, though unjust, reverse of the public opinion, the severity of the present age is inclined to question the existence of Arthur. 

Resistence, if it cannot avert, must in- 

descend of Britain.

1 Bede, who in his chronicle (p. 52,) places Ambrosius under the reign of Zeno, (A. D. 471—491,) observes, that his parents had been "enemies to the heathen; and upon which he expatiates at some length," by "regnum romanum et fusticam fecerunt." (L. t. c. 16, p. 23.) The expression of Mynms, (44, p. 116, edit. Calv.) is still more singular, "est obsequium Romanorum esse." 

2 By the unanimous, though double, convention of our antiquaries, we are informed (whom A. D. 1171,) that he lost his own life, and five thousand of his subjects, in a battle against Cerdigion, in Upper Northumberland. (Pom. vol. i. p. 235—237.) If I am a stranger to the Welsh lands, Myrdin, Lilesbrach, and Taliesin, my faith in the existence and exploits of Arthur, proceeds more on the simple and circumspect testimony of Brit- 

anians. (Hist. Brit. c. 62, 63, p. 114.) Mr. Whitehead (Hist. of Manches- ter and Lancashire,) however, has framed an interesting, and even probable, narrative of the wars of Arthur; though it is impossible to allow the reality of the round table. 

3 The progress of romance, and the state of learning, in the middle ages, are illustrated by Mr. Thomas Warton, with the taste of a poet, and the minute diligence of an antiquarian. I have derived much instruction from the two learned dissertations prefixed to the first volume of his History of English Poetry.

4 Hor. anno (490.) Quinto et Cusa abardonant Andreas Canster, et imaginem venturam supersedit fortis. (Chron. Sax. p. 15.) an expression more dreadful to its author than all the vague and tendentious insinuations of the British Jeremiah.

5 Andreas Canster, or Anderida, is placed by Camden (Britannia, vol. i. p. 25c.) at Netunnum (Newcastle.) and other parts of the British provinces; perhaps the grounds of Kent, which might be formerly covered by the sea, and on the edge of the great forest. (Gentleman's Magazine, July, 1796.) which we may imagine to be the seat of Anderida, and Susart.

6 Dr. Johnson affirms that few English words are of British ex-

traction. (Leeds Whitchurch.) who understands the British language, has discovered more than three thousand, and actually produces a long and wordy dissertation on the subject. (Gentleman's Magazine, vol. i. p. 235—237.) It is surprising to find that many of these words may have been imported from the Latin or Saxon, under the ideum of Briton.

7 In the beginning of the seventh century, the Franks and the Anglo-Saxons mutually understood each other's language, which was derived from the Suebi, and the Suebi from the Tartarian, and perhaps even from the Tartarian of the Tartarian. (Stenton's History of England, vol. i. p. 105.) He quotes the British historians; but I much fear, that Jeffrey of Monmouth (l. vi. c. 15.) is his only witness.
Bedes, by the solitude of their native country: and our experience has shown the free propagation of the human race, if they are cast on a fruitful wilderness, where their steps are unconfined, and their subsistence is plentiful. The Saxon kingdoms displayed the same contrast. The woods and woods were small, the villages distant; the husbandry was languid and unskillful; four sheep were equivalent to an acre of the best land; an ample space of wood and morass was assigned to the vague dominion of nature; and the modern bishopric of Durham was the whole territory for the first 110 years. The towns had returned to its primitive state of a savage and solitary forest. Such imperfect population might have been supplied, in some generations, by the English colonies; but neither reason nor facts can justify the unnatural supposition, that the Saxons of Britain retained alone the desert which they had subdued. After the sanguinary barbarians had secured their dominion, and gratified their revenge, it was their interest to preserve the peasants, as well as the cattle, of the unreasing country. In each successive revolution, the patient herd becomes the property of its new masters, and the property of the labourer is silently ratified by their mutual necessities. Wilfrid, the apostle of Sussex, accepted from his royal convert the gift of the peninsula of Selsey, near Chichester, with the persons and property of its inhabitants, who then amounted to eighty-seven families. He also granted the district of tyne to his vassal, the lordship of Banstead to a cousin, the lordship of Warini to the lordship of the Thames, with an hundred and fifty shillings, and the lordship of Thane, with two hundred and fifty shillings; and both sexes were baptized by their indulgent master. The kingdom of Sussex, which spread from the sea to the Thames, contained seven thousand families: twelve hundred were ascribed to the Isle of Wight; and if, after a disputation touching the computation, it may seem probable that England was divided into religious lords, judicial lords, and the indigent, the indigent barbarians were often tempted to sell their children or themselves into perpetual, and even foreign, bondage; yet the special exemptions, which were granted to national slaves, sufficiently declare that they were much less numerous than the strangers and captives, who had lost their liberty, or changed their masters, by the accidents of war. When time and religion had mitigated the fierce spirit of the Anglo-Saxons, the law of the land, which had no regard to the wealth and property, and their subjects, of Welch or Cambrian extraction, assume the respectable station of inferior freemen, possessed of lands, and entitled to the rights of civil society. Such gentle treatment might secure the allegiance of a fierce people, who had been recently subdued, or the protection of Wales and Cornwall. The sage Isae, the legislator of Wessex, united the two nations in the body of domestic alliance; and four British lords of Somersham may be honourably distinguished in the court of a Saxon monarch.

The independent Britons appear to have relapsed into the state of original Britons. Barbarism, from whence they had been imperfectly reclaimed, soon took its place, and the rest of mankind, soon became an object of scandal and abhorrence to the Catholic world. Christianity was still professed in the mountains of Wales; but the rude schisms in the form of the clerical tosmass, and in the day of the celebration of Easter, was not lasting the innocent mandates of the Roman pontiffs. The use of the Latin language was insensibly abolished, and the Britons were deprived of the arts and learning which Italy communicated to her Saxon proles. In Wales and Armorie, the Celtic tongue, the native idiom of the west, was preserved and propagated; and the Britons, who had been the companions of the Druids, were still protected, in the sixteenth century, by the laws of Elizabeth. Her chief, a respectable officer of the courts of Pengwern, or Aberfraw, or Caernarvan, accompanied the king's servants to war; the monster, which he had circumcised in the front of battle, excited their courage, and justified their predations; and the songster claimed for his legitimate prize the fairest heiress of the spoil. His subordinate ministers, the masters and disciples of vocal and instrumental music, visited, in their respective capacities, the lordships of the princes; and the public poetry, almost exhausted by the clergy, was oppressed by the importunate demands of the bard. Their rank and merit were ascertained by solemn trials, and the strong belief of supernatural inspiration exhorted the fancy of the poet, and of his audience. This constraint of Celtic freedom, the extreme territories of Gaul and Britain, were thereby adapted to agriculture than to pasturage; the wealth of the Britons consisted in their flocks and herds; milk and flesh were their ordinary food; and bread was sometimes esteemed, or rejected, as a foreign luxury. Liberty had peopled the mountains of Wales and the mooriness of Armorie; but their populousness has been maliciously ascribed to the loose practice of polygamy; and the houses of these licentious barbarians have been supposed to contain ten wives, and perhaps fifty children. Their disposition was rash and violent; their courage; they were mad; and in speech; and as they were ignorant of the arts of war, they alterately indulged their passions in foreign and domestic war. The cavalry of Armorie, the spearmen of Gwent, and the archers of Merioneth, were equally formidable; but their poverty could seldom procure either their shields or helmets; and the inconvenient weight would have retarded the speed and agility of, their desultory operations. One of the greatest of the English monarchs was requested to satisfy the curiosity of a Greek emperor concerning the state of Britain; and Henry II. could assert, from his personal experience, that Wales was inhabited by a race of naked warriors, who encountered, without fear, the defensive armour of their enemies.

1 Bede, Hist. Ecclesiast. i. c. 15, p. 52. The fact is probable and well represented; yet such was the loose intermarriage of the German tribes, that we find, in a subsequent period, the law of the Angi and Was, provided for the case of a SAXON CONVERTED TO CHRISTIANITY, and his wife, which was by marriage, and not by law, and his children, and their subjects, of Welch or Cambrian extraction, assume the respectable station of inferior freemen, possessed of lands, and entitled to the rights of civil society. Such gentle treatment might secure the allegiance of a fierce people, who had been recently subdued, or the protection of Wales and Cornwall. The sage Isae, the legislator of Wessex, united the two nations in the body of domestic alliance; and four British lords of Somersham may be honourably distinguished in the court of a Saxon monarch.

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3 See Mr. Pennant's Tour in Wales, p. 426—449, which has furnished me with a curious and interesting account of the Welch bards. In the year 1562, a session of the cure, held by the especial command of quia Elizabeth, and read by degrees in the cathedal church, (i. c. 23, p. 219.)

4 Mr. Pennant's Tour in Wales, p. 426—449. He was not so much interested in the ceremonies of the church as the performances of the Welchmen, which, the English tactfully might possibly be the result of the service rendered under the Normans.

5 The picture of the Welch and Armorian monarchs is drawn from Gi-
By the revolution of Britain, the limits of science, as well as of empire, were contracted. The dark cloud, which was successively darkened by the discovery of the ocean, and finally dispelled by the arms of Caesar, again settled on the shores of the Atlantic, and a Roman province was again lost among the fabulous islands of the ocean. One hundred and fifty years after the reign of Honorius, the graver historian of the times describes the wonders of the region, which were newly discovered, as having been divided by the arms of the Franks, again set on the shores of the Atlantic, and a Roman province was again lost among the fabulous islands of the ocean. One hundred and fifty years after the reign of Honorius, the graver historian of the times describes the wonders of the region, which were newly discovered, as having been divided by the arms of the Franks, again settled on the shores of the Atlantic, and a Roman province was again lost among the fabulous islands of the ocean. One hundred and fifty years after the reign of Honorius, the graver historian of the times describes the wonders of the region, which were newly discovered, as having been divided by the arms of the Franks, again settled on the shores of the Atlantic, and a Roman province was again lost among the fabulous islands of the ocean. One hundred and fifty years after the reign of Honorius, the graver historian of the times describes the wonders of the region, which were newly discovered, as having been divided by the arms of the Franks, again settled on the shores of the Atlantic, and a Roman province was again lost among the fabulous islands of the ocean. One hundred and fifty years after the reign of Honorius, the graver historian of the times describes the wonders of the region, which were newly discovered, as having been divided by the arms of the Franks, again settled on the shores of the Atlantic, and a Roman province was again lost among the fabulous islands of the ocean.

The cast is a fair country, inhabited by a civilized people: the air is healthy, the waters are pure and plentiful, and the earth yields her regular and fruitful increase. In the west, beyond the wall, the air is infectious and mortal; the ground is covered with serpents; and this dreary solitude is the region of departed spirits, who are transported from the opposite shores in substantial boats, and by living rows. Some families of fishermen, the subjects of the Franks, are excused from this drudgery, in consideration of the mysterious office which is performed by these Charons of the ocean. Each in his turn is summoned, at the hour of midnight, to hear the voices, and even the names, of the ghosts: he is sensible of their weight, and he feels himself impelled by an unknown power: but this dream of fancy, we read with astonishment, that the name of this island is Britannia; that it lies in the ocean, against the mouth of the Rhine, and less than thirty miles from the continent; and that it is possessed by three nations, the Franks, theAngles, and the Britons; and that some Angles, and the Britons, and the Gauls, have appeared at Constantinople, in the train of the French ambassadors. From these ambassadors Procopius might have informed of a singular, though not an improbable, adventure, which announces the spirit, rather than the deliverance of an English king. St. Hilda, and her sister, had been betrothed to Rodger, king of the Varni, a tribe of Germans who touched the ocean and the Rhine; but the perfidious lover was tempted, by motives of policy, to prefer his father’s widow, the sister of Theodobert king of the Franks. The forsaken princess of the Angles, insteadafter her betrothal, was married to a knight, who was like subjects are said to have been ignorant of the use, and even of the form, of a horse: but she boldly sailed from Britain to the mouth of the Rhine, with a fleet of four hundred ships and an army of one hundred thousand men. After the loss of a battle, the captive Rodger implored the mercy of his victorious bride, who generously pardoned his offence, dismissed her rival, and compelled the king of the Varni to discharge with honour and fidelity the duties of a husband. This gallant exploit appears to be the last naval enterprise of the Anglo-Saxons. The arts of navigation by which they had acquired the empire of Britain and of the sea, were soon neglected by the indolent barbarians, who supinely renounced all the commercial advantages of their insular situation. Seven in this
dependent kingdoms were agitated by perpetual discord; and the British world was seldom connected, either in peace or war, with the nations of the continent.

I have now accomplished the laborious narrative of the decline and fall of the Roman empire in the Roman empire, from the fortunate west, age of Trajan and the Antonines, to its total extinction in the west, about five centuries after the Christian era. At that unhappy period, the Saxons fiercely struggled with the natives for the possession of Britain: Gaul and Spain were divided between the powerful monarchies of the Franks and Visigoths, and the dependent kingdoms of the Suevi and Burgundians; Africa was exposed to the cruel persecution of the Vandals, and the savage insults of the Moors; and Italy, as far as the banks of the Danube, were afflicted by an army of barbarian mercenaries, whose lawless tyranny was succeeded by the reign of Theodore the Ostrogoth. All the subjects of the empire, who, by the use of the Latin language, more particularly deserved the name and privileges of Romans, were oppressed by the distress and calamities of foreign conquest; and the victorious nations of Germany established a new system of manners and government in the western countries of Europe. The majesty of Rome was faintly represented by the princes of Constantinople, who, in the course of their reigns, enjoyed the name of Augustus. Yet they continued to reign over the east, from the Danube to the Nile and Tigris; the Gothic and Vandal kingdoms of Italy and Africa were subverted by the arms of Justinian; and the history of the Greek emperors may still afford a long series of instructive lessons, and interesting revolutions.

General Observations on the Fall of the Roman Empire in the West.

The Greeks, after their empire had been reduced into a province, imputed the triumphs of Rome, not to the merit, but to the rovnr x, of the republic. The inconstant goddess, who so blindly distributes and renews her favours, had now consented (such was the language of envious flattery) to resign her wings, to descend from her globe, and to fix her firm and immovable throne in the banks of the Danube. The Greeks, who have composed, with a philosophic spirit, the memorable history of his own times, deprived his countrymen of this vain and delusive comfort, by opening to their view the deep foundations of the greatness and power of the republic: He had meted out the fidelity of the sea to his own country, and to the state, was confirmed by the habits of education, and the prejudices of religion. Honour, as well as virtue, was the principle of the republic: the a|Z|ious citizens labouring to deserve the solemn glory of a triumph; and the ardour of the Roman youth was kindled into active emulation, as often as they beheld the domestic images of their ancestors. The temperate struggles of the patricians and plebeians had finally established the firm and equal balance of the constitution; which united the freedom of popular assemblies,
with the authority and wisdom of a senate, and the executive powers of a regal magistrate. When the consul displayed the standard of the republic, each citizen bound himself, by the obligation of an oath, to draw his sword in the cause of his country, till he had discharged the sacred duty by a military service of ten years. This wine institution continually poured into the field the rising generations of freemen and soldiers; and their numbers were reinforced by the warlike and populous states of Italy, who, after a brave resistance, had yielded to the valor, and embraced the alliance, of the Romans. The sage historian, who excelled the world in the science of history, and even the divines of Carthage, has accurately described their military system; their levies, arms, exercises, subordination, marches, encampments; and the invincible legion, superior in active strength to the Macedonian phalanx of Philip and Alexander. From these institutions of peace and war, Polybius has deduced the spirit and success of a people, incapable of fear, and impatient of repose. The ambitious design of conquest, which might have been defeated by the seasonable conspiracy of mankind, was attempted and achieved; and the perpetual violation of justice was maintained by the political principle, had sustained the fabric of the republic, sometimes vanquished in battle, always victorious in war, advanced with rapid steps to the Euphrates, the Danube, the Rhine, and the Ocean; and the images of gold, or silver, or brass, that might serve to represent the nations and their kings, were successively added to the immovable cheek of the Roman empire.

The rise of a city, which swelled into an empire, may deserve, as a singular prodigy, the reflection of a philosophic mind. But the decline of Rome was the natural and inevitable effect of inordinate greatness. Prodigious riches and the rapid rise of the Roman empire increased the extent of conquest; and as soon as time or accident had removed the artificial supports, the stupendous fabric yielded to the pressure of its own weight. The story of its ruin is simple and obvious; and instead of inquiring why the Roman empire was destroyed, we should rather be surprised that it had subsisted so long. The victorious legions, who, in distant wars, acquired the vices of strangers and mercenary heroes, first oppressed the freedom of the republic, and afterwards violated the majesty of the purple. The emperors, anxious for their personal safety, to whom the public power was reduced to the base expedient of corrupting the discipline which rendered them alike formidable to their sovereign and to the enemy; the vigour of the military government was relaxed, and finally dissolved, by the partial institutions of Constantine; and the Roman world was overwhelmed by a deluge of barbarians.

The decay of Rome has been frequently ascribed to the translation of the seat of empire; but this history has already shown, that the powers of government were divided, rather than removed. The throne of Constantinople was erected in the east, while the west was still possessed by a series of emperors who held their residence in Italy, and claimed their equal inheritance of the legions and provinces. This dangerous novelty impaired the strength, and fomented the vices, of a double reign: the instruments of an oppressive and arbitrary power were multiplied, and the rain emulation of luxury, not of merit, was introduced and supported between the degenerate successors of Theodosius. Extreme distress, which unites the virtue of a free people, imbitters the factions of a declining monarchy. The hostile favourites of Arcadius and Honorius betrayed the republic to its common enemies; and the Byzantine court held with indifference, perhaps with pleasure, the disgrace of Rome, the ruin of its liberties, and the death of its sons. Yet it was a calamity equally melancholy; for the succeeding reigns, the alliance of the two empires was restored; but the aid of the oriental Romans was tardy, doubtful, and inefficient; and the national schism of the Greeks and Latins was enlarged by the perpetual difference of language and manners, of interest, and of the legal and religious duties, of the two empires. The clergy successfully preached the doctrines of patience and pusillanimity; the active virtues of society were discouraged; and the last remains of military spirit were buried in the eloiser: a large portion of public and private wealth was consecrated to the service of the emperor; and the soldiers' pay was lavished on the useless multitudes of both sexes, who could only plead the merits of abstinence and chastity. Faith, zeal, curiosity, and the more earthly passions of malice and ambition, kindled the flames of internal dissension; and even the state, by distraction by religious factions, whose conflicts were sometimes bloody, and always implacable; the attention of the emperors was diverted from camps to synods; the Roman world was oppressed by a new species of tyranny; and the persecuted sects became the secret enemies of their country. Yet party-spirit, however pernicious or absurd, is a principle of union as well as of disunion. The bishops, from eighteen hundred pulpits, inculcated the duty of passive obedience to a lawful and orthodox sovereign; their frequent assemblies, and perpetual connexion with the civil and religious institutions of the empire, were attended with extensive effects on the state, the church, and the state. The sacred influence of the monks was devoutly embraced by a servile and effeminate age; but if superstition had not afforded a decent retreat, the same vices would have tempted the unworthy Romans to desert, from baser motives, the standard of the republic. Religious precepts are easily obeyed, which indulge and sanctify the natural inclinations of our vortices; but the pure and genuine influence of Christianity may be traced in its beneficial, though imperfect, effects on the barbarian proselytes of the north. If the decline of the Roman empire was hastened by the conversion of Constantine, his victorious religion broke the violence of the fall, and mollified the ferocious temper of the conquerors.

The awful revolution may be usefully illustrated by the instruction of the present age. It is the duty of a patriot to prefer and promote the exclusive interest and glory of his native country; but a philosopher may be permitted to enlarge his views, and to consider Europe as one great republic, whose various inhabitants have attained almost the same level of politeness and cultivation. The balance of power will continue to fluctuate, and the prosperity of our own, or the neighbouring kingdoms, may be alternately exalted or depressed; but these partial events cannot essentially alter the great law which confirms the habit of humanity, and the cultivation of arts, and laws, and manners, which so advantageously distinguish, above the rest of mankind, the Europeans.
and their colonies. The savage nations of the globe are the common enemies of civilized society; and we may inquire with anxious curiosity whether Europe is still threatened with a repetition of those calamities, which formerly oppressed the arms and institutions of Rome. Perhaps the same reflections will illustrate the fall of that mighty empire, and explain the probable causes of our actual security.

1. The Romans were ignorant of the extent of their danger, and the number of their enemies. Beyond the Rhine and Danube, the northern countries of Europe and Asia were filled with innumerable tribes of barbarians, poor, rude, and timorous, yet boldly in arms, and impatient to ravish the fruits of industry. The barbarian world was agitated by the rapid impulse of war; and the peace of Gaul or Italy was shaken by the distant revolutions of China. The Huns, who fled before a victorious enemy, directed their march towards the west; and the torrent was swelled by the gradual accession of captives and allies. The flying tribes who yielded to the Huns, assumed in their turn the spirit of conquest; the endless column of barbarians pressed on the Roman empire with an impetuous weight; and if the foremost was destroyed, the vacuum was immediately replenished by new assailants. Such formidable emigrations can no longer issue from the north; and the long repose, which has been imputed to the decrease of population, is the happy consequence of the progress of arts and agriculture. The Huns have been succeeded by the Tartars, who have carried pillage and desolation far beyond the confines of Asia; and the civilized world is at present exposed to the attacks of these perilous neighbors.

2. The empire of Rome was firmly established by the singular and perfect coalition of its members. The subject nations, resigning the hope, and even the wish, of independence, embraced the character of Roman citizens; and the provinces of the west were reluctant to be torn by the barbarians from the bosom of their mother country. But this union was purchased by the loss of national freedom and military spirit; and the same cause, which had instanced the generosity of the Roman spirit, deprest their safety from the mercenary troops and governors, who were directed by the orders of a distant court. The happiness of a hundred millions depended on the personal merit of one or two men, perhaps chil-

3. The French and English editors of the Genealogical History of the Counts of Boulogne have been followed. They have been corrected by the Chinese, who, in the year 1759, rebound the lofty Rochius, and add a considerable number of facts to the history of the Omeni. (Memoires sur les Chinois, tom. i. p. 325-339.) But these last papers are precious, nor will I venture to insinuate the safety of the Chinoiserie.

4. The prudent reader will determine how far this general proposition is supported by the result of the inquiry; the independence of Britain and America, the Moorish tribes, or the Bagauds of Gaul and Spain, p. 112. 113, 145, 527, 528.

5. America now contains about six millions of European blood and descent; and their numbers, at least in the north, are continually increasing. Whatever may be the changes of their political situation, the manners of the Americans, and in some degree their language, are still preserved by the inhabitants of the north, with some pleasure, that the English language will probably be difficultly extinguished among them. Perhaps the Chinese, who have adopted the language of their conquerors, are about to eradicate the language of the Tartar. However, the language of the Tartar is not to be considered as the language of a nation, but as the language of a tribe which is about to be extinguished.

6. On voit fait venir (for the siege of Turin) 140 pieces of cannon; 81 of which, on 11 octobre, entered the city; they were accompanied by the entire artillery of the chapter. (Memoires sur les Chinois, tom. i. p. 325-339.) But these last papers are precious, nor will I venture to insinuate the safety of the Chinoiserie.

7. The prudent reader will determine how far this general proposition is supported by the result of the inquiry; the independence of Britain and America, the Moorish tribes, or the Bagauds of Gaul and Spain, p. 112. 113, 145, 527, 528.
horse; and Europe is secure from any future irritation of barbarians; since, before they can conquer, they must cease to be barbarous. Their gradual advances in the science of war would always be accompanied, as at present, with proportionable improvement in the arts of peace and civil policy; and they themselves must deserve a place among the polished nations whom they subdue.

Should these speculations be founded doubtful or fallacious, there still remains a more humble source of comfort for us. The discourse of nations, even of the most modern navigators, and the domestic history, or tradition, of the most enlightened nations, represent the human savage, naked both in mind and body, and destitute of laws, arts, ideas, and almost of language. From this abject condition, perhaps the primitive savage state of man, he has gradually arisen to command the animals, to fertilize the earth, to traverse the ocean, and to measure the heavens. His progress in the improvement and exercise of his mental and corporeal faculties has been irregular and various; infinitely slow in the beginning, and increasing with the degrees of his labours as he has advanced by a moment of rapid downfall; and the several climates of the globe have felt the vicissitudes of light and darkness. Yet the experience of four thousand years would enlarge our hopes, and diminish our apprehensions: we cannot doubt that the human race, however imperfect, is quickly advancing in the development of their innate powers.

The improvements of society may be viewed under a threefold aspect. 1. The poet or philosopher alone, or by the union of a brave and ingenuous mind; but these superior powers of reason or fancy are rare and spontaneous productions; and the genius of Homer, or Cicero, or Newton, would excite less admiration, if they could be created by the will of a prince, or the lessons of a preceptor. 2. The benefits of law and policy, of trade and manufactures, of arts and sciences, are more solid and permanent; and many individuals may be qualified, by education and discipline, to promote, in their respective stations, the interest of the country. But this general order is the effect of skill and labour; and the complex machinery may be compared to a machine by time, or by chance, the two most passive bodies; and the apparatus of fire and of metals; the propagation and service of domestic animals; the methods of hunting and fishing; the rudiments of navigation; the imperfect cultivation of corn, or other nutritive grain; and the simple practice of the mechanic arts.

Private genius and public industry may be extirpated; but these hardy plants survive the tempest, and strike an everlasting root into the most unfavourable soil. The splendid days of Augustus and Trajan were eclipsed by a cloud of ignorance; and the barbarians

subverted the laws and palaces of Rome. But the sycye, the invention or emblem of Saturn, still continued annually to sow the harvests of Italy; and the human feasts of the Lastrigons, have never been replaced.

Since the first discovery of the arts, war, commerce, and religious zeal, have diffused, among the savages of the old and new world, these inestimable gifts: they have been successively propagated; they can never be lost. We may therefore acquiesce in the pleasing conclusion, that every age of the world has increased, and still increases, the real wealth, the happiness, the knowledge, and perhaps, the virtue of the human race.
conversation; he frequented the schools of the most skilful masters; but he disliked or neglected the arts of Greece, and so ignorant did he always remain of the first elements of science, that a rude mark was contrived to represent the image of the illustrious king of Italy. As soon as he had attained the age of eight, he was betrothed to the daughter of the Ostrogoths, whom the emperor aspired to gain by liberality and confidence. Walamir had fallen in battle; the youngest of the brothers, Widimir, had led away into Italy and Gaul an army of barbarians, and the whole nation acknowledged for their king the father of Theodoric. His sons, subjects of the Ostrogoths, were imbued with the spirit and stature of their young prince; and he soon convinced them that he had not degenerated from the valour of his ancestors. At the head of six thousand volunteers, he secretly left the camp in quest of adventures, descended the Danube as far as Singidunum or Belgrade, and soon returned to his father with the spoils of a Sarmatian king whom he had vanquished and slain. Such triumphs, however, were productive only of fame, and the invincible Ostrogoths were reduced to extreme distress by the want of clothing. They were engaged in an unremittent struggle with their Pannonian encampments, and boldly to advance into the warm and wealthy neighbourhood of the Byzantine court, which already maintained in pride and luxury so many bands of confederate Goths. After proving by some acts of hostility that they could be dangerous, or at least treacherous enemies, the Ostrogoths sold at a high price their reconciliation and fidelity, accepted a donative of lands and money, and were intrusted with the defence of the lower Danube, under the command of Theodicoric, who succeeded after his father's death to the hereditary title of the Amal.

A hero, descended from a race of one of the kings, must have despised the base Isaurian who was invested with the Roman purple, without any endowments of mind or body, without any advantages of royal birth, or superior qualifications. After the failure of the Neronian line, the choice of Pulcheria and of the senate might be justified in some measure by the characters of Martian and Leo, but the latter of these princes confirmed and dishonoured his reign by the perfidious murder of his eldest brother. He was restored to the crown by his son, whom he rigorously extorted the debt of gratitude and obedience. The inheritance of Leo and of the east was peaceably devolved on his infant grandson, the son of his daughter Ariadne; and her Isaurian husband, the fortunate Trascilacceus, exchanged that barbarous sound for the Greek appellation of Leo. After the death of Leo, he approached with unnatural respect the throne of his son, humbly received, as a gift, the second rank in the empire, and soon excited the public suspicion on the sudden and premature death of his young colleague, whose life could no longer promote the success of his ambition. But the palace of Constantinople was ruled by female influence, and agitated by female passions; and Verina, the widow of Leo, claiming his empire as her own, pronounced a sentence of deposition against the worthless and ungrateful servant on whom she alone had bestowed the sceptre of the east.

As soon as she sounded a revolt in the ears of Zeno, he fled with precipitation into the mountains of Isauria, and her brother Basiliscus, already infamous by his African expedition, was unanimously proclaimed by the servile Senate. But the reign of the usurper was short and turbulent. Basiliscus presumed to assassinate Zeno, the genuine son of his brother, the lover of his wife, the vain and insolent Harmatius, who, in the midst of Asiatic luxury, affected the dress, the demeanour, and the surname of Achilles. By the cruelty of the malcontents, Zeno was recalled from exile; the armies, the capital, the person of Basiliscus, and the house of the Ostrogoths, were submitted to the long agony of cold and hunger by the inhuman conqueror, who wanted courage to encounter or to forgive his enemies. The haughty spirit of Verina was still incapable of submission or repose. She provoked the enmity of a favourite general, and embraced his cause as soon as he was disgraced, created a new emperor in Syria and Egypt, raised an army of seventy thousand men, and persisted to the last moment of her life in a fruitless rebellion, which, according to the fashion of the age, had been predicted by Christian numerals and pagan magicians. While the east was affected by the passions of Verina, her daughter Ariadne was distinguished by the female virtues of mildness and fidelity; she followed her husband in his exile, and after his restoration she implored his clemency in favour of her mother. On the death of the latter, she married Zeno, the mother, and the widow of an emperor. April 11. July 8, 496, gave her hand and the imperial title to Anastusius, an aged domestic of the palace, who survived his elevation above twenty-seven years, and whose character is attested by the doctrine of the explanation of the title, "Reign as we have lived"

Whatever fear or affection could beset, was profusely lavished by Zeno on the line of the Ostrogoths; the rank of patrician and consul, the command of the Palatine troops, an equestrian statue, a treasure in gold and silver of many thousand pounds, the name of son, and the promise of a rich and honourable life. As long as Theodicoric was descended to serve, he supported with courage and fidelity the cause of his betrothed to the throne of his sister; he desired to effect the abolition of Zeno; and in the second revolt, the Isaurians, as they were called, pursued and pressed the Asiatic rebels, till they left an easy victory to the imperial troops. But the faithful servant was suddenly converted into a formidable enemy, who spread over the Roman provinces desolation and ruin. Many flourishing cities were reduced to ashes, and the agriculture of Thrace was almost extinguished by the wanton cruelty of the Goths, who deprived their captive peasants of the right hand that guided the plough. On such occasions, Theodicoric sustained the loud and specious reproach of disloyalty, of ingratitude, and of insatiate avarice, which could be only excused by the hard necessity of his situation. He renounced, not as the monarch, but as the minister of a ferocious people,
whose spirit was unbroken by slavery, and impatient of real or imaginary insults. Their poverty was incurable; since the most liberal donatives were soon dissipated in wanton luxury, and the most fertile estates became barren in their hands; they despised, but they could not suppress, the indulgence of immorality. The insurrection had failed, the Ostrogoths embraced the familiar resources of war and rapine. It had been the wish of Theodoric, (such at least was his declaration,) to lead a peaceable, obscure, obedient life, on the confines of Scythia, till the Byzantine court, by splendid and fallacious promises, seduced him from his path among the rocks and precipices of Mount Sondis, where he was assaulted by the arms and invectives of Theodoric the son of Triarius. From a neighbouring height, his artful rival harangued the camp of the Walamir, and branded their leader with the opprobrious names of child, of madman, of perjured traitor, the enemy of his blood and nation. "Are you ignorant," exclaimed the son of Triarius, "that it is the constant policy of the Romans to destroy the Goths by each other's swords? Are you insensible that the victor in this unnatural contest will be exposed, and his land exposed, to their implacable rage? Where are those warriors, my kinsman and thy own, whose widows now lament that their lives were sacrificed to thy rash ambition? Where is the wealth which thy soldiers possessed when they were first allured from their native homes to enlist under thy standard! Each of them was then master of three or four horses; they now follow thee on foot like slaves, through the deserts of Thrace; those men who were tempted by the hope of measuring gold with a bushel, those brave men who are as free and as noble as thyself."

A language so well suited to the temper of the Goths, executed with such strength and depth of passion, that the men, apprehensive of being left alone, was compelled to embrace his brethren, and to imitate the example of Roman perjury. 3

In every state of his fortune, the prudence and firmness of Theodoric were equally conspicuous; whether he threatened Constantinople at the head of the confederate Goths, or retreated with a faithful band to the mountains and sea-coast of Epirus. At length the accidental death of the son of Triarius* destroyed the balance which the Romans had been so anxious to preserve, and in the depth of a rigorous winter. Since the fall of the Roman power, Dacia and Pannonia no longer exhibited the rich prospect of populous cities, well cultivated fields, and convenient highways; the reign of barbarism and desolation was restored, and the tribes of Belgarians, Gepides, and Sarmatians, who had occupied the vacant provinces, were prompted by their native fierceness, or the solicitations of Odother, to resist the progress of his enemy. In many obscure though bloody battles Theodoric fought and vanquished; till at length, surrounding every obstacle by skilful conduct and persevering courage, he descended

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3 Jornandes (c. 56., p. 296.) displays the services of Theodoric, compared his renown with that of Attila, by which such colored details have been preserved by Malchus (Euv. i. 12.) 78-97.) Marcellinus, a domestic of Justinian, under whose fourth century the Goths were seduced by his Charms, (p. 33-37.) Zonaras Tempor., ii. p. 31-37. betrays his perplexity and passion. In the same work, Zonaras minutissima penes pacatorum... beneficia animisque satasio. &c.

4 As he was riding in his own camp, an unarmed horse threw him against the point of a lance, the head of which was fixed on a wagon. (Marcell., in Chron. Evagrius, i. lib. ii. c. 35.)

5 See Malchus (p. 101.) and Evagrius, (G. iii. c. 30.)
from the Julian Alps, and displayed his invincible
dominion over the confines of Italy.

Odoacer, a rival not unworthy of his
arms, had already occupied the advan-
tageous and well-known post of the river
Soutius near the ruins of Aquileia, at
the head of a powerful host, whose in-
dustry, valor, and genius disdained the
duties of subordination and the prudence of delays.

No sooner had Theodoric granted a short repose and
refreshment to his wearied cavalry, than he boldly
attacked the fortifications of the enemy; the Ostrogoths
showed more ardor to acquire, than the mercenaries
to defend; and the rapid advance of Italy and the
reward of the first victory was the possession of the Venetian
province as far as the walls of Verona. In the neighbour-
hood of that city, on the steep banks of the rapid
Adige, he was opposed by a new army, reinforced in its
numbers, and not impaired in its courage; the cor-
test was more obstinate, but the event was still
decisive; Odoacer fled to Ravenna, Theodoric ad-
anced to Milan, and the vanquished troops saluted their
conqueror with loud acclamations of respect and fidelity.

But their want either of constancy or of faith, soon
caused the ruin of their hopes, and the danger of the
vanguard, with several Gothic counts, which had been
rashly entrusted to a despot, was betrayed and de-
stroyed near Faenza by his double treachery; Odoacer
again appeared master of the field, and the invader,
strongly intrenched in his camp of Pavia, was reduced
to the obstinacy of sacrificing kindred rather than
Vigisitho of Gaul. In the course of this history, the most
vexous appetite for war will be abundantly satiated; nor
can I much lament that our dark and imperfect materi-
als do not afford a more ample narrative of the distress
of Italy, and of the fierce conflict, which was finally
decided by the Genius of History, and the value of the
Gothic king. Immediately before the battle of
Verona, he visited the tent of his mother and sister,
and requested, that on a day the most illustrious festi-
val of his life, they would adorn him with the rich
garments which they had worked with their own
hands. "Our glory," said he, "is mutual and insepa-
ble. You are known to the world as the mother of
Theodoric; and it becomes me to prove, that I am
the genuine offspring of those heroes from whom I
claim my descent. The wife or concubine of Theo-
doric, inspired with the same spirit, who esteem their sons' honour far above their safety;
and it is reported, that in a desperate action, when
Theodoric himself was hurried along by the torrent
of a flying crowd, she boldly met them at the en-
trance of the camp, and, by her generous reproaches,
drew from him the most laudable and the most
sentence of Theodoric."

From the Alps to the extremity of Ca-
labria, Theodoric reigned by the right
of conquest; the Vandals ambassadors
surrendered the island of Sicily, as a
lawful appendage of his kingdom; and he was ac-
ceded as the deliverer of Rome by the senate and people,
who had shut their gates against the flying usurper.
Ravenna alone, secure in the fortifications of art and
nature, still sustained a siege of almost three years;
and the daring sallies of Odoacer carried slaughter and
dismay into the Gothic camp. At length, destitute of
provisions, and hopeless of relief, that otherwise
monarch yielded to the troops of his subjects and the clamours of his soldiers. A treaty of peace was ne-
ogotiated by the bishop of Ravenna; the Ostrogoths
were admitted into the city, and the hostile kings con-
quered, under the sanction of an oath, to rule with
common consent. The event of such an agreement may be easily for-
seen. After some days had been devoted to the sem-
bance of joy and friendship, Odoacer, in the midst of
a solemn banquet, was stabbed by the hand, or at least by
the command, of his rival. Secret and effectual
palliders of this parricide were invented by the
visceral rapacity and fomenters of tumults, and
without resistance, were universally massacred; and
the royalty of Theodoric was proclaimed by the Gopts,
with the tardy, reluctant, ambiguous consent of the
imperials of the east. The design of a conspiracy was im-
puted, according to the usual forms, to the prosperity
of this tyrant; but his innocence, and the guilt of his con-
quorer, are sufficiently proved by the advantageous treaty which for as not sincerely had been granted,

not weakness have rashly infringed. The jealousy of
Ravenna was excited by the royal conduct; and Odoacer
made a more decent apology, and a sentence less rigorous may
be pronounced against a crime which was necessary to
introduce into Italy a generation of public felicity.
The living author of this felicity was au-
daciously praised in his own presence by some
judicious and profound orators; but his reign is still
extant, and has obtained more implicit credit than it seems to deserve. They exhibit the forms,
rather than the substance, of his government; and we
should vainly search for the pure and spontaneous sen-
timents of the barbarian amidst the declamation and
learning of a sophist, the wishes of a Roman senator, the
precedents of office, and the vague professions,
which, in every court and on every occasion, compose
the language of discreet ministers. The reputation of
Theodoric may repose with more confidence on the
authorised testimonies of Cassiodorus and of
Theodoric, the one record of his fame, the volume of public works composed by Cassiodorus; the other
is still extant, and has obtained more implicit credit
than it seems to deserve. Theologists, historians, and
philosophers, have displayed their learning; the
discussion of the kings; biography of the kings;
Jaedrichus (as it is improperly named by Tiraboschi) is
never simple, and seldom perspicacious.
of his promises, had transported themselves into a dis-
tant laud. 2 Under the reign of Theodoric, and in the
happy climate of Italy, the Goths soon multiplied to a
formidable strength, and the whole amount of their fa-
milies may be computed by the ordinary addition of
women and children. Their invasion of property, a part of which must have been already vacant, was disguised by the generous but im-
proper name of hospitality; these unwelcome guests were irregularly dispersed over the face of Italy, and the lot of each barbarian was adequate to his birth and office, the number of his followers, and the rustic
wealth which he possessed in slaves and cattle.

The distinctions of noble and plebeian were acknowledged; 3 but the lands of every freeman were exempt from taxes, and had the right of bearing arms, which, however, was
just to the laws of his country. 4 Fashion, and even convenience, soon persuaded the conquerors to
assume the more elegant dress of the natives, but they
still persisted in the use of their mother-tongue; and
their contempt for the Latin schools was applauded by
Theodoric himself, who gratified their prejudices, or
his own, by declaring, that the child who had trod-
red at a rod, would never dare to look upon a sword. 5 Distress might sometimes provoke the indigent Roman to assume the ferocious manners which were insensi-
ibly relinquished by the rich and luxurious barbarian, 6 but the indelible mark of the policy of a monarch who perverted the separa-
tion of the Goths and Goths; reserving the
former for the arts of peace, and the latter for the service of war. To accompl-
ish this design, he studied to protect his industrious
subjects and to moderate the resources of his
army, without excusing the valor of his soldiers, who were maintained for
the public defence. They held their lands and
benefices as a military stipend; at the sound of the
trumpet, they were prepared to march under the con-
duct of their provincial officers; and the whole extent of Italy was divided into the several quarters of a
well-regulated camp. The service of the palace and of
the frontiers was performed by choice or by rotation;
and each extraordinary fatigue was recompensed by an increase of pay and occasional demands. Theodo-
ric had established a firm and safe government; but the
more the barbarian monarchs must be acquired and defended by the same arts.

After his example, they strove to excel in the use, not only of the lance and sword, the instruments of their victories, but of the missile weapons, which they were
too much inclined to neglect; and the lively image of war was perpetuated by the following and in-
structions of the Gothic cavalry. A firm though gentle
discipline imposed the habits of modesty, obedience,
and temperance; and the Goths were instructed to
spare the people, to reverence the laws, to understand the
duties of civil society, and to disdain the barbari-
ous licence of judicial combat and private revenge.

Among the barbarians of the west, the
victory of Theodoric had spread a general
alarm. But as soon as it appeared that he was sat-
isfied with conquest and desires of peace, terror was
changed into respect, and they submitted to a power-
ful mediation, which was uniformly employed for the
accomplishment of their purposes, and for the regular
arrangement of the barbarian tribes. The ambassadors
who resorted to Ravenna from the most distant countries of Europe, admired his wisdom, magnificence, 6 and courtesy; and if he sometimes accepted either slaves or arms, white
horses or strange animals, the gift of a sun-dial, a warm
lock, or a musician, admonished even the prince of
Gaul, of the superior art and industry of his Italian
subjects. His domestic alliances, 7 a wife, two daugh-
ters, a sister, and a niece, united the family of Theo-
doric with the kings of the Franks, the Burgundians,
the Visigoths, the Vandals, and the Thuringians, and
were contributed to the benefit of his house, and to the balance, of the great republic of the west. 8 It is diffi-
cult in the dark forests of Germany and Poland to pur-
sue the emigrations of the Huli, a fierce people, who
disdained the use of armour, and who condemned their
widows and aged parents not to survive the loss of their husbands, or the decay of their strength. 9 The king of these savage warriors solicited the friendship of Theodoric, and was elevated to the rank of his son, according to the barbaric rites of a military adoption. 10

From the shores of the Baltic, the Aesti, or Livoni-
ans, laid their offerings of native amber 11 at the feet of
their hereditary prince, who was the first of a thou-
sand; and a strange and unknown and dangerous journey of fifteen hundred
miles. With the country 12 from whence the Gothic na-
tion derived their origin, he maintained a frequent and
friendly correspondence; the Italians were clothed in the rich sables 13 of Sweden; and one of its sovereigns, after a voluntary or reluctant abdication, found a hos-
itable retreat in the palace of Ravenna. He had reigned over one of the thirteen populous tribes who cultivated a small portion of the great island or penin-
insula of Scandinavia, to which the vague appellation of
Thule has been sometimes applied. That northern re-
gion was peopled, or had been peopled, as high as the
sixty-eighth degree of latitude, where the natives of the polar circle enjoy and lose the presence of the sun at each summer and winter solstice during an equal period of forty days. 13 The long night of his absence

2 Procopius, Goth. L. ii. c. 5. Variarum, ii. Maffei (Verona Illus. et Descrip.) V. iii. 11. 12. The Goths were first admitted as an Italian noble. The plebiscite Maronii colonie under the their oppression.

3 Procopius, Goth. iii. c. 4. 21. Emidius describes (p. 1612, 1613), the military arts and increasing numbers of the Goths.

4 When Theodoric gave his sister to the king of the Vandals, the sailed for Africa with a guard of 100 noble Goths, each of whom was accompanied with a principia and two war-trains. (Procop. Hist. iv. 19, Niv. 57.) Their Gothic mobile must have been as numerous as brave.

5 See the acknowledgment of the emperor of the Goths. (Hist. of the Romans, V. 9.)

6 Procopius, Goth. L. ii. c. 2. The Romanus the language
(Variarum. v. 21.) of the Goths. Their general ignorance is not de-
scribed accurately. They were instructed to endure the hardships of arms without shame, or of Theodoric, whose learning provoked the indig-
ests of the language.

7 A saying of Theodoric was founded on experience: "Romani mius imperator Gothorum; et utile (Græce) Gothorum imperator Romanorum." (Cassiodor. pp. 66.)

8 The view of the military establishment of the Goths in Italy, is collected from the Epigrammata Cassiodorius. (Var. L. vi. 48. ii. 35. 45. iv. 13. iv. 26. 27. viii. 3, 4, 55.) They are illustrated by the
learned Baron. (Hist. of the Germans, L. xi. 40—41. Annotation iv.)

9 See the clearness and vigour of his negotiations in Emidius, (p. 1607.) and Cassiodorius, (Var. i. ii. iv. 13. viii. 34.) who gives the standard conditions of the peace. (p. 346.)

10 Even of his table (Procop. iv. 19. and in the:v. 5.) The admira-
tion of strangers is represented as the most rational motive to justify such a display of magnificence and splendour, which was more to the taste of those who were previously impressed.

11 See the parallel accounts of the barbaric sacrifices of the Gothic monarch, with the Burgundians, (Var. i. 35, 64.) with the Franks, (ii. 64.) with the Thuringians, (iv. 23.) and with the Vandals, (v. 4.) Each of these epics affords a few curious knowledge to the history of these barbarians.

12 His political system may be observed in Cassiodorius, (Hist. iv. 1. 11.) Jornandes, (c. 55, p. 688, 699.) and the Valentin Fragment, (p. 793, 795.) Peace, honourable peace, was the constant aim of Theo-
doric.

13 The curious reader may contemplate the Herti of Procopius, (Hist. L. ii. 11.) and the patient reader may plunge into the dark and minute researches of M. de Bus (Hist. des Peuples Anciens, i. vi.) p. 346—353.

14 Varianum, iv. 2. The spirit and form of this martial institution are noticed by Cassiodorius; but he seems to have only translated the sentiments of the Goths, by the language of Roman rules.

15 The Goths, who spares Tacitus to the Italians, the plundered savages of the Baltic, (Var. 2.) describes the aubert for which their shores have been famous, as the gait of a tree, hardened by the sun, and purified and wafted by the waves. When that singular sub-
stance is analyzed by the chemists, it yields a vegetable oil and a
general salicyl.

16 Scania, or Thule, is described by Jornandes, (c. 3, p. 610—613.) and Polybius, (Hist. iv. 94.) Or the Nords, after the gods of the
Northmen, and the Northmen have made us of the Goths.

17 In the system or romance of M. Bailly, (Lettres sur les Sciences et sur l'Antiquite, tom. i. p. 249—256. tom. ii. p. 114—126.) the pho-
nix of the Edda, and the annual death and revival of Atoll and Ours, are the allegorical symbols of the absence and return of the
sun in the Arctic regions. The ingenious writer has a worthy disciple
er death was the mournful season of distress and anxiety, till the messengers who had been sent to the mountains to fetch his head were brought back a Several days after the death of Theodoric, and proclaimed to the plain below the festival of his resurrection.  

His defensive  

The life of Theodoric represents the wars, rare and meritorious example of a barbarian, who sheathed his sword in the pride of victory and the glory of his age. A reign of three and thirty years was consecrated to the duties of civil government, and the hostilities in which he was sometimes involved, were speedily terminated by the conduct of his lieutenants, the discipline of his troops, the armament of his fleet, and the signals of his ministers of state. He reduced, under a strong and regular government, the unprofitable countries of Rhetta, Noricum, Dalmatia, and Pannonia, from the source of the Danube and the territory of the Bavarians, to the petty kingdom erected by the Gepidae on the ruins of Sirnum. His prudence could not intrust the bulk of Italy to such feeble and turbulent neighbours; and his justice might claim the lands which they oppressed, either as a part of his kingdom, or as the inheritance of his father. The greatness of a servant, who was named perfidious because he was successful, awakened the envy of the emperor, who was kindled on the Dacian frontier, by the protection which the Gothic king, in the visceritude of human affairs, had granted to one of the descendants of Attila. Sabinian, a general illustrious by his own name and fathered by the most illustrious of the ten thousand Romans; and the provisions and arms, which filled a long train of wagons, were distributed to the foremost of the Bulgarian tribes. But, in the fields of Margin, the eastern powers were defeated by the inferior forces of the Goths and Huns; the flower and even the hope of the Gothic nation was irretrievably destroyed, and such was the temperance with which Theodoric had inspired his victorious troops, that as their leader had not given the signal of pillage, the rich spoils of the enemy lay untouched at their feet. 

Exasperated by this disgrace, the Byzantine emperor despatched two hundred ships and eight thousand men to plunder the sea-coast of Calabria and Apulia; they assaulted the ancient city of Tarentum, interrupted the trade and agriculture of a happy country, and sailed back to the Hellespont, without any victory. Two provinces, and the populous city which they still presumed to consider as their Roman brethren. Their retreat was possibly hastened by the activity of Theodoric; Italy was covered by a fleet of a thousand light vessels, which he constructed with incredible dispatch; and his firm moderation was rewarded with the most honourable peace. He maintained with a powerful hand the balance of the west; till it was at length overthrown by the ambition of the great Bullion; nor it easy for the coldest reason to withstand the magic of their philosophy.
 subordinate care of justice and the revenue was delegated to seven consuls, three correcting, and five presidents, who governed the fifteen regions of Italy, according to the principles and even the forms of Roman jurisprudence. 1 The violence of the conquerors was abated or eluded by the slow artifice of judicial process; and a discourse of the laws and emoluments, was confined to the provincials; and the people still preserved their dress and language, their laws and customs, their personal freedom, and two thirds of their landed property. It had been the object of Augustus to conceal the introduction of monarchy; it was unessential. 2 During the first two centuries, the empire, the person, and the courtly demeanour of the Gothic king, excited the admiration of the Romans, and he contemplated, with equal curiosity and surprise, the monuments that remained of their ancient greatness. He imprinted the footsteps of a conqueror on the Capitoline hill, and frankly confessed that each day he viewed with fresh wonder the forum of Trajan and his lofty column. The theatre of Pompey appeared, even in its decay, as a huge mountain artificially hollowed and polished, and adored by human industry; and he vaguely computed, that a river of gold must have been drained by the operation of Titus. 3 From the mouths of fourteen aqueducts, a pure and copious stream was diffused into every part of the city; among these the Claudian water, which arose at the distance of thirty-eight miles in the Sabine mountains, was conveyed along a gentle though constant declivity of solid arches, till it descended on the summit of the Aventine hill. The long and spacious vaults which had been constructed for the purpose of common sewers, subsisted, after twelve centuries, in their pristine strength; and these subterraneous channels have been preferred to all the visible wonders of Rome. 4 The inhabitants, who had not totally sunk in oblivion; the wild beasts of Africa still exercised in the amphitheatre the courage and dexterity of the hunters; and the indolent Goth either patiently tolerated or greatly restrained the blue and yellow elephants of the 'Ina acera were diligently restored; 5 the famous heifer of Myron deceived the cattle, as they were driven through the forum of peace; and an officer was created to protect those works of art, which Theodoric considered as the noblest ornament of his kingdom.

1 To the seventeenth province of the Notitia, Paul Wernfried the deacon (to Reb. Longobardi, i. l. c. 14—22) has subjected an inscription, the Appianus (Murator); Sertius, Raman Ballicarmus, tom. i. p. 231—435. But of the provinciarum et Caesarum were the two Rhodians, as well as the Galatian Aries, seem to have been established at a very early period. They were diminished by the repugnance of the provinces that now form the kingdom of Naples, is laboured by Guerassine (Com. l. c. 172, 173) with patrician diligence. 2 Anon. (Notitia, ii. l. c. 6) the Epitome of Cassiodorus, (passim, but especially the fifth and sixth books, which contain the forementioned, or patrimonial office.) The Civil History of Giovanni, (Com. l. c. ii. l. c.) The Gothic emperors, which places in public, are annihilated, however, by Maflac (Vernaculista Historia and Naves (var. vi. 22, 23) were special and temporary commissions. 3 Two of the provinces of Cassiodorus, the Gaddh by the Vandals, and the two Rhodians, as well as the Galatian Aries, seem to have been established at a very early period. They were diminished by the repugnance of the provinces that now form the kingdom of Naples, is laboured by Guerassine (Com. l. c. 172, 173) with patrician diligence. 4 To the seventeenth province of the Notitia, Paul Wernfried the deacon (to Reb. Longobardi, i. l. c. 14—22) has subjected an inscription, the Appianus (Murator); Sertius, Raman Ballicarmus, tom. i. p. 231—435. But of the provinciarum et Caesarum were the two Rhodians, as well as the Galatian Aries, seem to have been established at a very early period. They were diminished by the repugnance of the provinces that now form the kingdom of Naples, is laboured by Guerassine (Com. l. c. 172, 173) with patrician diligence. 5 Anon. (Notitia, ii. l. c. 6) the Epitome of Cassiodorus, (passim, but especially the fifth and sixth books, which contain the forementioned, or patrimonial office.) The Civil History of Giovanni, (Com. l. c. ii. l. c.) The Gothic emperors, which places in public, are annihilated, however, by Maflac (Vernaculista Historia and Naves (var. vi. 22, 23) were special and temporary commissions. 6 Two of the provinces of Cassiodorus, the Gaddh by the Vandals, and the two Rhodians, as well as the Galatian Aries, seem to have been established at a very early period. They were diminished by the repugnance of the provinces that now form the kingdom of Naples, is laboured by Guerassine (Com. l. c. 172, 173) with patrician diligence. 7 Anon. (Notitia, ii. l. c. 6) the Epitome of Cassiodorus, (passim, but especially the fifth and sixth books, which contain the forementioned, or patrimonial office.) The Civil History of Giovanni, (Com. l. c. ii. l. c.) The Gothic emperors, which places in public, are annihilated, however, by Maflac (Vernaculista Historia and Naves (var. vi. 22, 23) were special and temporary commissions. 8 Two of the provinces of Cassiodorus, the Gaddh by the Vandals, and the two Rhodians, as well as the Galatian Aries, seem to have been established at a very early period. They were diminished by the repugnance of the provinces that now form the kingdom of Naples, is laboured by Guerassine (Com. l. c. 172, 173) with patrician diligence.
Flourishing. After the example of the last emperors, Theodoric preferred the residence of Ravenna, where he cultivated an orchard with his own hands. As often as the peace of his kingdom was threatened (for it was never invaded) by the barbarians, he removed his court to Verona, on the northern slopes of the mountains of Veneantia, still called the Albani, on a coto, represents the oldest and most authentic model of Gothic architecture. These two capitals, as well as Pavia, Spoleto, Naples, and the rest of the Italian cities, acquired under his reign the useful or splendid decorations of churches, aqueducts, baths, public buildings, and other works. But the happiness of his subjects was more truly conspicuous in the busy scene of labour and luxury, in the rapid increase and hold enjoyment of national wealth. From the shades of Tibur and Prænestæ, the Roman senators still retired in the winter season to the warm sun, and salubrious springs, of Baiae; and their villas, which advanced on solid moles into the bay of Naples, commanded the various prospect of the sky, the earth, and the water. On the eastern side of the Hadriatic, a new Campaign was formed in the fair and fruitful province of Istria, which was connected with the territory of Ravenna by an easy navigation of twenty or thirty miles. The rich productions of Lucania and the adjacent provinces were exchanged at the Marcellian fountain, in a populous fair annually dedicated to trade, intertemperance, and superstition. In the solitude of Comum, which lay a hundred miles from the coast, the farms of the clero was a transparent basin above sixty miles in length still reflected the rural seats which compassed the margin of the Larian lake; and the gradual ascent of the hills was covered by a triple plantation of olives, of vines, and of chestnut trees. Agriculture revived under him; the shadow of peace was restored, and the utility of the land was multiplied by the redemption of captives. The iron mines of Dalmatia, a gold mine in Bruttium, were carefully explored, and the Pomptine marshes, as well as those of Spoleto, were drained and cultivated by private undertakers, whose distant reward must depend on the continuance of the public prosperity. Whenever the seasons were less propitious, the doubtful precautions of forming magazines of corn, fixing the price, and prohibiting the exportation, attested at least the benevolence of the state; but such was the extraordinary plenty which an industrious people produced from a grateful soil, that a gallon of wine was sometimes sold in Italy for less than three farthings, and a quarter of wheat at about five shillings and sixpence. A country possessed of so many valuable objects of exchange soon attracted the merchant of the Barbarian, whose beneficent traffic was encouraged and protected by the liberal spirit of Theodorick. The free intercourse of the provinces by land and water was restored and extended; the city gates were never shut either by day or by night; and the common saying, that a purse of gold might be safely left in the fields, was expressive of the conscious security of the inhabitants. A difference of religion is always pernicious and often fatal to the harmony of nations. Theodoric, as a prudent man, was not surprised to find that the convert to his Arian sects, roused the fanatical spirit of the inhabitants. But the persuasion of Theodoric was not infected by zeal; and he piously adhered to the heresy of his fathers, without outcondescending to balance the subtle arguments of the Arianism. He allowed the toleration of his Ariana sectaries, he justly conceived himself to be the guardian of the public worship, and his external reverence for a superstition which he despised may have nourished in his mind the toleration of the religion of the conqueror. The people, and the barbarians themselves, were edified by the pomp and order of religious worship; the magistrates were instructed to defend the just immunities of ecclesiastical persons and property, and the bishops held their sees with the more safety; the emperors exercised their jurisdiction, and the privileges of sanctuary were maintained or moderated according to the spirit of the Roman jurisprudence. With the protection, Theodoric assumed the legal supremacy of the church; and his firm administration restored or extended some useful prerogatives which had been neglected by the feeble emperors of the west. He was not ignorant of the dignity and importance of the Roman pontif, to whom the venerable name of Porz was now appropriated. The peace of the revolt of Italy was doi-, and modinously observed by a throned and popular bishop, who claimed such ample dominion both in heaven and earth; who had been declared in a numerous synod to be pure from all sin, and exempt from all judgment. When the chair of St. Peter was disputed by Symmachius and Laurence, they appeared in his court, and maintained in his presence the value of the sees, and the rights of the church, and he confirmed the election of the most worthy or the most obsequious candidate. At the end of his life, in a moment of jealousy and resentment, he prevented the choice of the Romans, by nominating a pope in the palace of Ravenna. The danger and furious contests of a schism were mildly restrained, and the last decres of the senate was enacted to extinguish, if

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1 See an epitaph of Emeronus (i. 3, p. 1933, 194.) on this garden and the royal palaces.
2 His attention for this city is proved by the epitaph of "Verona, to him the patron of the arts; under his beneficence the name of Bern of Bern (Pimentaschol Just Cochin, p. 230.) Mafl. traces him with knowledge and pleasure in his native country, as follows (p. 230, 231, 232, 366.) He imprints Gothic architecture, like the corruption of language, writing, Ko, not to the barbarians, but to the Italians themselves. Compare his contumens with those of Tiberuscbl (lai. iii. 64.)
3 Compare his contumens with those of Tiberuscbl (lai. iii. 64.)
4 See Clovis, (var. i. c. 2, p. 1199, &c.) Istria, (var. xii, 25, 26.) and Comum, (var. xi. 24, 25.) Compare with Pflugs, (two vilas, iv.) 7 are agrarly painted in the Epistles of Cassiodorus.
7 See the life of St. Cassianus in Bavaria, (A. D. 330. No. 13, 14.)
8 The king presented with 300 gold solidi, and a discus of silver of the weight of sixty pounds:
9 See the life of St. Cassianus in Bavaria, (A. D. 330. No. 13, 14.)
10 See the life of St. Cassianus in Bavaria, (A. D. 330. No. 13, 14.)
11 See the life of St. Cassianus in Bavaria, (A. D. 330. No. 13, 14.)
12 See the life of St. Cassianus in Bavaria, (A. D. 330. No. 13, 14.)
13 See the life of St. Cassianus in Bavaria, (A. D. 330. No. 13, 14.)
14 See the life of St. Cassianus in Bavaria, (A. D. 330. No. 13, 14.)
15 See the life of St. Cassianus in Bavaria, (A. D. 330. No. 13, 14.)
16 See the life of St. Cassianus in Bavaria, (A. D. 330. No. 13, 14.)
it were possible, the scandalous venality of the papal elections. 

Vice of his government. fortunate condition of Italy; but our famous holy confessors; three hundred pulpits deplored the poets, a race of men without vice or misery, was realized under the Gothic conquest. The fair prospect was sometimes overcast with clouds; the wisdom of Theodoric might be deceived, his power might be resisted, and the declining age of the monarch was spilled with power and hatred and passion were not always to be found at the ear of kings. The privileges of rank, or office, or favor, were too frequently abused by Italian fraud and Gothic violence, and the arrogance of the king’s nephew was publicly exposed, at first by the usurpation, and afterwards by the restitution, of the estates which he had unjustly extorted from his Tuscans, and the grief even of his master, were seated in the heart of Italy; they indignantly supported the restraints of peace and discipline; the disorders of their march were always felt and sometimes compensated; and when it was dangerous to punish, it might be prudent to dissemble, that safety might be bought at the expense of justice. When the indulgence of Theodoric had remitted two-thirds of the Ligurian tribute, he condescended to explain the difficulties of his situation, and to lament the heavy though inevitable burdens which he imposed on the subjects for the safety of the state. These ungrateful subjects could never be cordially reconciled to the origin, the religion, or even the virtues, of the Gothic conqueror: past calamities were forgotten, and the sense or suspicion of injuries was rendered still more exquisite by the present felicity of the times.

He is provoked to speak of the catholics. Theodoric had the glory of introducing the Christian world, was painful and offensive to the orthodox zeal of the Italians. They respected the armed heresy of the Goths; but their pious rage was safely pointed against the rich and deformed architecture of their native kingdom. They visited at Naples, Rome, Ravenna, Milan, and Genoa, for the benefit of trade, and under the sanction of the laws. Their persons were insulted, their effects were pillaged, and their synagogues were burnt, by the mad populace of Ravenna and Rome, inflamed, as it should seem, by their most frivolous or extravagant pretences. The government which could neglect would have deserved such an outrage. A legal inquiry was instantly directed; and as the authors of the tumult had escaped in the crowd, the whole community was condemned to repair the damage; and the obstinate bigots who refused their contributions, were whipped through the streets by the hand of the executioner. This simple act of justesse exasperated the discontent of the catholics, who applauded the merit and patience of these holy confessors; three hundred pulpits deplored the persecution of the church, and if the chapel of St. Stephen at Verona was demolished by the command of Theodoric, it is probable that some miracle hostile to his name and dignity had been performed on that sacred theatre. At the close of a glorious life, the king of Italy did not desire that he had excited the hatred of a people whose happiness he had so assistidus laboured to promote; and his mind was soured by indigation, jealousy, and the bitterness of unrequited love. The Gothic conqueror condescended to disarm the unwarlike nations of Italy, interfering with all weapons of offence, and employing them to beneficent use. The deliverer of Rome was accused of conspiring with the vilest informers against the lives of senators whom he suspected of a secret and treasonable correspondence with the Byzantine court. After the death of Anastasius, the diadem had been placed on the head of one man, the other being left to select him; the government were assumed by his nephew Justinian, who already meditated the extirpation of heresy, and the conquest of Italy and Africa. A rigorous law which was published at Constantinople, to reduce the Arians by the dread of punishment within the walls of the church, awakened the just resentment of Theodoric, who claimed for his nation the freedom of conscience; and the same indulgence which he had so long granted to the catholics of his dominions. At his stern command, the Roman pontiff, with four illustrious senators, embarked on an embassy, of which he must have alike dreaded the failure or the success. The singular veneration shown to the first pope who had visited Con-

stantinople was punished as a crime by his jealous monarch; the artful or peremptory refusal of the Byzantine court might excuse an equal, and would provoke a larger, measure of retaliation; and a mandate was prepared in Italy, to prohibit, after a stated day, the exercise of the catholic worship. By the bigotry of his subjects and enemies, the most tolerant of princes was driven to the brink of persecution; and the life of Theodoric was too long, since he lived to condemn the virtue of Boethius and Symmachus.

He is the last of the character. studying in the south the Romans whom Cato or Tully really could not have acknowledged for their countryman. As of Boethius, a wealthy orphan, he inherited the patrimony and honours of the Asician family, a name ambitiously assumed by the kings and emperors of the age; and the application of Maxillius asserted his genuine or fabulous descent from a race of consuls and suchators, who had repulsed the Gauls from the Capitol, and sacrificed their sons to the discipline of the republic. In the youth of Boethius, the studies of Rome were not totally abandoned; a Virgil is now extant, corrected by the hand of a consul; and the professors of grammar, rhetoric, and jurisprudence, were maintained in their privileges and pensions by the liberality of the Goths. But the erudition of the Latin language was insufficient to satiate his ardent curiosity; and Boethius is

a See Cæsarianus, (Var. viii, 15. ix, 15. 16.) Anastasius, (On Symm. 103. 11.) and the eighty-seventh Annales of Magonza. Ravenna, Bologna, and the most of the cities of their native Provinces, were under this Gothic usurption.

b He disabled them of the a licentia testandi; and all Italy mourning lamentabiliter jacta. I wish to believe, that these penalties were en acted against the rebels who had violated their oath of allegiance; but it is not improbable that their crimes were so numerous, as if, as he lived and died under the reign of Theodoric.

c See the last of the character. The Jews were settled at Naples, (Principis, Gotl. l. c. 83.) at Genoa, (Var. ii. 24. iv. 31.) Milan, (c. 37.) Rome, (iv. 62.) See likewise Biondi, Hist. des Juifs, tom viii, p. 452. 

d Immunitas expensarum pondos pro imporrn servos, &c; yet these words are impossible, is the word tollerum in the text of the Italian, (Ital. tom. iv. 417-478) with the Annals and Brecciary (Tom. i. 339-363) of the two inscriptions, and the nuncio.

e La Clerc has composed a critical and philosophical life of Anius Maximus Severinus Boethius (Milan, Choisir, tom. xvii. p. 168; and La Tarasque, tom. iii. 263.) and this Trasacco has, or may in some degree be considered. The date of his birth may be placed between the year 520, and his death in 524, in a premature age. Consol. Phil. Mec. l. 5.

f For the age and value of this MIS, now in the Mediciona library. At Florence, see the Consolatio Priscian (p. 330-417.) of Cardinal Nosier.
said to have employed eighteen laborious years in the schools of Athens, which were supported by the zeal, the learning, and the diligence, of Proclus and his disciples. The reason and piety of their Roman pupil was forestalled from the councils of Helicon and magic, which polluted the groves of the academy; but he imbued the spirit, and imitated the method, of his dead and living masters, who attempted to reconcile the strong and subtle sense of Aristotle with the devout contemplation and sublime fancy of Plato. After his return to Rome, and his marriage with the daughter of his friend, the patrician Symmachus, Boethius still continued, in a palace of ivory and marble, to prosecute the same studies. The church was edified by his profound defence of the orthodox creed against the Arian, the Eutychian, and the Nestorian heresies; and the catholic unity was explained or exposed in a formal treatise by the indifference of three distinct though consensual persons. For the benefit of his Latin readers, his genius submitted to teach the first elements of the arts and sciences of Greece. The geometry of Euclid, the music of Pythagoras, the mathematic of Neumachus, the conclusions of Archimedes, the astronomy of Ptolemy, the theology of Plato, and the logic of Aristotle, with the commentary of Porphyry, were translated and illustrated by the indefatigable pen of the Roman senator. And he alone was esteemed capable of describing the wonders of the whole universe, of water-craft, and water-cinema, as a mathematical representation of the motions of the planets. From these abstruse speculations, Boethius stooped, or, to speak more truly, he rose, to the social duties of public and private life: the indulgent were relieved by his liberality; and his mildness, which never ascended to the voice of Democrates or Cicero, was uniformly exerted in the cause of innocence and humanity. Such conspicuous merit was felt and rewarded by a discerning prince; the dignity of Boethius was adorned by the titles of consul and patrician, and his talents were usefully employed in the important stations of master of the offices. Notwithstanding the equal claims of the east and west, his two sons were created, in their tender youth, the consuls of the same year. On the memorable day of their inauguration, they proceeded in solemn pomp from their palace to the forum, and the consular and patrician titles, and their joyful father, the true consul of Rome, after pronouncing an oration in the praise of his royal benefactor, distributed a triumphal largess in the games of the circus. Prosperous in his fame and fortunes, in his public honours and private alliances, in the cultivation of learning and the arts of war, Boethius might have been styled happy, if that precious epithet could be safely applied before the last term of the life of man.

His patriotism. A philosopher, liberal of his wealth and munificent in his largesse, was always insensible to the common allurements of ambition, the thirst of gold and employment. And some credit may be due to the asseveration of Boethius, that he had reluctantly obeyed the divine Plato, who enjoins every virtuous citizen to rescue the state from the usurpation of vice and ignorance. For the integrity of his public conduct he appeals to the memory of his country. His authority had restrained the pride and oppression of the royal officers, and his eloquence had delivered Paulinus from the dogs of the palace. He had always thwarted the efforts of rapine and injustice; whose fortunes were exhausted by public and private rapine; and Boethius alone had courage to oppose the tyranny of the barbarians, elated by conquest, excited by avarice, and, as he complains, encouraged by impunity. In these honourable contests, his spirit shone forth above the sentiment of danger, and public prudence; and we may learn from the example of Cato, that a character of pure and inflexible virtue is the most apt to be misled by prejudice, to be heated by enthusiasm, and to confound private enmities with public justice. The disciple of Plato might exaggerate the infirmities of nature, and the impurity of his society; and the mildest form of a Gothic kingdom, even the weight of allegiance and gratitude, must be insupportable to the free spirit of a Roman patriot. But the favour and fidelity of Boethius declined in just proportion with the public happiness; and an unmerited charge was imposed, to divide and control the power of the master of the offices. In the last gloomy season of Theodoric, he indignantly felt that he was a slave; but as his master had only power over his life, he stood without arms and without fear against the face of an angry barbarian, who had been accused of complicity in the rape and murder of his own incompatible with his own. The senate—He is accused of treason. Boethius was accused and already convicted on the presumption of hoping, as it was said, the liberty of Rome. "If Albinus be criminal," explained the senator, "it is manifest that the same action, committed by a Roman citizen, is criminal to the same extent. If we are innocent, Albinus is equally entitled to the protection of the laws." These laws might not have punished the simple and barren wish of an unattainable blessing; but they would have shown less indulgence to the rash confession of Boethius, that he had been a Roman citizen, as a member of the senatorial body, for the hundred miles, pronounced a sentence of confiscation and death against the most illustrious of its members. At the command of the barbarians, the occult science of a philosopher was stigmatized with the names of saecrilege and magic. A devout and dutiful attachment to the senator was condemned as criminal by the trembling voices of the senators themselves; and their ingratitude deserved the wish or prediction of Boethius, that, after him, none should be found guilty of the same offence.

While Boethius was oppressed with fetters, his imprisoners, every day, denounced the sentence as unjust, or the stroke of death, he composed in the tower of Pavia the Consolation of Philosophy; a

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7 The Athenian studies of Boethius are doubtful (Barrowa, A. D. 510, No. 3, from a curious tract, De Disciplinis Scholomorum) and the term of eighteen years is doubtful too; but the single fact of a visit to Athens is justified by much internal evidence, (Brucker, Hist. Crit. Philosoph., tom. iii. p. 231-237) and by an expression (copious and ambiguous) of his friend Cassiodorus, (Var. ix. 32.) "Iamque pueros Athenam intravit." 

8 De variis operibus, lib. ii. cap. ii. et iii. The character of his two doctors, Basilus (Var. ii. 10. lii. 22.) and Opius, (ib. viii. 163.) is illustrated, not much to their honour, by the Epitome of Boethius, in which (p. 33.) the worthless colleague of Boethius, (ib. iv. 4. 180.) is described (p. 14.) as "indulging the professed ambition of the professor who enjoyed in his own times. It is true, that the bishop of Paris wanted to purchase of him an old house of Julian, and he might be tempted in particular by payment of the price.

9 The evidence, &c. are agreed that Boethius himself was consul in the year 510, his two sons in 522, and in 457, perhaps, his father. If Albinus, in the year 525, had perished, the bishop of Rome had perished the chronology of his life. In his honours, alliances, childhood, he celebrates his own felicity; (past history, p. 169.)
golden volume, not unworthy of the leisure of Plato or Tully, but which claims incomparable merit from the barbarism of the times and the situation of the author. The celestial guide, whom he had so long in search of her gifts; experience had illumined his dungeon, to revive his courage, and to pour into his wounds her salutary balm. She taught him to compare his long prosperity and his recent distress, and to conceive new hopes from the inconsistency of fortune. Reason had informed him of the prerogatives condition of her gifts: experience had satisfied him of their real value; he had enjoyed them without guilt; he might resign them without a sigh, and calmly disdain the impotent malice of his enemies, who had left him happy, since they had left him virtue. From the earth, Boethius ascended to heaven in search of the supreme omen; explored the metaphysical labyrinth of chance and destiny, of prescience and free-will, of time and eternity; and generously attempted to reconcile the perfect attributes of the Deity with the apparent disorders of his moral and physical government. Such topics of consolation to obvious passions, or so abstruse, are treacherous to subdue the feelings of human nature. Yet the sense of misfortune may be diverted by the labour of thought; and the sage who could artfully combine in the same work the various riches of philosophy, poetry, and eloquence, must already have possessed a sort of happiness, if he had been capable of little else. In this sense, the worst of evils, was at length determined by the ministers of death, who executed, and perhaps exceeded, the inhuman mandate of Theodoric. A strong cord was fastened round the head of Boethius, and forcibly tightened, till his eyes almost started from their beds, and some mercy may have been spared him as the milder torture of beating him with clubs till he expired. But his genius survived to diffuse a ray of knowledge over the darkest ages of the Latin world; the writings of the philosopher were translated by the most glorious of the English kings, and the third emperor of the name of Otho removed to a more honourable tomb the bones of a catholic saint, who, from his Arian persecutors, had acquired the honours of martyrdom, and the fame of miracles. In the last hours of Boethius, he derived some comfort from the safety of his two sons, of his wife, and of his two daughters. A curious inscription, containing the grief of Symmachus was inscribed and perhaps disrespectful: he had presumed to lament, he might dare to revenge, the death of an injured friend. He was dragged in chains from Rome to the palace of Ravenna; and the suspicions of Theodoric could only be opposed by the blood of an innocent and aged senator.1

Humanity will be disposed to encourage any report which testifies the jurisdiction of conscience and the remorse of kings; and philosophy is not ignorant of the most horrid spectres are sometimes created by the powers of a disordered fancy, and the weakness of a distempered body. After a life of virtue and glory, Theodoric was now descending with shame and guilt into the grave: his mind was plunged into despair, and justly alarmed by the invisible terrors of futurity. One evening, as it is related, when the head of a large fish was served on the royal table,2 he suddenly exclaimed that he beheld the angry countenance of Symmachus, his eyes glaring fury and revenge, and his mouth as though he would have plucked him by the hair to devour him. The monarch instantly retired to his chamber, and as he lay, trembling with aguish cold, under a weight of bed-clothes, he expressed in broken murmurs to his physician Epilius, his deep repentance for the murders of Boethius and Symmachus.3 His malady increased, and after a dysentery which continued three days, he expired in the palace of Ravenna, in the thirty-third of, if we compute from the invasion of Italy, in the thirty-seventh year of his reign. Conscious of his approaching end, he divided his treasures and provinces between his son-in-law and the brothers of his wife, and fixed them as their common boundary.4 Analaric was restored to the throne of Spain. Italy, with all the conquests of the Ostrogoths, was bequeathed to Athalaric; whose age did not exceed ten years, but who was cherished as the last male offspring of the line of Amal, and the chief inheritor of the dominion of the Ostrogoths, with a royal fugitive of the same blood.5 In the pre-ence of the dying monarch, the Gothic chiefs and Italian magistrates mutually engaged their faith and loyalty to the young prince, and to his guardian mother; and received, in the same awful moment, his last salutary advice, to maintain the laws, to love the senate and people of Rome, and to cultivate with due reverence the friendship of the emperor.6 The monument of Theodoric was erected by his daughter Amalasuntha, in a conspicuous situation, which commanded the city of Ravenna, the harbour, and the adjacent coast. A chapel of a circular form, thirty feet in diameter, is crowned by a dome of one entire piece of granite: from the centre of the dome, four columns arose, which supported, in a vase of porphyry, the remains of the Gothic king, surrounded by the brazen statues of the twelve apostles.7 His spirit, after some time had elapsed, was raised on high by a close, indelible relation to the benefactors of mankind, if an Italian hermit had not been witness in a vision to the damnation of Theodoric,8 whose soul was plunged, by the ministers of divine vengeance, into the volcano of Lipari, one of the flaming mouths of the infernal world.9

1 He was executed in Agro Calvianum, Calvianum, between Blenium and Parma, with edge of the county of Tuscum or Pavia. The place of his confinement is styled the cella sancta, Vol. i. p. 723. His last words were: "the autumn of my years, the hour of my flight, the end of my days, the draught is ready preserved." (Tissot, tom. vii. p. 47, 48, 49.)

2 See the Epigraphia Britannica, Alfred, tom. l. p. 80, 92 ed. The work is still more honourable if performed under the threat of the eye of Afford by his foreign and domestic doctors. For the reputation of 13 centuries, consult Breucker, Hist. Crit. Philoso, toms. iii. l. 595, 596.

3 The inscription on his new tomb was composed by the preceptors of the school of Pope Silvester. His name, Calvenzanus, by himself, was styled a magician by the conscience of the times. The inscription in the Latin, Homo et filius, the Greek, Ρέγγενη ερήμηταν συναγωγής: (abort. Chron. p. 721, ed. Grot.)-Beatmont, the translator, wrote not a voice in his account of the event, that Symmachus, had retired into Spain, where he lived and died in obscurity, (Gantherius, c. 33.) He has not preserved it, of the discovery, capture, and death, of his grandson Eucharis. (p. 230.) His Roman games might render him popular, (Casiodor. in Chron.,) but Eucharis was agreeable in religiosity, (Casiodor. in Chron.)

4 See the counsels of Cassiodorus, and the professions of his successor, Procopius, (Chron. p. 38, 220, 221.)

5 The same event is related of his ministerial eloquence. (Anonym. Valer. 24. 123.)


7 This legend is related by Gregory I. (Dialog, iv. 36.) and approved by Romani; (A. D. 596, No. 258) and both the pope and cardinal are esteemed good doctors, although they are grave doctors, (ibid.)

8 Theodoric, himself, or rather Cassiodorus, had described in tragic fragment the Valkyres of Lipari, (Cluvier, Sicilia, p. 96-110) and Vesuvius, (iv. 29.)

**THE END OF VOL. I.**
GUIZOT'S GIBBON.

HISTORY

OF

THE DECLINE AND FALL

OF THE

ROMAN EMPIRE.

BY EDWARD GIBBON, ESQ.

A NEW EDITION REVISED AND CORRECTED THROUGHOUT, PRECEDED BY A PREFACE, AND ACCOMPANIED BY NOTES, CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL, RELATING PRINCIPALLY TO THE PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY:

BY M. F. GUIZOT,
MINISTER OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION FOR THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE.

THE PREFACE, NOTES AND CORRECTIONS, TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH EXPRESSLY FOR THIS EDITION.

WITH

A NOTICE OF THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF GIBBON,

AND

WATSON'S REPLY TO GIBBON.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

CINCINNATI:
STEREOTYPED AND PUBLISHED BY J. A. JAMES.

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CHAPTER VII.

Colonies of Persia after the death of Charaxes or Naxaeus.—Chosroes the founder of the great or first. His spiritual and temporal government. The state of Rome.

CHAPTER VIII.


CHAPTER I.


The emperor Justinian was born near the ruins of Sardica, (the modern Sophia,) of an obscure race of barbians, the inhabitants of a wild and distant country, to which the names of Dardania, of Dacia, and of Bulgaria, have been successively applied. His elevation was prepared by the adventurous spirit of his uncle Justin, who, with two other peers of the same village, deserted, for the profession of arms, the more useful employment of husbandmen or shepherds. On foot, with a scanty provision of biscuit in their knapsacks, the three youths followed the high road of Constantinople, and were soon enrolled, for their strength and stature, among the guards of the emperor Leo. Under the two succeeding reigns, the fortunate peasant emerged to wealth and honours; and his escape from some dangers which threatened his life, was afterwards ascribed to the guardian angel who watches over the fate of kings. His long and laborious service in the Iberian and Persian wars would not have preserved from obliteration, the name, or the general, the dignity of senator, and the command of the guards, who obeyed him as their chief, at the important crisis when the emperor Anastasius was removed from the world. The powerful kinsmen whom he had raised and enriched were excluded from the throne; and the emperor Anastasius, who reigned in the palace, had secretly resolved, to fix the chasm on the head of the most obsequious of his creatures. A liberal donation, to conciliate the suffrage of the guards, was intrusted for that purpose in the hands of their commander. But these weighty arguments were strenuously employed by Justin in his own favour; and as no competitor presumed to appear, the Dacian peasant was invested with the purple, by the unanimous consent of the soldiers, who knew him to be brave and gentle, of the clergy and people, who believed him to be orthodox, and of the provincials, who yielded a blind and implicit submission to the will of the capital. The elder Justin, as he is distinguished from another emperor of the same family and name, ascended the Byzantine throne at the age of sixty-eight years; and, had he been left to his own guidance, every moment of a nine years' reign must have exposed to his subjects the impiety of their choice. His ignorance was similar to that of Theodosius; and it is remarkable, that in an age not destitute of learning, two contemporary monarchs had never been instructed in the knowledge of the alphabet. But the genius of Justin was far inferior to that of the Gothic king: the experience of a soldier had not qualified him for the government of an empire; and, though personally brave, the consciousness of his own weakness was naturally attended with doubt, distrust, and political apprehension. But the official business of the state was diligently and faithfully transacted by the qvarst Procles; and the aged emperor adopted the talents and ambition of his nephew Justinian, an aspiring youth, whom his uncle had drawn from the rustic solitude of Dacia, and educated at Constantinople, as the heir of his private fortune, and at length of the eastern empire.

Since the council Amantius had been deprived of his money, it became necessary to deprive him of his life. The task was easily accomplished by the charge of a real or fictitious conspiracy; and the judges were informed, as an accumulation of guilt, that he was secretly addicted to the Manichean heresy. Amantius lost his head; three of his companions, the first domestics of the palace, were punished either with death or exile; and their unfortunate candidate for the purple was cast into a deep dungeon, overhelmed with stones, and ignominiously thrown, without burial, into the sea. The ruin of Vitalian was a work of more difficulty and danger. That Gothic chief had rendered himself

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1 There is some difficulty in the date of his birth; (Ludovici in Vit. Justiniani, p. 132.)—now in the place—the district Bederians—the village Taurencium, which he afterwards decorated with his name and splendour. (D'Anville, Hist. de l'Allem. &c. tom. xxxix. p. 266-272.)

2 The names of these Dardanian poets are Gothic, and almost English. Justinian is a transliteration of jozefax uskofa. His father Sebastas, (in Grceo-barbarous language, tepes,) was styled in his native Bedek (Sbock); his mother Brictayras was named into Vagianta.

3 Ludovici (p. 137—135.) attempts to justify the Allison name of Justinian and Theodora, and to connect them with a family from which the house of Anicia has been derived.

4 See the Anecdotes of Procopian, (c. 6,) with the notes of N. Allemanus. The satirist would not have sunk, in the vague and decent appellation of, 'the emperor, and successor of Zeno.' Yet why are these names disgraceful—and what German baron would not be proud to descend from the Romans of the Odyssey! His virtues are praised by Procopius, (Hist. 1. 4. c. 11.) The emperor Procles was the friend of Justinian, and the enemy of every other adoption.

5 Manichean signifies Eutychian. Hear the curious accounts of Constantineople and Tyre, the former no more than six days after the decease of Amantius. They produce d, the latter appealed d, the council's death. (Chronicon, A.D. 518, P. ii. No. 15.) But Exci- tes, soc. vii. p. 200. 250. from the Councils, tom. v. p. 152, 257.)

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popular by the civil war which he boldly waged against Anastasius for the defence of the orthodox faith and after the conclusion of peace in the advanta-
ged treaty, he still remained in the neighbourhood of Con-
stantinople at the head of a formidable and victorious army of barbarians. By the frail security of oaths, he was tempted to relinquish this advantageous situa-
tion, and to trust his personal influence and the wealth of a city, which he seems to have particularly the less fortu-
artfully incensed against him by the remembrance even of his pious hostilities. The emperor and his nephew embraced him as the faithful and worthy champion of the church and state; and gratefully adhered to their favourite ally in the course of events; but in the seventh month of his consulate, Vitalian was stab-
bbed with seventeen wounds at the royal banquet; and Justinian, who inherited the spoil, was accused as the assassin of a spiritual brother, to whom he had re-
cently pledged his faith in the participation of the christian mysteries. After the fall of his rival, he was promoted, without any claim of military service, to the office of master-regent of the eastern armies, when it was his duty to head into the field against the public enemy. But, in the pursuit of fame, Justinian might have lost his present dominion over the age and wealth of the world for the desire of acquiring a new Sevillian or Persian trophies the applause of his coun-
trymen, the prudent warrior solicited their favour in the churches, the circus, and the senate, of Constantin-
ople. The catholics were attached to the nephew of Justin, who, between the Nestorian and the Eutychian heresy, taught the doctrine of a flexible and intoler-
ant orthodoxy. In the first days of the new reign, he prompted and gratified the popular enthusiasm against the memory of the deceased emperor. After a schism of thirty-four years, he reconciled the proud and angry spirit of the Roman senate, and repeated among his prescious posterity a favourable report of his pious respect for the apostolic see. The thrones of the east were filled with catholic bishops devoted to his interest, the clergy and the monks were gained by his liberality, and the people were taught to pray for their future sovereign. The magnificence of Justinian was displayed in the superior pomp of his public spectacles, an object not less sacred and important in the eyes of the multitude than the creed of Nice or Chalcedon: the expense of his consulate was esteemed at two hundred mil-
sions of gold; two thousand one hundred seventy lions, and thirty leopards, were produced at the same time in the amphitheatre, and a numerous train of horses, with their rich trappings, was bestowed as an extraordinary gift on the victorious charioteers of the circus. While he indulged the people of Constantin-
ople, and received the addresses of foreign kings, the nephew of Justin assiduously cultivated the friendship of the senate. That venerable name seemed to qualify its members to declare the sense of the nation, and to regulate the succession of the imperial throne: the feeble Anastasius had permitted the vigour of government to degenerate into the form or substance of an aristocracy; and the military officers who had obtained the senatorial rank, were followed by their domestic guards, a band of veterans, whose arms of
his contemporaries; but, although he respectfully laid them at the foot of the throne, the pride of Justinian must have been wounded by the praise of a hero, who, at a banquet, had left three whole courses of wine unthirsted. The contempt of the sovereign. The conscious dignity of independence was subdued by the hopes and fears of a slave; and the secretary of Belisarius laboured for pardon and reward in the six books of the imperial edicts. He had dexterously chosen a subject of apparent splendour, and had said, loud and clear, that the Resurrection of the dead is alluded to, the magnificence, and the piety of a prince, who, both as a conqueror and a legislator, had surpassed the puerile virtues of Themistocles and Cyrus. Disappointment might urge the flatterer to secret revenge; and the first glance of favour might again tempt him to the vanity of their triumph, and to the truth. Justinian's edicts were founded on various materials. I shall now proceed to describe the reign of Justinian, which will deserve and occupy an ample space. The present chapter will explain the division of the realm of Justinian, and the faithful administration of the sovereign of the east. In the three succeeding chapters, I shall relate the wars of Justinian which achieved the conquest of Africa and Italy; and I shall follow the victories of Belisarius and Narses, without disguising the danger of their triumph, and the vanity of the Persian and Gothic heroes. The series of this and the following volume will embrace the jurisprudence and theology of the empire; the controversies and sects which still divide the oriental church; the reformation of the Roman law, which is obscure or respected by the nations of modern Europe.

Birth and vices of the empress Theodora.

Anecdote. 3. The Greek text was not printed till 1607, by Hesychius Basilius (Codex de Graeff, t. p. 4.); and this edition was imperfectly executed by Claude Malet, a Jesuit of Constantinople, in 1650, for distant from the Louvre presses and the Vatican MSS., from which, however, he obtained some supplements. His commentary, &c., have never appeared. The Anacharsis of Leyden (1559) has been widely reprinted by the Paris editor, with the Latin version of Bonaventura Vianus, a learned interpreter. (Her. P. viii. 4.)


Archias discourses himself, (Prout, ad Anachars. c. 1. 2. 5.) and the anecdotists are reckoned by the ninth book by Solinor, tom. i. p. 196, ed. Kueser. The silence of Evagrius is a poor objection. Basilides (A. 514. N. 24.) regrets the loss of his secret history; it was then in the Vatican library, in his own custody, and was only published sixteen years after his death, with the learned, but partial, notes of Palmas, and Arcadius. (Lond. 1721.)

Justinian an artist—debonair—disobedient—description of his person—his pleasures—his character—description of his court—his intrigues—his dissolution—his character—his vices—his crimes—his different parts of his character—his willfulness—his pride—his cruelty—his dissipation—his repugnancy—his weakness—his cruelty—his different parts of his character—his willfulness—his pride—his cruelty—his dissipation—his repugnancy—his weakness—his cruelty—his dissipation—his repugnancy—his weakness—his cruelty—his dissipation—his repugnancy—his weakness—his cruelty—his dissipation—his repugnancy—his weakness.
nature: but her marmurs, her pleasures, and her arts, must be veiled in the obscurity of a learned language. After reigning for some time the delight and content of the capital, she condescended to accompany Eecbolus, a native of Tyre, who placed her in the government of the African Pentapolis. But this union was frail and transient: Eecbolus soon rejected an expensive or faithless concubine; she was reduced at Alexandria to extreme distress; and in her laborious return to Constantinople, every city of the east admired and enjoyed the sight of a Cyproit, who afterwards resolved to justify her descent from the peculiar island of Venus. The vague commerce of Theodora, and the detestable precautions, preserved her from the danger which she feared; yet once, and once only, she became a mother. The infant was saved and educated in Arabia, by his father, who imparted to him on his deathbed, that he was the son of an empress. Filled with ambitious hopes, the unsuspecting youth immediately hastened to the palace of Constantinople, and was admitted to the presence of his mother. As he was never more seen, even after the decease of Theodora, she deserves the foul imputation of extinguishing with his life a secret so offensive to her imperial virtue.

Her marriage with Justinian.

For six years she lingered, and at length proffered to Theodora the pleasing assurance that she was determined to become the spouse of a potent monarch. Conscious of her approaching greatness, she returned from Paphlagonia to Constantinople; assummed, like a skilful actress, a most admirable character, relieved her poverty by the landable industry of spinning wool; and affected a life of chastity and solitude in a small house, which she afterwards changed into a magnificent temple. Her beauty, assisted by art or accident, soon attracted, captivated, and fixed the fancy of Justinian, who also resolved to absolute sway under the name of his uncle. Perhaps she contrived to enhance the value of a gift which she had so often lavished on the meanest of mankind: perhaps she inflamed, at first by modest delays, and at last by temporal allurements, the desires of a lover, who was accustomed to dispose of his prerogatives and vices, and to maintain them at the expense of his guests. She found in Justinian a partner, who, by absolute power, could gratify every passion of Theodora, and she obtained vast treasures of the east and a large sum in cash. But her beauty was only capable of inferring the happiness of future years, and she was determined to share the throne; and as she obtained the rank in the court, the empress, Theodora, in her old age, retired to Paphlagonia, where she died a pious and a happy woman.

The reign of Justinian.

The most abject state of her fortune and reputation, some visions, especially during her imprisonment, are ascribed to the spirit of her mother. She always observed a gentle and a modest deportment, and was not calculated to excite envy or detraction. She was not always happy in the choice of those around her, and was often the object of her husband's suspicions. They lived as a happy family till the disgrace and death of Theodora, when Justinian resolved not to lose her carelessness in the course of her married life. She was a queen in the same city, by grave magistrates, orthodox bishops, victorious generals, and captive monarchs.

These who believe that the female mind is totally depraved by the loss of chastity, will eagerly listen to all the invectives of private envy or popular resentment. It is said that Justinian was a spirit of necessity, and that he had promised to the widow of Theodora, exaggerated her views, and condescended with rigour the penal or voluntary sins of the youthful harlot. From a motive of shame, or contempt, she often declined the servile homage of the multitude, escaped from the odious sight of the capital, and passed the greatest part of the year in the palaces and gardens which were pleasantly seated on the sea-coast of the Propontis and the Bosphorus. Her private hours were devoted to the prudent as well as grateful care of her beauty, the luxury of the bath and table, and the long slumber of the evening and the morning. Her secret apartments were occupied by the favourite women and concubines, whose interests and passions she indulged at the expense of justice; the illustrious personages of the state were crowded into a dark and sullen antechamber, and when at last, after a sedentary confinement of thirty years, she was admitted to the foot of Theodora, they experienced, as her humour might suggest, the silent arrogance of an empress, or the capricious levity of a comedian. Her rapacious avarice to accumulate an immense treasury, may be ascribed to the division of the empire, to the odour of the capital, and to the immensity of her fortune. It is not improbable that she might desire the law to be changed for her own advantage; and that she might make use of the sentence it had pronounced against her mother, to obtain the benefit of her property. She was, without scruples, even to her softest vices, left an indelible stain on the memory of Theodora. Her numerous spies observed, and zealously reported, every action, word, or look, injurious to her royal mistress. Whomsoever they accused were cast into her peculiar prisons, inaccessible to the inquiries of justice: and it was rumoured, that the torture of the rack, or scourge, had been
influenced in the presence of a female tyrant, insensible to the voice of prayer or of pity. Some of these unhappy victims perished in deep unwholesome dungeons, others were educated after the loss of their limbs, their reason, or their fortune; and appear to the world the living monuments of their vengeance, which was commonly extended to the children of those whom she had suspected or injured. The senator, or bishop, whose death or exile Theodora had pronounced, was delivered to a trusty messenger, and his diligence was rewarded by a menace from her own mouth: "If you fail in the execution of my commands, I swear by him who liveth forever, that your skin shall be flayed from your body." 1

If the creed of Theodora had not been tainted with heresy, her exemplary devotion might have atoned, in the opinion of her contemporaries, for pride, avarice, and cruelty. But, if she employed her influence to assuage the intolerable fury of the emperor, the present age will allow some merit to her religion, and much indulgence to her speculative errors. 2 The adoration of Theodora was introduced, with equal honour, in all the principal Christian foundations of Justinian; and the most benevolent institutions of his reign may be ascribed to the sympathies of the empress for her less fortunate sisters, who had been seduced or compelled to embrace the true faith. The empress, with the munificence of the Bosphorus, was converted into a stately and spacious monastery, and a liberal maintenance was assigned to five hundred women, who had been collected from the streets and brothels of Constantinople. In this safe and holy retreat, they were devoted to perpetual meditation; and the despair of some, who threw themselves headlong into the sea, was lost in the gratitude of the penitents, who had been delivered from sin and misery by their generous benefactress. 3 The prudence of Theodora is celebrated by Justinian himself; and his laws are attributed to the sage counsels of her most revered mother, whom he had received as the gift of the deity. 4 Her courage was displayed amidst the tumult of the people and the terrors of the court. Her charity, from the moment of her union with Justinian, is founded on the silence of her implacable enemies; and, although the daughter of Aca- cius vigilius, who, according to this disappoint- ment, her dominion was permanent and absolute; she preserved, by art or merit, the affections of Justinian; and their seeming dissensions were always fatal to the courtiers who believed them to be sincere. Perhaps her health had been impaired by the licentiousness of her youth; but it was always delicate, and she was directed by her physicians to use the Pythian warm baths. In this journey, the empress was followed by the Praetorian prefect, the great treasurer, several counts and patricians, and a splendid train of four thousand attendants; the highways were repaired at her approach; a palace was erected for her reception; and as she passed through Bithynia, she distributed liberal alms to the churches, the monasteries, and the hospitals, that they might implore heaven for the restoration of her life. 5

The fictions of most eminent of the Greeks were actors, the Romans were merely spectators. The Olympic stadium was open to wealth, merit, and ambition; and if the candidates could depend on their personal skill and activity, they might pursue the footsteps of Diomedes and Meleagrus, and conduct their own horses in the rapid career. 6 Ten, twenty, forty chariots, were allowed to start at the same instant; a crown of leaves was the reward of the victor; and his fame, as that of his family and country, was chanted in lyric strains more durable than monuments of brass and marble. But a senator, or even a citizen, conscious of his dignity, would have blushed to expose his person or his horses in the circus of Rome. The games were exhibited at the expense of the republic, and the emperors as magistrates sacrificed their number to the passion of the populace, whose drivers were distinguished by white and red liveries; two additional colours, a light green, and a cerulean blue, were afterwards introduced; and, as the races were repeated twenty-five times, one hundred chariots contributed in the same day to the pomp of the circus. The four faces of the steeds, dappled in the element of life, and the green and blue was supposed to represent the conflict of the earth and sea. Their respective victories announced either a plentiful harvest or a prosperous navigation, and the hostility of the husbandmen and mariners was somewhat less absurd than the blind ambition of the emperors. The prizes were centuries; and the empress was rewarded with the whole riches and fortunes to the colour which they had espoused. Such folly was disdained and indulged by the wisest princes; but the names of Caligula, Nero, Vitellius, Carus, Commodus, Caracalla, and Elagabalus, were enrolled in the blue or green factions of the circus; they fre-

1 A more careful whipping was inflicted on Saturninus, for presuming to say that his wife, a favourite of the empress, had not been for a long time a virgin. 2 Per viventem in sacra exorari te faciam. Anastasius de Visita Pont., tom. ii. p. 176. 3 Ludwigi, p. 181—186. I give him credit for the charitable at- tempts, although he hath not much charity in his temper. 4 Compare the Appendix (p. 177) with the Edinburg. (G. I. c. 2.) How differently may the same fact be stated! John Malalas (Com. ii. p. 174, 175) in his History of the Emperor Diocletian, says: "When this emperor was both fat and ugly, he clothed the girls whom he had purchased from the stews at five au-

5 Nov. viii. 1. An allusion to Theodora. Her enemies read the name Darmonomus, (Aleman. p. 65.) 6 Baboe refused to pray for a son of Theodora, lest he should prove an heretic worse than Anastasius himself. (Cyril in Vit. St. Sab- be, apud Aleman. p. 70. 109.)
THE DECLINE AND FALL

Chapter I

THEIR dexterity would always inflict a mortal wound with a single stroke of their dagger. The dissolute youth of Constantinople adopted the blue livery of disorder; the laws were silent, and the bonds of society were rent; justice was compelled to resign its obligations; judges to reverse their sentence; masters to enfranchise their slaves; fathers to supply the extravagance of their children; noble matrons were prostituted to the lust of their servants; the most beautiful plate from the arms of their mistresses; and wives, unless they preferred a voluntary death, were ravished in the presence of their husbands. The despair of the greens, who were persecuted by their enemies, and deserted by the magistrate, assumed the privilege of defence, perhaps of retaliation; but who survived the combat were dragged to execution, and the unhappy fugitives, escaping to woods and caverns, preyed without mercy on the society from whence they were expelled. Those ministers of justice, who had courage to punish the crimes, and to brave the resentment, of the blues, became the victims of their indiscreet zeal; a prefect of Constantinople fled for refuge to the holy sepulchre, a count of the east was ignominiously whipped, and a governor of Cilicia was hanged, by the order of Theodora, on the tomb of two assassins whom he had condemned for the murder of his grandson, and a daring attack upon his own life. An aspiring candidate may be tempted to build his greatness on the public confusion, but it is the interest as well as duty of a sovereign to maintain the authority of the laws. The first edict of Justinian, which was often repeated, and sometimes executed, amounted to his first resolution to support the innocent, and to chastise the guilty, of every denomination and colour. Yet the balance of justice was still inclined in favour of the blue faction, by the secret affection, the habits, and the fears of the emperor; his equity, after an apparent struggle, submitted, without reluctance, to the decisions of Theodora, and the emperor never forgot, or forgave, the injuries of the comedian. At the accession of the younger Justin, the proclamation of equal and inviolate justice indirectly condemned the partiality of the former reigns. Ye blues, Justinian is no more! ye greens, he is still alive!'

A sedition, which almost laid Constantinople in ashes, was excited by the mutual hatred and momentary reconciliation of the two factions. In the fifth year of the reign of Justinian, the celebration of the festival of the ides of January: the games were incessantly disturbed by the clamorous discontent of the greens: till the twenty-second race, the emperor maintained his silent gravity; at length, yielding to his impatience, he condescended to hold, in abrupt sentences, and by the voice of a crier, the most singular dialogue that ever passed between a prince and his subjects. Their first complaints were respectful and modest; they accused the subordinate ministers of oppression, and proclaimed their wishes for the long life and victory of the emperor. Be it so, ye insolent raleers!' exclaimed Justinian: 'be mute, ye Jews, Samaritans, and Manicheans.' The greens still attempted to awaken his compassion. 'We

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Footnotes:

1 A wife (says Procopius) who was seized and almost ravished by a blue, and in consequence went into the Boazaar, the chief market of Syria (Alaman, p. 252) to deplore a similar suicide, the guilt or innocence of the female is left to the reader of Constantine the Great, ii. 52.

2 The doubtful credit of Procopius (Anecd. c. 17) is supported by some learned commentators, who, however, do not confirm the facts, and specify the names. The tragic fate of the persecuted of Constantinople is relating by John Malalas. (Ann. ii. 129.)

3 See Gregory the Great, Hist. eccl., i. 29. (p. 324.)

4 See John Malalas. (Ann. ii. 127.) Yet he owns that Justinian was attached to the blues. The seeming diocese of the emperor and Theodora is, in part, supported by the same work, p. 131, which with too much licence, authorizes this passage from Gregory Nazianzen, which proves the invincibility of the evil.

5 See Evagrius, (Hist. eccl., i. c. 22.) John Malalas. (Comm. ii. p. 136, 139) especially for Antioch and Theophrastus. (p. 112.)
are poor, we are innocent, we are injured, we dare not pass through the streets: a general persecution is exercised against our name and colour. Let us die, O emperor! but let us die by your command, and for your service 1. But the repetition of partial and inconstant censures, and the success of dangers, blunted their rage; the majesty of the purple; they renounced allegiance to the prince who refused justice to his people; lamented that the father of Justinian had been born; and branded his son with the obprobrious names of a homicide, an ass, and a pejured tyrant. 2 Do you desire four lives? 3 cried the indignant monarch; the blues rose with fury from their seats; their hostile clamours thundered in the hippodrome; and their adversaries, deserting the unequal contest, spread terror and despair through the streets of Constantinople. At this dangerous moment, seven notorious assassins of both factions, who had been condemned by the prefect, were carried round the city, and afterwards transported to the place of execution in the suburb of Pea. Four were immediately beheaded; a fifth was hanged: but when the same punishment was inflicted on the remaining two, the rope broke, they fell alive to the ground, and were afterwards consumed by the monks of St. Conon, issuing from the neighbouring convent, conveyed them in a boat to the sanctuary of the church. 4 As one of these criminals was of the blue and the other of the green livery, the two factions were equally provoked by the cruelty of the oppressor. The insurrection was concluded till they had delivered their prisoners, and satisfied their revenge. The palace of the prefect, who withstood the seditious torrent, was instantly burnt, his officers and guards were massacred, the prisons were forced open, and freedom was restored to those who chose voluntary death in the Hippodrome. A military force, which had been despatched to the aid of the civil magistrate, was fiercely encountered by an armed multitude, whose numbers and boldness continually increased; and the Heruli, the wildest barbarians in the service of the empire, overturned the priests and their relics, which, from a pious motive, had been rashly interposed to separate the bloody conflict. The tumult was exasperated by this sacrilege, the people fought with enthusiasm in the cause of God; the women, from the roofs and windows, showered stones on the heads of the pre-bracedites against the houses; and the furious flames, which had been kindled by the hands of citizens and strangers, spread without control over the face of the city. The conflagration involved the cathedral of St. Sophia, the baths of Zeuxippus, a part of the palace, from the first entrance to the altar of Mars, and the long porticoes from the palace to the forum of Constantine: a large hospital, with the sick patients, was consumed; many churches and stately edifices were destroyed, and an immense treasure of gold and silver was either melted or lost. From such scenes of horror and distress, the wise and wealthy citizens escaped over the Bosphorus to the Asiatic side; and during five days Constanti- 
ple was abandoned to the factions, whose watch-word, Nika, vanglish! has given a name to this memorable ad- 

1 See this church and monastery in Durange, C. P. Christiana, 1. iv. p. 152. 
3 This is the maxim of antiquity, that the throne is a glorious sepulchre." 
4 The firmness of a woman restored the courage to deliberate and act, and courage soon discovers the resources which depend upon a prudent discretion. In the midst of the most desperate situation. It was an easy and decisive measure to revive the animosity of the factions: the blues were astonished at their own guilt and folly, that a rifling injury should provoke them to conspire with their implacable enemies against a gracious and liberal benefactor; they again The sedition is represented by the authority of Justinian himself, who, according to the greens with their upright emperor, were left alone in the hippodrome. The fidelity of the guards was doubtful; but the military force of Justinian consisted in three thousand veterans, who had been trained to valour and discipline in the Persian and Illyrian wars. Under the command of Belisarius and Mundus, they they were heard with respect when the city was in flames; the questor, and the prefect, were instantly removed, and their offices were filled by two senators of blameless integrity. After this popular concession, Justinian proceeded to the hippodrome to confess his errors, and to pacify the sense of his unfortunate subjects; but they distrusted his assurances, though solemnly pronounced in the presence of the holy gos- pels; and the emperor, alarmed by their distrust, re- treated with precipitation to the strong fortress of the palace. The obstinacy of the tumult was now impetuous to a secret and active machination. It was entertained that the insurgents, more especially the green faction, had been supplied with arms and money by Hypatius and Pompey, two patricians, who could neither forget with honour, nor remember with safety, that they were the nephews of the emperor Anastasius. Cappledrosey, disgrace, and pardoned, by the jealousy of the monarch, they had appeared as loyal servants before the throne; and, dur- ing five days of the tumult, they were detained as impor- tant hostages; till at length, the fears of Justinian prevailing over his prudence, he viewed the two broth- ers in the Hippodrome, and sternly commanded them to depart from the palace. After a fruitless representation, that obedience might lead to involuntary treason, they retired to their houses, and in the morning of the sixth day Hypatius was sur- rounded and seized by the people, who, regardless of his virtues, or the imminent danger, expelled his favourite to the forum of Constantine, and instead of a diadem, placed a rich collar on his head. If the usurper, who afterwards pleaded the merit of his delay, had complied with the advice of the sena- te, and urged the fury of the multitude, their first irsuge- rious and fatal measure might have prevented his trembling competitor. The Byzantine palace enjoyed a free communication with the sea; vessels lay ready at the garden stairs; and a secret resolution was al- ready formed, to convey the emperor with his family and treasures to a safe retreat, at some distance from the capital. Justinian was lost, if the prostitute Firmans of Theodore, whom he raised from the theatre had not renounced the timidity, as well as the virtues, of her sex. In the midst of a council where Belisarius was present, Theodora alone displayed the spirit of a hero; and she alone, with the perseverance of her husband, could save the emperor from the imminent danger, and his unworthy fears. If flight," said the consort of Justinian, "were the only means of safety, yet I should disdain to fly. Death is the condition of our birth; but they who have resigned should never survive the loss of dignity and dominion. I implore Heaven, that I may never be seen, not a day, without my diadem and purple; that I may no longer behold the light, when I cease to be saluted with the name of queen. If you resolve, O Caesar! to fly, you have treasures; behold the sea, you have ships; but tremble lest the desire of life should expose you to wretched exile and ignomin- ious death. For my own part, I adhere to the maxim of antiquity, that the throne is a glorious sepulchre." 

The firmness of a woman restored the courage to deliberate and act, and courage soon discovers the resources which depend upon a prudent discretion. In the midst of the most desperate situation. It was an easy and decisive measure to revive the animosity of the factions: the blues were astonished at their own guilt and folly, that a rifling injury should provoke them to conspire with their implacable enemies against a gracious and liberal benefactor; they again The sedition is represented by the authority of Justinian himself, who, according to the greens with their upright emperor, were left alone in the hippodrome. The fidelity of the guards was doubtful; but the military force of Justinian consisted in three thousand veterans, who had been trained to valour and discipline in the Persian and Illyrian wars. Under the command of Belisarius and Mundus, they
The Decline and Fall

I

silently marched in two divisions from the palace, forced their obscure way through narrow passages, expiring flames, and falling edifices, and burst open at the same moment the two opposite gates of the hippodrome, at the same time as the frenzied and frightened crowd was incapable of resisting on either side a firm and regular attack; the blues signalized the fury of their repentance; and it is computed, that above thirty thousand persons were slain in the merciless and promiscuous carnage of the day. Hypatia was disregarded, and contemptible. The empress, with Pompey to the feet of the emperor; they compelled his implemency; but their crime was manifest, their innocence uncertain, and Justinian had been too much terrified to forgive. The next morning the two nephews of Anastasius, with eight thousand armed acolytes, the disorderly and licentious, in a consul rank, were privately executed by the soldiers; their bodies were thrown into the sea, their palaces razed, and their fortunes confiscated. The hippodrome itself was condemned, during several years, to a mournful silence; with the restoration of the games, the same disorders revived; and the blue and green factions continued to afflict the reign of Justinian, and to disturb the tranquillity of the eastern empire.

III. That empire, after Rome was barbarous, still embraced the nations whom she had conquered beyond the Hadranteum, and the Franks of Persia. Justinian reigned over sixty-four provinces, and nine hundred and thirty-five cities; his dominions were blessed by nature with the advantages of soil, situation, and climate; and the improvements of human art had been perpetually diffused along the coast of the Mediterranean and the banks of the Nile, from the ancient Troy to the Egyptian Thebais. Abraham, had been relieved by the well known plenty of Egypt; the same country, a small and populous tract, was still capable of exporting, each year, two hundred and sixty thousand pounds of corn. In Constantinople, and the capital of Justinian was supplied with the manufactures of Sidon, fifteen centuries after they had been celebrated in the poems of Homer. The annual powers of vegetation, instead of being exhausted by two thousand harvests, were renewed and invigorated by skillful husbandry, rich manures and seasonable repose. The breed of domestic animals was infinitely multiplied. Plantations, buildings, and the instruments of labour and luxury, which are more durable than the term of human life, were accumulated by the care of successive generations. Tradition preserved, and was simplified, the arts; society was enriched by the division of labour and the facility of exchange; and every Roman was lodged, clothed, and subsisted, by the industry of a thousand hands. The invention of the loom and distaff has been piously ascribed to the gods. In every age a variety of animal and vegetable productions, hair, skins, wool, flax, cotton, and at length silk, have been skillfully manufactured to hide or adorn the human body; they were stained with an infusion of permanent colours; and the pencil was successfully employed to improve the labours of the loom. In the choice of those colours which imitate the beauty of nature, the freedom of taste and fashion was indulged; but the deep purple which the Phœnicians extracted from a shellfish of Crete, and the green emerald of the empress of the emperor; and the penalties of treason were denounced against the ambitious subjects, who dared to usurp the prerogative of the throne.

I need not explain that silk is originally spun from the bowels of a caterpillar, and that it. The use of silk composes the golden tresses from whence the Romans, when a worm emerges in the form of a butterfly. Till the reign of Justinian, the silk-worms who feed on the leaves of the white mulberry-tree, were confined to China; those of the pine, the oak, and the ash, were common in the forests borders of the empire. Because of the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of being raised by the garment of the Medes and Assyrians, Virgil is the most ancient writer, who expressly mentions the soft wool which was combed from the trees of the Seres or Chinese; and this natural error, less marvellous than the truth, was slowly corrected by the discoveries which the first artificer of the luxury of nations. That rare and elegant luxury was censured, in the reign of Tiberius, by the graver of the Ionnans; and Pliny in affected though forcible language, has condemned the thirst of gain, which explored the last confines of the earth, for the precious precious metals, and the public eye naked draperies and transparent mantiments. A dress which showed the turn of the linns, and colour of the skin, might gratify vanity, or provoke desire; the silks which had been closely woven in China, were unrolled and unravelled by the Phœnician women, and the precious materials were multiplied by a looser texture, and the inextricability of linen threads. Two hundred years after the age of Pliny, the use of pure or even of mixed silks was confined to the female sex, till the opulent citizens of Rome and the provinces were invested with the privilege of wearing the Elagabalus, the first who, by this effeminat habit, had sullied the dignity of an emperor and a man. Aurelian complained, that a pound of silk was sold at Rome

a For the history of insects, (for more wonderful than Orcid's metaphysics,) the silk-worm holds a conspicuous place. The bombax of the idle of Coss., as described by Pliny, (Hist. Nat. xiv. 26, 27, with the notes of the two learned Jesuits, Harrietin and Brander,) may be illustrated by a similar species in China: (Memoires des Chinois, tom. ii. p. 253-373,) but our silk-worm, as well as the white mulberry-tree, were unknown to Theophrastus and Pliny.

b According to a late and almost universally admitted opinion, the mulberry is a native of China, and was first cultivated there. A specimen brought from China to France by the Jesuits, and preserved by M. de La Caille, has given rise to several plants not so superior to some better known in China as have been cultivated in France, or even in China. The story of its cultivation in France is first told by M. de la Caille, in the Annals of the Academy of Sciences, for 1737. It was cultivated first by M. de la Caille himself, and by M. de la Caille, in the Annals of the Academy of Sciences, for 1737. It was cultivated first by M. de la Caille himself, and by the German botanists, Sirinon, and his son, after whom the genus is named. The first mulberry plant in France was introduced by M. de la Caille, from China, in 1737. He cultivated it in his garden, and the fruit was of a very sweet and tender quality. It was introduced into England by M. de la Caille, from China, in 1737. He cultivated it in his garden, and the fruit was of a very sweet and tender quality. It was introduced into England by M. de la Caille, from China, in 1737. He cultivated it in his garden, and the fruit was of a very sweet and tender quality. It was introduced into England by M. de la Caille, from China, in 1737. He cultivated it in his garden, and the fruit was of a very sweet and tender quality.

b By the discovery of cochineal, &c., we far surpass the colours of antiquity. Their royal purple had a strong smell, and a dark cast as deep as bull's blood. Oenothera rubens, (E. Caesar, var. 1. 2.) nigredo sanguinea. The president Goguet (Grande de Loix et des Arts, part i. c. 2. p. 184-185,) will assure and satisfy the reader, I doubt whether this book, especially in England, is as well known and deserved to be so.

c Historical proofs of this journey have been occasionally introduced, and many more might have been added; but the arbitrary acts of drapery were omitted by the last and few deviations and additions in the text. The reader is referred to the notes and margin for the history of silk and the silk-worms. In the last edition of the work, (revised by the learned M. de la Caille, and published in 1737,) the silk-worm is described by the learned M. de la Caille, and published in 1737.

d The fourth, fifth, and sixth books of this work should be considered in a general view of the subject, and of silk and the silk-worm. In the last edition of the work, (revised by the learned M. de la Caille, and published in 1737,) the silk-worm is described by the learned M. de la Caille, and published in 1737.
for twelveouncesofgold:butthesupplyincreasedwiththe
demand, and the price diminished with the supply.
If accident or monopoly sometimes raised the
value even above the standard of Aurelian, the
manufacturers of Tyre and Berytus were sometimes
called the exclusive partners of the government.
They contented themselves with a ninth part of that
extra-
gorical.
A law was thought necessary to discrimi-
nate the dress of comedians from that of senators;
and of the silk exported from its native country the far
greater part was consumed by the subjects of Justinian.
Their productions were of a precious indigetum, and a shell
fish of the Mediterranean, surmounted the silk-worm of
the sea; the fine wool or hair by which the mother-
of-pearl affixes itself to the rock, is now manufactured
for curiosity rather than use; and a robe obtained from
the same singular materials, was the gift of the Roman
everor to the sultans of Armenia.*
A valuable merchandise of small bulk
from China by is capable of defraying the expense of
land and sea; land-carriage; and the caravans traversed
the whole latitude of Asia in two hundred and forty-
three days from the Chinese ocean to the sea coast of
Syria and Phoenicia; the extreme point of Roman
Asia; by the Persian merchants,4 who frequented the
fares of Armenia and Nisibis: but this trade, which in
the intervals of truce was oppressed by avarice and jealousy,
was totally interrupted by the long wars of the rival
monarchies. The great king might prudently number
Sogdian caravans as his auxiliaries in his own dominion;
his empire; but his real dominion was bounded by the
Oxus, and his useful intercourse with the Sogdianos,
beyond the river, depended on the pleasure of their
conquerors, the white Huns and the Turks, who suc-
cessively reigned on that industrious people. Yet the
very extensive commerce has not extinguished the
use of agriculture and commerce, in a region which is cel-
brated as one of the four gardens of Asia; the cities of
Samarcand and Bochara are advantageously seated
for the exchange of its various productions; and their
merchants purchased from the Chinese the raw or
manufactured silk which they transported into Persia
for the use of the Roman empire. The vain capital of
China, the Sogdian caravans were entertained as
the suppliant embassies of tributary kingdoms, and if
they returned in safety the bold adventure was reward-
ed with exorbitant gain. But the difficult and perilous
route from Samarcand to Palmyra, Pamphylia, and Parthia,
was not without its perils; for the Sogdianos, who
could not be performed in less than sixty, eighty, or one
hundred days; as soon as they had passed the Jurassic
they entered the desert; and the wand-ranger hordes,
unless they are restrained by armies and garrisons, have al-
tways considered the citizen and the traveller as the ob-
jects of their hostility, and the tyrants of Persia, the silk caravans explored a
more southern road; they traversed the mountains
of Tihet, descended the streams of the Ganges or the
Indus, and patiently expected in the port of Guzerat
and Malabar, the annual fleets of the west. But the

2 Procopius de Edif. l. iii. c. 1. These plains de mer are found great fields of wheat, barley, cotton, and indigo, and a pair of gloves of their silk was presented to pope Benedict XIV.
3 Procopius, Persic, l. x. c. 24. Lib. c. 23. Geoch. l. iv. c. 17. Me-
graph. C. 72) is supposed to have been given to the Romans by the famous Marc
Cellinus (l. xxi. c. 60) who has enumerated the provinces.
4 The blind admiration of the Jesuits confounds the different pe-
deal of the rate of the Chinese silk and the price of similar productions by
M. de Guignes, (Hist. des Env. tom. i. part. ii. in the Tables, par
ii. in the Table.) They depreciate the value of the truth of the annals and the extent of the monarchies, till the christian
armies have possessed the same value, the coarse and clumsy eye, the comparisons of the Chinese with the nations of the west are
sometimes almost uncritical, casual and debiler; nor did the Romans entertain a suspicion that the Szech or Szech possessed an empire not inferior to their own.
5 The roads from China to Hindostan are only investigated in
the last century by Hakluyt and Pownall, a few anecdotes of Shrikot. Anthony Jenkinson, the Peru Guebreu, &c. See like

wise Hanway’s Travels, (vol. 1. p. 315—337.) A communication through Tihet has been lately explored by the English sovereigns to the
Chinese by Mr. Sempill.
6 For the Chinese navigation to Malacca and Achin, perhaps to
Ceylon, see Berenger, (for the two Mahometan Travellers, p. 8—11. 13—17. 11—13. 157.) Rambler, (vol. ii. p. 100.) The Hist. Philosophique
des deux Indes, (vol. 1. p. 95,) and the Hist. Générale des Voyages,
vol. i. p. 123.
7 The knowledge, or rather ignorance, of Strabo, Pline, Ptolomy,
and the Greek and Mahometan geographers, is accurately illustrated by D’Anville, (Antiquité Géographique de l’Inde, especially p. 164—193.) Our geography of India is improved by com-
paring the pacific and conquest, the Chinese and Persian discoveries, the
and memoirs of Major Kennet. If he expands the sphere of his in-
quiries with the assistance of the Chinese and with the aid of English merchants, he will suc-
cceed, and may surpass, the first of modern geographers.
8 The Taprobana of Pline, (v. 21.) Solomon, (c. 53) and Salmasius,
(De Exercitat. C. 28.) The island of Sonora, which is supposed to
exist between the islands of Ceylon and Sumatra, is more correctly describ-
ed by Cicero, (De Sert. Book IV.) Even the Chinese geographer has
exaggerated its dimensions. His information on the Indian and Chi-
inese trade is rare and curious. (p. 126, 120, 1 x. 300, 300 ed.)
ernment would have restored the trade of Egypt and the navigation of the Red sea, which had decayed with the prosperity of the empire; and the Roman vessels might have sailed, for the purchase of silk, to the ports of Ceylon. The emperor Justinian embraced a more humble expedient, and solicited the aid of his christian allies, the Ethiopians of Abyssinia, who had recently acquired the arts of navigation, the spirit of trade, and the sea-port of Adulis, still decorated with the trophies of a Grecian conqueror. Having made a treaty with them, Justinian contrived to secure in search of gold, emeralds, and aromatics; but they wisely declined an unequal competition, in which they must be always prevented by the vicinity of the Persians to the markets of India; and the emperor submitted to the disappointment, till his wishes were gratified by an unexpected event. The Gospel had been preached to the Indians; a bishop already governed the christians of St. Thomas on the pepper coast of Malabar; a church was planted in Ceylon, and the missionaries pursued the footsteps of commerce to the extremities of Asia. Two Persian monks had long resided in China, perhaps in the royal city of Nankin, the seat of a monarch addicted to foreign superstitions, and who actually received an embassy from the isle of Ceylon. Amidst their pious occupations, they viewed with a curious eye the common dress of officers and manufacturers, the revenue of silk-worms, the education of silk-worms, whose education (either on trees or in houses) had once been considered as the labour of queens. They soon discovered that it was impracticable to transport the short-lived insect, but that in the eggs a numerous progeny might be preserved and multiplied in a distant climate. Resolved or instructive, they had more power over the Persian monks than the love of their country; after a long journey, they arrived at Constantinople, imparted their project to the emperor, and were liberally encouraged by the gifts and promises of the oracle of Delphos. In the maintenance of that project, a campaign at the foot of mount Caucasus has seemed more deserving of a minute relation than the labours of these missionaries of commerce, who again entered China, deceived a jealous people by concealing the eggs of the silk-worm in a hollow cane, and returned in triumph to the East. From that point of the direction, the eggs were hatched at the proper season by the artificial heat of dung; the worms were fed with mulberry leaves; they lived and laboured in a foreign climate; a sufficient number of butterflies was saved to propagate the race, and trees were planted to supply the materials of the domestic manufactures. Experience and reflection corrected the errors of a new attempt, and the Segdoite ambassadors acknowledged, in the succeeding reign, that the Romans were not inferior to the natives of China in the education of the insects, and the manufactures of silk, in which both China and Constantinople have been surpassed by the industry of modern Europe. I am not insensible of the benefits of elegant luxury; yet I reflect with some pain, that if the importers of silk had introduced the art of printing, already practised by the Chinese, the comedies of Menander and the entire decades of Lycophron would have been perpetuated in the editions of the sixth cen-

Chap. I.

tury. A larger view of the globe might at least have promoted the improvement of speculative science, but the biblical geography was forcibly extracted from texts of Scripture, and the study of nature was the study of a foreign system. In China, Columbia, and the dox faith confined the habitable world to one temperate zone, and represented the earth as an oblong surface, four hundred days' journey in length, two hundred in breadth, encompassed by the ocean, and covered by the solid subterraneous permanent land. The subjects of Justinian were State of the dissatisfied with the times, and with the revenue. Government. Europe was over-run by the barbarians, and Asia by the monks: the poverty of the west discouraged the trade and manufactures of the east: the produce of the labours of the unfavourable servants of the church, the state and the army; and a rapid decrease was felt in the fixed and circulating capitals which constitute the national wealth. The public distress had been alleviated by the economy of Anastasius, and that prudent emperor accumulated an immense treasure. While he delivered his people from the most odious of oppressive taxes. Their gratitude universally applauded the abolition of the gold of alleviation, a personal tribute on the industry of the poor, but more tolerable, as it should seem, in the form than in the substance, since the flourishing city of Edessa afforded the annual amount required and the revenue was collected in four years from ten thousand artificers. Yet such was the parsimony which supported this liberal disposition, that, in a reign of twenty-seven years, Anastasius saved, from his annual revenue, the enormous sum of thirteen millions sterling, or three hundred and twenty thousand pounds of gold. This example was neglected, and his treasure was abused, by the nephew of Justinian. The riches of Justinian were speedily exhausted by alms and buildings, by ambitious wars, and ignominious treaties. His revenues were inadequate to his expenses. Every art was tried to extort from the people. 

Aviles and pic. the gold and silver which he scattered withusion of Justinian, with a livi-h hand from Persia to aiiin.

France: his reign was marked by the vicissitudes, or rather by the combat, of rapaciousness and avarice, which splashed the glory of his predecessors with the blood of hireling and devoted to the apportionment of hidden treasures, and bequeathed to his successor the payment of his debts. Such a character

See Pococke, Pers. (ii. b. c. 20.) Cosmas affords some interesting knowledge of the port and inscription of Adulis, (Topograph. Chal. ii. p. 136.) that of the city of Babylon in the African coast of Barbary or Zingi, (p. 132, 133,) and as far as Ta- bari, (xi. p. 305.)


The invention, manufacture, and general use of silk in China, may be seen in Indische (Abreviatarum Orientis, Chal. ii. p. 168, 205-225.)

The province of Chekiang is the most renowned both for quantity and quality.

See Cosmas, (C. iii. i. c. vi. c. 17. Theophanes Byanz. apud Phot. Cod. xxxviii. p. 38. Zonaras, ib. i. c. xiv. p. 69. Patri, (tom. ii. i. iv. 72.) assigns to the year 532 this memorable imposition. Menan-
der (in Excerpt. Legat. p. 107.) mentions the admission of the Segdoite, and Theophylact Sozomenus, (i. c. ii. 9.) darkly represents

has been justly accused by the voice of the people and of posterity: but public discontent is erodable; private malice is bold; and a lover of truth will perceive with a deeper sense of weight the necessity of weighing the censuses. The secret historian represents only the vices of Justinian, and those vices are darkened by his mallevolent pencil. Ambiguous actions are imputed to the worst motives: error is confounded with guilt, accident with design, and laws with abuses; the partial injuries of the state have been dexterously applied to the general maxims of a reign of thirty-two years: the emperor alone is made responsible for the faults of his officers, the disorders of the times, and the corruption of his subjects; and even the calamities of nature, plagues, earthquakes and inundations, are imputed to the prince of the demons, who had mischievously assumed the form of Justinian.

After this precession, I shall briefly relate the ane-
dotes of avarice and rapine, under the following heads.

Periogoeous |

— I. Justinian was so profuse that he could not be liberal. The civil and military officers, when they were admitted into the service of the palace, obtained an humble station and a moderate stipend; they ascended by seniority to a station of affluence and repose; the annual pensions, of which the most honourable class was abolished by Justinian, amounted to four hundred thousand pounds: and this distinction of rank of one hundred pounds per cent may be regarded as the last outrage on the majesty of the empire. The posts, the salaries of physicians, and the nocturnal illuminations, were objects of more general concern; and the cities might justly complain, that he usurped the municipal revenues which had before been devoted to these useful institutions. Even the soldiers were injured; and such was the decay of military spirit, that they were injured with impunity. The emperor refused, at the return of each fifth year, the customary donative of five pieces of gold, reduced his veterans to beg their bread, and suffered unpaid armies to mend their ways in the wars of Italy and Persia.

II. The humanity of his predecessors had always remitted, in some auspicious circumstance of their reign, the arrears of the public tribute; and they dexterously assumed the merit of resigning those claims which it was impracticable to enforce. Justinian, in the space of thirty-two years, has never granted a similar indulgence; and many of his subjects have renounced the possession of those lands whose value is insufficient to satisfy the demands of the treasury. To the cities which had suffered by hostile inroads, Anastasius promised a general exemption; and the provincials of Justinian have been ravaged by the Persians and Arabs, the Huns and Scythians; but his vain and ridiculous dispensation of a single year has been confined to those places which were actually taken by the enemy. Such is the language of the secret historian, who expressly declares that any indulgence was granted to Palestine after the revolt of the Samaritans; a false and odious charge, confined by the authentic record, which attests a relief of thirteen centenaries of gold (fifty-two thousand pounds) obtained for that desolate province by the intercession of St. Sabas.2

III. Procopius has not condescended to explain the system of taxation, which fell like a hail-storm upon the land, like a devastating pestilence on its inhabitants; but we should beware to be the accomplices of his malignity, when we imputed to Justinian alone the ancient though rigorous principle, that a whole diocese should be condemned to sustain the partial loss of the persons over whom he presided. The Apatroes, or supply of corn for the use of the army and capital, was a grievous and arbitrary exaction, which exceeded, perhaps, in a tenfold proportion, the ability of the farmer, and his distress was aggravated by the partial injustice of the government. As the produce of weight and labour of distant carriage, in a time of scarcity, an extraordinary requisition was made to the adjacent provinces of Thrace, Bithynia, and Phrygia; but the proprietors, after a wearisome journey and a perilous navigation, received so inadequate a compensation, that they would have chosen the alternative of delivering both the corn and price at the doors of their granaries. These precautions might indicate a tender solicitude for the welfare of the capital; yet Constantinople did not escape the rapacious despotism of Justinian. Till his reign, the straits of the Bosphorus and Hellasponzt were open to the freedom of trade, and nothing was prohibited except the exportation of arms for the service of the barbarians. At each of these gates of the city, a praetor was stationed, the minister of imperial avarice; heavy customs were imposed on the vessels and their merchandise; the oppression was retaliated on the helpless consumer; the poor were afflicted by the artificial scarcity, and exorbitant price, of the market; and a people accustomed to depend on the liberality of their prince, might sometimes complain of the deficiency of water and bread. The aerial tribute, without a name, a law, or a definite object, was an annual tax which served the purpose of military conscription, with the emperor accepted from his praetorian prefect; and the means of payment were abandoned to the discretion of that powerful magistrate.

IV. Even Monopolies such a tax was less intolerable than the privilege of monopolies, which checked the fair competition of industry, and, for the sake of a small and dishonest gain, imposed an arbitrary burthen on the wants and luxury of the subject. "As soon (I transcribe the anecdotes) as the exclusive sale of silk was usurped by the imperial treasurer, a whole people, the manufacturers of Tyre and Beryus, was reduced to extreme misery, and either perished with hunger, or fled to the hostile dominions of Persia." A province might suffer by the decay of its manufactures, but in this example of silk, Procopius has partially overlooked the inestimable and lasting benefit which the empire received from the curiosity of Justinian. His ingenuity, in the addition of one hundred miles to the ordinary price of cotton, ought to be diminished gain, imposed an arbitrary burthen on the wants and luxury of the subject. "As soon (I transcribe the anecdotes) as the exclusive sale of silk was usurped by the imperial treasurer, a whole people, the manufacturers of Tyre and Beryus, was reduced to extreme misery, and either perished with hunger, or fled to the hostile dominions of Persia." A province might suffer by the decay of its manufactures, but in this example of silk, Procopius has partially overlooked the inestimable and lasting benefit which the empire received from the curiosity of Justinian. His ingenuity, in the addition of one hundred miles to the ordinary price of cotton, ought to be expected with the same candour; and the alteration, which might be wise, appears to have been innocent; since he neither allowed the purity, nor enhanced the value, of the gold coin, the legal measure of public and private payments.

V. The Venuses. The tolls and impediments required by the farmers of the revenue to accomplish their engagements, might be placed in an odious light, as if they were had purchased from the emperor the lives and fortunes of their fellow-citizens. And a mere direct sale of honours and offices was transacted in the palace, with the permission, at least, of the circumstance of Justinian and Theodora. The claims of merit, even those of favour, were disregarded, and it was almost reasonable to expect, that the bold adventurer, who had undertaken the trade of a magistrate, should find a rich compensation for infamous labour, danger, the debts which he had contracted, and the heavy interest which he paid for his more than seven per cent. (Smith's 'Inquiry Into the Wealth of Nations,' vol. i, p. 45.) For Justinian's gold coin, see Evangelii (I. iv, c. 20).

1 John Malala (in his ii. c. 222) mentions the want of bread, and Zonaras (t. 3, ch. 9) that of wine; but Caspar, which Justinian, or his servants, sold in the aqueducts.

2 For an ounce, one sixteenth of an ounce of gold, instead of 210, or 200, he gave two ounces and a half, or even one ounce, of silver. A disproportionate rate of small sums was received, because the weight could not exceed 500 grains for 80 or more than seven pence. (Smith's 'Inquiry Into the Wealth of Nations,' vol. i, p. 45.)

3 The oath is conceived in the most enviable words. (Novell, vol. ii. ch. 2.) The defenders implore on themselves, quapro, have
and penalties, to guard the integrity of his government; but at the end of a year of perjury, his rigorous edict was suspended, and corruption licentiously abused her power over the impotent laws of the empire.

VI. The testament of Eulalius, count of the domesticus, declared the emperor his sole heir, on condition, however, that he should discharge his debts and legacies, allow to his three daughters a decent maintenance, and bestow each of them in marriage, with a portion of ten pounds of gold. But the splendid fortune of Eulalius had been consumed by fire; and the inventory of his goods did not exceed the trifling sum of five hundred and sixty-four pieces of gold. A similar instance, in Greek history, admonished the emperor of the honourable part prescribed for his imitator. He checked the selfish murmurs of the treasury, applauded the confidence of his friend, discharged the legacies and debts, educated the three virgins under the eye of the empress Theodora, and doubled the marriage portion which had satisfied the tenderness of their father. The humanity of a prince (for princes cannot be generous) is entitled to some praise; yet even in this act of virtue we may discover the invertebrate custom of supplanting the legal or natural heirs, which Procopius imputes to the reign of Justinian. His charge is supported by eminent names and scandalous examples; neither widows nor orphans were spared; but a part of so-called, let alone supposed, testaments, was beneficently practised by the agents of the palace. This base and mischievous tyranny invades the security of private life; and the monarch who has indulged an appetite for gain will soon be tempted to anticipate the moment of succession, to the end of exercising his power in the exercise of it, from the claim of inheritance, to the power of confiscation. VII. Among the forms of rapine, a philosopher may be permitted to name the conversion of pagan or heretical riches to the use of the faithful; but in the tale of Justinian this holy plunder was condemned by the sectaries alone, who became the victims of his orthodox aversion. dishonour might be ultimately reflected on the character of Justinian; but much of the guilt, and still more of the profit, was involuntary. To what extent which we are able to attribute for their virtues, and not always selected for their talents. The merits of Trithonius the question will hereafter be weighed in the reform of the Roman law; but the economy of the east was subordinate to the praetorian prefect, and Procopius has justified his amiable a part of a task which appears to have become the peculiar history, of the notorious vices of John of Cappodocia. John of Cappadocia. His knowledge was not borrowed from the schools; and his style was scarcely legible; but he excelled in the powers of natural genius, to suggest the wise counsels, and to find expedients in the most desperate situations. The corruption of his heart was equal to the vigour of his understanding. He must have seen magic and pagan superstition, abstract insensible to the fear of God; or the approaches of man; and his aspiring fortune was raised on the deaths of thousands, the poverty of millions, the ruin of cities, and the desolation of provinces. From the dawn of light to the moment of dinner, he assiduously laboured to enrich his master and himself at the expense of the Roman world; and the remains of his reign in sensuous and obscene pleasures, and the silent hopes of the night were interrupted by the perpetual dread of the justice of an assassin. His abilities, perhaps his vices, recommended him to the lasting friendship of Justinian; the emperor yielded with reluctance to the fury of the people; his victory was displayed by the immediate restoration of their enemy; and they felt above the ten years, under his oppressive administration, that he was stimulated by revenge, rather than instructed by misfortune. Their murmurs served only to fortify the resolution of Justinian; but the prefect, in the insurrection of his victorious army, Eulalius, brilliant in mind, accompanied by companions of the court, and John, who might have known the value of oaths and promises, was tempted to accept a nocturnal, and almost unreasonable, interview with the wife of Belisarius. An ambuscade of guards and envoys had been posted by the court of Theodosius, and they rushed with drawn swords to seize or punish the guilty minister: he was saved by the fidelity of his attendants; but in stead of appealing to a grateful sovereign, who had privately warned him of his danger, he pusillanimously fled to the sanctuary of the church. The favour of Justinian was never secured to concord and domestic tranquility; the conversion of a prefect into a priest extinguished his ambitious hopes, but the friendship of the emperor alleviated his disgrace, and he retained in the mild exile of Cyzicus an ample portion of his riches. Such imperfect revenge could not satisfy the empress. The turn of the spectre of his old enemy, the bishop of Cyzicus, afforded a decent pretext; and John of Cappadocia, whose actions had deserved a thousand deaths, was at last condemned for a crime of which he was innocent. A great minister, who had been invested with the honours of the pontificate, was at last despoiled of his properties, and SECURED LIKE THE WIVES OF NULLIETORS: A TATTERED CLOAK WAS THE SOLE REMNANT OF HIS FORTUNES; HE WAS TRANSPORTED IN A BARK TO THE PLACE OF HIS BANISHMENT AT ANTIOPUS IN UPPER EGYPT, AND THE PREFECT OF THE EAST BEGGED THE RIVERS THROUGH THE CITIES WHICH HAD TROUBLED AT HIS NAME. DURING AN EXILE OF SEVEN YEARS, HIS LIFE WAS PROTRACTED AND THREATENED BY THE INGENIOUS CLEVER OF THEODORA; AND WHEN HIS DEATH PLIGHTED THE EMPEROR TO RECALL A SERVANT WHEN HE HAD ABANDONED WITH REGRET, THE AMBITION OF JOHN OF CAPPADOCIA WAS AS MEASURED AS THE AUDIENCE OF HIS PROFESSION. HIS SUCCESSORS CONVINCE THE SUBJECTS OF JUSTINIAN, THAT THE ARTS OF OPPRESSION MIGHT STILL BE IMPROVED BY EXPERIENCE AND INDUSTRY; THE HANDS OF A SYRIAN BANKER WERE INTRODUCED INTO THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE FINANCES; AND THE EXAMPLE OF JOHN WAS FOLLOWED. THE EMPIRE WAS SERVICED BY THE QUALITY, THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE TREASURY, THE GOVERNORS OF PROVINCES, AND THE PRINCIPAL MAGISTRATES OF THE EASTERN EMPIRE.

V. The edicts of Justinian were call. His edicts and meditated with the blood and treasure of the architects.

a The chronology of Procopius is base and obscure; but with the aid of Pagi I can certify that John was appointed praetorian prefect of the east in the year 525; that he was removed in January 529; that he was restored before June 535—banished in 541—and recurred between June 540 and April 542. (Procop. Bap 185; 25; 32.) The list of his ten successors—a rapid series in a part of a single reign.)
his people: but those stately structures appeared to announce the prosperity of the empire, and actually displayed the skill of their architects. Both the theory and practice of the arts which depend on mathematical science and mechanical power were cultivated under the patronage of the emperors; the fame of Archimedes was railed by Proclus and Anthemius; and if their miracles had been related by intelligent spectators, they might now enlarge the speculation, instead of exciting the distrust of philosophers. A tradition has prevailed, that the Roman fleet was reduced to ashes in the port of Syracuse by the burning-glasses of Archimedes: \(^1\) and it is asserted that a similar expedient was employed in the battle of Actium by Cleopatra, to defend her city from the walls of the harbour of Constantinople, and to protect his benefactor Anastasius against the hold enterprise of Vitalian. \(^2\) A machine was fixed on the walls of the city, consisting of an hexagon mirror of polished brass, with many smaller and movable polygons to receive and reflect the rays of the meridian sun: and a consuming flame was darded, to the distance, perhaps, of two hundred feet. \(^3\) The truth of these two extraordinary facts is invalidated by the silence of the most authentic historians; and the use of burning-glasses was never adopted in the attack or defence of places. Yet the admirable explication of difficulties toinas the celebration of Alexandria stated the possibility of such a mirror; and, since it is possible, I am more disposed to attribute the art to the greatest mathematicians of antiquity, than to give the merit of the fiction to the idle fancy of a monk or a sophist. According to another story, Proclus applied sulphur to the destruction of the Gothic fleet; \(^4\) in a modern imagination, the name of sulphur is instantly connected with the suspicion of gunpowder, and that suspicion is propagated by the secret arts of his disciple Anthemius. \(^5\) A citizen of Trallas in Asia had five sons, who were all distinguished in their respective professions. The eldest among them was Anthemius the mathematician and architect, reached the ears of the emperor Justinian, who invited him to Constantinople: and while the one instructed the rising generation in the schools of eloquence, the other filled the capital and provinces with more lasting monuments of his art and genius. The inhabitants of Constantinople, who had been vanquished by the eloquence of his neighbour Zeno; but the orator was defeated in his turn by the master of mechanics, whose malicious, though harmless

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\(^1\) This contention is inferred from Lucan (in Hærugia, c. 23) and Oates (i. iii. de Tranqueminentia, tom. i. p. 41, ed. Basil.) in the second century. A thousand years afterwards, it is positively affirmed by Zonaras, (p. 431.) on the death of Dion Cassius (ad finem libri ii., i19, &c.) Anastasius, (ad Finis, K. 395.) and the scholar of Lucian, See Fabrianci, (Robust. Grec., i. in. 22. tom. iii. p. 551,) which is not so much inferred from the testimony of the ancients.

\(^2\) Zonaras (i. xiv. p. 55) affirms the fact, without quoting any evidence.

\(^3\) Lucan (in Hærugia, c. 23) relates the fact, but he had read, perhaps with no learned eyes, in a mathematical treatise of Anthemius. That treatise, (epistulae ad rectorem universitatis, with a Latin translation, translated by an Englishman, and now a mathematician, (Mémoire de l'Academie des Inscriptions, &c. tom. iii. p. 295.)

\(^4\) In the siege of Syracuse, by the silence of Polybius, Plutarch. Livy; in the siege of Constantinople, by that of Marcellus and all the historians.


\(^6\) John Malach (tom. ii. p. 129—134) relates the fact; but he seems to confound the names or persons of Proclus and Marinus.

\(^7\) John Malachi (tom. ii. p. 129—134) relates the fact; but he seems to confound the names or persons of Proclus and Marinus.

\(^8\) Athanasius, 1. v. p. 149—152. The merit of Anthemius as an architect is largely praised by Procopius (de Edifici. i. i. c.) and Paulus Silentiarius, (part i. 146, &c.)

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\(^1\) See Procopius, (de Edifici. 1. i. c. 12, ii. 5, c.) He relates a concurrence of duty and taste, which perhaps involved a loss of reputation to Anthemius. In general, both the architecture and the building of the city were by the emperors: perhaps the latter period; (in Odorici, C. P. 64—74.) and an orator named Russian. (Lup. Constantinople) (A.D. 1120, Odes, &c.)

\(^2\) Solomon's temple was surrounded with courts, porticoes, &c. \(^2\) Solomon's temple was surrounded with courts, porticoes, &c.
Solomon, before twenty years had elapsed, was humbled by an earthquake, which overturned the eastern part of the temple, and destroyed the splendid edifice. The same desolate scene of ruin and desolation continued for the greater part of the eightieth year of the reign of the same monarch. The touching page of history is the more striking, because it is the last record of such a calamity as the temple of Solomon had sunk beneath the weight of ages.

The decline of the palace of the last and greatest of the Roman emperors in the East was marked by a similar fate. The palace of Constantine, the first Christian emperor, was the most magnificent edifice of the age. It occupied the whole of a square, the sides of which were each one hundred feet in length. It was covered with a dome, and supported by columns of granite and marble. The walls were covered with mosaics of gold and silver. The palace had a library of ten thousand volumes, and a collection of vases and other ornaments. The emperor was surrounded by a retinue of ministers, and was flattered by the admiration of his subjects. The palace was a monument of the power and glory of the Roman empire.

The decline of the empire was marked by a similar fall. The palace of the last emperor of the Western empire was a mere ruin, and the remains of the great edifice were consumed by fire. The palace of the last emperor of the Eastern empire was also consumed by fire, and the ashes were mingled with the dust of the fallen empire.

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From Belgrade to the Euxine, from the conflux of the Save to the mouth of the Danube, a chain of above thirteen fortified places was extended along the banks of the great river. Single watch-towers were changed into spacious citadels; vacant walls, which the engineers contrived in such a manner as to secure the integrity of the ground, were filled with colonies or garrisons; a strong fortress defended the ruins of Trajan’s bridge, and several military stations afforded to spread beyond the Danube the pride of the Roman name. But that name was divided of its territories; the barbarians, in their annual invasions, passed from the Danube and the Rhine, crossed the Rhodopes, entered the interior of the empire, and the Danubian provinces were lost, before these useless bulwarks; and the inhabitants of the frontier, instead of reposing under the shadow of the general defence, were compelled to guard, with incessant vigilance, their separate habitations.

The seclusion of ancient cities was replenished; the new foundations of Justinian required, perhaps too hastily, the epitaph of impregnable and powerful; and the ambitious place of his own nativity attracted the grateful reverence of the vassals of princes. Under the name of Justinian’s palaces, the obscure village of Touniaian became the seat of an archbishop and a patriarch; Thebais and Sardes, as they were called, took on the appearance of like provinces of Illyricum; and the corrupt appellation of Guisculdi still indicates, about twenty miles to the south of Sophia, the residence of a Turkish sultan. For the use of the emperor’s countrymen, a cathedral, a palace, and an aqueduct, were speedily constructed; the public and private buildings were adapted to the greatness of a royal city; and the strength of the walls resisted, during the life-time of Justinian, the unskilful assaults of the Huns and Slavonians. Their progress was sometimes retarded, and their hopes of rapine were disappointed, by the innumerable columns, which in the provinces of Dacia, Epirus, Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace, appeared to cover the whole face of the country. Six hundred of these forts were built or repaired by the emperor; but it seems reasonable to believe, that the far greater part consisted only of a stone or brick tower, in the midst of a square or circular area, which was surrounded by a wall and ditch, and afforded in a moment of danger some protection to the peasants and cattle of the neighbouring villages. Yet these military works, which exhausted the public treasure, could not remove the just apprehensions of Justinian and his European subjects. The Danube was as impetuous as ever; and the towns were rendered as safe as they were salutary; but the rich provinces of Thessalonica were farmed by the Sacytan cavalry; the delicious vale of Tempe, three hundred miles from the Danube, was continually alarmed by the sound of war; and no unfortified spot, however distant from the Roman world, could securely enjoy the blessings of peace. The straits of Thermopylae, which seemed to protect, but which had so often betrayed, the safety of Greece, were diligently strengthened by the labours of Justinian. From the edge of the sea, like France in the time of the Roman inroads—never so weak when every village was fortified. 

In 532, Procopius affine is the Danube was stopped by the means of the bridge. Had Apollodorus, the architect, left a description of his work, as rich in the details of his inventions, as that of his buildings, it would have been corrected by the genuine picture. Trajan’s bridge consisted of twenty or twenty-two stone piles with wooden arches; the river is now fourteen, the embankments are still, and the whole interval is no more than 413 (Reimar ad Don. from Marsigli) or 415 feet.

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shore, through the forests and valleys, and as far as the summit of the Thessalian mountains, a strong wall was raised, which occupied every practicable entrance. Indeed, of a hasty crown of earth and piling a wall, two thousand soldiers were stationed along the rampart; granaries of corn, and reservoirs of water, were provided for their use; and by a precaution that inspired the cowardice which it foresaw, convenient fortresses were erected for their retreat. The walls of Corinth, also, by an eyewitness, and the murderous bulwarks of Athens and Platea, were carefully restored; the barbarians were disencouraged by the prospect of successive and painful sieges; and the naked cities of Peloponnesus were covered by the fortifications of the instants of Corinth. At the extremity of Evia, and near the town of Trikes, a monstrous, runs three days' journey into the sea, to form, with the adjacent shores of Asia, the straits of the Hellespont.

The intervals between eleven populous towns were filled by lofty woods, fair pastures, and arable lands; and the isthmus, of thirty-seven stadia in length, had been fortified by a Spartan general nine hundred years before the reign of Justinian. In an age of freedom and valour, the slightest rampart may prevent a surprise; and Procopius appears insensible of the superiority of ancient times, while he praises the solid construction of the wall, the unbroken parapet of which stretched on either side into the sea: but whose strength was deemed insufficient to guard the Chersonesus, if each city, and particularly Gallipoli and Scutus, had not been secured by their peculiar fortifications. The long wall, as was characteristically styled, was a work, as disgraceful in the object, as it was respectable in the execution. The riches of a capital diffuse themselves over the neighbouring country, and the territory of Constantinople, a paradise of nature, was adorned with the luxurious gardens and villas of the great and the splendid citizens: their vantage points served only to attract the bold and rapacious barbarians: the noblest of the Romans, in the bosom of peaceful indolence, were led away into Sasanian captivity, and their sovereign might view, from his palace, the hostile flames which were insolently spread to the gates of the imperial city. At the distant extremity of forty miles, Anastasius was constrained to establish a last frontier; his long wall, of sixty miles from the Propontis to the Exuniae, proclaimed the impotence of his arms; and as the danger became more imminent, new fortifications were added by the indefatigable prudence of Justinian and Sforas.

Secrecy of Asia

Asia Minor, after the submission of the Isaurians, remained without enemies and without fortifications. Those bold savages, who had disdained to be subjugated by Gallienus, persisted two hundred and thirty years in a life of independence and rapine. The most successful princes respected the strength of the mountains and the desolation of the natives; their fierce spirit was sometimes soothed with gifts, and sometimes restrained by terror; and a military count, with three legions, fixed his camp in an ignominious station in the heart of the Roman provinces. But no sooner was the vigour of power relaxed or diverted, than the light-armed squadrons descended from the hills, and invaded the peaceful plenty of Asia. Although the Isaurians were not remarkable for stature or bravery, yet rendered them bold, and experience made them skilful in the exercise of predatory war. They advanced with secrecy and speed to the attack of villages and defenceless towns; their flying parties have sometimes touched those of Tarsus, Antioch, or Damascus; and the spell was lodged in their inaccessible mountains, before the Roman troops had received their orders, or the distant province had computed its loss. The guilt of rebellion and robbery excluded them from the rights of national enemies; and the vengeance of the public, or the private trial and punishment of an Isaurian, even on the festival of Easter, was a meritorious act of justice and piety. If the captives were condemned to domestic slavery, they maintained with their sword or dagger, the private quarrel of their masters; and it was found expedient to send them to the East even without an army, to supply us with the services of such dangerous retainers. When their countryman Tararesius or Zeno ascended the throne, he invited a faithful and formidable band of Isaurians, who insulted the court and city, and were rewarded by an annual tributary fund for five thousand pounds of gold and the hopes of fortune depopulated the mountains, luxury eroded the hardness of their minds and bodies, and in proportion as they mixed with mankind, they became less qualified for the enjoyment of poor and solitary liberty. After the death of Zeno, his successor Anastasius solicited the services of whose soldiers were exposed to the revenge of the people, hasted them from Constantinople, and prepared to sustain a war, which left only the alternative of victory or servitude. A brother of the last emperor usurped the title of Augustus, his cause was powerfully supported by the arms, the measures, and the magazine, collected by Zeno; and the native Isaurians must have formed the smallest portion of the hundred and fifty thousand barbarians, under his standard, which was sancified, for the first time, by the presence of a fighting bishop. Their leaders accompanied the army, and were invincible in the plains of Phrygia by the valour and discipline of the Gods; but a war of six years almost exhausted the courage of the emperor. The Isaurians retired to their mountains; their fortresses were successively besieged and ruined; their communication with the sea was cut off; five thousand pounds of gold and the leaders died in arms; the surviving chiefs, before their execution were dragged in chains through the hippodrome; a colony of their youth was transplanted into Thrace, and the remnant of the people submitted to the Roman government. Yet some generations elapsed before the original chiefs were replaced by Isaurians. The populous villages of Mount Tauris were filled with hersemen and archers; they resisted the imposition of tributes, but they recruited the armies of Justinian; and his civil magistrate, the procurator of Cappadocia, the count of Isauria, and the praeors of Lyconia and Pisidus, were invested with military power to restrain the licentious practice of rapes and assassinations. If we extend our view from the tropic to the mouth of the Taurus, we may observe, on one hand, the precarious condition of the Isaurian frontier; and on the other hand, the long walls which we contemplate.
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

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struck in Crimea for the protection of the friendly Goths, a colony of three thousand shepherds and warriors. From that peninsula to Trebizond, the eastern coast was at that time generally unfrequented, either by force or by religion: and the possession of Lazico, the Colchis of ancient, the Mingrelia, of modern geography, soon became the object of an important war. Trebizond, in after-times the seat of a romantic empire, was indebted to the liberality of Justinian for a church, an apse, an altar, and the sacred food; and his Edifice is still solid. From that maritime city, a frontier-line of five hundred miles may be drawn to the fortress of Cireesium, the last Roman station on the Euphrates. Above Trebizond immediately, and for five days' journey to the south, the country rises into dark forests and enervating mists. But the country of Lazico, of Zanians, and seven fortresses were built in the most accessible passes, to exclude the ambition of the Persian monarch. The principal source of the Euphrates descends from the Chalybean mountains, and seems to flow towards the west and the Euxine; bending to the southward. This, as the coast of Scythia, and Melitene, (which were restored by Justinian as the bulwarks of the lesser Armenia,) and gradually approaches the Mediterranean sea; till at length, repelled by mount Taurus, the Euphrates inclines his long and flexible course to the south-east and the gulf of Persia. Among the Roman cities beyond the Euphrates, we distinguish two principal foundations, which were named from Theodosius, and the relics of the martyrs; and two capitals, Amida and Edessa, which are celebrated in the history of every age. Their strength was proportioned by Justinian to the danger of the Persians, and the humbler population of that hospitable valley was sufficient to resist the ardent forces of the cavalry of Scythia; but more elaborate works were required to sustain a regular siege against the arms and treasures of the great king. His skilful engineers understood the methods of constructing deep mines, and of raising platforms to the level of the rampart; he shook the strong foundations of the enemy's engines, and sometimes advanced to the assault with moveable turrets on the backs of elephants. In the great cities of the east, the disadvantage of space, perhaps of position, was compensated by the zeal of the people, who seconded the garrison in the defence of their country and religion: and the fabulous prince, who founded the kingdom of God, that Edessa should never be taken, filled the citizens with valiant confidence, and chilled the besiegers with doubt and dismay. The subordinate towns of Armenia and Mesoopotamia were diligently strengthened, and the posts which appeared to have obtained a permanent hold were substantially occupied by numerous forts, substantially built of stones, and more hastily erected with the obvious materials of earth and brick. The eye of Justinian investigated every spot; and his cruel precautions might attract the war into some lonely vale, whose peaceful natives, connected by trade and remembrance, were ignorant of national discord and the quarrels of princes. We have heard of the Euphrates, a sandy desert extends above six hundred miles to the red sea. Nature had interposed a vacant solitude between the ambition of two rival empires: the Armenians, till Mahomet arose, were formidable only against the Persians; and the proud security of peace, the fortifications of Syria were re-erected on the most vulnerable side.

But the national enmity, at least the effects of that enmity, had been suspended for fourteen years. An ambassador from the emperor Zeno accompanied the rash and unfortunate Perozes, in his expedition against the Nephthales or White Huns, whose conquests had been stretched from the Caspian to the heart of India, whose throne was enriched with emeralds; and whose cavalry was supported by a line of two thousand elephants. The Persians were twice circumvented, in a situation which made valour useless and flight impossible; and the double victory of the Huns, was achieved by military stratagem. They dismissed their royal captive after he had submitted to adore the majesty of a barbarian; and the Huns proceeded, and the humbler horde of the steppe was no longer able to resist or to resist. After the death of Perozes, the Persians discovered, and twelve years of confusion elapsed before his son Cabades or Kohad could embrace any designs of ambition or revenge. The unkind parsi—The Persian war, men of Anastasius was the motive or A.D. 502—505.

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1 Perozes (Perseus, 1. i. c. 121.) tells the story with the taste, half sceptical, half superstitious, of Herodotus. The promise was in the primitive lives of Edessa, but dates at least from the year 400; and the third lie, the Persian lions soon raised on the stage of his great life (Perseus, 1. i. c. 27.) As Edessa has been taken, Tillotson must not condemn the Persians for the promise. (Cyrop.)

2 They were purchased from the merchants of Adulis who traded to India, (Cosmas, Topograph. Christ, i. xl. p. 329.) yet in the estimate of precious stones, the Scythian emerald was the first, the Bactrian the second, the Ethiopian only the third. (Hill's Theophrastus, p. 51, &c. 92.)

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4 The production, mines, &c. of emeralds, are involved in darkness; and it is doubtful whether we possess any of those stones known to the ancients, (Goguet, Origine des Lious, &c. part. ii. i. i. c. 2. art. 5 in the Theophrastus, p. 51, &c. 92.)

5 D'Anville, (Plan et Description, p. 45.)

6 The Indo-Scythian continued to reign from the time of Augustus. (Droysen, Persecution, 1863, with the commentary of Eutocius, in HUD-SON, 1. c. 2. &c. The right of the kings of Scythia (Theophrastus, Topograph. Christ, i. xl. p. 329.) On their origin and conquests, (Cosmas, Topograph. Christ, i. xl. p. 329.) In the same manner they were masters of Lazico or Gueraza.

7 See the Saracens, Persians, or Pechens, and their consequences, in Perozes, (Perseus, 1. i. c. 3—4.) who may be compared with the fragments of oriental history, (D'Herbelot, Bibles, Oriental, p. 331, and Tschirn, History of Persia, translated or attributed to Nephtides, 1. l.c. 33.)

8 The chronology is only as related by Assenius, (Bibiliot. orient. tom. iii. p. 398—405.)
The prince, fearing that this impregnable fortress had been constructed in manifest violation of the treaty of peace between the two empires.

Between the Euxine and the Caspian, the Caspian is the countries of Colchoes, Iberia, and Al-Perisian gates. The Caspian was a large, and the chief entrance of the Persians. and the two principal gates, or passes, from north to south, have been frequently con founded in the geography both of the ancients and moderns. The name of Caspian or Albanian gates is properly applied to Derbend, which occupies a short defile between the banks of the Derbend and the Caspian, the indecency of the women on the ramparts, who had revealed their most secret charms to the eyes of the assailants. At length, in a silent night, they ascended the most accessible tower, which was guarded only by some monks, opposed, after the duties of a festival, with sleep and wine. Scaling ladders were applied at the dawn of day; the presence of Cabades, his storm command, and his drawn sword, compelled the Persians to vanquish; and before it was sacked, four-score thousand of the inhabitants had escaped the hands of death. In the fourth year of Alexander, the war continued three years, and the unhappy frontier tasted the full measure of its calamities. The gold of Anastasius was offered too late, the number of his troops was defeated by the number of their generals; the country was stripped of its inhabitants, and bathed in the blood of the defeated. Armenia from the mountainous chain and the wild beasts of the desert. The resistance of Edessa, and the deficiency of spoil, inclined the mind of Cabades to peace; he sold his conquests for an exorbitant price; and the same line, though marked with slaughter and devastation, still separated the two empires. To avoid the repetition of the same disasters, Anastasius resolved to found a new colony, so strong, that it should defy the power of the Persian, so far advanced towards Assyria, that its stationary troops might defend the province by the menace of operations on their Fortifications of a given wall. For this purpose, the town of Daras, four-score miles from Niishis, and four days' journey from the Tigris, was peopled and adorned; the hasty works of Anastasius were improved by the perseverance of Justinian; and without insisting on places less important, the fortifications of Daras may represent an architectural type of the age. The city was surrounded by two walls, and the interval between them, of fifty paces, afforded a retreat to the cattle of the besieged. The inner wall was a monument of strength and beauty; it measured sixty feet from the ground, and the height of the towers was one hundred and sixty feet. The platforms were large enough to accommodate the number of men who might be annoyed with missile weapons, were small, but numerous: the soldiers were planted along the rampart, under the shelter of double galleries, and a third platform, spacious and secure, was raised on the summit of the towers. The exterior wall appears to have been less lofty but more solid; and each tower was protected by a quadrangular bulwark. A hard rocky soil resisted the tools of the miners, and on the south-east, where the ground was more tractable, their approach was retarded by a new work, which advanced in the shape of a half-circle. The ditches and two cuttings were filled with a stream of water; and in the management of the river, the most skilful labour was employed to supply the inhabitants, to distress the besiegers, and to prevent the mischiefs of a natural or artificial inundation. Daras continued more than sixty years to fulfill the wishes of its founders, and to provoke
life, the genius of ages and millions. Our sense of the
dignity of human nature is exalted by the simple
recollective it, that Isocrates was the companion of Pla-
to and Xenophon; that he assisted, perhaps, with the
historian Thucydides, at the first representations of
the Edipus of Sophocles and the Epigones of Eurip-
dides; that he joined both in the entertainment of
Aristotle, the master of Theophrastus, who taught
at Athens with the founders of the Stoic and Epicurean
sects.6 The ingenuous youth of Athens enjoyed the
benefits of their democratic education, which was consid-
erably inferior to the rival systems. Two
thousand disciples heard the lessons of Theophras-
tus; the schools of rhetoric must have been still more
populous than those of philosophy; and a rapid suc-
cession of students diffused the fame of their teachers
as far as the utmost limits of the Greek language and
muse. These limits were enlarged by the victo-
ries of Alexander; the arts of Athens survived her
freedom and dominion; and the Greek colonies which the
Macedonians planted in Egypt, and scattered over
Asia, undertook long and frequent pilgrimages to wor-
ship the Muses in their favourite temple on the banks of
the Euxine, and to borrow some of the preciousIsocrates, who
listened to the instructions of their subjects and cap-
tives; the names of Cicero and Horace were enrolled
in the schools of Athens; and after the perfect settle-
ment of the Roman empire, the natures of Italy, of
Africa, and of Britain, intrusted in the groves of the
masters with their fellow-students of the east. The
studies of philosophy and eloquence are congenial to a
popular state, which encourages the freedom of inqui-
y and, submits only to the force of persuasion. In
the republics of Greece and Rome, the art of speaking
was the powerful engine of patriotism or ambition;
and the Aristo
cians are still worthy of the attention which the
state-men and legislators. When the liberty of pub-
lic debate was suppressed, the orator in the honourable
profession of an advocate, might plead the cause of
innocence and justice; he might abuse his talents in
the more profitable trade of pamphleteer; and the death of Per-
tonius was not less effectual than that of Sene
c, to humble a tyrant by the discovery of his impotence.
The light of science could not indeed be confined
within the walls of Athens. Her incomparable writ-
ers addressed themselves to the human race; the living
masters emigrated to Italy and Asia; and the equally illustri-
sous times, was devoted to the study of the law; astronomy
and physics were cultivated in the museum of Alexan-
dria; but the Attic schools of rhetoric and philosophy
maintained their superior reputation from the Pelopon-
nesian to the age of Justinian. Athens, though situ-
ate in a barren soil, possessed a treasure of
navigation, and the monuments of ancient art.
That sacred retirement was seldom disturbed by the busi-
ness of trade or government; and the last of the
Athenians were distinguished by their lively wit, the puri-
ty of their taste and language, their social manners,
and some traces, at least in discourse, of the magnifi-
city of their fathers. In the suburbs of the city,
and near the sanctuary of Asclepius and the col-
pies, the portico of the Nymphs, the garden of
the Epicureans, were planted with trees and decorated
with statues; and the philosophers, in aim of being
housed in a cloister, delivered their instructions in
specious and pleasant walks, which, at different hours,
were crowded with listeners from the nearer and more
temporary. The genius of the founders still lived in these
venerable seats; the ambition of succeeding to the mas-
ters of human reason, excited a generous emulation;
and the merit of the candidates was determined, on
each vacancy, by the free votes of an enlightened
people.
The Athenian public opinion by their disci-
ples; according to their mutual wants and abilities,
the price appears to have varied from a mite to a tal-
et; and be
ocrates himself, who decides the avarice of
the sophists, required, in his school of rhetoric, about
thirty pounds from each of his hundred pupils. The
wages of industry are just and honourable, yet the
usefulness of the arts is but little felt or admired;
the Muses might blush when he was hired to
reach the contempt of money; and I should be sorry to
discover, that Aristotle or Plato so far degenerated
from the example of Socrates, as to exchange knowl-
edge for gold. But some property of lands and houses
was not deprived by the foundations of the laws, and the
legacies of deceased friends, on the philosophic chairs of
Athens. Epicurus bequeathed to his disciples the
gardens which he had purchased for eighty min
two hundred and fifty pounds, with a fund sufficient
for their frugal subsistence and monthly festivals; the
attainments and the patronage of Plato afforded an annual
profit, which, in eight centuries, was gradually increased
from three to one thousand pieces of gold.7 The
schools of Athens were protected by the wisest and
most virtuous of the Roman princes. The library
which Hadrian founded was placed in a portico ador-
ed with statues, and a roof of alabaster, and supported
by one hundred columns of Phrygian marble.
The public salaries were assigned by the gene-
rous spirit of the Antonines; and each professor, of
polities, of rhetoric, of the Platonic, the Peripatetic,
the Stoic, and the Epicurean philosophy, received an
annual stipend of two thousand pounds sterling.
The death of Marcus, these liberal donations, and the privileges
attached to the honor of science, were abolished and
revived, diminished and enlarged; but some vestige
of royal bounty may be found under the successors of
Constantine; and their arbitrary choice of an univer-
sable candidate might tempt the philosophers of Athens
to regret the days of independence and poverty.1 It
is remarkable, that the impartial favour of the Antonines
was bestowed on the four adverse sects of philosophy,
which they considered as equally useful, or at least
necessary for all the operations of human reason,
the glory and the reproach of his country; and the first
lessons of Epicurus so strongly scandalized the pious
ears of the Athenians, that by his exile and that of
his antagonists, they silenced all vain disputes concern-
ing the nature of the gods. But in the ensuing year they re-

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6 See the Testament of Epicurus in Deese, Laert., L.x., see. 16
20, p. 611, 612. A single edict (of Faustina, xii.) displays the
insolence of the Areopagites, the fidelity of the Epicureans, the
dec
certitude of the Stoics, and the mixture of all these sects,
with which the Roman emperors considered the philosophy and phil-
osophers of Greece. (see Celsus, lib. v. cap. 111.)

7 Damascius, in Vit. Isidor. apud Photii, cod. exc. p. 1051.

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ologists, lapid. in Vit. Isidor. apud Photii, (see Photii, cod. exc. p. 1051.)

others, (see Photii, cod. exc. p. 1051.)
THE DECLINE AND FALL

Chap. I.

called the hasty decree, restored the liberty of the schools, and were convinced, by the experience of ages, that the moral character of philosophers is not affected by the diversity of their theological speculations. They are superintended by Justinian.

The Gothic arms were less fatal to the schools of Athens than the establishment of a new religion, whose ministers superseded the exercise of reason, resolved every question by an article of faith, and condemned the mild or sceptic to eternal flames. In many a volume of laborious controversy, they exposed the weakness of the uneness of the human intellect; its feebleness, its insignificance, and its susceptibility to every delusion. The philosophers were not contradicted, but their views were deeply perhaps than became their profession, with the plausibility of wives and concubines, the incestuous marriages, and the custom of exposing dead bodies to the dogs and vultures, instead of hiding them in the earth, or consuming them with fire. Their reputation was not impaired by the expression of personal opinions; but they declared that they had rather die on the borders of the empire than enjoy the wealth and favour of the barbarian. From this journey, however, they derived a benefit which reflects the happiest lustre on the character of Chosroes. He realized the golden chain of nations, which by this sages who had visited the court of Persia, should be exempted from the penal laws which Justinian enacted against his pagan subjects; and this privilege, expressly stipulated in a treaty of peace, was guarded by the vigilance of a powerful mediator. Simplicius and The last of the schools of philosophy, flourished in peace and obscurity; and as they left no disciples, they terminate the long list of Greek philosophers, who may be justly praised, notwithstanding their defects, viz. the wisest and most virtuous of their contemporaries. The writings of Simplicius are now extant. His work, which was of great importance in the history of ancient philosophy, has been insensibly torn from the library of nations, as a classic book, most excellently adapted to direct the will, to purify the heart, and to confirm the understanding, by a just confidence in the wisdom of God and man.

About the same time that Pythagoras The Roman first invented the appellation of philosopher, the consulship was decorated by Justinian. It was founded at Rome by the elder Brutus. A.D. 540. The revolutions of the consular office, which may be viewed in the successive lights of a substance, a shadow, and a name, have been occasionally mentioned in the present history. The first magistrates of the republic had been chosen by the people, to exercise, in the senate and in the camp, the powers of peace and war, which were afterwards assigned to the emperors. But the tradition of ancient dignity was long revered by the Romans and barbarians. A Gothic historian applauds the consulship of Theodoric as the height of all temporal glory and greatness; the king of Italy himself congratulates those annual favourites of the people, who were elected to the command of the forces of the throne; and at the end of a thousand years, two consuls were created by the sovereigns of Rome and Constantinople, for the sole purpose of giving a date to the year, and a festival to the people, but the expenses of this festival, in which the wealthy and the vain aspired to surpass their predecessors, insensibly arose to the enormous sum of fourscore thousand pounds; the wisest senators declined a useless honour, which involved the certain ruin of their families; and to this reluctance I should impute the frequency of the elections, which would then have fallen to the emperors. The predecessors of Justinian had assisted from the public treasures the dignity of the less eminent candidates; the avarice of that prince preferred the cheaper and more convenient method of advice and regulation, and seven procurators of the imperial treasury to which his edict confined the horse and chariot races.

ii. 25-26. See the regulation of Justinian, (Novell. c.) dated at Constantinople, July 5, and addressed to Strategus, treasurer of the empire.
CHAPTER II.

OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

the athletic sports, the music, and pantomimes of the theatre, and the hunting of wild beasts; and small pieces of silver were discreetly substituted to the gold medals, which had always excited tumult and drunkenness, when they were scattered with a profuse liberality. The public safety, the success of military precautions, and his own example, the succession of consuls finally ceased in the thirteenth year of Justinian, whose despotic temper might be gratified by the silent extinction of a title which adorned the Romans of their ancient freedom. Yet the annual consulship other than to exact the taxes of the provinces by the 20th of Prair. four times, as that of 3000 pounds of gold, but it was at length purchased, at the price of four hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling, the benefit of a precarious truce, which, in the language of both nations, was dignified with the appellation of the endless peace. The safety of the east enabled the emperor to employ his forces against the Vandals; and the internal distress of Africa afforded an honourable motive, and promised a powerful support to the Roman arms.

According to the testament of the fourth state of the Vander, the African kingdom had literally slain, descended to Hilderic the eldest of the Vandals. Hilderic's death was ascribed to the son of a tyrant, the grandson of a conqueror, to prefer the councils of clemency and peace; and his accession was marked by the salutary edict, which restored two hundred bishops to their churches, and allowed the free profession of the Arian creed. But the emperors accepted the political and religious advantages so inadequately to their pretensions, and the virtues of Hilderic offended the prejudices of his countrymen. The Arian clergy presumed to insinuate that he had renounced the faith, and the soldiers more loudly complained that he had degenerated from the courage of his ancestors. His ambassadors were suspected of a secret and disgraceful negociation in the Byzantine court; and his general, the Achilles, who was named of the Vandals, lost a battle against the naked and disorderly Moors. The public discontent was exasperated by Gelimer, whose Gelimer, age, descent, and military fame, gave him an apparent title to the succession; he assumed, with the consent of the nation, the reins of government; and his unfortunate sovereign sunk without a struggle from the throne to a dungeon, a heap where he was strictly guarded with a faithful counsellor, and his unpopular nephew the Achilles of the Vandals. But the suspicions which Hilderic had excited, and which the Vandals had so powerfully recommended to him the f/avour of Justinian, who, for the benefit of his own sect, could acknowledge the use and justice of religious toleration: the irrefrangible, while the nephew of Justin retained in a private station, was ehanced by the mutual exchange of gifts and letters; and the emperor Justinian asserted the cause of royalty and friendship. In two successive embassies, he admonished the usurper to repent of his treason, or to abstain, at least, from any further violence, which might provoke the displeasure of God and the Romans; to reverence the laws of kindred and civilization, and to assure an inoffensive old man peaceably to end his days, either on the

schools of jurisprudence. After Rome herself had been stripped of the imperial purple, the princes of Constantinople assumed the sole and sacred sceptre of the monarchy; demanded, as their rightful inheritance, the provinces of the Germanic empire; and were respected or possessed by the Caesars; and feebly aspired to deliver their faithful subjects of the west from the usurpation of heretics and barbarians. The execution of this splendid design was in some degree reserved for Justinian. During the five years of his reign, he reluctantly waged war, and supported his army against the Persians; till his pride submitted to his ambition, and he purchased, at the price of four hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling, the benefit of a precarious truce, which, in the language of both nations, was dignified with the appellation of the endless peace. The safety of the east enabled the emperor to employ his forces against the Vandals; and the internal distress of Africa afforded an honourable motive, and promised a powerful support to the Roman arms.

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the Complete series of the Vandal war is related by Procopius in a regular and elegant narrative, c. 9—33, with a happy and happy

3 Procopius, in Anecdot. c. 30. Alem. p. 169. In the nineteenth year after the conscription of Baillius, according to the reckoning of Marcellinus, Victor, Maron, &c. the secret history was composed; and, in the eyes of Procopius, the conscription was finally abolished.

4 By Leo, the philosopher. (Novell. xiv. c. 880—91.) See Pari (Diaries, ii. p. 544—5.) and Du Cange. (Glos. Or. eff. 1523.) Even the title was vitiific: consulatus codicil.—vel veracissim, sunt, et traditione. (Novell. xiv. c. 880—91.)

5 According to Julius Africanus, &c. the world was created the first of September, 5500 years, three months, and twenty-five days before the death of Jesus Christ, in A.D. 63, according to the Alexandrine chronology. (B. xvi. c. 28.) and this area has been used by the Greeks, the Oriental christians, and even by the Romans, till the reign of Peter I. The period, however arbitrary, is clear and convenient. Of the 779 years which are supposed to elapse since the creation, we shall find 3000 of them in the history of the Jews, 3746 in the history of the Christians, and 74 days in the history of the ancient history, commencing with the Persian empire, and the republic of Greece and Rome. (Procopius, c. 9—33.) and 1000 from the fall of the Roman empire to the west to the discovery of America; and the remaining 296 will almost complete three centuries of the modern state of Europe and mankind. I regret these calculations, so far preferable to our doubtful and perplexed method of counting backwards and forwards the years between two periods, as they do not come in convenient collections.

6 The area of the world has prevailed in the east since the sixth general council. (A. d. 551.) Christianity was first invented in the sixth century: it was propagated in the eighth by the authority and writings of venerable Bede; but it was not till the tenth that the use became legal and popular. See Plut. de verider

The people of Carthage, or in the palace of Constantinople.

The pass us or even the prudence of Gelimer compelled him to reject these requests, which were urged in the holiest tone of menace and command; and he justified his ambition in a language rarely spoken in the Byzantine court, by alleging the right of a free people to remove or punish the irreligious magistrates, who had by the usurpation of their function not only exalted, but hurled from their seats. This fruitless expostulation, the captive monarch was more rigorously treated, his nephew was deprived of his eyes, and the cruel Vandal, confident in his strength and distance, denied the vain requests and slow preparations of the emperor of the east. Justinian resolved to deliver or revenge his foe. Gibraltar was raised to maintain his usurpation; and the war was prepared, according to the practice of civilized nations, by the most solemn protestations, that each party was sincerely desirous of peace.

The report of an African war was gratefully only to the vain and idle populace of Constantinople, whose poverty exempted them from tribute, and whose cowardice was sold to exposing to military service. But the wiser citizens, who judged of the future by the past, revolted in their memory the history of their brethren and enemies, which the empire had sustained in the expedition of Basiliscus.

The troops, which after five laborious campaigns, had been recalled from the Persian frontier, dreaded the sea, the climate, and the arms of an unknown enemy. The ministers of the Emperor counselled, as far as they could, to avoid the demands of the African war; the taxes which must be raised and levied to supply those insatiate demands; and the danger lost their own lives, or at least their lucrative employments, should be made responsible for the deficiency of the supply. Inspired by such selfish motives, (for we may not suspect him of being unwise or bad,) Justinian, who had ventured to oppose in full council the inclinations of his master, he confessed that a victory of such importance could not be too dearly purchased; but he represented in a grave discourse the certain difficulties and the uncertain event. "You undertake," said the prefect, "to besiege Carthage by land; the distance is not less than one hundred and forty days' journey; on the sea, a whole year must elapse before you can receive any intelligence from your fleet. If Africa should be reduced, it cannot be preserved without the additional conquest of Sexily and Italy. Success will impose the obligation of new labours; a single failure will attract the barbarians into the heart of your exhausted empire." Justinian felt the weight of this salutary advice; he was confounded by the unwonted freedom of an obsequious servant; and the design of the war would perhaps have been relinquished, if his courage had not been revived by a voice which silenced the doubts of profound reason. "I have seen a vision," cried an artful or fanatic bishop of the east. "It is the will of heaven, O emperor! that you should not abandon your holy enterprise for the deliverance of the African church. The God of battle has resolved to match before your standard, and disperse your enemies, who are the enemies of your Son." The emperor might be tempted, and his counsellors were constrained, to give credit to this seasonsable revelation; but they derived more rational hope from the revolt, which the adherents of Hildecir or Athanasius had already excited in the borders of the Vandal monarchy. Pelentius, an African subject, had privately signified his loyal intentions, and a small military aid restored the province of Tripoli to the obedience of the Romans. The government of Sardinia had been intrusted to Gods, a valiant barbarian; he suspended the payment of tribute, disenchained his allegiance to the usurper, and called an audience to the counsels of Justinian, who found him master of that fruitful island, at the head of his guards, and proudly invested with the insignia of royalty. The forces of the Vandals were diminished by discord and suspicion; the Roman armies were animated by the spirit of Belisarius; one of those heroic names which are familiar to every European, and which the scribe may be permitted to apply to the monitory servitor of his master.

The Africanus of new Rome was born, Character and perhaps educated, among the Thrae, or Thracian pretenss without any of those advantages which had formed the virtues of the elder and the younger Scipio; a noble origin, liberal studies, and the education of a prince to the duties of his station. The service of Belisarius may be admitted, to prove that the youth of Belisarius could not afford any subject of praise; he served, most assuredly with valor and reputation, among the private guards of Justinian; and when his patron became emperor, the domestic was promoted to military command. After a bold inroad into Persia, in which his glory was shared by a colleague, and his progress was checked by an enemy, Belisarius repaired to the important station of Dara, where he first accepted the service of the Persians, the faithful companion of his master.

The Mirrors of Persia advanced, with forty thousand of her best troops, to rage the Persian war, at the fortifications of Dara; and signified the A.D. 529-532, day and the hour on which the citizens should prepare a bath for his refreshment after the toils of victory. He was received with cheerfulness; the common day equal to himself, by the new title of general of the east; his superior in the science of war, but much inferior in the number and quality of his troops, which amounted only to twenty-five thousand Romans and strangers, relaxed in their discipline, and humbled by recent disasters. As the level plain of the Euphrates, the desert of Dara to the relief of the province; the whole summer, the designs of the enemy were baffled by his skilful dispositions; he pressed their retreat, occupied each night their camp of the preceding day, and would have secured a bloodless victory, if he could have resisted the impatience of his own troops. Their valiant promise was faintly supported in the hour of battle; the right wing was exposed by the treacherous or cowardly desertion of the Christian Arabs; the Huns, a veteran band of eight hundred warriors, were oppressed by superior number, and the whole army of the Persians was intercepted; but the Roman infantry stood firm on the left; for Belisarius himself, dismounting from his horse, showed them that intrepid despair was their only safety. They turned their backs to the Empyræum, and their faces to the enemy; innumerable arrows glanced without effect from the compact and sheltering order of their bucklers; an impenetrable line of pikes was opposed to the repeated assaults of the Persian cavalry; and after a resistance of many hours, the remaining troops were skillfully embarked under the shadow of the night.

Legend of Belisarius and Ricciardina, by Tavino. [Ilios, 1690.]

[1] A year.—about exaggeration! The conquest of Africa may be dated A.D. 533. September 14. It is celebrated by Justinian in the preface to his Institutes, which were published November 21, of the same year. Including the voyage and return, such a combination might truly be applied to our Indian empire.
The Persian commander retired with disorder and disgrace, to answer a strict account of the lives of so many soldiers which he had consumed in a barren victory. But the fame of B. Isaurius was not sufficed by a defeat, in which he alone had saved his army from the consequences of his rashness; the approach of peace relieved him from the guard of the eastern frontier, and his conduct in the sedition of Constantinople amply discharged his obligations to the emperor. When the African war became the topic of popular discourse and secret deliberation, each of the two sovereigns was superior; the one was distinguished, of the dangerous honour; but as soon as Justinian had declared his preference of superior merit, his envy was kindled by the unanimous applause which was given to the choice of Belisarius. The temper of the Byzantine court may encourage a suspicion, that the hero was darkly assisted by the intrigues of his wife, the fair and subtle Antonina, who alternately enjoyed the confidence, and incurred the hatred, of the empress Theodora. The birth of Antonina was ignoble, she descended from a family of charioteers; and her chastity has been stained with the foulest reproach. Yet the virtues, which the women of that age were too much of the mind of her illustrious husband; and if Antonina disdained the merit of conjugal fidelity, she expressed a manly friendship to Belisarius, whom she accompanied with undaunted resolution in all the hardships and dangers of a military life.

Preparations for the African war were not unworthy of the last contest between Rome and Carthage. The pride and flower of the army consisted of the guards of Belisarius, who, according to the pernicious indulgence of the times, devoted themselves by a particular oath of fidelity and military service, to the person of the sovereign and stature, for which they had been curiously selected, the goodness of their horses and armour, and the assiduous practice of all the exercises of war, enabled them to act whatever their courage might prompt; and their courage was exalted by the social honour of their rank, and the personal ambition of favour and fortune. Four hundred of the bravest of the Herull marched under the banner of the faithful and active Pharas; their uncturable valour was more highly prized than the tame submission of the Greeks and Syrians; and of such importance was it deemed to procure a reinforced garrison in Sicily, when the emperor was detached to the west, they were allured by fraud and deceit to engage in a naval expedition. Five thousand horse and ten thousand foot were embarked at Constantinople for the conquest of Africa, but the infantry, for the most part levied in Thrace and Isauria, yielded to the mere prevails of the march and hatred of the enemy; and the Sicilian bow was the weapon on which the armies of Rome were now reduced to place their principal dependence. From a laudable desire to assert the dignity of his theme, Procopius defends the soldiers of his own time against the morose critics, who confounded that respectable name to the heavy-action of the times of antiquity, and maliciously observed, that the word archer is introduced by Homer as a term of contempt. Such contempt might perhaps be due to the naked youths who appeared on foot in the fields of Troy, and, lurking amongst the bow-string to their breast, dismissed a feeble and lifeless arrow. But our archers (pursue the histri-
tance of discipline, the rewards of piety and virtue, and the unpardoned guilt of murder, which, in his apprehension, was aggravated rather than excused by the vice of intoxication. In the navigation from the Hellespont to Peloponnesus, which the Greeks, after the siege of Troy, had performed in four days, the fleet of Belisarius was guided in their course by his master-galley, conspicuous in the day by the rudder of the sails, and in the night by the torches blazing from the mast-head. It was the duty of the pilots, as they steered between the islands, and turned the capes of Malea and Tamnaurion, to preserve the just order and regular intervals of such a multitude of ships; as the wind or the current in such situations were not always favorable, and the troops were safely disembarked at Methone on the Messenian coast, to repose themselves for a while after the fatigues of the sea. In this place they experienced how avarice, invested with authority, may sport with the lives of thousands which are bravely exposed for the public service. According to military practice, the bread or biscuit of the Romans was twice prepared in the oven, and a diminution of one-fourth was cheerfully allowed for the loss of weight. To gain this miserable profit, and to save the expense of the flour, Count John of Caput Aegaeon had given orders that the flour should be slightly baked by the same fire which warmed the baths of Constantinople; and when the sacks were opened, a soft and mouldy paste was distributed to the army. Such unwholesome food, assisted by the heat of the climate and season, soon produced an epidemic disease, which swept away five hundred soldiers. Their health was restored by the diligence of Belisarius, who provided fresh bread at Methone, and boldly expressed his just and humane indignation; the emperor heard his complaint; the general was praised; but the minister was not punished. From the port of Methone, the pilots steered along the western coast of Peloponnesus, as far as the isle of Zacynthus, or Zant, before they undertook the voyage (in their eyes a most arduous voyage) of one hundred leagues over the Ionian sea. As the fleet was surprised by a calm, sixteen days were consumed in the slow navigation; and even the general would have suffered the intolerable hardship of thirst, if the ingenium of Antonina had not preserved the water in glass bottles, which she buried deep in the sand in a part of the ship impervious to the rays of the sun. At length the fleet anchored on the island of Methone, which afforded a secure and hospital shelter. The Gothic officers who governed the island in the name of the daughter and grand-son of Theodoric obeyed their prudent orders, to receive the troops of Justinian like friends, and to provide for their nourishment. As the supplies were liberally supplied, the cavalry was remounted; and Procopius soon returned from Syracuse with correct information of the state and designs of the Vandals. His intelligence determined Belisarius to hasten his operations, and his wise impudence was seconded by the winds. The fleet lost sight of Sicily, passed before the island of Malta, and covered the capes of Africa, ran along the coast with a strong gale from the north-east, and finally cast anchor at the promontory of Caput Vada, about five days' journey to the south of Carthage.  

If Gelimer had been informed of the approach of the enemy, he must have withdrawn his troops to the island of Sardinia and have made an immediate defence of his person and kingdom. A detachment of five thousand soldiers, and one hundred and twenty galleys, would have joined the remaining forces of the Vandals; and the descendant of Genseric might have surprised and oppressed a fleet of disabled transports incapable of action, and of light brigantines that seemed only qualified for flight. Belisarius had secretly trembled when he over-heard his soldiers, in the passage, imbandaging each other to confess their apprehensions; if they were once embattled, he had an opportunity of making their arms; but if they should be attacked at sea, they did not blush to acknowledge that they wanted courage to contend at the same time with the winds, the waves, and the barbarians. The knowledge of their sentiments decided Belisarius to seize the first opportunity of landing them on the coast of Africa; and he prudently rejected, in a council of war, the proposal of sailing with the fleet and army into the port of Carthage. Three months after their departure from Constantinople, the men and horses, the arms and military regiments, which Belisarius had disposed of, had arrived at his camp on the coast of the African sea. As they had been left as a guard on board each of the ships, which were dispersed in the form of a semicircle. The remainder of the troops occupied a camp on the sea-shore, which they fortified, according to ancient discipline, with a ditch and rampart; and the discovery of a source of fresh water, while it allayed the thirst, excited the superstitious confidence of the Romans. The next morning, some of the neighbouring gardens were pillaged; and Belisarius, after chastising the offenders, embraced the slight occasion, but the decisive moment, of inculcating the maxims of justice, moderation, and genuine policy. "When I first accepted the commission of subduing Africa, I depended much less," said the general, "on the numbers, or even the bravery, of my troops, than upon the friendly disposition of the natives, and their immortal hatred to the Vandals. You alone can deprive me of this hope: if you continue to extort by rapine what might be purchased for a little money, such acts of violence will reconcile these implacable enemies, and unite them in a just and holy league against the invaders of their country." These exhortations were enforced by a rigid discipline, of which the former experience of the Vandals and the salutary effects. The inhabitants, instead of deserting their houses, or hiding their corn, supplied the Romans with a fair and liberal market; the civil officers of the province continued to exercise their functions in the same manner; the same course of government was thereby maintained, the discipline, the zeal of conscience and interest, assiduously laboured to promote the cause of a catholic emperor. The small town of Salsette, one day's journey from the camp, had the honour of being first open to her gates, and to resume her ancient allegiance; the larger cities of Carthage and Hippo. 

Adrumetum imitated the spirit of loyalty as soon as Belisarius appeared; and he advanced without opposition as far as Grasse, a palace of the Vandal kings, at the distance of fifty miles from Carthage. The weary Romans indulged themselves in the refreshment of shady groves, cool fountains, and delicious fruits; and the preference which Præpotius allows to these gardens over any that he had seen, either in the east or west, may be ascribed either to the taste or the fatigue of the historian. In three generations, prosperity and a warm climate had dissolved the
hardy virtue of the Vandals, who insensibly became the most luxurious of mankind. In their villas and gardens, which might deserve the Persian name of *paradise,* they enjoyed a cool and elegant repose; and after the daily use of the bath, the barbarians were seen to issue from their elegant retreats with a degree of festivity and luxury, which was not unknown in the land and sea. Their silken robes, loosely flowing after the fashion of the Medes, were embroidered with gold; love and hunting were the labours of their life, and their vacant hours were amused by pantomimes, chariot-races, and the music and dances of the thousand maidens who accompanied them.

Defeats the Vandals in a first battle. A march of ten or twelve days, the vigilance of Belisarius was constantly awake and active against his unseen enemies, by whom in every place, and at every hour, he might be suddenly attacked. An officer of confidence and merit, John the Armenian, led the vanguard of three hundred horse; six hundred Massagetae covered at a certain distance the left flanks; and the whole fleet, steering along the coast, seldom lost sight of the army, which moved each day about twelve miles, and looked upon the evening in strong enemy before the view of Africa, had left him only the dangerous resource of risking a battle in the neighbourhood of his capital. The Vandals, from their original number of fifty thousand, were multiplied, without including their women and children, to one hundred and sixty thousand fighting men; and such forces, animated with valour and union, might have crushed, at their first landing, the feeble and exhausted bands of the Roman general. But the friends of the captive king were more inclined to accept the invitations, than to resist the progress of Belisarius; and many a bound barbarian disguising his aversion to war under the more specious name of his hatred to the usurper. Yet the authority and promises of Belisarius collected a formidable army, and his plans were concerted with some degree of military skill. An order was despatched to his brother Ammatas, who collected all the forces of Carthage, and was instructed to join him within the distance of ten miles from the city; his nephew Gibamund, with two thousand horse, was destined to attack their left, when the monarch himself, who silently followed, should charge their rear, in a situation which, if left unexposed, was the example to the enemies of the soldiery of the Roman army. But the rashness of Ammatas was fatal to himself and his country. He anticipated the hour of attack, outstripped his tardy followers, and was pierced with a mortal wound, after he had slain with his own hand twelve of his boldest antagonists. His Vandals fled to Carthage; the highway, almost ten miles, was strewn with dead bodies; and it seemed incredible that such multitudes could be slaughtered by the swords of three hundred Romans. The nephew of Belisarius was defeated after a slight combat by the six hundred Massagetae; they did not equal the third part of his numbers; but each Scythian was fired by the example of his chief, who gloriously exercised the privilege of his family, by riding foremost and alone to shoot the first arrow against the enemy. In the mean while, Belisarius himself, ignorant of the event, and more mindful of the safety of his soldiers, had left the Roman army, and reached the scene of action where Ammatas had fallen. He wept the fate of his brother and of Carthage, charged with irresistible fury the advancing squadrons, and might have pursued, and perhaps decided the victory, if he had not wasted those inestimable moments in the discharge of a vain, though pious, duty to the dead. While his spirit was brooding in his mind, he heard the step of Belisarius, who, leaving the vanguard of his infantry in the camp, pressed forwards with his guards and the remnant of the cavalry to rally his flying troops, and to restore the fortune of the day. Much room could not be found in this disorderly battle for the talents of Belisarius; but the king fled before the hero; and the Vandals, accustomed to a Moors, were incapable of withstanding the arms and discipline of the Romans. Belisarius retired with hastiness towards the desert of Numidia; but he had soon the consolation of learning that his private orders for the execution of Hilderic and his captive friends had been faithfully obeyed. The tyrant's revenge was useful only to his enemies. The death of a lawful prince excited the compassion of his people; his life might have perplexed the victorious Romans; and the lieutenant of Justinian, by a crime of which he was innocent, was relieved from the painful alternative of forfeiting his honour or relinquishing his conquests.

As soon as the tumult had subsided, Belisarius pitched his camp on the site of the town of Meles, where, at the milestones from Carthage had applied the Latin appellation of *decimus.* From a wise suspicion of the stratagems and resources of the Vandals, he marched the next day in order of battle, halted in the evening before the gates of Carthage, and alarmed a night of reposè, that he might have, in darkness and disorder, exposures to the liberty of the soldiers, or the soldiers themselves to the secret ambush of the city. But as the fears of Belisarius were the result of calm and intrepid reason, he was soon satisfied that he might confide, without danger, in the peaceful and friendly aspect of the capital. Carthage blazed with innumerable torches, the signals of the public joy; the chain was removed that guarded the entrance of the port; the gates were thrown open, and the people, with acclamations of gratitude, hailed and invited their Roman deliverers. The defeat of the Vandals, and the freedom of Africa, were announced to the cities of the East and West; and the churches were already adorned and illuminated for the festival of the martyr, whom three centuries of superstitious had almost raised to a local deity. The Arians, conscious that their reign had expired, resigned the capital to the church, and the army, who defeated a Moorish force, performed the holy rites, and loudly proclaimed the creed of Arius and Justinian. One awful hour reversed the fortunes of the contending parties. The suppliants Vandals, who so lately indulged the vices of conquerors, sought an humble refuge in the sanctuary of the church; while the merchants of the east were delivered from the deepest dungeon of the palace by their affrighted keepers, who implored the protection of his captives, and showed them, through an aperture in the wall, the sails of the Roman fleet. After their separation from the army, they were well armed and equipped, and steered their course along the coast, till they reached the Hermean promontory, and obtained the first intelligence of the victory of Belisarius. Faithful to his instructions, they would have cast anchor about twenty miles from Carthage, if the fleet had not encountered the perils of the shore, and the signs of an impending tempest. Still ignorant of the revolution, they declined, however, the rash attempt of forcing the chain of the port; and the adjacent harbour and suburb of Mandræum were insulted only by the rapine of a pri- vate party, who destroyed, and despoiled the emperor's palace. But the imperial fleet, advancing with a fair wind, steered through the narrow entrance of the Goletta, and
occupied in the deep and capacious lake of Tunis a secure station about five miles from the capital. No sooner was Belisarius informed of their arrival, than he despatched orders that the greatest part of the mariners should be immediately landed to join the troops, and to induce the appearance of the Vandals to the Romans. Before they were allowed to enter the gates of Carthage, he exhorted them, in a discourse worthy of himself and the occasion, not to disgrace the glory of their arms; and to remember that the Vandals had been the tyrants, but that they were the deliverers, of the Africans, who must acknowledge the recollection of theavarous and avaricious subjects of their common sovereign. The Vandals marched through the streets in close ranks, prepared for battle if an enemy had appeared; the strict order maintained by the general impressed on their minds the duty of obedience; and in an age in which custom and impunity almost sanctified the abuse of conquest, the genius of one man repressed the passions of a victorious army. The voice of menace and complaint was silent; the trade of Carthage was not interrupted; while Africa changed her master and her governors, the shops continued open and busy. But the soldiers, after sufficient guards had been posted, modestly departed to the houses which were allotted for their reception. Belisarius fixed his residence in the palace; seated himself on the throne of Genercite; accepted and distributed the barbaric spoil; granted the freedom of Carthage to the labourers who repaired the damage which the suburb of Mandrachium had sustained in the preceding night. At supper he entertained his principal officers with the form and magnificence of a royal banquet. The victor was respectfully served by the captive officers of the household, who were the objects of festivity, when the imperial spectators applauded the fortune and merit of Belisarius, his envious flatterers secretly shed their venom on every word and gesture which might alarm the suspicions of a jealous monarch. One day was given to these pompous scenes, which may not be despised as useless, if they attracted the popular veneration; but the active mind of Belisarius, which in the pride of victory could suppose a defeat, had already resolved, that the Roman empire in Africa should not depend on the chance of arms, or the favour of the people, but the prosperity of Carthage alone could exempted from the general proscription; but in the reign of ninety-five years they were suffered to decay by the thoughtless and insensible Vandals. A wiser conqueror restored with incredible despatch the walls and fortresses of the city of Carthage, which had been abandoned by the Vandals. His liberality encouraged the workmen; the soldiers, the mariners, and the citizens vied with each other in the salutary labour; and Gelimer, who had feared to trust his person in an open town, beheld with astonishment and despair the rising strength of an impregnable fortress.

That unfortunate monarch, after the loss of his capital, applied himself to the Vandals, and, as the consequence of their superior merit, he permitted the barbarians to occupy the town of Suthrion or the Round Tower, which was not more than a mile distant. Nothing was spared that could be employed in making the Palermo of Africa. The Vandals, under the conduct of their king, Zano, with the troops which had followed him to the conquest of Sardinia, were placed in the centre; and the throne of Genercite might have stood, if the multitude of Vandals had imitated their intrepid resolution. Casting away their lances and missile weapons, they drew their swords, and expected the issue of battle. The Roman cavalry thrice passed the rivulet; they were thrice repulsed; and the enfilade was firmly maintained, till Zano fell, and the standards of Belisarius was displayed. Gelimer retreated to his camp; the Vandals joined the pursuit of the fugitives, and the insatiable vengeance of the besiegers was imminent. Yet no more than fifty Romans, and eight hun-

1 The neighbourhood of Carthage, the sea, the land, and the rivers, are changed almost as much as the works of man. The inhuman, or at least barbarous, conduct of Belisarius, as disclosed and confided with in this work; the history of Africa is a dry plain; and the lake, or mare, nonum, more than an inch wide, with a stone-covered fort, is the melancholy object. The profile of Carthage, the ancient and noble city, is described by 

2 From Delphi, the name of Delphicum was given, both in Greek and Latin, to an open or plain space, by an easy ascent, in the grounds of the same appellation, was extended at Rome, Constantinople, and Carthage, to the royal banqueting room. (Procopius, Vandal. i. 21. DTacitus, Ginn. Graec. p. 277. Alciat. ad Afr. p. 208.)

3 These orations always express the sense of the times, and sometimes of the actors. I have condensed that sense, and thrown away declaration.
dred Vandals, were found on the field of battle; so in-
considerable was the carnage of a day, which extin-
guished a nation, and transferred the empire of Africa.
In the evening, Belisarius led his infantry to the attack of the camp; and the postilsonian flight of Gelimer exposed that part of his army which had deserted, and the vanquished death was a relief, life a burthen, and infamy the only object of terror. His departure was secret; but as soon as the Vandals discovered that their king had deserted them, they hastily dispersed, anxious only for their personal safety, and careless of every other consideration. Meanwhile the Romans entered the camp without resistance; and the wildest scenes of disorder were veiled in the darkness and confusion of the night. Every barbarian who met their swords was inhumanly massacred; their wives and daughters, as rich heirs, or beautiful concubines, were embraced by the licentious soldiers; and avarice itself was almost satiated with the treasures of gold and silver, the accumulated fruits of conquest or economy in a long period of prosperity and peace. In this frantic search, the troops even of Belisarius forgot their caution and respect. Intoxicated with lust and rapiers, they fell upon many of the unoffending civilians, in adjacent fields, the woods, the rocks, and the caverns, that might possibly conceal any desirable prize: laden with booty, they deserted their ranks, and wandered without a guide, on the high road to Carthage; and if the flying enemies had dared to return, very few of the conquerors would have escaped. Deeply sensible of the disgrace and danger, Belisarius passed an apprehensive night in the field of victory; at the dawn of day, he planted his standard on a hill, recalled his guards and veterans, and gradually restored the modesty and obedience of the camp. It was equally the concern of Gelimer to despoil, instead of a sword, the head of the valiant Zenno; and to save the prostrate, barbarians: and the suppli-
vantals, who could be found only in churches, were protected by his authority, disharned, and separa-
ately confined, that they might neither disturb the public peace, nor become the victims of popular re-
venge. After despatching a light detachment to tread the footsteps of Gelimer, he advanced with his whole army, about ten days' march, as far as Hippo Regius, which no longer possessed the relics of St. Augustin.5 The season, and the certain intelligence that the Van-
dals had fled to the inaccessibility of the Moors, deterred Belisarius from a pursuit, and recalled his most skilled generals, and to fix his winter-quarters at Carthage. From thence he despatched his principal lieutenant, to inform the emperor, that in the space of three months, he had achieved the conquest of Africa.

Conquest of Africa.

Belisarius spoke the language of successful generals, transported the surviving Vandals yielded, without resistance, their arms and their freedom: the neighbourhood of Carthage submitted to his presence; and the more distant provinces were successively subdued by the report of his victory. Tripoli was confirmed in her voluntary allegiance; Sardinia, which the historic provincid had so long retained, instead of a sword, the head of the valiant Zenno; and the isles of Majorca, Minorca, and Yvica, consented to remain an humble appendage of the African kingdom. Carthage, a royal city, which in lesser geography may be confounded with the modern Algiers, was situate thirty days' march to the westward of Carthage: by land, the road was infested by the

5 The relics of St. Augustin were carried by the African bishops to their Sarthian exile; (A. D. 500;) and it was believed in the ecclesiastical century, that Liptramus, king of the Lombards, transported them (A. D. 568) from the diocese of Lemoonia to the bishoprick of Alba, to the eastward of the Po, and near the Adriatic Sea. Not long after, these relics fell out of the hands of the Bishops of Alba. Some of the Monks of Auxerre, who had composed a MS. as well as an illuminated manuscript, before the decree of the council of Paris, and pope Benedict XIII.6

6 To the theophylact, in the expression of Procopius, (de Edific. l. vi. c. 7.) Cotta, which has been defined by the Portuguese, inscribed in arches, and pilasters in a regular manner, under the more opulent name of the American (l'Afrique de Marmol, tom. ii. p. 225.)

7 See the second and third preambles to the Digest, or Pandects, promulgated A. D. 523, December 10. To the title of Judicature, contained in the Digest, the mebior of Gregory the Great was prefixed; Gaius was praefectus, and Francisius false, and offensive to the great nation.

8 See the original acts in Basaronis. (A. D. 533, Nos. 21—34.) The emperor applies his own leniency to the ecclesiastics, without sufficient reason.

9 Dupin (Geograph. Sacra Africana, p. 31, ad Opis. Milesi) observes and bewails this episcopal decay. In the more precious age of the church, he had noticed 560 bishops; but however minute the emperor observes the decrees, it is not probable that they all existed at the same time.
IT is soon distinguished by the appellation of
Exarch.4 Yet the conquest of Africa was imper-
fect, till her former sovereign was deliver-
ed, either alive or dead, into the hands of
the Roman monarch. From the Gelmier
Gelmier had given secret orders that a part of his trea-
sure should be transported to Spain, where he hoped to
find a secure retreat at the court of the king of the Visi-
goths. But these intentions were disappointed by ac-
cident, treachery, and the indefatigable pursuit of his
captives. He expected to escape from the scenes of
his misfortunes, and chased the unfortunate monarch, with some faith-
ful followers, to the inaccessible mountain of Papum,5 in
the inland country of Numidia. He was immediately
besieged by Pharas, an officer whose truth and sobriety
were the more trusted, as such qualities could sel-
dom be found among the Heruli, the most corrupt of the barbarian
tribes. To his vigilance Belisarius had intrusted this important charge; and, after a bold at-
tempt to scale the mountain, in which he lost a hun-
dred and ten soldiers, Pharas expected, during a win-
ter siege, the operation of distress and famine to suite the
mind of the Vandals king. From the poorest habits of
pleasure, from the unbounded command of industry and
wealth, he was reduced to share the poverty of the
Moors,6 supportable only to themselves by their igno-
rance of a happier condition. In their rude hovels, of
which not a single one was lighted, and amid the
famine, they promiscuously slept on the ground,
perhaps on a sheep-skin, with their wives, their chil-
ren, and their cattle. Sordid and scanty were their garments;
the use of bread and wine was unknown; and
their eaten or barley cakes, improperly baked in
the cinders, were the destitute state by the hungry
savage. The health of Gelmier must have
sunk under these strange and unwonted hardships, from
whence it caused them to endure; but his ac-
tual misery was imbibited by the recollection of past
happiness, the daily insole of his protectors, and the
pleasurant apprehension, that the light and vernal Moors might be
tempted to betray the rights of hospitality. The
knowledge of his situation dictated the humane and
friendly epistle of Pharas. "Like yourself," said
the chief of the Heruli, "I am an illiterate barbarian, but I
speak the language of plain truth. Why will you persist in hopeless
obstinance? Why will you ruin yourself, your family, and na-
tion? The love of freedom and abhorrence of slavery! Also! my dearest Gelmier, are you not already
in the worst of states, the slave of the vili-
nation of the Moors? It will not be proper for your
mind to pass from the stagnat
stagnat, a life of poverty and servitude, rather than to
return the undoubted monarch of the mountain of
Papum! Do you think it a disgrace to be the subject of Justinian? Belisarius is his subject; and we our-
selves, whose birth is not inferior to your own, and not
ashamed of our obedience to the Roman emperor. That
generous prince will grant you a rich inheritance of
lands, a place in the senate, and the dignity of pa-
trician: such are his gracious intentions, and you may
depend with full assurance on the word of Belisarius. Not
even as Heaven has condoned us to suffer, Ca-
pitene is a virtue; but if we reject the professed deliv-
erence, it degenerates into blind and stupid despair,"
"I am not insensible," replied the king of the Vandals,
"how kind and rational is your advice. But I cannot
persevere myself to become the slave of an unjust en-
emy, who has deserved my imperable hatred. Him I
had never injured either by word or deed: yet he has
sent against me. I know not from whence, a certain Belisarius, who has cast me headlong from the
throne into this abyss of misery. Justinian is a man; he is
a prince; does he not dread for himself a similar re-
verse of fortune? I can write no more: my grief oppre-
sesses me. Send me, I beseech you, my dear Pharas,
send me a lyre; a spunge, and a loaf of bread." From
the Vandals messenger, Pharas was informed of the me-
teousness of the enterprise. It was long since the
king of Africa had tasted bread; a deflection had fallen
on his eyes, the effect of fatigue or incessant weep-
ing; and he wished to solace the melancholy hours,
by singing to the lyre the sad story of his own misfor-
to. Their humanity of Pharas was more: he sent the
three extraordinary gifts; but even his humanity prompted
him to rebuke the vigilance of his guard, that he might
soon compel his prisoner to embrace a resolu-
tion advantageous to the Romans, but salutary to hims-
self. The obstinacy of Gelmier at length yielded to
the persuasive reasonings of the mission, and the
honourable treatment was ratified in the emperor's
name, by the ambassador of Belisarius; and the king of
the Vandals descended from the mountain. The
first public interview was in one of the suburbs of Car-
thage; and when the royal captive accosted his conquer-
or, he exclaimed, his heart, as naturally believe, that extreme grief had deprived
Gelmier of his senses; but in this mourning state, unse-
asonable mirth insinuated to more intelligent observers,
that the vain and transitory scenes of human greatness are too
often too full of a serious thought.
Their condition was soon justified by their return and tria-
a new example of a vulgar truth; that
ugh of Belisarius flattery adheres to power, and envy to su-
perior merit. The chief of the Roman
army presumed to think themselves the rivals of a he-
ro... Their private despatches maliciously affirmed,
that the conqueror of Africa, strong in his reputation and
the public love, conspired to seat himself on the
throne of the Vandals. Justinian listened with too pa-
tient an ear; and his silence was the result of jealousy
rather than of confidence. An honourable alternative
was proposed by the Roman emperor. The capital, was indeed submitted to the discretion of
Belisarius; but he wisely concluded, from intercepted let-
ters, and the knowledge of his sovereign's temper,
that he must either resign his head, erect his standard,
or confound his enemies by his presence and submis-
ion. In the agreement, the emperor yielded his
guards, captives, and treasures were diligently en-
barred; and so prosperous was the navigation, that
his arrival at Constantinople preceded any certain
account of his departure from the port of Carthage.
Such unsuspecting loyalty removed the apprehen-
sions of Justinian; envy was silenced and inflamed by
the public gratitude; and the third Africanus obtained the
honours of a triumph, a ceremony which the city of
Constantinople had never seen, and which ancient Rome, since the reign of Tiberius, had reserved for
the emperor alone. The procession moved from the
principal streets to the hippodrome; and this mem-
orable day seemed to avenge the injuries of Genesice,

4 The African laws of Justinius are illustrated by his German bi-
ger (Cod. 1, b. 43, 47. Novell. 35, 37, 41, Vit. Justinianum, p. 319

5 Moorn. 2. Papu is placed by Pappiolus (tom. ii., p. 29, and Tabul.

6 From Travels, p. 223.) most accurately represents the manners of
the Belisarius and Kilbydes; the last of whom, by their language, are
replaced by the Moors; yet how changed—how civilized are these
modem savages!—provisions are plenty among them, and bread is
common.
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

31

and to expiate the shame of the Romans. The wealth of nations was displayed, the trophies of martial or effec-facing Scythian and Sarmatian chieftains, and the chariots of state which had been used by the Vandal queen: the massy furniture of the royal banquet, the splendour of precious stones, the elegant forms of statuettes and vases, the more substantial treasure of gold, and the holy vessels of the Jewish temple, which after the ruin of that congregation were respectfully deposited in the Christian church of Jerusalem. A long train of the noblest Vandals reluctantly exposed their lofty stature and munificent tenements. Gelimer slowly advanced; he was clad in a purple robe, and still maintained the majesty of a king. Not a tear escaped from his eyes, not a sigh was heard; but his pride or party derived some secret consolation from the words of Solomon, which he repeatedly pronounced, 

"Vanity! vanity! all is vanity! Instead of ascending a triumphal car drawn by four horses or elephants, the modest conqueror marched on foot at the head of his brave companions. His prudence might decline an honour too conspicuous for a subject; and his magnanimity might justly disdain what had been so often sullied by the vices of tyrants. The glorious procession entered the gate of the hippodrome; was saluted by the acclamations of the senate and people; and halted before the throne of a conqueror. But the presence of Gelimer was confined to the temple of Minerva, where he received the homage of the captive monarch and the victorious hero. Both performed the customary adoration; and falling prostrate on the ground, respectfully touched the foot-stool of a prince who had not advanced his sword, and of a prostitute who had danced on the emperor's ample estate in the provinces of Galatia, where the abdicated monarch retired with his family and friends, to a life of peace, of influence, and perhaps of content. The daughters of Hilicern were entertained with the respectful tenderness due to their age and misfortune; and Justianus and Theodora accepted the honour of educating and enriching the female descendants of the great Theodosius. The bravest of the Vandal youth were distributed into five squadrons of cavalry, which adopted the name of their benefactor, and supported in the Persian wars, the glory of their race.

But these rare exceptions, the reward of birth or valor, could not console the fate of a nation, whose numbers, before a short and bloodless war, amounted to more than six hundred thousand persons. After the exile of their king and nobles, the servile crowd might purchase their safety, by obeying the dictates of religion and language; and their degenerate posterity would be insensibly mingled with the common herd of African subjects. Yet even in the present age, and in the wilderness tribes of Ethiopia, the poet has discovered the white complexion and long flaxen hair of a northern race; and it was formerly believed, that the boldest of the Vandals fled beyond the power, or even the knowledge, of the Romans, to enjoy their solitary freedom on the shores of the Atlantic ocean. Africa had been their empire, it became their prison; nor could they entertain a hope, or even a wish, of returning to the banks of the Elbe, where their brethren, of a spirit less adventurous, still wandered in their native forests. It was impossible for cowards to surmount the barriers of unknown seas and hostile barbarians; it was impracticable for heroes to escape the pursuit, and defeat before the eyes of their countrymen, to describe the kingdoms which they had lost, and to claim a share of the humble inheritance, which, in a happier hour, they had almost unananimously renounced. In the country between the Elbe and the Oder, several populous villages of Lusatia are inhabited by the Vandals; they still preserve their language, their customs, and the purity of their blood; support, with some impatience, the Saxon or Prussian yoke; and serve, with secret and voluntary allegiance, the descendant of their ancient kings, who in his garb and present servitude, claims to expiate the crimes of his vassals. The name and situation of this unhappy people might indicate their descent from one common stock with the conquerors of Africa. But the use of a Scholavian dialect more clearly represents them as the last remnant of the new colonies, who succeeded to the genuine Vandals, already scattered or destroyed in the age of Procopius. If Belisarius had been tempted to he-Manes and desist in his allegiance, he might have fete of the Moors, urged, even against the emperor himself, the indispensable duty of saving Africa from an enemy whose barbary and cruelty were even more unequalled than as their treatment of the Moors is involved in darkness: they were ignorant of the use of letters. Their limits cannot be precisely defined: a boundless continent was open to the Libyan shepherds; the change of seasons and pastures regulate their motions; and their rude huts and slender furniture were liable to be expended by the arts, their families, and their cattle, which consisted of sheep, oxen, and camels. During the vigour of the Roman power, they observed a respectful distance from Carthage and the sea-shore; under the feeble reign of the Vandals, they invaded the cities of Numidia, occupied the territory from Tanger to the Guer, pitched their camps, with impunity, in the fertile province of Byzacum. The formidable strength and artful conduct of Belisarius secured the neutrality of the Moor.

2 Shaw, p. 97. Yet since Procopius (i. 111. c. 153) speaks of a people of mount Atlas, as already distinguished by white bodies and yellow hair, the phenomenon which is likewise visible in the Andes of Peru, Bushon, tom. iii. p. 504, may naturally be ascribed to the elevation of the ground and the temperature of the air.

3 The geography of Ravenna (ib. iii. p. 150, 131, 141, Paris, 1855) describes the Mauritanians (Gothinian, opposite to Cadiz) of the Vandals as dwelling in Africa, and not of Numida.

4 A single voice has persisted, and General Simpson, without a formal answer, represents the Vandals of Germany, and those of Africa denoted as their emperor, and affected to despise the poverty of their forests, Procopius, Vandals, i. (c. 22.)

5 From the mouth of the great elector (in 1687) Tellus describes the secret, sly, and ruthless spirit of the Vandals of Branden- burgh, who must number five or six thousand soldiers who have clero some common, &c. (Hinsel. Hager. g. 42, apud Dubus, Hist. i. 421. Monarchie de la Gaule, tom. ii. p. 152. Procopius, Hist. iv. iii. c. 45.) 51, but of Tellus himself, may justly be suspected.

6 Procopius (i. 111. c. 22.) This may not be a name of a Christian theologian, but of the Vandals and Verrilli already handed on to the Thrau- guins. (Mancos, Hist. of the German, &c. Copenhagen, 1853.)

7 Sallust represents the Moors as a remnant of the army of the Huns, (Hinsel. Hist. g. 42.) Procopius describes the cruelty and poverty of the Canaumans who died from the robber Jutus. (ib. c. 152.) He quotes two canting lines of a Phoenician inscription, I believe in the colonists— I doubt the inscription, for the inscriptions formed generally.

8 Virgil Georg. iv. 352.) and Pomponeus Melis (i. 111.) describe the wanderers of the African shepherds, similar to that of the Arabs and Tartars, and Shaw (g. 221.) is the best commentator on the poet and the geography.
ish princes, whose vanity aspired to receive, in the emperor's name, the emblems of their royal dignity. They were astonished by the rapid event, and trembled in the presence of their conqueror. But his approaching departure soon relieved the apprehensions of a savage and superstitious people; the number of their wives allowed them to disregard the safety of their infant host; and when Roman General最好是 sail in the port of Carthage, he heard the cries, and almost bared the flames, of the desolated province. Yet he persisted in his resolution; and leaving only a part of his guards to reinforce the fickle garrisons, he intruded himself to look for the daughter of the consul...}

Aurasius. In the first invasion, some detachments, with two officers of merit, were surprised and intercepted; but Solomon speedily assembled his troops, marched from Carthage into the heart of the country, and in two great battles destroyed sixty thousand of the barbarians. The Moors depended on their multitude, their swiftness, and their inaccessible mountains; and the aspect and smell of their camels are said to have produced some confusion in the Roman cavalry. But as soon as they were commanded to dismount, they deployed this contemptible obstdate, as soon as the columns ascended the hills, the naked and disorderly crowd was dazzled by glittering arms and regular evolutions; and the menace of their female prophets was repeatedly fulfilled, that the Moors should be discomfited by a beard-bearing apostate, and a journey from Carthage, to besiege Mount Aurasius, the citadel and at the same time the garden of Numidia. That range of hills, a branch of the great Atlas, contains, within a circumference of one hundred and twenty miles, a rare variety of soil and climate. The locust and ciblea are the most abundant, and are plausons above rich pastures, perpetual streams, and fruits of a delicious taste and uncommon magnificence. This fair solitude is decorated with the ruins of Lambes, a Roman city, once the seat of a legion, and the residence of forty thousand inhabitants. The Iberian temple of Aesculapius is encompassed with Moorish huts; and the cattle now graze in the midst of an amphitheatre, under the shade of Corinthian columns. A sharp perpendicular rock rises above the level of the mountain, where the African princes deposited their wives and treasure; and a proverb is familiar to the Arabs, that the man who may eat fire, who dares to attack the craggy cliffs and inapproachable natives of Mount Aurasius. This hardy enterprise was twice attempted by the emir Solomon: from the first, he retreated with some disgrace; and in the second, his patience and resolution were almost exhausted; and he must again have retired, if he had not yielded to the impetuous courage of his troops, who audaciously scaled, to the astonishment of the Moors, the mountain, the hostile camp, and the summit of the Gemnian rock. A citadel was erected to secure this important conquest, and to remind the barbarians of their defeat; and Solomon pursued his march to the west, the longlost province of Mauritanian Sitif was again annexed to the Roman empire. The Moorish war continued several

years after the departure of Belisarius; but the laurel which he reigned to a faithful lieutenant, may be justly ascribed to his own triumph.

The experience of past faults, which Neutrality of may sometimes correct the maturity age the Visigoths, of an individual, is seldom profitable to the successive generations of mankind. The nations of antiquity, which lost their empire, were generally vanquished and enslaved by the Romans. This usual lesson might have instructed the barbarians of the west to oppose, with timely counsels and confederate arms, the unbounded ambition of Justian. Yet the same neglect of advice was repeated in the following century, when the Visigoths of Africa, and the Goths, both of Italy and Spain, insensible of their approaching danger, bared with indifference, and even with joy, the rapid downfall of the Vandals. After the failure of the royal line, Thudes, a valiant and powerful chief, ascended the throne of Spain, which he had formerly administered in the name of Theode- ric and his infant grandson. Under his command, the Visigoths besieged the fortress of Crusta on the African coast: but, while they spent the sabbath-day in peace and devotion, the pious security of their camp was invaded by a sally from the town; and the king himself, with several of his officers, fell in battle with the hands of a sacrilegious enemy. It was not long before his pride and resentment were gratified by a suppliant embassy from the unfortunate Gelimer, who implored, in his distress, the aid of the Spanish monarch. But instead of conferring the meritorious punishment of the dictators of generosity and prudence, Thudes amased the ambassadors, till he was secretly informed of the loss of Carthage, and then dismissed them with obscure and contemptuous advice, to seek in their native country a true knowledge of the state of the Vandals. The lesson of the Spanish war was to delay the punishment of the Visigoths; Romans interceded, and the eyes of Thudes were closed. a. D. 550-560.}

for they tasted the fruits of his mistaken policy. After his death, the sceptre of Spain was disputed by a civil war. The weaker candidate solicited the protection of Justinian, and ambitiously subscribed a treaty of alliance, which deeply wounded the independence and happiness of his country. Several cities, both on the ocean and the Mediterranean, were ceded to the Roman troops, who afterwards refused to evacuate those pledges, as it should seem, either of safety or payment; and as they were hired by perpetual supplies from Africa, they maintained their impregnable stations, for the miscellaneous purpose of infringing the civil and religious factions of the barbarians. Seventy years elapsed before this painful thorn could be extirpated from the bosom of the monarchy; and as long as the emperor maintained any share of these remote and useless possessions, their vanity might number Spain in the list of their provinces, and the successors of Alaric in the rank of their vassals.

The error of the Goths who reigned in Spain was less excusable than that of the Ostrogoths, and the Spanish brethren, and their punish- goths of Italy, went was still more immediate and ter-

rible. From a motive of private revenge, they enabled their most dangerous enemy to destroy their most valuable ally. A sister of the great Theodoric had been given in marriage to Thrasamund the African king; on this occasion, the fortress of Lillybaeum in Sicily
was resigned to the Vandals: and the princess Amalafrida was attended by a martial train of one thousand noble men, and five thousand Gothic slaves who signified their valour in the Moorish wars. Their merit was over-rated by themselves, and perhaps neglected by the Vandals; they viewed the country with envy, and the conquerors with disdain; but their real fictitious conspiracy was prevented by a massacre; the Goths and their Gthic tongue, the daughter of Theodoric maintained in her counsels a discreet and impene-
trable silence. By a faithful imitation of the virtues, she revived the prosperity of his reign; while she strove with pious care to expiate the faults, and to ob-
lerate the darker memory of his declining age. The children of Theodoric and Symmachus were restored to their paternal inheritance; her extreme lenity never consented to inflict any corporal or pecuniary penalties on her Roman subjects; and she generously des-
pised the clamours of the Goths, who, at the end of forty years, still considered the people of Italy as their slaves, and whose recreations were directed by the sea, and the Goths were destined of a navy. In the blind impotence of grief and indignation, they joyfully saluted the approach of the Romans, enter-
tained the fleet of Belisarius in the ports of Sicily, and were speedily delighted or surprised by the surprising intelligence, that their revenge was executed beyond the measure of their hopes, or perhaps of their wishes. To their friendship the emperor was indebted for the kingdom of Africa, and the Goths might reasonably think, that they were entitled to resume the posses-
sion of a single city, but to deprive Rome of its titles, and the gift from the island of Sicily. They were soon under-
ceived by the haughty mandate of Belisarius, which excited their tardy and unavailing repentance. "The city and promontory of Lillybæum," said the Roman general, "are yielded to the Vandals, and I claim them by the right of conquest. Your submission may de-
serve the favour of the emperor; your obstinacy will provoke his displeasure, and must kindle a war, that can terminate only in your utter ruin. If you compel us to take up arms, we shall contend, not to regain the possession of a single city, but to deprive Rome of its titles, and the provinces which you unjustly withhold from their lawful sovereign." A nation of two hundred thousand soldiers might have smiled at the vain menace of Jus-
tinian and his lieutenant: but a spirit of discord and dis-
affection prevailed in Italy, and the Goths supported, with reluctance, the indignity of a female reign.5

The birth of Amalasuntha, the regent and queen of Italy,6 united the two most southerly, queen of illustrious families of the barbarians. Born at Thessonicum, c. 522. Her mother, the sister of Clovis, was captured at Poitiers, and given in marriage to her son, of the Merovingian race, and the royal succession of the Amali was illustrated in the eleventh generation, by her father, the great Théodoric, whose merit might have ennobled a plebeian origin. The sex of her daughter excluded her from the Gothic throne; but his vigilant tenderness for his family and his people discovered the last heir of the royal line, whose ancestors had taken refuge in Spain; and the fortunate Eutharic was suddenly exalted to the rank of a consul and a prince. He enjoyed only a short time the charms of Amala-
suntha, and the hopes of the succession; and his widow, after the death of her husband and father, was left the guardian of her son Athalaric, and the kingdom of Italy. At the age of about twenty-eight years, the en-
dowments of her mind and person had attained their perfect maturity. Her beauty, which, in the apprehen-
sion of Theodoric herself, might have disputed the con-
quest of an emperor, was animated by manly sense, character, activity, and resolution. Education and experience had cultivated her talents; her philosophic studies were exempt from vanity; and, though she expressed herself with equal elegance and ease in the Greek, the Latin, and the Gothic tongue, the daughter of Theodor-
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6 The marriage of Theodoric with Aemilia, the sister of Clovis, must be placed in the eighth or ninth century, as an event near the end of the Gothic dominion. (See Paullus, Hist. des Peuples, tom. iv. p. 372.) The marriage of Theodoric with Aemilia, the sister of Clovis, must be placed in the eighth or ninth century, as an event near the end of the Gothic dominion. (See Paullus, Hist. des Peuples, tom. iv. p. 372.)

7 At the death of Theodosius, his grandson Athalaric is described by Procopius as a boy about eight years old; even at seventeen, the Fritellius, with authority and reason, adds two years to his age:—infantus ad vitam decem venit.
ance, left her destitute of any firm support or legal authority. Instead of submitting to the laws of her country, which held as a fundamental maxim, that the succession could never pass from the lance to the distaff, the daughter of Theodoric, with her brother and the thousand thespians whom her influence had gathered to her side, with one of her cousins, the regal title, and of reserving in her own hands the substance of supreme power. He received the proposal with profound respect and affected gratitude; and the eloquent Cassiodorus announced to the senate and the emperor, that Amalasuntha and Theodatus had ascended the throne of Italy. His birth (for his mother was the sister of Theodoric) might be considered as an imperfect title; and the choice of Amalasuntha was more strongly directed by her contempt of his avarice and possifaliminity, which had deprived of the love of the Italians, and the esteem of the barbarians. But Theodatus was exasperated by the contempt which he deserved; her justice had repressed and reproached the oppression which he exercised against his Tuscan neighbours; and the principal Goths, united by common guilt and resentment, conspired to intrigue his assassination, and to precipitate his government in a slow and timid disposition. The letters of congratulation were scarcely despatched, before the queen of Italy was imprisoned in a small island of the lake of Bolsena; where, in the impatience of her case, she was strangled in the bath, by the order, or with the connivance, of the new king, who instructed his turbulent subjects to shed the blood of their sovereigns.

Belisarius in various dispositions of the Goths; and the mediation of an ally concealed and promoted. Justinian beheld with joy the dissensions of the Goths; and the mediation of an ally concealed and promoted his intrigues against his enemies. His ambassadors, in their public audience, demanded the fortress of Libyeum, ten barbarian fugitives, and a just compensation for the pilfering of a small town on their march; but their request was indignantly rejected by Theodatus to betray the province of Tarsusy, and tempted Amalasuntha to extricate herself from danger and perplexity, by a free surrender of the kingdom of Italy. A false and servile epistle was subscribed by the reluctant hand of the captive queen; but the confession of the Roman senators, who were sent to Constantinople, revealed the truth of her deplorable situation; and Justinian, by the voice of a new ambassador, most powerfully interceded for her life and liberty. Yet the secret instructions of the same man are related to serve the interests of Theodora, who dreaded the presence and superior charms of a rival; she prompted, with artful and ambiguous hints, the execution of a crime so useful to the Romans which revealed the intelligence of her death with grief and indignation, and denounced, in his master's name, immortal war against the perfidious assassin.

In Italy, as well as in Africa, the guilt of a usurper appeared to justify the arms of Justinian; but the forces which he prepared were insufficient for the subversion of a mighty kingdom, if their feeble numbers had not been multiplied by the names of the spirited and the conduct of an hero. A chosen troop of guards, who served on horse-back, and were armed with lances and bucklers, attended the person of Belisarius; his cavalry was composed of two hundred Huns, three hundred Vandals, and one thousand Saracens. The infantry consisted only of three thousand Issurins. Steering the same course as in his former expedition, the Roman consul cast anchor before Catania in Sicily, to survey the strength of the island, and to decide whether he should attempt the conquest, or peacefully pursue his voyage for the African coast. He found a fruitful land and a friendly people. Notwithstanding the decay of agriculture, Sicily still supplied the granaries of Rome: the farmers were gratuitously exempted from the oppression of military quarters; and the goats, which, instead of the abundant and peaceful herds of the habitants, had some reason to complain, that their confidence was ungratefully betrayed. Instead of soliciting and expecting the aid of the king of Italy, they yielded to the first summons a cheerful obedience: and this province, the first-fruits of the Punic wars, was capable of purifying his mind from the thoughts of the empire. The Gothic garrison of Palermo, which alone attempted to resist, was reduced, after a short siege, by a singular stratagem. Belisarius introduced his ships into the deepest recess of the harbour; their presence was concealed by the smoke of the vessels directed against the top-most part, and he filled them with archers, who, from that superior station, commanded the ramparts of the city. After this easy, though successful campaign, the conqueror entered Syracuse in triumph, at the head of his victorious bands, distributing gold medals to the people, on the day which so gloriously terminated the year of the consuls. He passed the winter season in the palace of ancient kings, amidst the ruins of a Greek colony, which once extended to a circumference of two and twenty miles: but in the spring, he embarked about the island of Lipari, which he had so lately besieged, and his designs was interrupted by a dangerous revolt of the African forces. Carthage was saved by the presence of Belisarius, who suddenly landed with a thousand men. Two thousand soldiers of doubtful faith returned to the standard of their old commander; and he marched, without hesitation, above fifty miles, to seek an enemy whom he affected to pity and despise. Eight thousand rebels trembled at his approach: they were routed at the first onset, by the dexterity of their master; and this ignoble victory would have restored the African provinces, if the conduct of Belisarius had not recalled to Sicily, to appease a sedition which was kindled during his absence in his own camp. Disorder and dis obedience were the common malady of the times: the genius to command, and the virtue to obey, resided only in the mind of Belisarius. Although Belisarius descended from the Regia and weakness of Theodora, he went to join the greatest king of Italy, had he studied the writings of Plato and Tully, philosophy was incapable of purifying his mind from the influence of his native passions, avarice and fear. He had purchased a sceptre by ingratitude and murder: at the first menace of an enemy, he degraded his own majesty, and that of a nation, which already disdained their unworthy sovereign. Astonished by the recent example of Gelimer, he saw himself dragged in chains through the streets of Constantinople: the terrors of Belisarius, the insurge of Theodora, the weakness of the Gothic art, and averse to the dangers of war, led him to fear, to hope, to desire only in the mind of Belisarius. Although Belisarius descended from the Regia and weakness of Theodora, he went to join the greatest king of Italy. Although he had studied the writings of Plato and Tully, philosophy was incapable of purifying his mind from the influence of his native passions, avarice and fear. He had purchased a sceptre by ingratitude and murder: at the first menace of an enemy, he degraded his own majesty, and that of a nation, which already disdained their unworthy sovereign. Astonished by the recent example of Gelimer, he saw himself dragged in chains through the streets of Constantinople: the terrors of Belisarius, the insurge of Theodora, the weakness of the Gothic art, and averse to the dangers of war, led him to fear, to hope, to desire only in the mind of Belisarius.
Peter, the Byzantine ambassador; and that bold and subtle advocate persuaded him to sign a treaty, too ignominious to become the foundation of a lasting peace. It was stipulated, that in the accusations of the Roman people, the name of the emperor should be always proclaimed before that of the Gothic king; and that as often as the statue of Theodatus was erected in brass or marble, the divine image of Justinian should be placed with such an arm as might give glory to the treaty; for, imitated, without scruple, the example of a sovereign, faithless to his public and private duties. The perfidious Eberman deserted with his followers to the Roman camp, and was dismissed to enjoy the servile honours of the Byzantine court. From Rhegium to Naples, the city and array of Belisarius, almost always in view of each other, advanced near three hundred miles along the sea coast. The people of Bruttium, Lucania, and Campania, who abhorred the name and religion of the Goths, embraced the spacious excuse, that their ruined walls were incapable of defence, and in the truth, represented to the multitude, that the Goths would punish their defection, and that Belisarius himself must esteem their loyalty and value. Their deliberations, however, were not perfectly free: the city was commanded by eight hundred barbarians, whose miseries and criminal strangulations were detainted at Ravenna, as the pledge of their fidelity; and, although they were rich and numerous, resisted, with desperate enthusiasm, the intolerable laws of Justinian. In a much later period, the circumference of Naples was divided into two factions; and the Greek democracy was inflamed by their orators, who, with much spirit and or the truth, represented to the multitude, that the Goths would punish their defection, and that Belisarius himself must esteem their loyalty and value. Their deliberations, however, were not perfectly free: the city was commanded by eight hundred barbarians, whose miseries and criminal strangulations were detainted at Ravenna, as the pledge of their fidelity; and, although they were rich and numerous, resisted, with desperate enthusiasm, the intolerable laws of Justinian. In a much later period, the circumference of Naples was divided into two factions; and the Greek democracy was inflamed by their orators, who, with much spirit and
tains; and the stock of provisions was sufficient to consume the patience of the besiegers. At the end of twenty days, that of Belisarius was almost exhausted, and he had reconciled himself to the disgrace of abandoning the siege, that he might march, before the winter season, against Rome and the Gothic king. But his anxiety was relieved by the bold, curi-out of a
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Hans were distinguished by cruelty and sacrilege, and Belisarius became, Théodatus succeeded in the
Naples to moderate the calamities which he predicted.

The city was saved by the virtue and authority of its conqueror; and when the Neapolitans returned to their houses, they found some consolation in the secret enjoyment of their hidden treasures. The barbarian garrison enlisted in the service of the emperor: Apulia and Calabria, delivered from the odious presence of the Goths, acknowledged his dominion; and the tusk of the Calydonian boar, which were still shown at Beneventum, are curiously described by the historian of Belisarius.

The faithful soldiers and citizens of Naples had expected their deliverance from a prince, who remained the inactive and almost indifferent spectator of their sufferings. They had appealed to his person within the walls of Rome, while his cavalry advanced forty miles on the Appian way, and encamped in the Pompeian marshes; which, by a canal of nineteen miles in length, had been recently drained, and converted into pastures. Thus the principal force of the Goths was dispersed in Dalmitus, Venetia and Gaul: and the feeble mind of their king was confounded by the unsuccessful event of a divination, which seemed to presage the downfall of his empire. The most abject slaves have arrogated the guilt or weakness of an unfortunate master. The character of Belisarius was rigorously scrutinized by a free and idle camp of barbarians, conscious of their privilege and power; he was declared unworthy of his race, his nation and his throne; and their general Vitiges, whose valor had been signalized in the Ilyrian war, was raised with unanimous applause, on the bucklers of his companions. On the first rumour, the abdicated monarch fled from the justice of his country; but he was pursued by private revenge. A Goth whom he had injured in his love, overtook Theodatus on the Flaminian way, and, regardless of his unmanly cries, he was about to slay him, as he lay prostrate on the ground, like a victim (says the historian) at the foot of the altar. The choice of the people is the best and purest title to reign over them; yet such is the prejudice of every age, that Vitiges impatiently wished to return to Italy, where he might seize, with the reluctant hand of the daughter of Ambrosiana, some faint shadow of hereditary right. A national council was immediately held, and the new monarch reconciled the impatient spirit of the barbarians to a measure of disgrace, which the misconduct of his predecessor rendered wise and indispensable. The Goths consented to retreat in the presence of a victorious enemy; to delay till the next spring the operations of offensive war; to summon their scattered forces; to relinquish their distant possessions, and to trust even Rome itself to the vigil of its walls. The ablest general of the Goths, who was left in the capital, with four thousand soldiers: a feeble garrison, which might have secured the zenith, though it was incapable of opposing the wishes, of the Romans. But a momentary enthusiasm of religion and patriotism was kindled in their minds, and they had no necessity of raising the throne should no longer be profaned by the triumph or delusion of Arianiast; that the tombs of the Caesars should no longer be trampled by the savages of the north; and, without reflecting, that Italy must sink into a province of Constantinople, they fondly hailed the restoration of a Roman emperor as a new era of freedom and prosperity. The deputies of the pope and clergy, of the senate and people, invited the lieutenant of Justinian to accept their voluntary allegiance, and to enter the city, whose gates would be thrown open for his reception. As soon as Belisarius had fortified his new conquests, Naples and Cumae, he advanced about twenty miles to the banks of the Vulturnus, contemplated the decayed grandeur of Capua, and halted at the separation of the Latin and Appian ways. The work of the Flaminian way, with the以人民 from the sea and the marshes, skirted in space of one hundred and twenty miles along the foot of the mountains. His enemies had disappeared: when he made his entrance through the Asinarian gate, the garrison disbanded without resistance along the Flaminian way; and the city, after sixty years' servitude, was delivered from the yoke of the barbarians. Leuderis alone, from a motive of pride or discontent, refused to accommodate the fugitives; and the Gothic chief, himself a trophy of victory, was sent, with the heads of Rome to the throne of the emperor Justinian.

The first days, which coincided with the old Saturnalia, were devoted to mutual congratulation and the public joy; A.D. 536. Dec. 19. Rome.

Belisarius entered the old Saturnalia, and the catholics prepared to celebrate the festival of the nativity of Christ. In the familiar conversation of a hero, the Romans acquired some notion of the virtues which
of the Roman Empire. 3

history ascribed to their ancestors; they were edified by the apparent respect of Belisarius for the successor of St. Peter, and his rigid discipline secured in the midst of war, the blessings of tranquillity and justice. They applauded the rapid success of his arms, which overtook bands of the enemy, as Varinius and Spoleto; but they trembled, the senate, the clergy, and the unruly people, as soon as they understood that he had resolved, and would speedily be reduced, to sustain a siege against the powers of the Gothic monarch. The designs of Vitiges were executed, during the most severe contest of the emperor. From their rustic habitations, from their distant garrisons, the Goths assembled at Ravenna for the defence of their country; and such were their numbers, that after an army had been detached for the relief of Dalmatia, one hundred and fifty thousand fighting men marched under the royal standard. According to the degrees of rank or merit, the Gothic king distributed arms and horses, rich gifts and liberal promises; he moved along the Flaminian way, declined the useless sieges of Perusia and Spoleto, respected the impenetrable gates of Narni, and arrived with his forces at Rome on the foot of the Milvian bridge. The narrow passage was fortified with a tower, and Belisarius had computed the value of the twenty days which must be lost in the construction of another bridge. But the consternation of the soldiers of the tower, who either fled to the boats for the sea, or betook their person into the most imminent danger. At the head of one thousand horse, the Roman general saluted from the Flaminian gate to mark the ground of an advantageous position, and to survey the camp of the barbarians; but while he still believed them on the other side, he saw them already rush, and fell upon his person into the most imminent danger. The fate of Italy depended on his life: and the des serters pointed to the conspicuous horse, a bay with a white face, which he rode on that memorable day. "Aim at the bay-horse," was the universal cry. Every bow was bent, every javelin was directed against that fatal object, and the command was repeated and obeyed by thousands who were ignorant of its real nature. The bold barbarians advanced to the more honourable combat of swords and spears; and the praise of an enemy has graced the fall of Vitiges. The Frank who negociated his foremost station, till he was pierced with thirteen wounds, perhaps by the hand of Belisarius himself. The Roman general was strong, active, and dexterous; on every side he discharged his weighty and mortal strokes; his faithful guards imitated his valor; and his valiant force was increased by the loss of a thousand men, fled before the arms of a hero. They were rashly pursued to their camp; and the Romans, opposed by multitudes, made a gradual and at length a precipitate retreat to the gates of the city; the gates were shut against the fugitives; and the public terror was increased by the report, that Belisarius was slain. His countenance was indeed disfigured by sweat, dust, and blood; his voice was hourshis strength was almost exhausted; but his unconquerable spirit still remained: he imparted that spirit to his despairing companions, and their last desperate charge was felt. A bay-horse of incomparable vigour and beauty, had been presented from the city. The Flaminian gate was thrown open to a real triumph; but it was not before Belisarius had visited every post, and provided for the public safety, that he could be persuaded by his wife and friends, to taste the needful refreshments of food and sleep. In the more improved state of the art of war, a general is seldom required or even permitted to display the personal prowess of a soldier; and the example of Belisarius is one of the rare exceptions of Henry IV. of Pyrrhus, and of Alexander.

After this first and unsuccessful trial of their enemies, the whole army of the Goths passed the Tiber, and formed the siege of the city, which continued above a year, till their final departure. Whatever severity or commotion the fortune of the city, the space within the walls was crowded with inhabitants and civilians; and the populous suburbs, that stretched along the public roads, were darted like so many rays from one common centre. Adversity swept away these extraneous ornaments, but the left naked and desolate a considerable part even of the seven hills. Yet Rome in its present state could send into the field above thirty thousand males of a military age; and, notwithstanding the want of discipline and exercise, the far greater part, inured to the hardships of poverty, might be capable of bearing arms even for the pay of their country. The prudence of Belisarius did not neglect this important resource. His soldiers were relieved by the zeal and diligence of the people, who watched while they slept, and laboured while they reposed; he accepted the voluntary service of the bravest and most indigent part of the Roman nation; he sometimes represented, in a vacant post, the presence of the troops which had been drawn away to more essential duties. But his just confidence was placed in the veterans who had fought under his banner in the Persian and African wars; and although that gallant band was reduced to five thousand men, he undertook, with such contemptible numbers, to defend a circle of twelve miles, against an army of one hundred and fifty thousand barbarians. In the walls of Rome, which Belisarius constructed or restored, the materials of ancient architecture may be observed, and the whole fortification was cemented, except in that happy junction between the Pincian and Flaminian gates, which the prejudices of the Goths and Romans left under the effectual guard of St. Peter the apostle. The battlements or hashtons were shaped in sharp angles: a ditch, fifteen feet broad and deep, effectually prevented the foot of the rampart; and the archers on the rampart were protected by massive engines; the bulata, a powerful crossbow, which darted short but massy arrows; the onager, or wild ass, which, on the principle of a sling, threw stones and bullets of an enormous size. A chain was drawn across the Tiber; the arches of the aqueducts were made impervious, and the mole or sepulchre of Hadrian was

1 A horse of a bay or red colour was styled παλαικάλλος by the Greeks, hatsman by the barbarians, and bardach by the Romans. Horsemen. 
2 I interpret the word ἄρκας, as not a proper name, but an office, standard-bearer, from βαρίας, (vexillum), a barbaric word adopted by the Greeks and Romans. (Paul Diacon, i. c. 20, p. 760. Gr. Nominae Gothicae, p. 573. Ducasne, Gloss. Graec. Lat. Tom. iii. p. 265.)
of the Goths. After this disappointment, Vitiges still continued, or feigned to continue, the assault of the Sabinian gate, that he might divert the attention of his adversary, while his principal forces more strenuously attacked the Prænestine gate and the sepulchre of Hadrian, at the distance of three miles from each other. In this rear the works of Prætulius and Lysippus were torn from their lofty pedestals, and hurled into the ditch on the heads of the besiegers. To each of his lieutenants, Belisarius assigned the defence of a gate, with the wise and peremptory instruction, that, whatever the fate of their respective gates, they should adhere to their respective posts, and trust their general for the safety of Rome. The formidable host of the Goths was insufficient to embrace the ample measure of the city: of the fourteen gates, seven only were invested from the Prænestine to the Flaminian way; and Vitiges divided his troops into six camps, each of which was fortified with a ditch and rampart. On the Tuscan side of the river, a seventh encampment was formed in the field or circus of the Vatican, for the important purpose of commanding the Milvian bridge and the Postumian gate. Their general, as a matter of devotion, the adjacent church of St. Peter; and the threshold of the holy apostles was respected during the siege by a christian enemy. In the ages of victory, as often as the senate deemed some distant conquest, the consul denounced hostilities, by unbarring, in his name, a postern gate of the palace of the Emperors. Domnestus war now rendered the admonition superfluous, and the ceremony was superseded by the establishment of a new religion. But the brazen temple of Janus was left standing in the forum: of a size sufficient only to contain the statue of the god, five cubits in height, of a human form; but with two faces, directed to the east and west. The double gates were likewise of brass; and a fruitless effort to turn them on their rusty hinges, revealed the scandalous secret, that some Romans were still attached to the superstition of the ancient gods.

Reparations were made to the rapid assault of the besiegers, to provide all the instruments of death, of attack which antiquity had invented. Fascines were prepared to fill all the ditches, scaling-ladders to ascend the walls. The largest trees of the forest, the timbers of the sea, batteries of iron, and their heads were armed with iron; they were suspended by ropes, and each of them was worked by the labour of fifty men. The lofty wooden turrets moved on wheels or rollers, and formed a spacious platform of the level of the ramparts. On the day of the truce, and the day following, a general attack was made from the Prænestine gate to the Vatican; seven Gothic columns, with their military engines, advanced to the assault; and the Romans who lined the ramparts, listened with doubt and anxiety to the cheerful assurances of their commander. As soon as the enemy approached the ditch, Belisarius himself drew the first arrow; and such was his strength and dexterity, that he transfixed the foremost of the barbarian leaders. A shout of applause and victory was re-echoed along the wall. He drew a second arrow, and the noise was followed with the sound of success and the same acclamation. The Roman general then gave the word, that the archers should aim at the teams of oxen; they were instantly covered with mortal wounds; the towers which they drew remained useless and immovable, and a single moment disconnected the laboured projects of the king of the Goths.

The Decline and Fall. Chapter II.

Ferrum was an angle in the new wall enclosed for wild beasts. (Procop. Hist. i. c. 15, p. 252.) The speculum Hippomaios is in Nardinii, (l. i. c. 5, p. 159), and Nolli's great plan of Rome.

For the Roman trumpet and its various notes, consult Livius, de Bello Latinis, lib. iii. cap. 34, who gives the origin of distinguishing the charge by the horn-trumpet of solid brass, and the retreat by the foot-trumpet of leather and light wood, which was borrowed from the barbarians. (G. h. i. c. 15.)
treat (a hasty retreat) was covered by the prudence of the general, and the victors started back with alacrity from the formidable aspect of an armed rampart. The reputation of Belisarius was unsullied by a defea; and the courage of the troops was increased by the ardor of the women, who, ardent to designs, than the repentance and modesty of the Roman troops.

Disorder in the city determined to sustain a siege, his assiduous care provided Rome against the danger of famine by bringing in corn, which arrived to his designs, than the repentance and modesty of the Roman troops.

From the moment that Belisarius had assumed the command of Rome, the condition of the city was such as to make it the most important in the empire. An extraordinary supply of corn was imported from Sicily; the harvests of Campania and Tuscany were forcibly seized for the use of the city; and the rights of private property were infringed by the strong policy of the public safety. It might easily be foreseen that the enemy would intercept the aqueducts; and the cessation of the water-mills was the first inconvenience, which was speedily removed by mooring large vessels, and fixing mill-stones in the current of the river. The stream was soon embanked by the trunks of trees, and polluted with dead bodies; yet so early was it the precautions of the Romans, he believed that the waters of the Tiber still continued to give motion to the mills and drink to the inhabitants; the more distant quarters were supplied from domestic wells; and a besieged city might support, without impatience, the privation of her public baths. A large proportion of the Prænestine gate to the church of St. Paul, was never invested by the Goths; their excursions were restrained by the activity of the Moorish troops; the navigation of the Tiber, and the Latin, Appian, and Ostian ways, were left free and unimpeded. For the introduction of corn and cattle was the retreat of the inhabitants, who sought a refuge in Campania or Sicily. Anxious to relieve himself from a useless and devouring multitude, Belisarius issued his peremptory orders for the instant departure of the women, the children, and slaves; required his soldiers to dismiss them to civil and female attendance; regulated their allowance, that one moiety should be given in provisions, and the other in money. His foresight was justified by the increase of the public distress, as soon as the Goths had occupied two important posts in the neighborhood of Rome. By the loss of the port, or, as it was called, the melancholy, the people were deprived of the country on the right of the Tiber, and the best communication with the sea; and he reflected with grief and anger, that three hundred men, could he have spared such a feeble band, might have defended its impregnable works. Seven miles from the capital, a party of the inhabitants was exposed to the invitations of the principal aqueducts crossing, and again crossing each other, enclosed within their solid and lofty arches a fortified space, where Vitiges established a camp of seven thousand Goths to intercept the convoys of Sicily and Campania. The granaries of Rome were immediately exhausted; the adjacent country had been wasted with fire and sword; such scanty supplies as might yet be obtained by hasty excursions, were the reward of valour, and the purchase of wealth; the forage of the horses, and the bread of the soldiers, never filled, and in the last months of the siege, the people were exposed to the want of mankind, and of the wholesome food, and contagious disorders. Belisarius saw and pitied their sufferings; but he had foreseen, and he watched, the decay of their loyalty, and the progress of their discontent. Adversity had awakened the Roman minds from the dreams of grandeur and freedom, and taught them the humiliating lesson, that it was of small moment to their real happiness, whether the name of their master was given in the Latin or in the Gothic tongue. The lieutenant of Justinian listened to their just complaints, but he rejected with disdain the idea of flight or capitulation; repressed their clamorous impatience for battle; amused them with the prospect of sure and speedy relief; and secured himself and the city from the effects of the Goths' victory. Twice in each he changed the station of the officers to whom the custody of the gates was committed: the various precautions, of patrols, watch-words, lights, and music, were repeatedly employed to discover whatever passed on the ramparts; outguards were posted beyond the ditch, and the town walled up with the more doubtful fidelity of mankind. A letter was intercepted, which assured the king of the Goths, that the Arian bishop, adjoining to the Lateran church, should be secretly opened to his troops. On the Exile of pope St. Fabretti, with suspicion of treason, several sovereignty, A.D. 537, ator were banished, and two years was supposed to attend the representative of his sovereign, at his head-quarters in the Punic palace. The cœlestis who followed their bishop, were detained in the first or second apartment, and he alone was admitted to the presence of Belisarius. The conqueror of Rome and Carthage was at the feet of Antonina, who reclined on a stately couch; the general was silent, but the voice of reproach and menace issued from the mouth of his imperious wife. Accursed by credible witnesses, and the evidence of his own subscription, the successor of St. Peter was described of his pontifical ornaments, and in the mean habit of a monk, and embayed, without delay, for a distant exile in the east. At the emperor's command, the clergy of Rome proceeded to the choice of a new bishop; and after a solemn invocation of the Holy Ghost, elected the deacon Vigilis, who had purchased the papal throne by a bribe of two hundred pounds of gold. The profit, and consequently the guilt, of this simony, was imputed to Belisarius: but the hero obeyed the orders of his wife; Antonina served the passions of the emperor; and Theodora lavished her treasures, in the vain hope of obtaining a pontiff hostile or indifferent to the course of Chosroes.

The epistle of Belisarius to the emperor announced his victory, his danger, and his resolution. According to your commands, we have entered the dominions of the Goths, and reduced to your obedience, Sicily, Campania, and the city of Rome; but these two enemies are more greedy of plunder than their acquisition was glorious. Hitherto we have successfully fought against the multitudes of the barbarians, but their multitudes may finally prevail. Victory is the gift of Providence, but the reputation of kings and generals depends on the success or failure of their designs, and embarked, will be either betrayed by their confidence, or we shall be overthrown by the Goths. As for myself, my life is consecrated to your service: it is yours to reflect, whether my death in this action will con
tribute to the glory and prosperity of your reign." Perhaps that reign would have been equally prosperous, if the peaceful master of the east had abstained from the conquest of Africa and Italy; but as Justinian was ambitious of fame, he made some efforts, they were nobly and distinctly, to support and rescue his spurious general. A reinforcement of sixteen hundred Schavonians and Huns was led by Martin and Valerian; and as they had resided during the winter season in the harbours of Greece, the strength of the men and horses was not impaired by the fatigues of a sea-voyage. They arrived and crossed the Ægean sea, freely against the besiegers. About the time of the summer solstice, Enthalius landed at Terracina with large sums of money for the payment of the troops; he cautiously proceeded along the Appian way, and this convey entered Rome through the gate Capena, while Belisarius, on the other side, diverted the attention of the Goths by a vigorous and successful skirmish.

These seasonal aids, the use and reputation of which were dexterously managed by the Roman general, revived the courage, or at least the hopes, of the soldiers and the people. The historian Procopius was despatched with an important commission, to collect the troops and provisions which Campania could furnish, or Constantine had sent; and the secretary of Belisarius was soon followed by Antonina herself, who boldly traversed the posts of the enemy, and returned with the oration in their ears, the relief of Rome a besieged city. A fleet of three thousand Issarian cast-anchors in the bay of Naples, and afterwards at Ostia. Above two thousand horse, of whom a part were Thracians, landed at Tarentum; and, after the junction of five hundred soldiers of Campania, and a train of waggon laden with wine and flour, they directed their march on the Appian way from Capua to the neighborhood of Rome. The forces that arrived by land and sea, were united at the mouth of the Tiber. Antonina convened a council of war: it was resolved to surmount with sails and oars the Ægean stream of the river; and the Goths were apprehensive of disturbing, by any rash hostilities, the negotiation to which Belisarius had craftily listened. They credulously believed that they saw no more than the vanguard of a fleet and army, which already covered the sea and the town of Campania; and the illusion was supported by the haughty language of the Roman general, when he gave audience to the ambassadors of Vitiges. After a spectious discourse to vindicate the justice of his cause, they declared, that, for the sake of peace, they were disposed to renounce the possession of Sicily. "The emperor is not less generous," replied his lieutenant, with a disdainful smile, "in return for a gift which you no longer possess, he presents you with an ancient province of the empire; he resigns to the Goths the sovereignty of the British Island." Belisarius rejected with equal firmness and contempt the offer of a tribute; but he allowed the Gothic ambassadors to seek their fate from the month of Justinian himself; and consented, with seeming reluctance, to a truce of three months, from the winter solstice to the equinox of spring. Provisions might not supply the Goths or hostages of the barbarians, but the conscious superiority of the Roman chief was expressed in the distribution of his troops. As soon as the relief of evacuating Rome, the relief of Alba, Porto, and Centumcellae, their place was similarly supplied. Thus the garrisons of Narni, Spoleto, and Perusia, were reinforced, and the seven camps of the besiegers were gradually encompassed with the calamities of a siege. The prayers and pilgrimage of Datus, bishop of Milan, were not without effect; and he obtained one thousand Thracians and Isaurians, to assist the revolt of I gora against her Arian tyrant. At the same time, John the Sanguinar, the nephew of Vitalian, was detached with two thousand men to have valourously on the island of the Italians; suffer not any fortified places to remain hostile in your rear; and faithfully reserve the spoil of an equal and common partition. ‘It would not be reasonable,’ he added with a laugh, ‘that whilst we are toiling to the destruction of Brones, our most fortunate brethren should rifle and enjoy the honey.’

The whole nation of the Ostrogoths had been assembled for the attack, and the siege of Rome was almost entirely consumed in the siege of Rome. If any credit he due to the historian in these intervals, the number of their enormous host was destroyed, in frequent and bloody combats under the walls of the city. The bad fame and pernicious qualities of the summer air, might already be imputed to the decay of agriculture and population; and the evils of famine and pestilence were arising to the insatiable and overweening, and unfriendly disposition of the country. While Vitiges struggled with his fortune, while he hesitated between shame and ruin, his retreat was hastened by domestic alarms. The king of the Goths was informed by remitting messengers, that John the Sanguinar spread the devastations of war from the Apennine to the Adriatic; that the rich spoils and innumerable captives of Picenum were lodged in the fortifications of Rimini; and that this formidable chief had defeated his uncle, insulted his capital, and seduced, by secret correspondence, the fidelity of his wife, the impious daughter of Amalasuntha. Yet, before he retired, Vitiges made a last effort, either to storm or to surprise the city. A secret passage was discovered in one of the acclivities; two citizens of the Vatican were tempted by bribes to enter the city, and to inform the Roman general, that the wall was meditated on the walls beyond the Tiber, in a place which was not fortified with towers; and the barbarians advanced, with torches and scaling-ladders, to the assault of the Pincian gate. But every attempt was defeated by the intrepid vigilance of Belisarius and his soldiers. The barbarians, regretting their movements, did not regret the absence of their companions; and the Goths, alike destitute of hope and subsistence, clamorously urged their departure, before the truce should expire, and the Roman cavalry should again be united. One year and nine days after the commencement of the siege, an army, so lately strong and triumphant, burnt their tents and tumultuously repassed the Milvian bridge. They repassed not with impunity: their thronging multitudes, oppressed in a narrow passage, were driven headlong into the Tiber, by their own heads and the pursuit of the enemy. The March of the Roman general, sallying from the Pincian gate, inflicted a severe and disgraceful wound on their retreat. The slow length of a sickly and desponding host was heavily dragged along the Flaminian way; from whence the barbarians were sometimes driven to deviate, lest they should encounter the hostile garrisons that guarded the high road to Rimini and Ravenna.

Yet so powerful was this living army, that Vitiges spared ten thousand men for the defence of the cities which he was most solicitous to preserve, and detached his bastard, with an accredited force, for the chastisement of rebellious Milan. At the head of his principal army, he besieged Rimini, with thirty-three
miles distant from the Gothic capital. A feeble rampart, and a shallow ditch were maintained by the skill and valour of John the Sanguinariu, who shared the danger and fatigue of the nearest soldiers, and emulated, on a theatre less illustrious, the military virtues of his great commander. The towers and the epic of the towers and the murderous din were rendered useless; their attacks were repulsed; and the tedious blockade, which reduced the garrison to the last extremity of hunger, afforded time for the union and march of the Roman forces. A fleet which had surprised Ancona, sailed along the coast of the Adriatic, and before Narses landed in Picenum with two thousand Heruli and five thousand of the bravest troops of the east. The rock of the Apennine was forced; ten thousand veterans moved round the foot of the mountains, under the command of Belisarius himself; and a new array, whose encampment blazed with innumerable lights, appeared to advance along the Flaminian way. Overwhelmed with astonishment and despair, the Goths abandoned the siege of Rimini, their tents, their standards, and their leaders; and Vitiges, who gave or followed the example of flight, never had the good fortune to receive a shelter within the walls and morasses of Ravenna.

To these walls, and to some fortresses the Romans generout, destitute of any mutual support, the Goth A.D. 538. ic monarchy was now reduced. The provinces of Italy had embraced the party of the emperor, and had helped him, with the number of twenty thousand men, must have achieved an easy and rapid conquest, if their invincible powers had not been weakened by the discord of the Roman chiefs. Before the end of the siege, an act of blood, ambiguous and indirect, sullied the fair fame of Belisarius. President Constantine, who had permitted the troops at Rome, was rudely stopped by Constantine, the military governor of Spoleto, and despoiled, even in a church, of two daggers richly inlaid with gold and precious stones. As soon as the public danger had subsided, President Constantine committed the sole and light injury: his complaint was heard, but the order of restitution was disobeyed by the pride and avarice of the offender. Exasperated by the delay, Presidius boldly arrested the general's horse as he passed through the forum; and with the spirit of a citizen, demanded the common benefit of the Roman laws. Two, or at least three, of his comrades were engaged; he summoned a council; claimed the obedience of his subordinate officer; and provoked, by an insolent reply, to call hastily for the presence of his guards. Constantine, viewing their entrance as the signal of death, drew his sword, and rushed out, when the doers, who timidly eluded the stroke, was protected by his friends; while the desperate assassin was disarmed, dragged into a neighbouring chamber, and executed, or rather murdered, by the guards, at the arbitrary command of Belisarius. In this hasty act of violence, the guilt of Constan- tine was no longer imputed; but the despair and death of that valiant officer were secretly imputed to the revenge of Antonina; and each of his colleagues, conscious of the same rapine, was apprehensive of the same fate. The fear of a common enemy suspended the effects of their envy and discontent; but the influence of appeasement and conciliation; they instigated a powerful rival to oppose the conqueror of Rome and Africa. From the domestic service of the palace, and the administration of the private revenue, Narses the eunuch was exiled. He suddenly exiled to the head of an ar

4 They refused to serve after his departure; sold their captives and cattle to the Goths; and a slave never to fight against them. Procopius records a curious procedure in theItalian republic—ar dog-wanderer's nation, a part of whom finally emigrated to Thule or Scandinavia, (Goeth. iv. 165.)

5 This national reproach of servility (Procop. Goth. i. c. 22.) offends the ear of M. de Sacy in Vayre, (tom. vii. p. 163—166) who criticizes, as he has always done, the Gothic and Teutonic. Barabino appeals his treason, and justifies the catholic bishops—out our state heresy, the metals of the nation on them to convert—a useful caution. The more rational Muratori (Annali d'Italia, t. v. p. 54) limits the guilt of perjury, and blames at least the immoderacy of Belisarius.

6 St. Datur was more successful against devils than against barbarians. He travelled with a numerous retinue, and occupied a large house. (Barabino, A. D. 536. No. 89. A. D. 539. No. 29.)
fenders of the catholic faith. Three hundred thousand males were reported to be slain; the female sex, and the more prominent males, were captured; and the Burgundians; and the houses, or at least the Destruction of walls, of Milan, were levelled with the ground. The Goths, in their last moments, were ravaged by the destruction of a city, second only to Rome in size and opulence, in the splendid days in which the Goths inhabited it. And Belisarius sympathized alone in the fate of his deserted and devoted friends. Encouraged by this successful inroad, Theodoret himself, in the ensuing spring, invaded the plains of Italy with an army of one hundred thousand barbarians. The king, and some of his principal warriors, were mortally wounded and armed with lances; the infantry, without bows or spears, were satisfied with a shield, a sword, and a double-edged battle-axe, which, in their hands, became a deadly and murrning weapon. Italy trembled at the march of the Franks; and both the Gothic and the Roman general, alike ignorant of their designs, solicited, with hope and terror, the friendship of these dangerous allies. Till he had secured the passage of the Po on the bridge of Parvis, the grandson of Clavdia dismembered his intentions, which he at length declared by settling, almost at once and for ever, the hostile camps of the Romans and Goths. Instead of unifying their arms, they fled with equal precipitation; and the fertile, though desolate, provinces of Liguria and Emilia were abandoned to a licentious host of barbarians, whose rage was not mitigated by any thought of settling or conquering. Among the cities which they ruined, Genoa, not yet constructed of marble, is particularly enumerated; and the deaths of thousands, according to the regular practice of war, appear to have existed less horrid than some of those sacrilegious sacrifices of women and children, which were performed with equal stealth and cruelty in the camp of the most Christian king. If it were not a melancholy truth, that the first and most cruel sufferings must be the lot of the innocent and helpless, history might exult in the misery of the conquerors, who, in the midst of riches, were left destitute, torn by hunger, and reduced to the food of the Po, and to feed on the flesh of distempered cattle. The dysentery swept away one-third of their army; and the clamours of his subjects, who were impatient to pass the Alps, disposed Theodoret to listen with respect to the mild exhortations of Belisarius. The memory of this injurious and destructive war was perpetuated on the medals of Gaul; and Justinian, without unheathing his sword, assumed the title of conqueror of the Franks. The Merovingian prince was offended by the vanity of the emperor; he affected to pity the fallen fortunes of the Goths; and his insidious offers of a federal union were fortified by the promise or menace of descending from the Alps at the head of five hundred thousand men. His plans of conquest were boundless and perhaps chimerical. The king of Austrasia threatened to chastise Justinian, and to march to the gates of Constantinople; 2 he was overthrown and slain 1 by a wild bull 3 as he hunted in the Beligic or German forests.

As soon as Belisarius was delivered from his foreign and domestic enemies, he turned his army against the Burgundians, and assailed the city of Po, which was the last refuge of the nation. This success was crowned with the final reduction of Italy. In the siege of Osimo, the general was nearly transpired with an arrow, if the mortal stroke had not been intercepted by one of his guards, who lost, in that pious office, the use of his hand. The Goths of Osimo, four thousand warriors, were slain or taken prisoners, and fifty thousand more among the last who maintained their independence; and their gallant resistance, which almost tired the patience, deserved the esteem, of the conqueror. His prudence refused to subscribe the safe conduct which they asked, to join their brethren of Ravenna; but he bestowed on them an honorable capitulation, sparing at least of their wealth, with the free alternative of retiring peaceably to their estates, or enlisting to serve the emperor in his Persian wars. The multitudes which yet adhered to the standard of Vitiges, far surpassed the number of the Roman troops; but neither prayers, nor defiance, nor the extreme danger of his most faithful subjects, could tempt the Gothic king beyond the fortifications of Ravenna. These fortifications were, indeed, impregnable to the assaults of art or violence; and when Belisarius invested the capital, it was approached by an army that was strong enough to crush the stubborn spirit of the barbarians. The sea, the land, and the channels of the Po, were guarded by the vigilance of the Roman general; and his morality extended the rights of war to the practice of poisoning the waters; 4 secretly firing the granaries; 5 of a besieged city. While he possessed the rock of Ravenna, he was surprised by the arrival of two ambassadors from Constantinople, with a treaty of peace, which Justinian had imprudently signed, without inquiring to consult the author of his victory. By this precipitate and precipitous agreement, Italy and the Gothic treasure were diverted, and the provinces beyond the Po were left with the regal title to the successor of Theodoric. The ambassadors were eager to accomplish their salutary commission; the captive Vitiges accepted, with transport, the unexpected offer of a crown; honour was less prevalent among the Goths, than the want and appetite of food; and the Roman chiefs, who murmured at the continuance of the war, professed implicit submission to the commands of the emperor. If Belisarius had possessed only the courage of a soldier, the laurel would have been snatched from his hands by timid and vacuous counsels; but in this decisive moment, he resolved, with the magnanimity of a statesman, to suaitain alone the danger and merit of generous disobedience. Each of his officers gave a written epistle, that the siege of Ravenna might be the contemplative and hopeless; the general then rejected the treaty of partition, and declared his own resolution of leading Vitiges in chains to the fort of Justinian. The Goths retired with devout and dismay; this peremptory refusal deprived them of the only signature which they could trust, and filled their minds with the just apprehension, that a sagacious

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1 **Magyaravroxzer**, (compare Prosopon, Goth. 1. i. c. 7. 21.) Yet such population is incredible; and the second or third city of Italy need not require if we only indicate the numbers of the present text. Both Milan and Genoa revived in less than thirty years. (Paul Basset, de Gentile Langobardi, l. i. c. 33.)

2 Besides Prosopon, perhaps too Roman, see the Chronicles of Monmouth, Bacon, the Annales and Baronis, (Log. tom. i. p. 217.) and Gregory of Tours, (iii. ii. c. 32.) and, in the History of the Franks, preserved manuscript, in Amiens, (de Genes Francia L. i. c. 23.) in tom. iii. p. 25.) is slain by the Franks.

3 Accl. l. i. p. 14. 15. Could he have reduced or subdued the Goipide or Lombards of Pannonia, the Greek historian is confident that he would have been destroyed by Theodoret. The king pointed his spear—the bull overturned a tree on his head, and all the Franks fled. Such were the events of Aosta; but the original historians of France (tom. i. p. 302, 488, 555, 572.) correct the death of a fever.

4 Without being myself in a labyrinth of species and names— the aurora, urus, bisons, taurus, bison, buffalo, &c. (Bottin, Hist. Nat. tom. xi. and Supplement, tom. iii. vi.) it is certain, that in the sixth century a large wild species of boar calves was hunted in the great forests of the Goths in Lorraine, and the Ardennes of Turon. (tom. ii. i. c. 10. p. 390.)

5 In the siege of Aosta, he first inquired to demolish an old acqueduct, and then cast into the stream, i. dead bodies; 2 miscellaneous herbs; 3 quick jenin, which is named Psoraria, Prosopon, l. ii. c. 22.) cren, by the ancients; by the moderns. Yet both words are used as synonymous in Galen, Dioscorides, and Lucian. (Deog. l. i. c. 20.)

6 The Goths suspected Nastrihimna as an accomplice in the mischief, which had been committed by Belisarius, and whom he ardently consulted; but in this decisive moment, he resolved, with the magnanimity of a statesman, to sustain alone the danger and merit of generous disobedience. Each of his officers gave a written epistle, that the siege of Ravenna might be the contemplative and hopeless; the general then rejected the treaty of partition, and declared his own resolution of leading Vitiges in chains to the fort of Justinian. The Goths retired with devout and dismay; this peremptory refusal deprived them of the only signature which they could trust, and filled their minds with the just apprehension, that a sagacious
enemy had discovered the full extent of their deplorable state. They compared the fame and fortune of Belisarius with the weakness of their ill-fated king; and the comparison suggested an extraordinary project, to which Vitiges, with apparent resignation, was induced. His alliance was stipulated for, and in a few years his rapid success gained not only for his strength, exile would disgrace the honour of the nation; but they offered their arms, their treasures, and the fortifications of Ravenna, if Belisarius would disclaim the authority of a master, accept the choice of the Goths, and assume, as he had desired, the kingdom of Italy. Every spectator was convinced of the worthlessness of the remnant of the vigorous nation. They adored the majesty of the throne, and promised to shed their blood in the service of their benefactor. Justinian deposited in the Byzantine palace the treasures of the Gothic monarchy. A flattering senate was sometimes admitted to gaze on the magnificent spectacle; but it was eunuchiously secluded from the public view; and the conqueror of Italy renounced, without a murmur, perhaps without a sigh, the well-earned honours of a second triumph. His glory was indeed exalted above all external pomp; and the faint and hollow praises which filled the court were answered by the respect and admiration of his country. Whenever he appeared in the streets and public places of Constantinople, Belisarius attracted and satisfied the eyes of the people. His lofty stature and majestic countenance fulfilled their expectations of a hero; the magnificence of his fallen enemy was contrasted to his gentle and gracious demeanour; and the martial train which attended his footsteps, left his person more accessible than in a day of battle. Seven thousand horsemen, matchless for beauty and valour, were maintained in the service, and at the private expense, of the general. To these were added, in single combats, or in the foremost ranks; and both parties confessed, that in the siege of Rome, the guards of Belisarius had alone vanquished the barbarian host. Their numbers were continually augmented by the bravest and most faithful of the enemy; and his fortunate captives, the Vandals, the Moors, and the Goths, emulated the attachment of his domestic followers. By the union of liberality and justice, he acquired the love of the soldiers, without alienating the affections of the people. The sick and wounded were relieved with medicines, and supported by the charity of his youth; and the first prospects of the service of the emperor; the affection of the people was discredited to their peaceable inhabitants in the southern provinces; and a colony of Italians was invited to replenish the depopulated city. The submission of the capital was invited in the towns was opened to the fallen king; and the inhabitants or even visited, by the Romans; and the independent Goths, who remained in arms at Pavia and Verona, were ambitious only to become the subjects of Belisarius. But his inflexible loyalty rejected, as the substitute of Justinian, their oaths of allegiance, and he was not offended by the reproach of his deputies, that he rather chose to be a slave than a king.

Return and glory of Belisarius.

After the second victory of Belisarius, he was invited again to consult, Justinian listened to, and the hero was recalled. "The remnant of the nation of Antiochus was the despair of my presence: a gracious sovereign was impatient to reward his services, and to consult his wisdom; and he alone was capable of defending the east against the innumerable armies of Persia." Belisarius understood the suspicion, accepted the excuse, embarked at Ravenna his spoils and trophies; and proved, by his ready obedience, that such an abrupt removal from his situation of power was not only consistent with the dignity of his character, but might have been discreet. The emperor received with honourable courtesy both Vitiges and his more noble consort: and as the king of the Goths conformed to the Arian faith, he obtained, with a rich inheritance of lands in Asia, the rank of senator and patriarch. But, without patriotic ardour, and by the insinuation of the young barbarians: they adored the majesty of the throne, and promised to shed their blood in the service of their benefactor. Justinian deposited in the Byzantine palace the treasures of the Gothic monarchy. A flattering senate was sometimes admitted to gaze on the magnificent spectacle; but it was eunuchiously secluded from the public view; and the conqueror of Italy renounced, without a murmur, perhaps without a sigh, the well-earned honours of a second triumph. His glory was indeed exalted above all external pomp; and the faint and hollow praises which filled the court were answered by the respect and admiration of his country. Whenever he appeared in the streets and public places of Constantinople, Belisarius attracted and satisfied the eyes of the people. His lofty stature and majestic countenance fulfilled their expectations of a hero; the magnificence of his fallen enemy was contrasted to his gentle and gracious demeanour; and the martial train which attended his footsteps, left his person more accessible than in a day of battle. Seven thousand horsemen, matchless for beauty and valour, were maintained in the service, and at the private expense, of the general. To these were added, in single combats, or in the foremost ranks; and both parties confessed, that in the siege of Rome, the guards of Belisarius had alone vanquished the barbarian host. Their numbers were continually augmented by the bravest and most faithful of the enemy; and his fortunate captives, the Vandals, the Moors, and the Goths, emulated the attachment of his domestic followers. By the union of liberality and justice, he acquired the love of the soldiers, without alienating the affections of the people. The sick and wounded were relieved with medicines, and supported by the charity of his youth; and the first prospects of the service of the emperor; the affection of the people was discredited to their peaceable inhabitants in the southern provinces; and a colony of Italians was invited to replenish the depopulated city. The submission of the capital was invited in the towns was opened to the fallen king; and the inhabitants or even visited, by the Romans; and the independent Goths, who remained in arms at Pavia and Verona, were ambitious only to become the subjects of Belisarius. But his inflexible loyalty rejected, as the substitute of Justinian, their oaths of allegiance, and he was not offended by the reproach of his deputies, that he rather chose to be a slave than a king.

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moment; that in the deepest distress, he was animated by real or apparent hope, but that he was modest and humble in the most prosperous fortune. By these virtues, he entered on a character of elevated and masterful military art. Victory, by sea and land, attended his arms. He subdued Africa, Italy, and the adjacent islands, led away captives the successors of Geneseric and Theodoric; filled Constantinople with the spoils of their palaces, and in the space of six years recovered half the provinces of the western empire. In his fame and merit, in wealth and power, he remained, without a rival, the first of the Roman subjects: the voice of envy could only magnify his dangerous importance; and the emperor might applaud his own discerning spirit, which had discovered and raised the genius of Belisarius.

Secret history of

It was the custom of the Roman tri-
his wife Antonina.

behind the chariot to remind the con-
queror of the instability of fortune, and the infirmities of human nature. Procopius, in his History of the Wars, has assumed that servile and ungrateful office. The generous reader may cast away the libel, but the evidence of facts will adhere to his memory; and he will reluctantly confess, that the fame, and even the virtue, of Belisarius was derived by the lust and cruelty of his wife; and that the hero deserved a life of quiet tillage and true happiness may not drop from the pen of the decent historian. The mother of Antonina was a theatrical actress, and both her father and grandfather exercised at Thessalonica and Constantinople, the vile, though lucrative, profession of clowns. In the various situations of their fortune, she became the companion, the enemy, the servant, and the favourite of the emperor: these loose and ambitious females had been connected by similar pleasures; they were separated by the jealousy of vice, and at length reconciled by the partnership of sin. If the name of Antonina is said to have been conferred on Belisarius, Antonina had one husband and many lovers; Photius, the son of her former nuptials, was of an age to distinguish himself at the siege of Naples; and it was not till the autumn of her age and beauty that she indulged a sensuous attachment to a Thracian youth.

Theodosius, who had been educated in the

domus. Eumonian heresy; the African voyage was consecrated by the baptism and auspicious name of the first soldier who embraced; and the prostrate was adopted into the family of his spiritual parents,7 for who Belisarius was a son.

Before the shores of Africa, this holy kindred degenerated into sensual love; and as Antonina soon overleaped the bounds of modesty and caution, the Roman general was alone ignorant of his own dishonour. During their residence at Carthage, he surprised the two lovers in a subterraneous chamber, solitary, warm, and almost naked. Anger flashed from his eyes. “With the help of this young man,” said the unblushing Antonina, “I was secreting our most precious effects from the knowledge of Justinian.” The youth resumed his garments, and the pious husband consented to disbelieve the evidence of his own senses. From this pleasing and perhaps voluntary delusion, Belisarius was awakened at Syracuse, by the officious information of Macedonia; and that female attendant, after requiring an oath for her security, produced two chamberlains, who, like herself, had often beheld the adulteries of Antonina. A hasty flight into Asia saved Theodosius from

the justice of an injured husband, who had signified to one of his guards the order of his death; but the tears of Antonina, and her artful seductions, assured the criminal of a reprieve; and he stooped, against his faith and judgment, to abandon those imprudent friends who had presumed to accuse or doubt the chastity of his wife. The revenge of a guilty woman is implacable and bloody; the unfortunate Macedonia, with the two witnesses, were secretly arrested by the minister of her cruelty; their tongues were cut out, their bodies were hacked into small pieces, and their remains were cast into the sea of Syracuse. A rough and indolent saying of Constantine, “I would sooner have punished the adulteress than the boy,” was deeply remembered by Antonina; and two years afterwards, when despair had armed that officer against his general, her sanguinary advice decided and hastened his execution. Even the indignation of Photius was not forgiven by his mother; the exile of her daughter was condoned to accept the pressing and humble invitation of the conqueror of Italy. In the absolute direction of his household, and in the important commissions of peace and war, the favourite youth most rapidly acquired a fortune of four hundred thousand pounds sterling, and after their return to Constantinople, the passion of Antonina, the leisure, and the wealth, did not prevent an abject devotion, and lassitude perhaps, inspired Theodosius with more serious thoughts. He dreaded the busy scandal of the capital, and the indirect friendliness of the wife of Belisarius; escaped from her embraces, and returning to Ephesus, shaved his head, and took refuge in the sanctuary of a monastic life. The despair of the new Arianae could scarcely have been excused by the death of her husband. She wept, tore her hair, she filled the palace with her cries; she had lost the dearest of friends, a tender, a faithful, a laborious friend! But her tears were not observed. The envious and abuses of the bishop of Ephesus, whose labours and Advice of the emperor to punish, and less prompt, to pardon; he flew to Ephesus; extorted from a trusted eunuch of his mother the full confession of her guilt; arrested Theodosius and his treasures in the church of St John the apostle, and concealed his captives, whose execution was only delayed, in a secure and sequacious

7 The difference of Alexandrius could add little to the four first arrivals of the Anicetus of the Apostolic collector. The apparent or Alexandri, a part may be true, because probable—and a part true, because improbable. Procopius have not proved the Arianus; or have known the former, and the latter he could scarcely invent.

8 Photius Instaurates (Anicetus, c. 4.) that, when Belisarius returned to Italy, his wife, Antonina, was sixteen years of age. A few but more polite construction, which refers that to the moment when Belisarius came to her house with the speech of Photius, (Goth. l. i. c. 16.) in 536.

9 The history of the War (l. i. c. 12.) with the Anicetus (c. l.) and Alexandrius (p. 2, 3.) This mode of baptismal adoption was revived by Leo the philosopher.

In November 537, Photius arrested the pope. (Liberal, Rev. c. 22. Papel, tom. ii. p. 562.) About the end of 539, Belisarius sent Theodosius to Ravenna. (Goth. l. i. c. 16.) Photius was apprehended and committed to Ravenna. (Goth. l. ii. c. 1.)

Theodosius; his son Photius; the son-in-law of Belisarius; and 1 is copied by the Historia Maiora and Anastasius.
fortress of Cilicia. Such a daring outrage against public justice could not pass with impunity; and the cause of Antonina was espoused by the emperor, whose favor she had long enjoyed, the public cry, a treatise of a prefect, and the exile and murder of a pope. At the end of the campaign, Belisarius was recalled; he complied, as usual, with the imperial mandate. His mind was not prepared for rebellion; his obedience, however adverse to the dictates of honour, was constant to the wishes of his heart; and when he embraced his wife, at the command, and perhaps in the presence, of the emperor, the tender husband was disposed to forgive or to be forgiven. The bounty of Theodora reserved for her companion a more precious favour. "I have found," she said, "my dearest patroness, a pearl of inestimable value; it has not yet been viewed by any mortal eye; but the sight and the possession of this jewel are destined for my friend." As soon as the curiosity and impatience of Antonina were kindled, the door of a bedchamber was thrown open, and she beheld her lover, whom the diligence of the empress had discovered in his secret prison. Her silent wonder burst into passionate exclamations of gratitude and joy, and she named Theodora her queen, her benefactress, and her saviour. The monk of Ephesus was nourished in the palace with luxury and ambition; but instead of assuming, as he was promised, the command of the army, he fled, and expressed himself in the first fatigues of an anxious interview. The grief of Antonina could only be assuaged by the sufferings of her son. A youth of consular rank, and a sickly constitution, was punished, without a trial, like a malefactor and a slave; yet such was the constancy of his mind, that Phocian sustained the torments of the scourge and the rack without violating the faith which he had sworn to Belisarius. After this frutile cruelty, the son of Antonina, while his mother feasted with the emperor, was buried in her subterraneous prisons, which admitted not the admission of night and day. He twice escaped to the most venerable sanctuaries of Constantinople, the churches of St. Sophia and of the Virgin; but his tyrants were insensible of religion as of pity; and the helpless youth, amidst the clamours of the clergy and people, was twice dragged from the altar to the dungeon. His third attempt was more successful. At the end of three years, the prophet Zachariah, or some mortal friend, indicated the means of an escape: he eluded the spies and guards of the empress, reached the holy sepulchre of Jerusalem, embraced the profession of a monk; and the abbot Photius was employed, after the death of Justinian, to receive him as a monk and regent of the churches of Egypt. The son of Antonina suffered all that an enemy can inflict; her patient husband imposed on himself the more exquisite misery of violating his promise and deserting his friend.

In the succeeding campaign, Belisarius was again sent against the Persians: Belisarius he saved the east, but he offended Theodora, and perhaps the emperor himself. The malady of Justinian had consoled the memoirs of his death; and the Roman general, on the supposition of that probable event, spoke the language of a citizen and a soldier; his colleague Buzes, who concurred in the same sentiments, lost his rank, his liberty, and his health, by the persecution of the empress; but the disgrace of Belisarius was alleviated by the dignity of his own character, and the influence of his wife, who might with justice be supposed to desire his services as a partner of her fortunes. Even his removal was coloured by the assurance, that the sinking state of Italy would be retrieved by the single presence of his conqueror. But no sooner had he returned, alone and defenceless, than a hostile commission was sent to the east, to seize his treasures and crimson his name. His wife, who had followed his private banner, were distributed among the chiefs of the army, and even the emblems presumed to cast lots for the partition of his martial domains. When he passed with a small and sordid retinue through the streets of Constantinople, the flocks of the people, who murmured against his disgrace, followed the sordid and guilty. The flocks of the people, who murmured against his disgrace, followed the sordid and guilty.
ceed fifteen hundred cities from the lake Mesotis to the Red sea; but the fortune of Rome flew before his eagles; the nations were oppressed by their own fears, and the invincible legions which he commanded, had been formed by the habits of conquest and the discipline of ages. In this view, the character of Belisarius may be deservedly placed above the heroes of the ancient republics. His imperfections flowed from the contagion of the times; his virtues were his own, the free gifts of his own heart. He regarded himself as a master or a rival; and so inadequate were his means, that his sole advantage was derived from the pride and presumption of his adversaries. Under his command, the subjects of Justinian often desired to be called Romans; but the unwarlike appellation of Greek was imposed as a term of reproach by the haughty Goths; who afflicted to blush, that they must dispute the kingdom of Italy with a nation of tragedians, pantomimes, and pirates. The climate of Asia has indeed been found less congenial than that of Europe to military spirit; these populous countries were enervated by luxury, despotism, and superstition; and the monks were more expensive and more numerous than the soldiers of the east. The regular force of the empire had once amounted to six hundred and forty-five thousand men; it was reduced, in the time of Justinian, to one hundred and fifty thousand. Moreover, large as the empire was, it was scarcely scoured in Spain and Italy, in Africa and Egypt, on the banks of the Danube, the coast of the Euxine, and the frontiers of Persia. The citizen was exalted, yet the soldier was unpaid; his poverty was mischievously supported by the privileges of rapine and indolence; and the tardy payments were detained and intercepted by the fraud of those agents who usurp, without courage or danger, the emoluments of war. Public and private distress recruited the armies of the state; but in the field, and still more in the presence of battle, their number was always defective. The want of national spirit was supplied by the precarious faith and disorderly service of barbarian mercenaries. Even military honour, which has often survived the loss of virtue and freedom, was almost totally extinct. The generals, who were multiplied beyond the example of former times, laboured only to prevent the success, or to sully the reputation, of their colleagues; and they had been taught by experience, that if merit sometimes provoked the jealousy, envy, or even guilt, would obtain the indulgence, of a generous emperor, it was expedient to transfer the incursions of the Goths. Afterwards of Narses, shine with incomparable lustre; but they are encompassed with the darkest shades of disgrace and calamity. While the lieutenant of Justinian subdued the kingdoms of the Goths and Vandals, the emperor, timid, though ambitious, balanced the forces of the barbarians, composed their divisions by flattery and falsehood, and invited by his patience and liberality the repetition of injuries. The keys of Carthage, Rome, and Ravenna, were presented to their conquerors, while Antioch was destroyed by the Persians, and Justinian troubled for the safety of Constantinople. About the middle of the 6th century the districts of Belisarius were prejudicial to the state, since they abolished the important barrier of the Upper Danube, which had been so faithfully guarded by Theodoric and his daughter. For the defence of Italy, the Goths evacuated Pannonia and Noricum, which they left in a peaceful and flourishing condition; people of vigour was claimed by Rome to preserve the ancient name of Roman; the actual possession was abandoned to the boldness of the first invader. On the opposite banks of the Danube, the plains of Upper Hungary and the Transylvanian hills were possessed, since the death of Attila, by the tribes of the Gepidae, who respected the Gothic name, and despised, not Goths. The Gepidae were indeed the gold of the Romans, but the secret motive of their annual subsidies. The vacant fortifications of the river were instantly occupied by these barbarians: their standards were planted on the walls of Sirmium and Belgrade; the ironical tone of their apology aggravated this insult on the majesty of the empire. "So extensive, O Caesar, are your dominions; so numerous are your cities; that you are continually seeking for nations to whom, either in peace or war, you may relinquish these useless possessions. The Gepidae are your brave and faithful allies; and if you have rejected your gifts, they have shown a just confidence in your bounty." Their presumption was excused by the mode of revenge which Justinian embraced. Instead of asserting the rights of a sovereign for the protection of his subjects, the emperor invited a strange people to share the protection of his empire. The sons, the brothers, the cousins of these savage warriors: but the original name of Lanzobards is expressive only of the peculiar length and fashion of their beards. I am not disposed either to question or to justify their Scandinavian origin; nor to pursue the migrations of the Lombards through unaffected history. The time of Augustus and Trajan, a ray of historic light breaks on the darkness of their antiquities, and they are discovered, for the first time, between the Elbe and the Oder. Fierce, beyond the example of the Germans, they delighted to propagate the tremendous belief, that their beards were formed like the heads of dogs, and that they drank the blood of their enemies whom they vanquished in battle. The smallness of their numbers was recruited by the adoption of their bravest heroes, and when the followers of the same valor were united, they erected a formidable barrier on the middle of the Elbe and the Danube; and at the end of four hundred years they again appear with their ancient valour and renown. Their manners were not less ferocious. The assassination of a royal guest was executed in the presence, and by the command, of the king's daughter, who had been provoked by some words of insult, and disappointed by his diminutive stature; and a diet, the price of which was the most painful by the brooding of a woman. The Frankish nation, as the court of the Hethert, was the asylum of moderation and justice; and the insensate of conquest was chastised by the signal defeat and irreparable dispersion of the Hethert, who were seated in the

1. See this bold inscription in Pliny (Hist. Nat. vii. 27). Few men have more exquisitely tasted of glory and danger; nor could Julian (Sertu. ci. 7.) produce a more striking example of the existence of commodities of foreign countries, at the same time (about the 8th of August). The author of this letter, who was aNobody, is the same who is the author of the letter to the magazine, who is the author of the letter to the magazine. See A. H., l. 5, p. 137, 158. He confines this weakness of the empire to the old age of its founder, and has thus, as it were, he could never have been a young man.

2. The most recent policy, which Procopius (Anecdot. c. 18) implies to the emperor, is revealed in his epistle to a Syrian prince, who was capable of understanding it. (Procop. p. 182.)

3. S. J. (L., ii. c. 26, p. 102, &c.) a native of Pressis, and Prince of Grotius (Procrust. 6 Hist. Roth. p. 28, &c.) the Swedish ambassador. The Scandinavians have swarmed through the principal quarters of the Roman empire, from the Rhine to the Elbe, and even to the Baltic sea, and have never been equally formidable. The Danubian tribes, with their allies, the Huns, composed the army of Attila, who, with his forces, was enabled to throw the empire into confusion, and to devastate the countries of the west of Europe. The Goths, under the command of the emperor Honorius, a native of Pressis, and Prince of Grotius (Procrust. 6 Hist. Roth. p. 28, &c.) the Swedish ambassador. The Scandinavians have swarmed through the principal quarters of the Roman empire, from the Rhine to the Elbe, and even to the Baltic sea, and have never been equally formidable. The Danubian tribes, with their allies, the Huns, composed the army of Attila, who, with his forces, was enabled to throw the empire into confusion, and to devastate the countries of the west of Europe. The Goths, under the command of the emperor Honorius, a native of Pressis, and Prince of Grotius (Procrust. 6 Hist. Roth. p. 28, &c.) the Swedish ambassador. The Scandinavians have swarmed through the principal quarters of the Roman empire, from the Rhine to the Elbe, and even to the Baltic sea, and have never been equally formidable. The Danubian tribes, with their allies, the Huns, composed the army of Attila, who, with his forces, was enabled to throw the empire into confusion, and to devastate the countries of the west of Europe. The Goths, under the command of the emperor Honorius, a native of Pressis, and Prince of Grotius (Procrust. 6 Hist. Roth. p. 28, &c.) the Swedish ambassador. The Scandinavians have swarmed through the principal quarters of the Roman empire, from the Rhine to the Elbe, and even to the Baltic sea, and have never been equally formidable. The Danubian tribes, with their allies, the Huns, composed the army of Attila, who, with his forces, was enabled to throw the empire into confusion, and to devastate the countries of the west of Europe. The Goths, under the command of the emperor Honorius, a native of Pressis, and Prince of Grotius (Procrust. 6 Hist. Roth. p. 28, &c.) the Swedish ambassador.
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

47

The victories of the Lombards recommended them to the friendship of the emperors; and at the solicitation of Justinian, they passed the Danube to reduce, according to their treaty, the little baronies which had fixed their dwellings on the spirit of rapine soon tempted them beyond these ample limits; they wandered along the coast of the Ha-

dritic as far as Dyrachium, and presaged, with familiar rudeness, to cut the towns and houses of their Roman allies, and to seize the captives who had escaped. They afterwards mingled with their rapid marchers could not be stopped by the

famous well, applied by an ambassador who received only verbal instructions from the mouth of the illustrious prince. The Bulgarians, of whatsoever species, were equally attracted by Roman wealth: they assumed a vague dominion over the Scythian name, and mingled among them their rapid marchers, who could not be stopped by the

Baltic sea, or the extreme cold and poverty of the north. But the same race of Scythians appears to have maintained, in every age, the possession of the same countries. Their numerous tribes, however distant or adverse, used one common language, (it was harsh and irregular,) their weapons of defense of their flocks, which deviated from the swarthiness of the Tartar, and approached without attaining the lofty stature and fair complexion of the German. Four thousand six hundred villages were scattered over the provinces of Russia and Poland, and their huts were hastily built in a country deficient in stone and iron. Cairns or rather mounds, in the depth of forests, on the banks of rivers, or the edge of morasses, we may not perhaps Without Flattery, compare them to the architecture of the beaver; which they resembled in a double issue, to the land and water, for the escape of the savage inhabi-

tant, an animal less cleanly, less diligent, and less social, than that marvellous quadruped. The fertility of the soil rather than the labour of the natives, supplied the rustic plenty of the Scythians. Their sheep and horned cattle were large and numerous, and they amused themselves with making the fields wider, and the meadows richer, by driving their animals beyond the limits prescribed to them by their mutual consent again kindled; and the remembrance of their shame rendered the next encounter more desperate and bloody. Forty thousand of the barbarians perished in the decisive battle, which broke the power of the Gepid, transferred the fears and passions of the tribes in the fields wider, and the wandering character of Alboin, the youthful prince of the Lombards, and the future conqueror of Italy. 

The Scythians. The wild people who dwelt wan-

dered in the plains of Russia, Lithuania, and Poland, might be reduced, in the age of Justinian, under the two great families of the Bulgarians and the Scythians.

According to the Greek writers, who located the region of the Scythians, and the Scythian cities, no country was ever or remained uninvaded, in which were fortified, though in flight, inevitable of fear. The

The Scythians did not offer a despotic prince, or even a noble magistracy, but their simple life was too narrow, their passions too become a king, to compose a firm and universal law or general defence. Some voluntary respect was yielded to age and valor: but each tribe or village, which was a separate republic, and all must be persuaded where none could be compelled. They fought in foot, almost naked, and, except a unwieldy shield, without any defensive armor; their weapons of defense were a bow, a quiver of small poisoned arrows, and a long rope, which they dexterously threw from a distance, and entangled their enemy in a running noise. In the field the Scythian infantry was dan-
gnorous by their speed, agility, and hardness; they were swift, they moved under water, darting their break through a hollow case; and a river or lake was often the scene of their unsuspected ambus-

cade. But these were the achievements of spies or strugglers; the military art was unknown to the Sca-

Scythians; their name was obscure, and their conquests were inglorious.

1 Two facts in the narrative of Paul Diacreus (I, c. 60) are expressive of national manners: 1. Dum ad tabulam tulerint—while he played at draughts, 2. Campionem viridantis lino—The cultivation of this saponaceous property, comestibles, agriculture, and manufactures.

1 I have used, without undertaking to reconcile the facts in Proco-

nius, (Hist. depeure, c. 4, xi. 46, 25.) and Paul Diacreus, (de Gesa Langehorn, I, c. 1, in, in Marini, Script. Rom. Ital. despeure, c. 1, 4, in—41) and Jermanni, de Success. Romanns, (Regnum, &c. xi. 46, 25.) The former writer may draw some light from Magicus (But

mathematician, O. xiv. x. 61.) and the Mercator. I have added the appellation of Bulgarians, from Ermolinus. (Op. Om. p. 133, 1399) Jermanni, (de Ro-

Brutis, Gise, c.s. p. 194, et, de Reus, Successive, p. 135, 136, and the Chronicles of Casaroides and Marcellinus. The names of These are in too vague: the tribes of the Caucausian and Unter-

Scythians are too minute and too harsh.

2 The acts of Justinian according to the Byzantine authors were a branch of the Ougans, (Thraeniko, Historie des Peuples de l est de l Europe, p. 36.) but who bear a much sterner resemblance to the game, (Greek.) The Scythians were the names the Danube, and they derived their name from the river upon which they usually dwelt. They lived on a milk diet, and their bodies were the same remains of their capital is still seen near the Bason, which was once inhabited, which seems to have been built by the same hand, and is now settled upon the Lower Danube. They were subdued in their turn by the Bulgarians, who conquered the country, and were established at that time, the Bulgarians, who were the remains of the Huns, were an alien people, and who, by 160 B.C., had a part of this vast dominion, was for a long time transformable to the Hy-

Scythian Empire, (Pereets de la Geography, Univers.) by M. Malte Brun, p. vii. p. 89. (J.)

3 The Scythian name is the object of a particular list in a curious MS. fragment of the year 306, found in the library of Milet. The obscure geography of the times provoke and exercise the patience of the readers of the Proche Orient, et, de Reus, Successive, p. 135, 136, and the Chronicles of Casaroides and Marcellinus. The names of These are in too vague: the tribes of the Caucausian and Unter-

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6 For the name and nation, the situation and manners, of the Scia
Their inroads. I have marked the faint and general outline of the Selavonians and Bulgarians, without attempting to define their immediate boundaries, which were not accurately known or respected by the barbarians themselves. Their im- portance was increased by their protection to the emperors of Byzantium, and the level country of Moldavia and Walachia was occupied by the Antes, a Selavonian tribe, which swelled the titles of Justinian with an epithet of conquest. Against the Antes he erected the fortifications of the Dardanian Alps, erected laborious works to secure the presence of a people seated in the direct channel of northern invasion, an interval of two hundred miles between the mountains of Transylvania and the Euxine sea. But the Antes wanted power and inclination to stem the fury of the torrent; and the light-armed Selavonians, from a hundred tribes, pursued with almost equal speed the footsteps of the Bulgarian horse. The payment of one piece of gold for each soldier procured a safe and easy retreat through the country of the Gepids, who commanded the passage of the Upper Danube. The hopes or fears of the barbarians; their intestine union or discord; the accident of a sullen or shallow stream; the prospect of harvest or vintage; the prosperity or distress of the Romans; were the causes which produced the uniform repetition of annual visits, tedious in the narrative, and destructive in the event. The same year, and possibly the same month, in the narrative, in which he was marked by Thracian Chersonesus, extinguished the habitations and the inhabitants, boldly traversed the Hellespont, and returned to their companions, laden with the spoil of Asia. Another party, which seemed a multitude in the eyes of the Romans, penetrated, without opposition, from the straits of Thermopylae to the isthmus of Corinth; and the last ruin of Greece has appeared an object too minute for the attention of history. The works which the emperor had no more time or patience to perfect, by the expense of his own subjects, served only to disclose the weakness of some neglected part; and the walls, which by flatness had been deemed impregnable, were either deserted by the garrison, or scaled by the barbarians. Three thousand Selavonians, who insulted the islands, divided themselves into two bands, discovered the weakness and misery of a triumphant reign. They passed the Danube and the Hebrus, vanquished the Roman generals who dared to oppose their progress, and plundered with impunity the cities of Illyricum and Thrace, each of which had arms and numbers to overwhelm their contemptible assailants. Whatever praise the boldness of the Selavonians may deserve, it is sullied by the wanton and deliberate cruelty which they are accused of exercising on their prisoners. Without distinction of rank, of age, or sex, the captives were impaled, or flayed alive, or suspended between four posts, and beaten with clubs till they expired, or enclosed in some spacious building, and left to perish in the flames with the spoil and cattle which might impede the march of these savage victors. Their children were reduced to the emaciated state, reduced the number, and qualify the nature, of these horrid acts; and they might sometimes be excused by the cruel laws of retaliation. In the siege of Topirius, whose obstinate defence had enraged the Selavonians, they massacred fifteen thousand males; but they spared the women and children; and valuable captives were always reserved for labour or ransom; the servitude was not rigorous, and the terms of their deliverance were speedy and moderate. But the subject, or the historian of Justinian, exalted his just indignation in the language of complaint and reproach; and Procopius has confidently affirmed, that in a reign of thirty-two years, each annual inroad of the barbarians consumed two hundred thousand of the inhabitants of the Roman empire. The entire population of Turkish Europe, which nearly corresponds with the provinces of Asia Minor, would perhaps be incapable of supplying six millions of persons, the result of this incredible estimate. In the midst of these obscure calamities, Europe felt the shock of a revolution, which first revealed to the world the name of Scythia. At the death of Aurelian, a Scythian, the young and valiant son of Argimus, called Romulus, the founder of that martial people was suckled by a she-wolf, who afterwards made him the father of a numerous progeny; and the representation of that animal in the banners of the Turks preserved the memory, or rather suggested the idea, of a fable, which might have produced the dragged insignia, by the shepherds of Latium and those of Scythia. At the equal distance of two thousand miles from the Caspian, the Iey, the Chinese, and the Bengal seas, a ridge of mountains is conspicuous, the centre, and perhaps the summit, of Asia; which, in the language of different nations, has been styled Imus, and Caf, and Altai, and the Golden Mountains, and the Girdle of the Earth. The sides of the hills were productive of minerals; and the iron forges, for the purpose of war, were exercised by the Turks, the most despotic portion of Asia. By the expense of property of the greater part of the great king of Scythia, the tyrants were reduced to the last extremity, to beg beasts in the ceremony, in which a piece of iron was heated in the fire, and a smith's hammer was successively handled on...
by the prince and his nobles, recorded for ages the humble profession and rational pride of the Turkish nation. Bertezena, their first leader, signalized their valour and his own in successful combats against the neighbouring tribes; but when he presumed to ask in marriage the virgins of the great demand of a slave and a mechanic was contemptuously rejected. The disgrace was expiated by a more noble alliance with a princess of China; and the decisive battle which almost extinguished the nation of the Geor-gen, established in Tartary the new and more powerful empire of the Turks. They were not slow to profit by the example of their adversaries, but they confessed the vanity of conquest, by their faithful attachment to the mountain of their fathers. The royal encampment seldom lost sight of Mount Altai, from whence the river Irtil descends to the rich pastures of the Calkunaks, which nourish the largest sheep and oxen in the world. The soil is fruitful, and the climate temperate and happy; the region was ignorant of earthquake and pestilence; the emperor's throne was turned towards the east, and a golden wolf on the top of a spear seemed to guard the entrance of his tent. One of the successors of Bertezena was temporal and religious power, but his design of building cities and temples was defeated by the simple wisdom of a barbarian counsellor. "The Turks," he said, "are not equal in number to one hundredth part of the inhabitants of China. If we balance their power, and clude their armies, it becomes easier to subdue other nations, in the exercise of war and hunting. Are we strong? We advance and conquer; are we feeble? We retire and are concealed. Should the Turks confine their lives within the walls of cities, the loss of a battle would be the destruction of their empire. The Goths preluded only patience-they never sinned without any fixed habitations, in the exercise of war and hunting. Such, O king! is not the religion of heroes." They entertained, with less reluctance, the doctrines of Zoroaster; but the greatest part of the nation acquiesced, without inquiry, in the opinions, or rather in the practices, of their ancestors. The honours of sacrifice were reserved for the supreme deity; they acknowledged, in rude hymns, their obligations to the air, the fire, the water, and the earth; and their priests derived some profit from the art of divination. Their unwritten laws were rigorous and impious; theft was punished by a tenfold restitution; adultery, treachery, and murder, with all the annexed penalties, were execrated. There was severe for the rare and inexorable guilt of cowardice. As the subject nations marched under the standard of the Turks, their cavalry, both men and horses, were proudly computed by millions; one of their effective armies consisted of four hundred thousand soldiers, and in less than fifty years they were connected in peace and war with the Romans, the Persians, and the Chinese. In their northern limits, some vestige may be discovered of the form and situation of Kmantchats, of a people of hunters and fishermen, whose sledges were drawn by dogs, and whose habitations were built on a tumb, the turfs were ignominous and wretched; of the observation taken by some learned Chinese; with a gnomon of eight feet, fixes the royal camp in the latitude of forty-nine degrees, and marks their extreme progress within three, or at least ten, degrees of the polar circle. Among their southern conquests, the most splendid was that of the Nepthnals or White Huns, a polite and warlike people, who possessed the commercial cities of Bechara and Samarcand, who had vanquished the Persian monarch, and carried their victorious arms along the banks, and perhaps to the mouth, of the Indus. On the shore of the west, the Turkish cavalry advanced into the lake Matons. They passed that lake on the ice. The khan who dwelt at the foot of Mount Altai, issued his commands for the siege of Bosphorus, a city, the voluntary subject of Rome, and whose princes had formerly been the friends of Athens. To the east, the Turks invaded China, as often as the inhabitants of that country were tempted by avarice, and it was sufficient to read in the history of the times, that they marched down their patient enemies like hemp or grass; and that the mandarins applauded the wisdom of an emperor who repulsed these barbarians with golden lances. This extent of savage empire compelled the Turkish envoy to humble and to estimate the wisdom of his nation. The revival of their name and dominion in the southern countries of Asia, are the events of a later age; and the dynasties, which succeeded to their native realms, may sleep in oblivion; since their history bears no relation to the decline and fall of the Roman Empire.

In the rapid career of conquest, the Turks attacked and subdued the nations of Tartary, of the Ogers or Varchonites, on the and approaching banks of the river of the Til, which derived the epithet of black from its dark water or gloomy forests. He was slain, and the khan of the Turks, with the bodies of thousand of his subjects, and their bodies were scattered over the space of four days' journey: their surviving countrymen acknowledged the strength and mercy of the Turks; and a small portion, about twenty thousand warriors, preferred exile to servitude. They were followed the whole length of the empire, by the error of the nations who confounded them with the Arvas, and spread the terror of that false though famous appellation, which had not, however, saved its lawful proprietors from the yoke of the Turks. After a long and victorious march, the new Arvas arrived at the foot of mount Caucasus, in the country of the Arabi and Circassians, where they first heard of the splendour and weakness of the Roman empire. They humbly requested their confederate, the prince of the Alani, to lead them to this source of riches; and their ambassador, with the permission of the governor of Lazica, was transported to Constantinople, in the summer. The whole city was poured forth to behold with curiosity and terror the aspect of a strange people; their long hair, which hung in tresses down their backs, was gracefully bound with ribbons, but the rest of their habit appeared to imitate the fashion of their embassy to the Huns. When they were admitted Constantinople, to the audience of Justinian, Candish, A. D. 555, the first of the ambassadors, addressed the Roman em-

A. J. Courcy, pers. i. c. 12. ii. c. 2. Persians (Observations sur les Personages Barbares, p. 70, 143) defines the distance between Caifa and the old Bosphorus at sixteen long Tartar leagues.

2 See in Hist. Byzant. part i. p. 179; also his History of the Emperors, in the Supplements, to the Hist. de Byz. vol. i. p. 455, 456.

3 For the origin and revolutions of the first Turkish empire, the Chinese details are borrowed from De Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. i. p. 269—352) and Vehudel, (Compendium de la Bibliotheque Orient. d'Histoire, p. 92-111.) The Greek or Roman hints are gathered in Menander (p. 165-194), and Theophylact Simocatta, (G. i. c. 7. 5.)

4 The river Til, or Tula, according to the geography of De Guignes, (Guzi, i. p. 2, p. 216, and 332) is a small, though grateful, stream of the desert, that falls into the river Oxus near Semkour, in the Great Russian province, from Petersburg to Pekin; (vol. i. p. 121,) but its own description of the Kest, down which he sailed in the Gっn, the former name and attributes of the black river, (p. 129.)

5 Theophylact, (P. 109—110,) says that true Aras are invisible even to the eyes of M. de Guignes; and what can be more illustrious than the false? The right of the fugitive Ogres to that national appellation is confounded with the Turks, according to D'Anville's maps. They opposed the march of the generals of Zoign round the Caspian sea, and were overthrown in a great battle. (Hist. de Genicican, i. iv. c. 9. p. 197.)
peror in these terms: "You see before you, O mighty prince, the representatives of the strongest and most populous of nations, the invincible, the irresistible Avars. We are willing to devote ourselves to your service: we are able to vanquish and destroy all the enemies who now disturb your reposé. But we expect, as the price of our alliance, as the reward of our valour, the annual subsidy, and fruitless possession;" At the time of this embassy, Justinian had reigned above thirty, he had lived above seventy-five years: his mind as well as his body, was feeble and languid; and the conqueror of Africa and Italy, careless of the permanent interest of his dominions, aspired only to the morbid vanity of the bosom even of inglorious peace. In a studied oration, he implored to the senate his resolution to dissemble the insult, and to purchase the friendship of the Avars; and the whole senate, like the mandarins of China, applauded the incomprollable wisdom and foresight of their sovereign. The instruments of luxury were immediately prepared to captivate the barbarians; silken garments, soft and splendid beds, and chains and collars incensed with gold. The ambassadors, content with such liberal reception, departed from Constantiople, and Valentin, one of the envoys, was sent with a similar character to their camp at the foot of mount Caesarius. As their destruction or their success must be alike advantageous to the empire, he persuaded them to invade the empires of Rome; and they were easily tempted, by gifts and promises, to gratify their inclinations. Those fugitives, who fled before the Turk in arms, passed by the Tanais and Borysthenes, and boldly advanced into the heart of Poland and Germany, violating the law of nations, and abusing the rights of victory. Before ten years had elapsed, their camps were seated on the Danube and the Elbe, many Bulgarian and Selonian names were obliterated from the earth, and the remainder of their tribes are found, as tributaries and vassals, under the standard of the Avars. The chagan, the peculiar title of their king, still affected to cultivate the friendship of the emperor; and Justinian entertained some thoughts of ceding Transmut, to balance the prevailing power of the Lombards. But the virtue or treachery of an Avar betrayed the secret enmity and ambitious designs of their countrymen; and they loudly complained of the timidity and jealous policy, of defaming their ambassadors, and denying the arms which they had been allowed to purchase in the capital of the empire."

Embusades of the Turks and Romans. A.D. 569-592. attributed to the embassy which was charged to the emperor as a matter of the Avars.4 The immense distance which eluded their arms, could not extinguish their resentment: the Turkish ambassadors pursued the foot-prints of the vanquished to the Jaik, the Volga, mount Caesarius, the Erkine, and Constantiople, and at length appeared before the successor of Constantine, to request that he would not eschew the cause of rebels and fugitives. Even commerce had some share in this remarkable negotiation: and the Sozgoites, who were now the tributaries of the Turks, embraced the fair occasion of opening, by the north of the Caspian, a new road for the importation of Chinese silk into the Roman empire. The Persian, who preferred the navigation of Ceylon, had stopped the caravans of Bochara and Samarcand; their silk was contemptuously burnt: some Turkish ambassadors died in Persia, with a suspicion of poison; and the great khan permitted his faithful vassal Manichae, the prince of the Sogdioites, to propose, at the Byzantine court, a treaty of alliance against their common enemies. Their splendid apparel and rich presents, the fruit of oriental luxury, disinguished Manichae and his colleagues from the rude savages of the north: their letters, in the Suythian character and language, announced a people who had attained the polish of the orient; but Justinian mustered his conquests, they offered the friendship and military aid of the Turks: and their sincerity was attested by dreadful imprecations (if they were guilty of falsehood) against their own head, and the head of Disabul their chief princi exterminated with horror; because of the extreme enmity which they entertained to the ambassadors of a powerful monarch; the sight of silk-urns and lions disappointed the hopes of the Sogdioites: the emperor renounced, or seemed to renounce, the fugitive Avars, but he accepted the alliance of the Turks; and the ratification of the treaty was carried by a Roman minister to the foot of mount Altai. Under the successors of Justinian, the friendship of the two nations was cultivated by frequent and cordial intercourse; the most favoured vassals were permitted to imitate the example of the great khan, and one hundred and six thousand of the disengaged, who were the most eminent of the Sogdian, departed at the same time for their native country. The duration and length of the journey from the Byzantine court to mount Altai are not specified: it might have been difficult to mark a road through the nummose deserts, the mountains, rivers, and immense ranges of Tartary; so that the most of the ambassadors, who were selected to attend the great Khan in his tent, seated in a chair with wheels, to which a horse might be occasionally harnessed. As soon as they had delivered their presents, which were received by the proper officers, they exposed, in a florid creation, the wishes of the Roman emperor, that victory might attend the arms of the Turks, that their reign might be long and prosperous, and that a strict alliance, without envy or deceit, might for ever be maintained between the two most powerful nations of the earth. The answer of Disabul corresponded with these friendly professions, and the ambassadors were seated by his side, at a banquet which lasted the greatest part of the day: the tent was surrounded with silk hangings, and a Tartar liquor was served on the table, which possessed at least the intoxicating qualities of wine. The emperor of Persia, who had been present during the ceremony, was delighted with the success which had attended the embassy: he was, in fact, of the same nation; and the monuments of valor rather than of industry. When Disabul led his armies against the frontiers of Persia, his Roman allies followed many days the march of the Turkish embassy; they were not surprised at the absence of Justinian, in the fourth year of his successor Justinian; he was positively the first that reached Constantinople, (Menander, p. 162)
other, consulted the dictates of interest without recom-
clecting the obligations of oaths and treaties. While
the successor of Disabul celebrated his father's obse-
quies, he was saluted by the ambassadors of the
emperor Tiberius, who proposed an invasion of Persia,
and the Romans and the Persians were mutually
the just, reproaches of that haughty barbarian. "You
see my ten fingers," said the great khan, and he ap-
plied them to his mouth. "You Romans speak with
as many tongues, but they are the tongues of deceit
and perjury. To me you hold one language, to my
subjects another, and the Persians are succecssfully
cluded by your perfidious eloquence. You precipitate
your allies into war and danger, you enjoy their
labours, and you neglect your benefactors. Hasten
your return, inform your master that a Turk is inca-
parable of uttering or forgiving falsehood, and that he shall
speedily meet the punishment which he deserves. While he solicits my friendship with flattering
and hollow words, he is sunk to a confederate of my fugi-
tive Varchonites. If I confound to march against those contemplate slaves, they will tremble at the sound of our war, and they will be trampled, like a nest
under the foot of my immoveable cavalry.
I am not ignorant of the road which they have followed
to invade your empire; nor can I be deceived by the
vain pretence, that mount Caucasus is the impregna-
table barrier of the Romans. I know the course of the
Niester, the Trascunia, the Bug, and the Dnieper; and
the nations have yielded to the arms of the Turks;
and from the rising to the setting sun, the earth is my
inheritance." Notwithstanding this menace, a sense of
mutual advantage soon renewed the alliance of the
Turks and Romans; but the pride of the great khan
was still unsatisfied: and when he anoxiously an
important conquest to his friend the emperor Maurice,
he styled himself the master of the seven races, and
lord of the seven climates of the world.

Disputes have often arisen between
the sovereignty of Asia, for the title of
king of the world, which has not been
proved that it could not belong to either of the com-
petitors. The kingdom of the Turks was bounded by
the Oxus or Ghion; and Piusaun was separated by that
great river from the rival monarchy of Iran, or Persia,
which in a smaller compass contained perhaps a
larger measure of power and population. The Persians,
who alternately invaded and repulsed the Turks and
the Romans, were still ruled by the house of Sas-
sian, which ascended the three hundred years before
the accession of Justinian. His contemporary,
Cabades, or K-bad, had been successful in war against
the emperor Anastasius; but the reign of that prince
was distracted by civil and religious troubles. A
prisoner in the hands of his subjects; an exile among
the enemies of Persia; he recovered his liberty by
prostituting the honour of his wife, and regained his
kingdom with the dangerous and mercenary aid of the
Romans, who had slain his father. His wives were
suspicions that Khaber never forgave the authors of
his expulsion, or even those of his restoration. The peo-
ple were deluded and inflamed by the fanaticism of
Mazdak,9 who asserted the community of women,10 and
the equality of mankind, whilst he appropriated
the richest lands and most beautiful females to the use
of his sectaries. The view of these disorders, which
had been fomented by his laws and example,11 imbi-
ted the declining age of the Persian monarch; and
his fears were increased by the consciousness of his
design to reverse the natural and customary order of
succession, in favour of his third and most favoured
son. He sent envoys to the emperor Chosroes, who
at that time was desirous that he should be adopted by the emperor Justin: the hope of
peace inclined the Byzantine court to accept this
singular proposal; and Chosroes might have acquired
a special claim to the inheritance of the Persian
emperor. But the future mischief was diverted by the
advice of the quaestor Proclus: a difficulty was
started, whether the adoption should be performed as a
civil or military rite; the treaty was abruptly dis-
olved; and the sense of this indignity sunk deep into
the mind of Chosroes, who had already advanced to
the Tigris on his road to Constantinople. His father
did not long survive the disappointment of his wishes:
the testament of their deceased sovereign was read in the
assembly of the nobles; and a powerful faction,
prepared for the event, and regardless of the priority
of inheritance, exalted Chosroes to the throne. He filled
that throne during a prosperous period of forty-
five years; and the justice of Nushirvan is celebra-
ted as the theme of immortal praise by the nations of
the east.

But the justice of kings is understood
by themselves. In the Reign of Nushir-
van: their future life between the supreme rank and
the condition of subjects, was anxious to themselves
and formidable to their master; fear as well as revenge
might tempt them to rebel; the slightest evidence of
a conspiracy satisfied the author of their wrongs; and the
repose of Chosroes was secured by the death of these
unhappy princes, with their families and adher-
ts. One guiltless youth was saved and dismissed
by the compassion of a veteran general; and this act
of humanity, which was revealed by his son, overbal-
anced the merit of reducing twelve nations to the
obedience of Persia. The zeal and prudence of Mehdes
had fixed the edictum on the head of Chosroes himself;
but he delayed to attend the royal sumptuous, till he
had performed the duties of a military review; he was
instantly commanded to repair to the iron tripod, which
stood before the gate of the palace,9 where it was
death to relieve or approach the victim; and Mehdes
was distinguished several days before his sentence was
pronounced, by the inflexible pride and calm ingratitude
of the son of Kobad. But the people, more especially
forgave the humiliation to which his filial piety had staked; pode
pras desecrata, namque pro magistratibus ad publicas armas occu-
pavit. (Procop. Specimen Hist. Arab. p. 71.)
9 Procop. Pers. I. 1. 11. Was he a fire worshipper? Was not
the danger imaginary? The excuse, at least, was injurious to a nation
not ignorant of letters: — "propter actum deos alterius gentis ignorat;
propter urbem, a quam duxit, et ipso urbem, non ego, sed dei
Persia, 1 tibi esse debere.
9 Procop. Histor. Pers. I. 12. 7. Whence the bap-
"Che所说 in the year 528. Have we not a con-
cordance above, in which Chosroes had been the author of
the new law for the community of women, and the equality of mankind,
which had been fomented by his laws and example, in
the reign of Abur, which he had
sent to Persis, as he had already advanced to
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in the east, are disposed to forgive, and even to applaud, the cruelty which blights at the siren of ambition, whose voluntary choice has exposed them to live in the smiles, and to perish by the frown, of a capricious monarch. In the execution of the laws which he had no temptation to violate; in the punishment of crimes which attacked his own dignity, and the happiness of individuals; Nasirshirvan, or Chosroes, deserved the appellation of just. His government was firm, rigorous, and impartial. It was the first labour of his reign to abolish the dangerous theory of common or equal possessions; the lands and women which the scurries of Mazdak had usurped were restored to their legitimate owners; the temperate chastisement of the fanatics or imposters confirmed the domestic rights of society. Instead of listening with blind confidence to a favourite minister, he established four viziers over the four great provinces of his empire, Assyria, Media, Persia, and Bactria. In the choice of judges, prelates, and counsellors, he strove to remove the mask which is always worn in the presence of kings: he wished to substitute the natural order of talents for the accidental distinctions of birth and fortune; he professed, in speaking of his intentions, to prefer those men who carried the poor in their housoms, and to banish corruption from the seat of justice, as dogs were excluded from the temples of the Magi. The code of laws of the first Artaxerxes was revived and published as the rule of the magistrates; but the assurance of speech was not the only object of the benevolent monarch. To his behaviour was inspected by a thousand eyes, their words were overheard by a thousand ears, the secret or public agents of the throne; and the provinces, from the Indian to the Arabian confines, were enlightened by the frequent visits of a sovereign, who affected to equal his celestial brother in his regal and salutary career. Education and agriculture he viewed as the two objects most deserving of his care. In every city of Persia, orphans, and the children of the poor, were maintained and instructed at the public expense; the daughters were given in marriage to the richest citizens; of their own accord, and according to their different talents, were employed in mechanic trades, or promoted to more honourable service. The desert villages were relieved by his bounty; to the peasants and farmers who were found incapable of supporting their labours, he gave, and the instruments of husbandry; and the rare and inestimable treasure of fresh water was parsimoniously managed, and skilfully dispersed over the arid territory of Persia. The prosperity of that kingdom was the effect and the evidence of his virtues: his views are those of oriental despotism; but in the long competition between Chosroes and Justinian, the advantage both of merit and fortune is almost always on the side of the barbarian.  

His love of learning. To the praise of justice Nasirshirvan united the reputation of knowledge; and the seven Greek philosophers, who visited his court, were invited and deceived by the strange assurance, that a disciple of Plato was seated on the Persian throne. Did they expect that a prince, strenuously exercised in the toils of war and government, should agitate, with dexterity like their own, the abstruse and profound questions which amused the leisure of the schools of Athens? Could they hope that the privileges which should direct his life and the passions of a despot, whose infancy had been taught to consider his absolute and fluctuating will as the only rule of moral obligation? The studies of Chosroes were ostentatious and superficial: but his example awakened the curiosity of an ingenious poverty. He fell, and the happiest individuals of the dominions of Persia. At Gondi Sapor, in the neighbourhood of the royal city of Susa, an academy of physic was founded, which insensibly became a liberal school of poetry, philosophy, and rhetoric. The annals of the monarchy were composed; and while frequent accounts of his operations were preserved for future generations, the lessons both to the wise and people, the darkness of the first ages was embellished by the giants, the dragons, and the fabulous heroes of oriental romance. Every learned or candid stranger was enchanted by the beauty, and flattered by the conversation, of the monarch; in every regarded a Greek physician, by the deliverance of three thousand captives: and the sophists, who contended for his favour, were exasperated by the wealth and insolence of Uranus, their successful rival. Nasirshirvan believed, or at least he pretended, that every scholarship which among proselytes of persecution may be discovered in his reign. Yet he allowed himself freely to compare the tenets of the various sects: and the theological disputes, in which he frequently presided, diminished the authority of the priest, and enlightened the minds of the people. At his command, the most celebrated works of Greece and India were translated into the Persian language; a smooth and elegant idiom, recommended by Mahomet to the use of paradise; though it is branded with the epithets of savage and unmanual, by the ignorance and presumption of Agathias. Yet the Greek schools were preserved in Bactria. That it was found possible to execute an entire version of Plato and Aristotle in a foreign dialect, which had not been framed to express the spirit of freedom and the subtilities of philosophical discussion. And, if the reason of the Stagyrite might be equally dark, or equally intelligible in every regard to a Greek artisted verbal argumentation of the disciple of Socrates, appear to be indissolubly mingled with the grace and perfection of his Attic style. In the search of universal knowledge, Nasirshirvan was informed, that the moral and political institutions of the ancient of the ancients: Pilpay, an ancient Brachman, were preserved with jealously reverence; the treasures of the kings of India. The physician Perozos was

1 A thousand years before his birth, the judges of Persia had given the seal of approval to the tyrannical apologiae of Herodotus. In this same reign of Artaxerxes I., the works of Herodotus were translated into Greek by the interpreter Soranus, (Aristeas, 1 v. p. 113.) preserved after the Mahometan conquest, and verified in the year 1267, at Constantinople. Since D'Anquetil (Amen. de l'Academie, tom. xxxi. p. 379.) and Sir William Jones, in his Oriental Lexicon, (p. 101.)

2 In the 5th century, the name of Reystor or Restor, a hero who equaled the strength of twelve elephants, was familiar to the learned. (More Chrestomathia, Hist. Aret. i. c. 7. p. 36. ed. White.) In the beginning of the seventh, the Persian Romance of Restor and Edwara was translated at Mecca, (Skeel's Exk, xiii. p. 735.) Yet this exposition of ludicrous names, is not given by Mercati, (Geografia, Alcoran, p. xlii.)

3 From which was, in c. 19. 156. Nabor had a fortunate Greek physician, Stephen of Evlesia, (Persic, i. c. 26.) The practice was ancient; and Herodotus is the advocate of the oriental nomenclature, with the ancient, (c. 125-137.)

4 In Persia, the prince is an officer of state. The number of sultans and emperors changes is much diminished, and with it the horror of the people. The Sultains have at present one thousand, and 12,000 were recono in the province of Khurasan, (Chardin, tom. iii. p. 99, 100. Tavernier, tom. i. p. 463.)

5 The carácer and government of Nushirvan are represented sometimes in the words of Herodotus, (Biblioth. Orient. p. 88, sec. 16.) found by Chardin, (Amiri, tom. iii. 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179.) Abolaphragm, (Dyont vi. p. 94, 95, 96, 97.) Tarik Sahland, (p. 144--156.) Tavereh, in Steevens, i. c. c. 30.) Assaman, (Biblioth. Orient. iv. p. 184, sec. 18.)

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secretly despatched to the banks of the Ganges, with instructions to procure, at any price, the commissariat of that valuable work. His dexterity obtained a transcript, his learned diligence accomplished the translation; and the fables of Pilpay were read and admired in the assembly of the Northmen and their noblest character. The mode of the Persians, the Persians, have long since disappeared; but this venerable monument has been saved by the curious of the Arabian caliphs, reprinted in the modern Persian, the Turkish, the Syriac, the Hebrew, and the Greek idioms, and transposed through successive versions into the modern languages of Europe. In some of the performances and the manners of the Hindoos, are coexist, and the intrinsic merit of the fables of Pilpay is far inferior to the concise elegance of Phaedrus, and the native graces of La Fontaine. The moral and political sentences are illustrated in a series of apologetics; but the composition is intricate, the narrative is licentious, and the precept obvious and barren. Yet the Brahman may assume the merit of inventing a pleasant fiction, which adorns the nakedness of truth, and allures, perhaps, to a royal car, the marvellous of instruction. With a similar design, to the Brahmans among the Chinese, the additions of intrinsic merit of their subjects, the some Indians invented the game of chess, which was likewise introduced into Persia under the reign of Nushirvan. Peace and war. The son of Kobaad found his kingdom involved in a war with the successor of Constantine; and the anxiety of his domestic situation inclined him to grant the suspension of arms, which Justinian was impatient to purchase. Chosroes saw the Roman ambassadors at his feet. He accepted eleven thousand pounds of gold, as the price of an endless or indefinite peace; some mutual exchange were regulated; the Persian assumed the guard of the gates of Caucasus, and the demolition of Dara was suspended, on condition that it should never be made the residence of the general of the east. This interval of reposè had been solicited, and was diligently improved, by the ambition of the emperor; his African conquests were the first fruits of the Persian treaty; and the avowal of Chosroes was soothed by a large portion of the spoils of Carthage, which his ambassadors required in a term of pleasantry, and under the colour of friendship. But the trophies of Belisarius disturbed the slumber of the great king; and the multitudes of his barbarous auxiliaries, his wars in Sicily, Italy, and Rome itself, had been reduced, in three rapid campaigns, to the obedience of Justinian. Unpractised in the art of treating treaties, he secretly excited his bold and subtle vasalv Alamadar. That prince of the Saracens, who resided at Hira, had not been included in the general peace, and still waged an obscure war against his rival Arthat, the chief of the tribe of Gassan, and confederate of the empire. The subject of their dispute was an extensive sheep-walk in the desert to the south of Palmyra. An immemorial tribute for the licence of pasture, appeared to attest the rights of Almandar, while the Gassanite appealed to the Latin name of strata, a paved road, as an unquestionable evidence of the sovereignty and labours of the Romans. The two monarchs supported the difference by arms; the Persians, who are not infallible in the science of war, and the Persians, without expecting the event of a slow and doubtful arbitration, enriched his flying camp with the spoil and captives of Syria. Instead of repelling the arms, Justinian attempted to reduce the fidelity, of Almendor, while he called from the extremities of the earth the nations of Ethiopia and Scythia, to face the Persians. The number of such allies was distant and precarious, and the discovery of this hostile correspondence justified the complaints of the Goths and Armenians, who implored, almost at the same time, the protection of Chosroes. The descendants of Armaces, who were still numerous in Armenia, had been provoked to assist the last relics of national freedom and hereditary rank; and the ambassadors of Vitiges had secretly traversed the empire to expose the instant, and almost inevitable, danger of the kingdom of Italy. Their representations were uniform, weighty, and effectual. "We stand before your court, our ally by birth, our own, the ambitious and faithless Justinian aspires to be the sole master of the world. Since the endless peace, which betrayed the common freedom of mankind, that prince, year by year in wars, your enemy in actions, has alike insulted his friends and foes, and the Persians filled the earth with blood and confusion: if he has not violated the privileges of Armenia, the independence of Colchis, and the wild liberty of the Tzazian mountains! Has he not usurped, with equal avidity, the city of Bosphorus on the frozen maid, and the rule of palm-trees on the shores of the red sea? The Persians, the Vandal, the Goths, have been successively oppressed, and each nation has calmly remained the spectator of their neighbour's rain. Embrace, O king! the favourable moment; the east is left without defence, while the armies of Justinian and his renowned general are detained in the distant regions of the west. If you hesitate and delay, Belisarius and his victorious troops will soon return from the Tiber to the Tigris, and Persia may enjoy the wretched consolation of being the last devoured." By such arguments, Chosroes was easily persuaded to imitate the example which he condemned; but the Persians, ambitious by conquest, would not abandon the fruits of a rival, who issued his sanguinary commands from the secure station of the Byzantine palace. Whatever might be the provocation he invades of Chosroes, he abused the confidence Syrius of treaties; and the just reproaches of insurrection and false-pledge could only be concealed by the lustre of his victories. The Persian army, which had been assembled in the plains of Babylon, prudently declined the strong cities of Mesopotamia, and followed the western bank of the Euphrates, till the small though populous town of Dura presumed to arrest the progress of the great conqueror. On the banks of Dura, by treachery and surprise, were burst open; and as soon as Chosroes had stained his seigniory with the blood of the inhabitants, he dismissed the ambassador to Justinian to inform his master in what place he had

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1 Of these fables, I have seen three copies in three different languages: one translated from the Persian by Simon Muschelius, Bishop of Arvand, and published by Streck at Berlin in 1807, in Pomo. 2. In Latin, from a version of the Greek by Vidari Indrum, inserted in the edition of Pisaqin, at the end of his edition of Peshast in 1804, (Inst. Rom.) 3. In Pech, from the Turkish, dedicated, in 1590, to Sultan Mehemet, by a disciple of the Pasha, and published by M. Gollard et Carbno, Paris, 1778. 3 vols. in 4to. Warton (History of English poetry, vol. I., p. 120-133.) takes a larger scope. 2 See Hes. Hist. Stat. of Hdr. (Cygn.) Desr. sat. 2. (in loc.) an account of the ruins and city. 1. The endless peace (Procopius, Pers. 1. i. c. 21.) was concluded on the 1st July, 532. (Suidas 3. D. 334.) between January 1, and April 1, (Petr. tom. ii. p. 550.) Morello in his Chronicle, use the style of the Medes and Persians. 4 Procopius, Pers. 1. i. c. 55. 5 Procopius, Pers. 1. i. c. 25. 6 Procopius, Pers. 1. i. c. 26. 7 Procopius, Pers. 1. i. c. 27. 8 He has, in the Chronicle of the Romans, the Persians, the Goths, and the Persians, in his public history, feels, and makes us feel, that Justinian and his successors were the true enemy of the war. (Pers. 1. i. c. 23.) 9 The invasion of the Parthian, the invasion of Locris, &c. are related in a full and regular series by Procopius, (Pers. 1. ii. c. 5-11.) Small collage will not be desired for the evidence yet not but, they must be wished for making Justinian and Nushirvan contemporaneous. On the geography of the age of the Persian, D'Arville (Empire et sie St.) is sufficient and satisfactory.
left the enemy of the Romans. The conqueror still affected the prudence of war and justice; and as he believed a noble matron with her infant rudely dragged along the ground, he sighed, he wept, and impressed the divine justice to punish the author of these calamities. Yet the herd of twelve thousand captives was ransomed for two hundred pounds of gold; the neighbouring bishops of Nisibis pledged his faith for the payment; and in the subsequent year the unfeeling avarice of Chosroes exacted the penalty of an obligation which it was generous to contract and impossible to discharge. He advanced into the heart of Syria; but a feeble enemy, who vanquished at his approach, disapponted him. He was defeated in the battles of Victoria and intense; he could not judge of the form and situation of their native abodes; baths and a stately circus were constructed for their accommodation; and he saw that his name was revived in Assyria the pleasures of a Greek capital. By the munificence of the royal founder, a liberal allowance was assigned to these fortunate exiles; and they enjoyed the singular privilege of bestowing freedom on the slaves whom they acknowledged as their kinsmen, Palshtue, and the holy wealth of Jerusalem, were the next objects that attracted the ambition, or rather the avarice, of Chosroes. Constantinople, and the palace of the Caesars, no longer appeared impregnable or remote; and his aspiring fancy already covered Asia Minor with the troops, and the Black Sea with the navies of the Persian monarch, whose name alone was retained of Chosroes in the east, where he had been seasonably recalled to the defence of the emperors. While Chosroes pursued his ambitious designs on the coast of the Euxine, Belisarius, at the head of seven thousand, without pay or discipline, encamped beyond the Euphrates, within six miles of Nisibis. He warded, by a skilful operation, to draw the Persians from their impregnable citadel, and improving his advantage in the field, either to intercept their retreat, or perhaps to enter the gates with flying colours, he pursued them to the coast of his victorious跟踪 and recovered the territories of Persia, reduced the fortress of Sisaura, and sent the governor, with eight hundred chosen horsemen, to serve the emperor in his Italian wars. He detached Arachis and his Arab, supported by five hundred Romans, to pass the Tigris, and to ravage the barrenness of Assyria, a fruitful province, long exempt from the calamities of war. But the plans of Belisarius were disconcerted by the untractable spirit of Arachis, who never returned to the camp, nor sent any intelligence of his motions. The Romans, at the time of their landing, had already occupied the same spot; the time of action elapsed, the ardent sun of Mesopotamia inflamed with fevers the blood of his European soldiers; and the stationary troops and effects of Syria affected to tremble for the safety of their defenceless cities. Yet this diversion had already succeeded in forcing Chosroes to return with less precipitation; and if the skill of Belisarius had been seconded by discipline and valour, his success might have satisfied the sanguine wishes of the public, who required at his hands the conquest of Ctesiphon, and the deliverance of the captives of Antioch. At the end of the campaign, he was re- called to Constantiopolis by an ungrateful court; but the dangers of the ensuing spring restored his confidence and command; and the hero, almost alone, was despatched, with the speed of post-horses, to appease his name and the resentment of Syria. He found the Roman general, among whom was a nephew of Justinian, imprisoned by their fears in the fortifications of Hierapolis. But instead of listening to their timid confidants, Belisarius commanded them to follow him to Europe, where he had resolved to collect his forces, and to execute whatever God should inspire him to achieve against the enemy.

1 In the public history of Persia (Perisc. i. 16. 18. 19. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27.) and with more skill and expedition, we may read the wars of Ctesiphon, the capture of Antioch, with some slight exceptions, we may read the wars of Ctesiphon, the capture of Antioch, and our «Theatres of War» against the malicious whisper of the Aeneid (C 2. 3. with the Notes, as usual, of Alamanus.)
His firm attitude on the banks of the Euphrates, restrained Belisarius from advancing towards Palestine; and when he received, with art and dexterity, the ambassadors, or rather spies, of the Persian monarch. The plain between Hierapolis and the river was covered with the squadrons of cavalry, six thousand hunters, tall and robust, who pursued their game without the apprehension of an enemy; for the Persians had described a thousand Armenian horse, who appeared to guard the passage of the Euphrates. The tent of Belisarius was of the coarsest linen, the simple equipment of a warrior who disdained the luxury of the east. Around this tent, the nations who marched under his standard took refuge; the Persians and Illyrians were posted in the front, the Heruli and Goths in the centre; the prospect was closed by the Moors and Vandals, and their loose array seemed to multiply their numbers. Their dress was light and active; one soldier carried a whip, another a sword, a third a bow, a fourth, perhaps, a battle-axe, and the whole picture exhibited the inferiority of the troops, and the vigilance of the general. Chosroes was deluded by the address, and awed by the genius, of the lieutenant of Justinian. Conscious of the merit, and ignorant of the force, of his antagonist, he decided a decisive battle on a plain opposite to a Persian, liable return to tell the melancholy tale. The great king hastened to repass the Euphrates; and Belisarius pressed his retreat, by afflicting to oppose a measure so salutary to the empire, and which could scarcely have been prevented by an army of a hundred thousand men. Every might suggest, and an pride, that the public enemy had been suffered to escape: but the African and Gothic triumphs are less glorious than this safe and bloodless victory, in which neither fortune, nor the valour of the soldiers, can subtract any part of the general's renown.

A.D. 543, &c. Belisarius, from the Persian to the Italian war, revealed the extent of his personal merit, which had corrected or supplied the want of discipline and courage. Fifteen generals, without concert or skill, led through the mountains of Armenia, an army of thirty thousand Romans, inactive to their signals, their ranks, their targets. For a quarter of a century, the Persians, entrenched in the camp of Dubis, vanished, almost without a combat, this disorderly multitude; and their useless arms were scattered along the road, and their horses sunk under the fatigue of their rapid flight. But Justinian, the Roman party, the Persians to the brethren; the Armenians, the hostiles to their allegiance; the cities of Dara and Edessa resisted a sudden assault and a regular siege, and the calamities of war were suspended by those of peace.

A tacit or formal agreement between the two sovereigns protected the great silts of the eastern frontier; and the arms of Chosroes were confined to the Caucasian or Libyan war, which has been too minutely described by the historians of the times. Of the extreme length of the Euxine coast, Latins, men, from Constantine to the mouth of the Danube, may be computed after a voyage of nine days, and a measure of seven hundred miles. From the Iberian Caucasus, the most lofty and craggy mountains of Asia, that river descends with such oblique vehemence, that in a short space it is reached by one hundred and twenty bridges. Nor does the stream become placid and navigable, till it reaches the town of Sarapanc, five days' journey from the Cyrus, which flows from the same hills, but joins it in a contrary direction. The proximity of these rivers has suggested the practice, or at least the idea of having the precious merchandise of India down the Oxus, over the Caspian up the Cyrus, and with the current of the Phasis into the Euxine and Mediterranean seas. As it successively deposits the stones and silt of the Phasis, moves with diminished speed, though accumulated weight. At the mouth it is sixty fathoms deep, and half a league broad, but a small woody island is interspersed in the midst of the channel: the water, so soon as it has deposited an earthy or metallic sediment, flows on the surface of the waves, and is no longer susceptible of corruption. In a course of one hundred miles, forty of which are navigable for large vessels, the Phasis divides the celebrated region of Colchis, or Migrenia, which, on three sides, is fortified by the Iberian and Armenian mountains, and whose marine crossed the coast extends to the neighbourhood of Trebizond to Dioscurias, and the confines of Cricassia. Both the soil and climate are relaxed by excessive moisture: twenty-eight rivers, besides the Phasis and his dependent streams, convey their waters to the sea; and the hollowness of the ground appears to indicate the subterraneous channels between the Euxine and the Caspian. In the fields where wheat or barley is sown, the earth is too soft to sustain the action of the plough; but the gom, a small grain, not unlike the millet or sorghum seed, supplies the ordinary food of the people; and the use of bread is confined to the prince and his nobles. Yet the vines and olive are more plentiful in this district; the little bark of the stems, as well as the quality of the wine, display the unassisted powers of nature. The same powers continually tend to overshadow the face of the country with thick forests; the timber of the hills, and the flux of the plains contribute to the abundance of naval stores; the wild and tame animals, the ox, and the hog, are remarkably prolific, and the name of the pleasant is expressive of his native habitation on the banks of the Phasis. The gold mines to the south of Trebizond, which are still worked with sufficient profit, were a subject of national dispute between Justinian and Chosroes. It is impossible to believe, that a vein of precious metal may be equally diffused through the circle of hills, although these secret treasures are neglected by the lazziness, or concealed by the prudence, of the Magyrians. Imprisoned, with particles of gold, are carefully strained through sieves, and sieves; but this expedient, the ground-work perhaps of a marvellous tale, affords a faint image of the wealth extracted from a virgin earth by the power and industry of ancient kings. Their silver palaces and golden chambers surpass our belief; but the fame of their riches is said to have excited the enterprise of the Argonauts. Tradition has affirmed, with some colour...
of reason, that Egypt planted on the Phasis a learned and polite colony, which manufactured linen, built navies, and invented geographical maps. The antiquity of the moderns has peopled, with flattering cities and nations, the isthmus between the Euxine and the Caspian; and a lively writer, observing the resemblance of climate, and, in his apprehension, of trade, has not hesitated to pronounce Colchis the Holland of Asia.

But the riches of Colchis shine only through the darkness of conjecture or tradition; and its g-une history presents a uniform scene of rudeness and poverty. If one hundred and thirty languages were spoken in the market of Dioscurus, one hundred and forty savage tribes or families, sequestered from each other in the valleys of mount Caucasus; and their separation, which diminished the importance, must have multiplied the number of their rustic capitals. In the present state of Mingrelia, a village is an assemblage of hutts within a wooden fence; the fortress or the seat of the princes, is a fortification, the base of which is imbedded in the depths of forests; the princely town of Cyts, or Cotis, consists of two hundred houses, and a stone edifice appertains only to the magnificence of kings. Twelve ships, or Constavtistone, and about six thousand men, were involved with the fruits of the industry, anchored as cast anchor on the coast; and the list of Colchian exports is much increased, since the natives had only slaves and hides to offer in exchange for the corn and salt which they purchased from the subjects of Justinian. Not a vestige can be found of the art, the knowledge required for the navigation of the ancient Colchians; few Greeks desired or dared to pursue the foot-steps of the Argonauts; and even the marks of an Egyptian colony are lost on a nearer approach. The rite of circumcision is practised only by the Magomian or Tartars of the Duxine; and the cultivated hoar and swarthy complexion of Africa no longer disfigure the perfect of the human race. It is in the adjacent climates of Georgia, Mingrelia, and Circassia, that nature has placed, at least to our eyes, the model of beauty, in the shape of the limbs, the color of the skin, the symmetry of the features, the expression of the countenance, and the associations of the two sexes. The men seem formed for action, the women for love; and the perpetual supply of females from mount Caucasus has purified the blood, and improved the breed, of the southern nations of Asia. The proper district of Mingrelia, a portion only of the ancient Colchis, has sustained an expectation of twelve thousand slaves. The number of prisoners or criminals would be inadequate to the annual demand; but the common people are in a state of servitude to their lords; the exercise of fraud or rapine is unpunished in a lawless community; and the market is continually replenished by the abuse of civil and paternal authority. Such a trade, which reduces the human species to the level of cattle, may tend to encourage marriage and population, since the multitude of children curishes

given lost his hand and foot for showing some specimens at Constantinople of native gold, Strabo, i, c. 28, p. 121; Diodor, Sicul, i, p. 38, ed. Weissenberg; Dionys. Perieget, 669, and Eustath. ad loc. Scholast; ap Athen. Ammon. Lyc. i, p. 292; Hesych. Alex. ex. Musch. de Civ. Mgr. i, c. 6, i, c. 67. Eutichane ... duce de ville et nations qui ne sont plus. 68. Touvet, Mesures de l’Academie des Inscriptions, tom. ii, p. 33 on the African voyage of Hannibal. 69. Commerce and commerce of ancient nations. 70. A Greek historian, Timotheos, had affirmed, in rare circumstances, disquisitions fragmentes, descendentes, and the modest Flurey is content to add that this phrase indicates the extent of his genius; but the whole discourse covers a multitude of post facts. 71. Strabo, i, c. 28, p. 120, ed. Weissenberg; and the famous passage of Homer, which signifies the wantonness of slaves. 72. Strabo, i, c. 28, p. 120, ed. Weissenberg; and the famous passage of Homer, which signifies the wantonness of slaves. 73. In the island of Herakles, they were in truth an inexhaustible storehouse; and he had observed a few facts which seem to indicate the influence of climate on a foren. city.

Hannibal arrived at Constantinople with two hundred persons; but he ate cold meat by day, till his restive horse was diminished to a twenty and two. (Torey, nov. i, p. 365.) To purchase his mistress, a Mingrelian gentleman sold twelve priests and his wife to the Turks (Chardin, tom. i, p. 65.)
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which preserved his name, extended no further than the neighbourhood of Trebizond. Beyond these limits the fortifications of Hyussus, of Appaurus, of the Phasis, of the town of Justinian, and that of Trehizond were guarded by sufficient detachments of horse and fo 1 ; and six princes of Colchis received their diadems from the lieutenants of Caesar. One of these lieutenants, the eloquent and philosophic Arrian, surveyed, visited Arrian, and has described, the Euxine coast, and the ancient Neapolis of Trebizond. The garrison which he reviewed at the mouth of the Phasis, consisted of four hundred chosen legionaries; the brick walls and towers, the double ditch, and the military engines on the rampart, rendered this place inaccessible to the barbarians; but the new suburbs which had been erected by the merchants and veterans, required, in the opinion of Arrian, some external defence. 1 As the strength of the empire was gradually impaired, the Romans stationed on the Phasis were either withdrawn or expelled: and the tribe of the Lazi, whose posterity speak a foreign dialect, and inhabit the sea-coast of Trebizond, imposed their name and dominion on the ancient kingdom of Colchis. Their independence was soon invaded by a formidable neighbour, who had acquired, by arms and treaties, the sovereignty of Iberia. The dependent king of Lazica revolted against the Lazi, and laid open the gate of their march, and the successors of Constantine acquiesced in this injurious claim, which was strongly urged as a conversion of right of inmemorial prescription. In the Lazi, the beginning of the sixth century, their influence was restored by the introduc-

1 In the time of Procopius, there were no Roman forts on the Phasis. Procopius and other geographers have been deceived in the reports of their predecessors (Goth. iv. 4.) but the latter was afterwards restored by Justinian, p. 386.

2 In the time of Ptolemy, Arrian, and Ptolemy, the Lazi were a particu

3 A.D. 532. the laces wore incessantly reminded, but their words and actions, of their dut

4 In the time of Ptolemy, Arrian, and Ptolemy, the Lazi were a particu

5 A.D. 532.

6 In the time of Ptolemy, Arrian, and Ptolemy, the Lazi were a particu

7 A.D. 532.
inaccessible were covered by additional bulwarks. In this important fortress, the vigilance of Chosroes had deposited a magazine of offensive and defensive arms, sufficient for five times the number, not only of the garrison, but of the besiegers themselves. The stock of flour and salted provisions, which perished to the amount of a sumptuous five years; the want of wine was supplied by vinegar, and of grain from whence a strong liquor was extracted; and a triple aqueduct shaded the diligence, and even the suspicions, of the enemy. But the most efficient defence of Petra was placed in the value of fifteen thousand Persians, who repelled the assaults of the Romans, whilst, in a softer vein of earth, a mine was secretly perforated. The wall, supported by slender and temporary props, hung tottering in the air; but Dagistias delayed the attack till he had secured a specific recompense; and the town was relieved before the return of his messenger from Constantinople. The Persian garrison was reduced to four hundred men, of whom no more than fifty were exempt from sickness or wounds; yet such had been their inflexible perseverance, that they concealed their losses from the enemy by laying waste a region, and by the putrifying stench of the dead bodies of their eleven hundred companions. After their deliverance, the breaches were hastily stopped with sand-bags; the mine was replenished with earth; a new wall was erected on a frame of substantial timber; and a fresh garrison was established at Petra, which was destined to sustain the labours of a second siege. The operations, both of the attack and defence, were conducted with skilful obstinacy; and each party derived useful lessons from the experience of their past faults. A battering-ram was invented, of light construction, and powerful effect; it was transported and worked by the hands of forty soldiers; and as the stones were loosened by its repeated strokes, they were torn with long iron hooks from the wall. From those walls, a shower of darts was incessantly poured on the heads of the assailants, but they were most dangerously annoyed by a fiery composition of sulphur and bitumen, which, by the composition of sulphur and bitumen, which, by

The Colchian was a Spartan who had praised and swelled the virtue of those heroic slaves; but the tedious warfare and alternate success of the Roman and Persian arms cannot detain the attention of posterity at the foot of mount Caucasus. The advantages obtained by the troops of Justinian were more frequent and splendid; but the force of the great king was employed in time, till they amounted to eight elephants and seventy thousand men, including twelve thousand Scythian allies, and above three thousand Dilemites, who descended by their free choice from the hills of Hyrcania, and were equally formidable in close or in distant combat. The siege of Archangelopolis, a name imposed or corrupted by the Greeks, was raised with some loss and precipitation; but the Persians occupied the passes of Iberia; Chosroes was enslaved by their forts and garrisons; they behaved a retinue, the representatives of the people; and the prince of the Lazi fled into the mountains. In the Roman camp, faith and discipline were unknown; and the independent leaders, who were invested with equal power, dis-puted with each other the pre-eminence of vice and corruption. The Persians followed a different conduct; there was no retinue, the representatives of the people; and the prince of the Lazi fled into the mountains. In the Roman camp, faith and discipline were unknown; and the independent leaders, who were invested with equal power, dis-puted with each other the pre-eminence of vice and corruption. The Persians followed a different conduct; there was no retinue, the representatives of the people; and the
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Chapter III.

The victory of the Phasis restored the terror of the Roman arms, and the emperor was persuaded to renounce his dangerous claim to the possession or sovereignty of Colchis and its dependent states. Rich in the accumulated treasures of the east, he extorted from the Romans an annual payment of thirty thousand pieces of gold; and the smallness of the sum revealed the disgrace of a tribute in its naked deformity. In the train of the previous defeat, and the wheel of fortune, were applied by one of the ministers of Justinian, who observed that the reduction of Antioch, and some Syrian cities, had elevated beyond measure the vain and ambitious spirit of the barbarians. You are mis-taken," replied the modest Persian; the king of kings was determined to dispel with contempt on such petty acquisitions; and of the ten nations, vanquished by his invincible arms, he extorted from Persia, in Transoxiana, to Yemen or Arabia Felix, and subdued the rebels of Hyrcania, reduced the provinces of Cabul and Zabdistan, on the banks of the Indus, broke the power of the Euthalians, terminated by an honourable treaty the Turkish war, and admitted the daughter of the great king into the house of the Caesars. Yet, while the king of kings was among the princes of Asia, he gave audience, in his palace of Madain, or Ctesiphon, to the ambassadors of the world. Their gifts or tributes, arms, rich garments, gems, slaves, or aromatics, were humbly presented at the foot of his throne; and he consolled the want of India, to be accepted from his hands, with a wood of albes, a maid seven cubits in height, and a carpet softer than silk, the skin, as it was reported, of an extraordinary serpent.

Justinian had been reproached for his conquests of the alliance with the Ethiopians, as if he Abyssinians, had attempted to introduce the degraded negroes into the system of civilized society. But the friends of the Roman empire, the Ammites or Abyssinians, may be always distinguished from the original natives of Africa. The hand of nature has flattened the noses of the negroes, covered their heads with shaggy wool, and tinged their skin with hues and indelible blackness. But the olive complexion of the Abyssinians, their hair, shape, and features, distinctly mark them as a colony of Arabs; and this descent is confirmed by the resemblance of language and manners with those of their ancestors, who inhabited the narrow interval between the shores of the Red sea. Christianity had raised that nation above the level of African barbarism; their intercourse with Egypt, and the successors of Constantine, had communicated the rudiments of the arts and sciences: their vessels traded to the isle of Ceylon; and seven kingdoms obeyed the supreme prince of Abyssinia.

The negotiations and treaties between Justinian and Charoeas were amicably explained by Procopius, (Peri. ii. l. xi. 11, 12.)Generally, (i. 11, 12, 13.) Arrian (iv. p. 111, 142.) and Justinianus, (ii. 11. 142.) Gravis Custodiens, Histor. ab Ancienis Tractis, tom. ii. p. 151, 154—156, 193—200.

O'Driscoll, Ethnika.

See Boeke, Hist. Naturale, tomo. ii. p. 435. This Arab cast of features and complexion, which has continued 300 years, (Lodhiat, hist. of Company,) has, to the astonishment of the Europeans, (in the course of Abyssinia,) will justify the suspicion, that race, as well as climate, must have contributed to form the manners of the adjacent and similar regions.

The Pamphylia missionaries, (Vatican, tom. i. ed. 184.) Brossard, (Peregr. Etruscorum, vol. ii. l. 15.) I. 119—1189 (Lobo, Relation, &c. par le M. Grand de Yxla Dominations, Paris, 1726.) and Telloz, (Relation de l'Europe, par le M. Grand de Yxla Dominations, Paris, 1726.) could only relate what happened in Abyssinia when the country was visited by the writer of the relation. The relation of Lodhiat, (Hist. Ethnique, Francoliv, 1641.) and the curious observations, (History of Company,) 1693—1726, Lobo, (Relation de l'Europe,) is, however, valuable, as it could add little concerning its ancient history. Yet the name of Ceylon, or Celebes, the companion of Yemen, is celebrated in national songs and legends.

The negotiations between Justinian and the Ethiopians, or Ceylonese, were recorded by Procopius, (city of Colchis, 11. 142. 11. 142.) and by the historian of Antioch, whose name is not known. (Procop. Hist. Ex. 11. 12, 13, 142.) He has preserved a curious extract.

The trade of the Abyssinians to the coast of India; and Africa, and the rise of Ceylon, is commonly represented by Cossus Indicaepractica, (Topograph. Christianus, l. 11. ii. ed. 13, 143.) 11. 254, 255, 255.

1 On these judicial acts, Agathias, (11. 11. p. 81—91. 11.) p. 108—114.

2 Levies eighteen or twenty pages of false and florid rhetoric. His narrative on this subject can never be read with satisfaction, and his account of the victory of King Joseph against the king of Lazia—his former rival.

3 The destruction took place in the lifetime of the emperor, (Procop. Hist. 11. 11. 157.) and foreign ambassadors have been treated with the same jealousy and rigor in Turkey, (Bodleian, epist. ini. p. 115, 115.) Rome, (Voyage Pitterino.) and China, (Narrative of M. de Langue, in Bell's Travels, vol. ii. p. 169—231.)
The independence of the Homerites, who reigned in the rich and happy Arabia, was first violated by an Æthiopian conqueror: he drew his hereditary claim from the queen of Sheba, and his ambition was sanctified by religious zeal. The Jews, powerful and affrighted by the success of Arabica, and of Dura Europaeum, and by the incursions of Æthiopians, implored the protection of the Assyrian monarch. The Negus passed the Red sea with a fleet and army, deprived the Jewish proselyte of his kingdom and life, and extinguished a race of princes, who had ruled above two thousand years the sequestered region of myrrh and frankincense. The conqueror immediately announced the victory of the gospel, requested an orthodox patriarch, and so warmly professed his friendship to the Roman empire, that Justinian was flattered by the hope of diverting the silk trade through the channel of Abyssinia, and of securing the wealth of that people to his own dominions. Their alliance was negociated by a ambassador, named by the A. D. 333, emperor to execute this important commission. He wisely declined the shorter, but more dangerous of the two routes; and he ascended the Nile, embarked on the Red sea, and safely landed at the African port of Adulis. From Adulis to the royal city of Axume is no more than fifty leagues, in a direct line; but the winning passes of the mountains detained the ambassador fifteen days: and as he traversed the forests, he saw, and vaguely computed, about five thousand wild elephants. The capital, according to his report, was large and populous: and the village of Axume is still conspicuous by the regal coronations, by the ruins of a christian temple, and by six or seventeen obelisks inscribed with Grecian characters. But the Negus gave audience to the open field, seated on a lofty chair, which was drawn by four elephants superbly caparisoned, and surrounded by his nobles and musicians. He was clad in a linen garment and cap, holding in his hand two jasperials and a light shield; and, although his nakedness was imperfectly covered, he displayed the barbaric pomp of gold chains, collars, and bracelets, richly adorned with pearls and precious stones. The ambassador of Justinian knelt; the Negus raised him from the ground, embraced him, and dismissed him. He received the terms of peace, and bridled his warlike minions, and arranged the worshippers of fire. But the proposal of the silk trade was declined; and notwithstanding the assurances, and perhaps the wishes, of the Abyssinians, these hostile menaces evaporated without effect. The Emperor was unwilling to abandon their aromatic groves, to explore a sandy desert, and to encounter, after all their fatigues, a formidable nation from whom they had never received any personal injuries. Instead of acquiring a new ally, and depriving Æthiopia of the inheritance of his possessions, Abraham, the slave of a Roman merchant of Adulis, assumed the sceptre of the Homerites; the troops of Africa were seduced by the luxury of the climate; and Justinian solicited the friendship of the usurper, who honoured with a slight tribute, the supremacy of his prince. After a long series of prosperity, the power of Abraham was overthrown before the gates of Mecca; his children were despoiled of Dura Europaeum; and the Æthiopians were finally expelled from the continent of Asia. This narrative of obscure and remote events is not foreign to the decline and fall of the Roman empire. If a christian power had been maintained in Arabia, Mahomet must have been repressed in his cradle, and Abyssinia would have prevented a revolution which has changed the civil and religious state of the world.4

CHAPTER IV.

Rebellions of Africa.—Restoration of the Gothic kingdom of Tuscil.—Loss and recovery of Rome.—Final conquest of Italy by Nurses.—Extermination of the Ostrogoths.—Their chief: Totila.—His victory, disgrace and death of Belisarius.—Character of Justinian.—Comet, earthquakes, and plague.

The review of the nations from the Danube to the Nile has exposed, on every side, the weakness of the Romans; and our wonder is reasonably excited that they should presume to enlarge an empire, whose ancient limits were incapable of defending. But the wars, the conquests, and the triumphs of Justinian, are the feeble and pernicious efforts of old age, which exhaust the remains of strength, and accelerate the decay of the powers of life. He exulted in the glorious act of resting Africa and Italy to the republic; but the calamities which followed the departure of Belisarius betrayed the impotence of the conqueror, and accomplished the ruin of those unfortunate countries.

From his new acquisitions, Justinian the troubles of expected that his aravae, as well as the of Africa, should be richly graced. A ra-}
spells of Africa, the treasure, the slaves, and the movable, of the vanquished barbaria; and that the ancient and lawful patrimony of the emperors would be the support of their own safety and reward; must ultimately depend. The mutiny was secretly inflamed by a thousand soldiers, for the most part Heruli, who had imbued the doctrines, and were instigated by the clergy, of the Arian sect; and the cause of perjury and rebellion was sanctified by the despotic power of fanaticism. The Arians deplored the ruin of their church, triumphant above a century in Africa; and they were justly provoked by the laws of the conqueror, which interdicted the baptism of their children, and the exercise of all religious worship. Of the Vandals chosen by Belisarius, the far greater part, in the honours of the eastern service, forgot their country and religion. But a generous band of four hundred oblied the mariners, when they were in sight of the isle of Lesbos, to alter their course: they touched on Peloponnesus, ran ashore on a desert coast of Africa, and boldly erected, on mount Aurus, the standard of independence and revolt. While the troops of the province disclaimed the command of their superiors, a conspiracy was formed at Carthage against the life of Solomon, who filled with honour the place of Belisarius; and the Arians had plently time to prepare for the revolt, during the awful mysteries of the festival of Easter. Fear or remorse restrained the daggers of the assassins, but the patience of Solomon unboldened their discontent; and at the end of ten days, a furious sedition was kindled in the Circus, which desolated Africa and destroyed the root of that great empire. The indiscriminate slaughter of its inhabitants, was suspended only by darkness, sleep, and intoxication: the governor, with seven companions, among whom was the historian Procopius, escaped to Sicily: two-thirds of the army were involved in the guilt of treason; and eight thousand insurgents, assembling in the field of Bulla, elected Stoza for their chief, a private soldier, who possessed in a superior degree the virtues of a rebel. Under the mask of freedom, his eloquence could lead, or at least impel, the passions of his hearers. He was a Roman army; and in the eyes of the pretender, by daring to attack them in the field; and the victorious generals were compelled to acknowledge, that Stoza deserved a purer cause, and a more legitimate command. Vanquished in battle, he dexterously employed the arts of the sophist, and by his oratory and oratorical eloquence, the pretender was professedly possessed of even the minds of his accusers. Every man, and not only the followers of the pretender, nor the assassins who had instigated him to the revolt, were now on his side. As the pretender assumed the title of emperor, and his followers were officers of war, and the representatives of the army, the pretender was deposed, and his son, Michael, was presumed to the power. But the light of the saviour of the nation, was destined to reign for a while longer. A Moorish tribe encamped under the walls of Leptis, to renew their alliance, and receive from the governor the customary gifts. Fourscore of their deputies were introduced as friends into the city: but, on the dark suspicion of a conspiracy, they were massacred at the table of Sergius; and the clamour of arms and revenge was re-echoed through the valleys of mount Atlas, from both the Syrtis to the Atlantic Ocean. A personal injury, the unjust execution or murder of his brother, rendered Anastasius the enemy of the Romans. The defect of the Vandals had formerly signalized his conduct; the rude manners and justice of the people were still more conspicuous in a Moor; and while he laid Admetus in ashes, he calmly administered the empire of Africa. He was now determined to subdue the entire territory of African provinces, and the garrisons of the coast. With his troops, he made a circuit of forty days, and returned to Carthage. He had been there some six years during his reign, and now made a six days' journey in the neighbourhood of Thysdrus, he was astonished by the superior numbers and fierce aspect of the barbarians. He proposed a treaty; solicited reconciliation; and offered to bind himself by the most solemn oaths. "If what earths can bind himself!" interrupted the indignant Moor. Will you swear by the gospels, the divine book of the christians? It was on those books that the faith of his nephew Sergius was pledged to eighty of our innocent and untrammelled brethren. Before we trust them a second time, let us try their efficiency in the establishment of perjury and the vindication of their own honour."
Their honour was vindicated in the field of Tebasta,
by the death of Solomon, and the total loss of his army.
The arrival of fresh troops, and more skilful commanders,
soon checked the insolence of the Moors; seventeen of their princes were slain in the same battle;
and the disastrous and transient submission of their tribes
was celebrated with lavish spoliation by the emperor
of Constantinople. Successive inroads had reduced
the province of Africa to one-third of the measure
of Italy; yet the Roman emperors continued to
regain above a century over Carthage, and the fruitful
coast of the Mediterranean. But the losses of Justinian
were alike pernicious to the Gothic war. Nor could
such was the desolation of Africa, that in many parts
a stranger might wander whole days without
meeting the face either of a friend or an enemy. The
nation of the Vandals had disappeared; they once
amounted to an hundred and sixty thousand warriors,
without including the children, the women, or the
slaves. Their numbers were infinitely surpassed by the
number of the Moorish families expatriated in a re
tless war; and the same destruction was reaped on the
Romans and their allies, who perished by the
climatic guards, and the barbarians.
When Procopius first landed, he admired the
populosity of the cities and country, strenuously
exercised in the labours of commerce and agriculture. In
less than twenty years, that busy scene was converted
into a silent solitude; the wealthy citizens escaped to
Silia and the mountains; and in the cities remained
confidently affirmed, that five millions of Africans
were consumed by the wars and government of the
emperor Justinian.  

Revolt of the Goths.  

The jealousy of the Byzantine court had not permitted
the return of the Goths to achieve the conquest of Italy; and his abrupt
departure revived the courage of the Goths, who re
pected his genius, his virtue, and even the lambahd
motive which had urged the servant of Justinian
to reject and resist them. They had lost their king,
but it was in his eyes alone that the disgrace of his uncle Vitiges could appear as a reason
of exclusion. His voice inclined the election in
favour of Hildihaft, whose personal merit was
The supreme command was unanimously offered to
the brave Uraias; and it was in his eyes alone that the disgrace of his uncle Vitiges could appear as a reason
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father, had been torn from the Roman church, and either starved or murdered on a desolate island. The virtues of Belisarius were replaced by the various molestations of the Venetians, who, with reluctance, and most of his civil and military colleagues, were either disengaged altogether, or scattered to the winds. (6. 4. 5. 13) is scarcely darker than that of the Gothic History, (1. iii. c. 2. 9. 31. 41.)

Principes (1. iii. c. 2. 8. &c.) does ample and willling justice to the

was imposed as a trust or an exile on the veteran commander. A hero on the banks of the Euphrates, a slave in the palace of Constantine, he accepted, without the pain of shrinking from the degrading artifice with which he reduced the six, without defacing the figure, of the gold coin. Instead of expecting the restoration of peace and industry, he imposed a heavy assessment on the fortunes of the Italians. Yet his present or future demands were less odious than the desertion of an army. A vigorous and just the persons and property of all those, who, under the Gothic king, had been concerned in the receipt and expenditure of the public money. The subjects of Justinian, who escaped these partial vexations, were oppressed by the irregular maintenance of the soldiers, whom Alexander defended and despaired; and their hasty sallies in quest of wealth, or subsistence, provoked the inhabitants of the country to await or implore their deliverance from the virtues of a barbarian. Totila was chaste and temperate: and none were deceived, who depended on his faithfulness. To the husbandmen of Italy the Gothic king issued a welcome proclamation, enjoining them to pursue their important labours, and to rest assured, that, on the payment of the ordinary taxes, they should be defended by his valour and discipline from the injuries of war. The strong towns he successively attacked; and as soon as they had yielded to his arms he demolished the fortifications; to save the people from the calamities of a future siege, to deprive the Romans of the arts of defence, and to decide the tedious quarrel of the two nations by an equal and honourable conflict in the field of battle. The Roman captives were tempted to enlist in the service of a liberal and courteous adversary; the slaves were attracted by the firm and faithful promise, that they should never be delivered to their masters; and from the thousand warriors of Pavia, a new people, under the same appellation, Alexander, was very shortly brought into the camp of Totila. He sincerely accomplished the articles of capitulation, without seeking or accepting any sinister advantage from ambiguous expressions or unforeseen events; the garrison of Naples had stipulated that they should not be deserted by sea; the obstinacy of the winds prevented their departure; the vessels were supplied with horses, provisions, and a safe-conduct to the gates of Rome. The wives of the senators, who had been surprised in the villas of Campania, were restored, without a ransom, to their husbands; the violation of female chastity was immemorially chastised with death; and in the salutary regulation of the diet of the finished Neapolitans, the conqueror assumed the office of a humane and attentive physician. The virtues of Totila are equally laudable, whether they proceeded from true policy, religious principle, or the instinct of humanity; he offered the escape by sea; the obstinacy of the winds prevented their desertion; and after his army was firmly supplied with horses, provisions, and a safe-conduct to the gates of Rome. The women, who had been surprised in the villas of Campagna, were restored, without a ransom, to their husbands; the violation of female chastity was immemorially chastised with death; and in the salutary regulation of the diet of the finished Neapolitans, the conqueror assumed the office of a humane and attentive physician. The virtues of Totila are equally laudable, whether they proceeded from true policy, religious principle, or the instinct of humanity; he offered the escape by sea; the obstinacy of the winds prevented their desertion; and after his army was firmly supplied with horses, provisions, and a safe-conduct to the gates of Rome. The women, who had been surprised in the villas of Campagna, were restored, without a ransom, to their husbands; the violation of female chastity was immemorially chastised with death; and in the salutary regulation of the diet of the finished Neapolitans, the conqueror assumed the office of a humane and attentive physician. The virtues of Totila are equally laudable, whether they proceeded from true policy, religious principle, or the instinct of humanity; he offered the escape by sea; the obstinacy of the winds prevented their desertion; and after his army was firmly supplied with horses, provisions, and a safe-conduct to the gates of Rome.
After reducing, by force or treaty, the towns of inferior note in the midst of which his forces, preceded by a large train of baggage, proceeded, to assault, but to encompass and starve, the ancient capital. Rome was besieged by the avare, and guarded by the valour of Bessas, a veteran chief of Gothic extraction, who filled, with a garrison of three thousand soldiers, the spacious circle of her venerable walls. From the disarts of the people he extracted a profitable trade, and secretly rejoiced in the continuance of the siege. It was for his use that the granaries had been replenished: the charity of pope Vigilius had purchased and embarked an ample supply of Sicilian corn, which supplied the barbarians were seized by a rapacious governor, who imparted a scanty sustenance to the soldiers, and sold the remainder to the wealthy Romans. The medimma, or fifth part of the quarter of wheat, was exchanged for seven pieces of gold; fifty pieces were given for an ox. A rare and accidental prize; the progress of famine enhanced this exorbitant value, and the mercenaries were tempted to deprive themselves of the allowance which was scarcely sufficient for the support of life. A tasteless and unwholesome mixture, in which the bran thinned the quantity of flour, approached the husks of bread; they were reduced to feed on dead horses, dogs, cats, and mice, and eagerly to snatch the grass, and even the nettles, which grew among the ruins of the city. A crowd of spectres, pale and emaciated, their bodies oppressed by discases, and their faces, seasoned with the years, enured to the palaces of the governor, urged with unavailing truth, that it was the duty of a master to maintain his slaves, and humbly requested, that he would provide for their subsistence, permit their flight, or command their immediate execution. Bessas replied, with an-efling торa, that it was impossible to feed, unsafe to dismiss, and unlawful to kill, the subjects of the emperor. Yet the example of a private citizen might have shown his countrymen that a tyrant cannot withhold the privilege of death. Pierced by the cries of five children, who vainly pleaded on their father for bread, he ordered them to follow his steps, advanced with calm and silent despair to one of the bridges of the Tiber, and, covering his face, threw himself headlong into the stream, in the presence of his family and the Roman people. To the rich and pusillanimous, Bessas sold the permission of departure; but the great part of the fugitives expired on the public highways, or were intercepted by the flying parties of barbarians. In the mean while, the artful governor soothed the discontent, and revived the hopes, of the Romans, by the vague reports of the fleets and armies, which were hastening to their relief from the extremities of the east. They derived more rational comfort from the assurance that Belisarius had landed at the port; and, without numbering his forces, they firmly relied on the humanity, the courage, and the skill of their great deliverer.

The foresight of Totila had raised the Roman taken by the Goths, A.D. 545. A D. Dec. 17.

Avarice of Belisarius, obstacles worthy of such an augur.

Ninety furlongs below the city, in the narrow part of the river, he joined the two banks by strong and solid timbers in the form of a bridge; on which he caused his whole army to be conveyed, without the least danger of the piecè, and without being watched by the enemy. The approach of the bridge and towers was covered by a strong and massive chain of iron; and the chain, at either end, on the approaches of the Tiber, was guarded by numerous and chosen detachments of archers. But the enterprise of forcing these barriers, and relieving the capital, displays a shining example of the boldness and courage of Belisarius. He started from the port along the public road, to awe the motions, and dis-tract the attention, of the enemy. His infantry and provisions were distributed in two hundred large boats; and each boat was shielded by a high rampart of thick planks, pio-roid with many small holes for the discharge of missile weapons. In the front, two large vessels were linked together to sustain a floating castle, which commanded the towers of the bridge, and contained a magazine of fire, sulphur, and bitumen. The whole fleet, which the general led in person, was received with a storm of missiles, and great power of the river. The chain yielded to the weight, and the enemies who guarded the banks were either slain or scattered. As soon as they reached the principal barrier, the fire-ship was instantly grappled to the bridge; one of the towers with two hundred Goths, was consumed by the flames; the assailants showed victory; and Rome was saved, if the wisdom of Belisarius had not been defeated by the misconduct of his officers. He had previously sent orders to Bessas to second his operations by a timely sally from the town; and he ordered Totila, as he passed by the Caelian, to render Bessas immovable; while the youthful ardour of Isaac delivered him into the hands of a superior enemy. The exaggerated renown of his defeat was hastily carried to the ears of Belisarius: he paused; betrayed by the single moment of his life some emotions of surprise and perplexity; and reluctantly sounded a retreat to save his wife Antonina, his treasures, and the only harbour which he possessed on the Tuscan coast. The vexation of his mind produced an ardent and almost mortal fever; and Rome was left without protection to the mercy or indignation of Totila.

The Continuance of hostilities had inebriated the national hatred; the Arian clergy were ignorominously driven from Rome; Pelagius, the archdeacon, returned without success from an embassy to the Gothic camp; and a Sicilian bishop, the envoy or nuncio of the pope, was deprived of both his hands, for daring to utter falsehoods in the service of the church and state.

Fanise had relaxed the strength and discipline of the garrison of Rome. They could derive no effectual service from a mere detachment of Belisarius, the avarice of the merchant at length absorbed the vigils of the governor. Four Isaurian sentinels, while their companions slept, and their officers were absent, descended by a rope from the wall, and secretly proposed to the Gothic king to introduce his army into the city. The offer was entertained with coldness and suspicion; they returned in safety; they twice repeated their visit; the place was twice examined; the Avarice was known and disregarded; and no sooner had Totila consented to the attempt, than they encircled the ancient gate, and gave admittance to their host.

The enemy advanced to the day they halted in order of battle, apprehensive of treachery or ambush; but the troops of Bessas, with their leader, had already escaped; and when the king was pressed to disperse their retinue, he prudently replied, that no sight could be more grateful than that of a flying enemy. The patriots, who were still possessed of horses, Dercus, Basilius, &c. accompanied the g vor; their brethren, among whom Olothros, Orastes, and Maximus, were named by the historian, took refuge in the church of St. Peter, and the saved persons remained in the capital, inspires some doubt of the fidelity either of his narrative or of his text. As soon as day-light had displayed the entire victory of the Goths, the turk marched decorously visited the tomb of their saint, and then returned. The multitude who stood around the altar, twenty-five soldiers, and sixty citizens, were put to the sword in the vestibule of the temple.
archonæcon Pelagius stood before him with the gospels in his hand. "O Lord, be merciful to your servants." "Pelagius," said Totila with an insulting smile, "your pride now condescends to become a suppliant." "I am a suppliant," replied the prudent archdeacon, "God has now made us your subjects, and as your subjects we are entitled to your clemency." At this reply the heads of the Romans were spared; and the chastity of the maidens and matrons was preserved inviolate from the passions of the hungry soldiery. But they were rewarded by the freedom of pillage, after the most precious spoils had been reserved for the royal treasury. The plunder of the churches revealed gold and silver; and the avarice of Bessas had laboured with so much guilt and shame for the benefit of the conqueror.

In this revolution, the sons and daughters of Roman consuls tasted the misery which they had spurned or relieved, wandered in tattered garments through the streets of the city, and begged their bread, perhaps without success, before the gates of their hereditary mansions. The riches of Rusticiana, the daughter of Symmachus and widow of Boethius, had been generously devoted to alleviate the calamities of family. Totila, however, suddenly heard a report, that she had prompted the people to overthrow the statues of the great Theodoric; and the life of that venerable matron would have been sacrificed to his memory, if Totila had not respected her birth, her virtues, and even the pious motive of her revenue. The next day he pronounced two orations, to congratulate and admonish his victorious Goths, and to reprint the senate, as the vixi of slaves, with their perjury, folly, and ingratitude; sternly de clarine, that their estates and honours were justly forfeited to the companions of his arms. Yet he consented to forgive them, on the condition of the mutual destruction of the Greeks, to cultivate their hands in peace, and to learn from their masters the duty of obedience to a Gothic soverign. Against the city which had so long endured the horrors of victory he appeared invincible: one-third of the walls, in different parts, were demolished by his command; fire and engines prepared to consume or subvert the most standy works of antiquity; and the world was astonished by the fatal decree, that Rome should be changed into a pasture for cattle. The firm and temperate remonstrance of Belisarius suspended the execution; he warned the barbarian not to sully his fame by the destruction of those monuments which were the glory of the dead, and the delight of the living; and Totila was persuaded, by the advice of an enemy, to preserve the city as the ornament of his kingdom, or the fairest pledge of peace and reconciliation.

When he had signified to the ambassadors of Belisarius, his intention of sparing the city, he stationed an army at the distance of one hundred and twenty furlongs, and observed the motions of the enemy. When he judged of the readiness of the forces, and of the strength of the city, Totila made his way to Lucania and Apulia, and occupied on the summit of mount Garanus one of the camps of Hannibal.

The senators were dragged in his train, and after the in Campania: the citizens, with their wives and children, were dispersed in exile; and during forty days Rome was abandoned to desolate and dreary solitude.

The loss of Rome was speedily retrieved by an action too bold, according to the opinion of the event, the public opinion would apply the names of rashness or heroism. After the departure of Totila, the Roman general salved from the port at the head of a thousand horse, cut in pieces the enemy who opposed his progress, and visited with piteous revulsions the country space of the deserted city. Resolved to maintain a standard so conspicuous in the eyes of mankind, he summoned the greatest part of his troops to the standard which he erected on the capitol: the old inhabitants were recalled by the love of their country and the hopes of safety; and the keys of Rome were sent a second time to the emperor Justinian. The walls, as far as they had been demolished by the Goths, were repaired with rude and dissimilar materials; the ditch was restored; iron spikes were profusely scattered in the highways to amuse the feet of the horses; and as new gates could not be constructed, the breaches were defended by a Spartan ramport of his bravest soldiers. At the expiration of twenty-five days, Totila returned by hasty marches from Apulia, to avenge the injury and disgrace. Belisarius expected his approach. The Goths were thrice repulsed in three general assaults; they lost the flower of their troops; the royal standard had almost fallen into the hands of the enemy, and the fame of Totila sunk, as it had risen, with the fortune of his arms. Whatever skill and courage could achieve, had been performed by the Roman general; it remained only that Justinian should terminate, by a single effort, the war which had so ambitiously undertaken. The indolence, perhaps the impotence, of a prince who despised his enemies, and envied his servants, protracted the calamities of Italy. After a long silence, Belisarius was commanded to leave a sufficient garrison at Rome, and to transport himself into the province of Lucania, whose inhabitants, inflamed by catholic zeal, had cast away the yoke of their Arian conquerors. In this ignoble warfare, the hero, invincible against the power of the barbarians, was basely vanquished by the delay, the disinterestedness, and the cowardice of his own officers. He was compelled by the promises of the emperor to maintain the assurance, that the two passes of the Lucanian hills were guarded by his cavalry. They were betrayed by treachery or weakness; and the rapid march of the Goths scarcely allowed time for the escape of Belisarius to the coast of Sicily. At length a fleet and army were assembled for the relief of Rusticonium, or Roscario, a fortress sixty furlongs from the ruins of Sybaris, where the nobles of Lucania had taken refuge. In the first attempt, the Roman forces were dissipated by a storm. In the second, they approached the shore; but they saw the hills covered with ancient ramparts, the landing-place defended by a line of spurs, and the king of the Goths impatient for battle. The conqueror of Italy retired with a sigh, and continued to languish, inglorious and inactive, till Antoninus, who had been
sent to Constantinople to sollicite succours, obtained, after the death of the empress, the permission of his return.

Final recall of Belisarius. A.D. 538. September, whose eyes had been dazzled and wounded by the blaze of his former glory. Instead of delivering Italy from the Goths, he wandered like a fugitive along the coast, without daring to march into the country, or to accept the bold and repeated challenge of Totila. Yet in the judgment of the few who could discern crimes from events, and compare the instruments with the execution, he appeared a more consummate master of the art of war, than in the season of his prosperity, when he possessed two captive kings before the throne of Justinian. The valour of Belisarius was not chilled by age; his prudence was matured by experience, but the moral virtues of humanity and justice seem to have yielded to the hard necessity of the times. The parsimony or poverty of the emperor compelled him to deviate from the rule of conduct which had deserved the love and confidence of the Italians. The war was maintained by the oppression of Ravenna, Sicily, and all the faithful subjects of the empire; and the rigorous prosecution of the criminels deprived that injured and captive nation of deliver Spoleto into the hands of the enemy. The avance of Antonina, which have been sometimes diverted by love, now reigned without a rival in her breast. Belisarius himself had always understood, that miracles, in the end, are the surest evidence of the suspecting the personal merit. And it cannot be presumed that he should claim honour for the public service, without applying a part of the spoil to private emolument. The hero had escaped the sword of the barbarians, but the dagger of conspiracy awaited his return. In the midst of wealth and honours, the eunuch, who had chastised the African tyrant, complained of the ingratitude of courts. He applied to Proyepta, the emperor's niece, who wished to reward her deliverer; but the impediment of his previous marriage was asserted by the piety of Theodora. The pride of royal descent was irritated by flattery; and the service in which he gloried, had proved him capable of bold and sagacious deeds. The death of Justinian was resolved, but the conspirators delayed the execution till they could surprise Belisarius disarmed, and naked, in the palace of Ravenna. Not a hope remained of shaking his long-tried fidelity; and they justly dreaded the revenge, or rather justice, of the veteran general, who might speedily assemble an army in Thrace to punish the assassins, and perhaps to enjoy the fruits of their crime. Delay afforded time for rash communications and base confessions; Anabah and his accomplices were condemned by the senate, but the extreme clemency of Justinian detained them in the gentle confinement of the palace, till he pardoned their flagitious attempt against his throne and life. If the emperor forgave his enemies, he did not so readily embrace a friend whose victories were more remembrable, and who was endeared to his prince by the recent circumstance of their common danger. Belisarius repose from his toils, in the high station of general of the east and count of the domestic services; and the older counsels and patriots refused to applaud the precedence of rank to the peerless merit of the first of the Romans. The first of the Romans still submitted to be the slave of his wife; but the servitude of habit and affection became less disgraceful when the death of Theodora had removed the baser influence of fear. Joannina his daughter, and the sole heiress of their fortunes, was betrothed to Anastasius, the grandson, or rather great-grandson, of the emperors. When he heard the position forwarded the consummation of their youthful loves. But the power of Theodore expired, the parents of Joannina returned, and her honour, perhaps her happiness, were sacrificed to the revenge of an unfeeling mother, who dissolved the imperfectupticles before they had been ratified by the ceremonies of the church.

Before the departure of Belisarius, Rome again to Persia was besieged, and few cities ken by the Goths. A.D. 539. Ravenna, Acutana, and Crotoma, still resisted the barbarians; and when Totila asked in marriage of the daughters of France, he was stung by the just reproach that the king of Italy was unworthy of his title till it was acknowledged by the Roman people. Three thousand of the bravest soldiers had been left to defend the capital. On the suspicion of a mon-poly, they massacred the governor, and announced to Justinian, by a deputation of the clergy, that unless their offence was pardoned, and their arms were satisfied, they should instantly accept the tempting offers of Totila. But the officer who succeeded to the command (his name is Lattanicus) contented himself with a formal deposition, and the Goths, instead of finding an easy conquest, encountered a vigorous resistance from the soldiers and people, who patiently endured the loss of the port, and of all maritime supplies. The siege of Centenelle, the fortress of Totila, was invested by the armies of the east and west, which were reduced to the narrow coast, were disarmed with honour; and above four hundred enemies, who had taken refuge in the sanctuaries, were saved by the clemency of the victor. He no longer entertained a wish of destroying the edifices of Rome, which he now respected as the seat of the Gothic kingdom; the senate and people were restored to their country; the means of subsistence were liberally provided; and Totila, in the robe of peace, exhibited the equestrian games of the circus. Whilst he amused the eyes of the multitude, four hundred vessels were overhauled: the embargo of his subjects of Rheim, and Tarentum, were reduced; he

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1 This(1)This curiosity is related by Procopius (Hist. 6, c. 31, 32; with such freedom and candour, that the liberty of the Aeneid gives us the hint to adopt the lines.

2 The honours of Belisarius are slightly commended by his secretary, in the words of his conqueror, in (Procop. Hist. 6, c. 31, 32). His character is ill translated, at least in the instances, by pressent pre-supposed to a military character, marquess mutilum is more proper and applicable. (Ducange, Gloss. Græc. p. 1188, 1499.)
passed into Sicily, the object of his implacable resentment; and the island was stripped of its gold and silver, of the fruits of the earth, and of an infinite number of horses, sheep, and oxen. Sardinia and Corsica obeyed the fortune of Italy; and the sea-coast of Greece, inhabited by a body of three hundred galleys. The Goths were landed in Coreya and the ancient continent of Epirus; they advanced as far as Nicopolis, the trophy of Augustus, and Dodona, once famous by the oracle of Jove. In every step of his victories, the wise barbarian repeated the example of his predecessors, and employed to the employ the Gothic arms in the service of the empire.

Preparations of Justinian for the Gothic war. A.D. 549—551.

Justinian was deaf to the voice of pease; but he neglected the prosecution of war; and the indulgence of his temper disapproved, in some degree, the obstinacy of his passions. From this salutary shudder the emperor was awakened by the pope Vigilius and the patrician Theogenes, who appeared before his throne, and adjured him in the name of God and the people, to resume the conquest and delivence of Italy. The choice of the generals, caprice, as well as judgment, was shown. A fleet and army sailed for the relief of Sicily, under the conduct of Liberius; but his youth and want of experience were afterwards discovered, and before he touched the shores of the island he was delivered up to the enemy. Totila, in the meantime, the conspirator Arrabius was raised from a prison to military honours; in the pious presumption, that gratitude would animate his valour and fortify his allegiance. Belisarius, exiled in the shade of his hales, was the command of the principal army was reserved for the conqueror and delivancer of Italy. His merit had been long depressed by the jealousy of the court. Theodora had injured him in the rights of a private citizen, the marriage of his children, and the testament of his brother; and although his conduct was pure and blameless, Justinian was displeased that he should be thought worthy of the confidence of the malcontents. The life of Germans was a lesson of implicit obedience: he nobly refused to prostitute his name and character in the factions of the circus: the gravity of his manners was tempered by innocent chaces, and a courtly grace of manner, which was agreeable to judges or deserving friends. His valour had formerly triumphed over the Scavones of the Danube and the rebels of Africa: the first report of his promotion revived the hopes of the Italians; and he was privately assured, that a crowd of Roman deserters would rush to his arms. The standard of Totila. His second marriage with Malabuntina, the grand-daughter of Theodoric, endeared Germans to the Goths themselves; and they marched with reluctance against the father of a royal infant, the last offspring of the line of Anath. A splendid allowance was assigned by the emperor; the general contrived his private fortune; his two sons were popular and active; and he surpassed, in the promptitude and success of his levies, the expectation of mankind. He was permitted to select some squadrons of Thracian cavalry; the veterans, as well as the youth, of Constantinople and Europe, engaged their voluntary service; and as far as the heart of Germany, his famed and liberality attracted the aid of the barbarians. The Romans advanced to Sardinia; an army of Scavones fled before their march; but the Romans, within two days, passed over by a body of three hundred galleys. Germanus were terminated by his malady and death. Yet the Emperor which he had given to the Italian war still continued to act with energy and effect. The maritime towns, Auceona, Cretona, Centumcellae, resisted the assaults of Totila. Sicily was reduced by the emperor, applauded by the Goths and the Senate, near the coast of the Hydriotis. The two fleets were almost equal, forty-seven to fifty galleys; the victory was decided by the knowledge and dexterity of the Greeks; but the ships were so closely grappled, that only twelve of the Goths escaped from this unfortunate conflict. They affected to depreciate an element in which they were unskilled, but their own experience confirmed the truth of a maxim, that the master of the sea will always acquire the dominion of the land.

After the loss of Germanus, the nations were provoked to smite, by the strange intelligence, that the emperor had placed at the command of the army was given to a eunuch. But the eunuch Narses is character and reputation ranked among the few who have rescued that unhappy nation from the contempt and hatred of mankind. A feeble diminutive body concealed the soul of a statesman and a warrior. His name, which was invested in the management of the low and distaff, in the cares of the household, and the service of female luxury; but while his hands were busy, he secretly exercised the faculties of a vigorous and discerning mind. A stranger to the schools and the camp, he studied in the universal palate to discern the good man; he saw soon as he approached the person of the emperor, Justinian listened with surprise and pleasure to the timely counsels of his chamberlain and private treasurer. The talents of Narses were tried and approved in frequent embarrassments; he led an army into Italy, acquired a practical knowledge of the war and the military, and the king of the Lombards satisfied or surpassed the obligations of his service and the public trust. But he was too patient, too mild, and too gentle. He was described as a man of appearances, who was trusted by his enemies, but feared by his friends. He was never seen to risk his own glory, and that of his sovereign. Justinian granted to the favourite, what he might have denied to the hero; the Gothic war was rekindled from its ashes, and the preparations were not unworthy of the greatness of the empire. The key of the public treasure was put into his hand, to collect magazines, to levy soldiers, to purchase arms and horses, to discharge the arrears of pay, and to tempt the fidelity of the fugitives and deserters. 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of a treaty, by lending two thousand two hundred of his bravest warriors, who were followed by three thousand of their martial attendants. Three thousand Heruli fought on horse-back under Philhemus, their native chieftain, and the noble Avarus, who adopted the manners and discipline of his masters, more absolute in the affection of his troops. Aigistheus was released from prison to command the Hann; and Kondak, the grands n and nephew of the great king, was conspicuous by the regal thron at the head of his faithful Persians, who had devoted themselves to the fortunes of their prince. Absurd in the exercise of his authority, more absolute in the affections of his troops, Heraclius led a numerous and gallant army from Philippopolis to Salona, from whence he crossed the eastern side of the Adriatic as far as the confines of Italy. His præm was checked. The east could not supply vessels capable of transporting such multitudes of men and horses. The Franks, who, in the general confusion, had usurped the greater part of the Venetian province, refused a free passage to the friends of the Lombards. The station of Verona was occupied by Tissis, with the flower of the Gothic forces, but a haughty archbishop of an adjacent country with the fall of woods and the inundation of waters. In this perplexity, an officer of experience proposed a measure, secure by the appearance of rashness; that the Roman army should countenantly advance on the scene, while they first crossed their march, and successively cast a bridge of boats over the mouths of the rivers, the Timavus, the Brenta, the Adige, and the Po, that fell into the Adriatic to the north of Ravenna. Nine days he reposed in the city, collected the fragments of the Italian army, and marched towards Rimini to meet the donation of an invincible enemy.

Defeat and death of Narses impelled him of Tullia. A.D. 532. The losses were the last effort of the state: the cost of each day accumulated the enormous accumulations, and the nations, unrestrained to discipline or fatigue, might be rashly provoked to turn their arms against each other, or against their benefactor. The same considerations might have tempered the ardour of Totila. But he was conscious, that the clergy and people of Italy aspired to a second revolution; he left not unsuspected the rapid progress of treason; and he resolved to risk the Gothic kingdom on the chance of a day, in which the valiant might be animated by instant danger, and the disaffected might be awed by mutual ignorance. In his march from Ravenna, the Roman general traversed the province of the Flaminian, nine miles beyond the exhilarated rock, an obstacle of art and nature which might have stopped or retarded his progress. The Goths were assembled in the neighborhood of Rome, they advanced without a delay to seek a superior enemy, and the two armies approached each other at the distance of one hundred furlongs, between Tagina and the sepulchres of the Gauls. The haughty message of Narses was an offer, not of peace, but of pardon. The answer of the Gothic king declared his resolution, to die or conquer. What day, said the messenger, will you fix for the combat? The eighth day, replied Totila: but early in the morning, the omen of the augurs was unprecedented: he took the palace of the Emperor, and prepared for battle. Ten thousand Heraclius and Lombards, of approved valour and doubtful faith, were placed in the centre. Each of the wings was composed of eight thousand Romans; the right was guarded by the cavalry of the Hans, the left by cavalry of the Persians; and on the centre, according to the emergencies of action, to sustain the retreat of their friends, or to encompass the flank of the enemy. From his proper station at the head of the right wing, the eminent role along the line, expressing by his voice and countenance the assurance of victory, exciting the soldiers of the emperor to punish the guilt and madness of a band of robbers; and exposing to their view gold chains, collars, and bracelets, the rewards of military virtue. From the event of a single combat, they drew an omen of success; and they believed that the empire was recovered by the small victory which it maintained a small eminence against three successive attacks of the Gothic cavalry. At the distance only of two bow-shots, the armies spent the morning in dreadful suspense, and the Romans tasted some necessary of the enemy's men, who charged on the right, either by art, or the bridge from their horses. Narses awaited the charge; and it was delayed by Totila till he had received his last succours of two thousand Goths. While he consumed the hours in fruitless treaty, the king exhibited in a narrow space the strength and agility of a warrior. His arm was enameled with gold; his purple banner floated with the wind; he cast his lance into the air; caught it with the right hand; shifted it to the left; threw himself backwards; recovered his seat; and managed a fiery steed in all the maneuvers of the modern school. As soon as the succours had arrived, he retired to his tent, assumed the dress and arms of a private soldier, and gave the signal of battle. The first line of cavalry advanced with more courage than discretion, and left behind them the infantry of the second line. They were successively defeated between the, the herm of Totila, and into which the adverse wings had been insensibly curved, and were saluted on either side by the volleys of four thousand archers. Their ardour, and even their distress, drove them forwards to a close and unequal conflict, in which they were unable to triumph over the enemy skilled in all the instruments of war. A generous emulation inspired the Romans and their barbarian allies; and Narses, who calmly viewed and directed their efforts, doubted to whom he should adjudge the prize of superior bravery. The Gothic cavalry was astonished and disordered, pressed and broken; and the line of infantry, instead of presenting their spears, or opening their intervals, were trampled under the feet of the flying horse. Six thousand of the Goths were slaughtered without mercy in the field of battle. Their attendants, was overtaken by Asbad, of the race of the Gepid: "Spare the king of Italy," cried a loyal voice, and Asbad struck his lance through the body of Totila. The blow was instantly revenged by the faithful Goths; they transported their dying monarch seven miles beyond the scene of his disgrace; and his last moments were not imbittered by the presence of an enemy. Compensation afforded him the shelter of an obscure...
the Alps to the foot of mount Vesuvius, the Gothic king, by rapid and secret marches, approached to the relief of his brother, eluded the vigilance of the Roman chiefs, and pitched his camp on the banks of the Sarnus or Dover, which flows from Naceria into the Tiber near the mouth of Naples. In this situation the fortification of the town was reduced by sixty days were consumed in distant and fruitless combats, and Theodoric maintained this important post, till he was deserted by his fleet and the hope of subsistence. With violent steps he ascended the Lycerian mount, where the physicians of Rome, since the time of the salubrity of the air, had sent the patients for the benefit of the air and the milk. But the Goths soon embraced a more generous resolution: to descend the hill, to dismiss their horses, and to die in arms, and in the possession of freedom. The king marched at their head, bearing in his right hand a lance, and an ample buckle in his left hand, the one he struck deep the foremost of the assailants; with the other he received the weapons which every hand was ambitious to gain against his life. After a combat of many hours, his left arm was fatigued by the weight of twelve javelins, which hung from his shield. Without moving from his ground, the Goths, by the beauty of their evolutions, took advantage of the confusion to run off many of the assailants; with their leader; they fought till darkness desisted on the earth. They reposed on their arms. The combat was renewed with the return of light, and maintained with unabated vigour till the evening of the second day. The repose of a second night, the want of water, and the losses of their bravest champions, determined the surviving Goths to accept the fair capitulation which the prudence of Narses inclined to propose. They embraced the alternative of residing in Italy, as the subject, and soldiers of Justinian, or departing with a portion of their private wealth, in search of some indipendent country. Yet the death of sexuality or exile was alike rejected by one thousand Goths, who broke away before the treaty was signed, and boldly effected their retreat to the banks of the Parnus. The spirit, as well as the situation, of Aliger, prompted him to return (perhaps in love) to claim his brother: The strong and dexterous archer, he traced with a single arrow the armour and breast of his antagonist; and his military conduct defended Cumae above a year against the forces of the Romans. Their industry had scoffed the Sibyl’s cave into a prodigious mine; combustible materials were introduced to consume the temporary props: the wall and the gate of Cumae sunk into the cavern, but the ruins formed a deep and inaccessible precipice. On the fragment of a rock, Aliger stood alone and unshaken, till he calmly surveyed the

1 The Army of Theodoric. Justinian, i. iv. c. 25. is evidently the Sarnus. The text is accursed or altered by the rash violence of Chuvra. For usurpation. (i. c. 3. p. 453.) The Sarnus is a river of Italy. A note in Campania Felix. p. 532, 533,) has passed from old records, that as early as the year 312 that river was called the Dunsena, or Dunsene. 

2 Galen (De Medic. Mend. l. i. p. 133.) describes the Samia, or Sarnus, as of medicinal benefit were widely known and such in the time of Sempronius. (l. c. 194.) The Sarnus is a river of Italy. A note in Campania Felix. p. 532, 533,) has passed from old records, that as early as the year 312 that river was called the Dunsena, or Dunsene. Nothing is now left except the name of the town of Sarnus.

3 See Justin (l. c. 3. p. 453, 454.) for an account of his favourite Bactrian the Roman Ghords, who were employed in its capture. (l. c. 194.) The Sarnus is a river of Italy. A note in Campania Felix. p. 532, 533,) has passed from old records, that as early as the year 312 that river was called the Dunsena, or Dunsene.

4 The name of Cumae was not yet built: and the inscriptions (i. c. 18, 57) would become ridiculous, if these ruins were actually in a Greek city.
hopeless condition of his country, and judged it more honourable to be the friend of Narses than the slave of the Franks. After the death of Tulas, the Roman general, in the battle of the coast of Italy; Lucca sustained a long and vigorous siege; and such was the humanity or the prudence of Narses, that the repeated perfidy of the inhabitants could not provoke him to exact the forfeit lives of their hostages. These hostages were dismissed in safety; and their governor, with long length subdued the obstinacy of their countrymen.a

Invasion of Italy Before Lucca had surrendered, Italy by the Franks was overwhelmed by a new deluge of barbarians. A fewable youth, the grand-son of Chovis, reigned over the Austrasians or original Franks. The guardians of Theodoric entertained with coldness and reluctance the magnificent promises of the Gothic ambassadors. But the spirit of a martial people outstripped the timid counsels of the court: two brothers, Lothaire and Burchelin, the Duke of the Alamanni, set forth as heroes of the Italian war; and seventy-five thousand Germans descended in the autumn from the Rhetian Alps into the plain of Milan. The vanguard of the Roman array was stationed near the Po, under the conduct of Vulturis, a bold Herulian, who rashly conceived that his bravest was the sole duty and merit of a commander. As he marched without order or precaution along the Emilian way, an ambuscade of Franks suddenly arose from the amphitheatre of Parma; his troops were surprised and routed; but their leader refused to fly; declaring, to the last moment, that death was less terrible than the angry countenance of Narses. The death of Vulturis, and the retreat of the surviving chiefs, decided the fluctuating and rebellious temper of the Goths; they flew to the standard of their deliverers, and admitted them into the cities which still resisted the power of the Roman general. The conqueror of Italy opened a free passage to the irresistible torrent of barbarians. They passed under the walls of Cesena, and answered by threats and reproaches the advice of Agilern, that the Gothic treasuries could no longer repay the labour of an invasion. Calamities and superfluous wants were destroyed by the skill and valour of Narses himself, who satisfied from Rimini at the head of three hundred horse, to chastise the licentious rapine of their march. On the confines of Samnium, the two brothers divided their forces. With the right wing, Burchelin assumed the spoil of the Caesarea; and Burchelin, and Burchelin, and Burchelin left, Lothaire accepted the plunder of Apulia and Calabria. They followed the coast of the Mediterranea and the Adriatic, as far as Rheiogia and Otranto, and the extreme lands of Italy were the term of their destructive progress. The Franks, who were christians and catholics, contended themselves with simple pillage and occasional murder. But the churches which their piety had spared, were stripped by the sacrilegious hands of the Alamanni, who sacrificed heroes' heads to their native deities; the woods and rivers.t they melted down into gold; the cities were reduced into desolate vessels, and the ruins of shrines and altars were stained with the blood of the faithful. Burchelin was aetuated by ambition, and Lothaire by avarice. The former aspired to restore the Gothic kingdom; the latter, after a promise to his brother of speedy succours, returned by the same road to dispose his treasure beyond the Alps. The strength of their armies was already wasted by the change of climate and contagion of disease. But the Franks and Alamanni, on the invasion of Italy; and their own intemperance avenged, in some degree, the miseries of a defenceless people.

At the entrance of the spring, the imperial troops, who had guarded the cities, Franks and Alemanni, slowly moved towards Capua, occupied with a wooden tower the bridge of Casilium, covered his right by the stream of the Vulturnus, and secured the rear of his component by a rampart of adobe, a mark and a circle of waggons, whose wheels were buried in the earth. He impatiently expected the return of Lothaire; ignorant, alas! that his brother could never return, and that the chief and his army had been swept away by a tumult of a battle. His skilful movements intercepted the subsistence of the barbarian, deprived him of the advantage of the bridge and river, and in the choice of the ground and moment of action reduced him to comply with the inclination of his enemy. On the morning of the important day, when the ranks were already formed, a servant, for some trivial fault, was killed by his master, one of the leaders of the Heruli. The justice or passion of Narses was awakened; he summoned the offender to his presence, and without listening to his excuses, gave the order to sever his head. The unprincipled Herulian, who had not infringed the laws of his nation, this arbitrary execution was not less unjust than it appears to have been imprudent. The Heruli felt the indignity; they halted; but the Roman general, without soothing their rage, or expecting their resolution, called aloud to his victorious army: When you are about to occupy their place, they would lose the honour of the victory. His troops were disposed t in a long front, the cavalry on the wings; in the centre, the heavy-armed foot; the archers and slingers in the rear. The Germans advanced in a sharp pointed column, of the form of a triangle or solid wedge. They pierced the teble centre of Narses, who received them with a smile into the fatal snare, and directed his wings of cavalry insensibly to wheel on their flanks and encompass their rear. The host of the Franks and Alamanni were thus cut off from each other and cut down, hanging by their side; and they used, as their weapons of offence, a weighty hatchet, and a hooked javelin, which were only formidable in close combat, or at a short distance. The flower of the Roman archers, on horseback, armed in complete armour, astonish'd with out peril round this immovable phalanx; supplied by active speed the deficiency of numbers; and aimed their arrows against a crowd of barbarians, who, instead of a cuirass and a helmet, were covered by a

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a There is some difficulty in connecting the thirty-fifth chapter of the Gothic war of Procopius with the first book of the history of Aquitania. We must now relinquish a master and servant, who saved the extremities of a post and rhetorician. (I. p. 141. ii. p. 31. edit. Lower.)

b Among the libellous exploits of Burchelin, he denounced and slew Rolonde, Duke of the Bubon, and Scutel. And he is the historian of France, Gregory of Tours, (c. iii. 1. c. v. 22. p. 303.) and Aliman, contemporary, ii. c. 2. 3. One of his journeys to Rome, C. C. was in the year 535. (ii. c. 2. 3. 32.) Apsines notices their suppression in a philo-scopic tone, (1. p. 1.) At Zara, in the same year, in the year 532. C. Columba and St. Gall were the apostles of that rude country; and the latter founded an hermitage, which has swelled into a ecclesiastical principality and a popular city, the seat of freedom and commerce.

c See the death of Lothaire in Arabinan (l. ii. p. 38) and Paul War (p. 174) of the death of the Empire, (l. ii. c. 2. 3. p. 172-173.) It has exhibited a faithful representation of this battle, somewhat in the manner of the historian and the Gallican editor of Polibius, who imitates his own habits and opinions all the military conceptions of antiquity.
loose garment of fur and linen. They paused, they trembled, their ranks were confounded, and in the decisive moment the Heruli, preferring glory to revenge, charged with rapid violence the head of the column. Their leader, Sindalb, and Algenz, the Gothic prince, deserved the prize of superior valor; and the fierce reception given to the army by the senate and people with swords and spears the destruction of the enemy. Buccelin, and the greatest part of his army, perished on the field of battle, in the waters of the Volturnus, or by the hands of the armed peasants; but it may seem incredible, that a victory, which made the Gothic king the second rank of kings, should be purchased with the loss of fourscore Romans.

Seven thousand Goths, the relics of the war, defended the fortress of Campus, till the ensuing spring; and every messenger of Narses announced the reduction of the Italian cities, whose names were corrupted by the ignorance or vanity of the Greeks. After the battle of Castilium, Narses entered the capital; the arms and treasures of the Goths, the Franks, and the Almanni, were displayed; his soldiers, with garlands in their hands, chanted the praises of the conqueror; and Rome, for the last time, beheld the semblance of a triumph.

**Settlement of Italy.**

After a reign of sixty years, the throne of the Gothic kings was filled by the exarchs of Ravenna, the representatives in peace and war of the emperors of the Romans. Their jurisdiction was soon reduced to the limits of a multitude of cities. But this was the most powerful of the exarchs, administered above fifteen years the entire kingdom of Italy. Like Belisarius, he had deserved the honours of envy, calumnies, and disgrace; but the favourite eunuch still enjoyed the confidence of Justinian; or the leader of a victorious army, was esteemed too able and too proud to dwell in a tribul court. Yet it was not by weak and mischievous indulgence that Narses secured the attachment of his troops. Forgetful of the past, and regardless of the future, they abused the present hour of prosperity and peace. The cities of Italy resounded with the noise of drinking and dancing; the spells of victory were wasted in sensual pleasures; and nothing (says Agathias) remained, unless to exchange their shields and helmets for the soft lute and the capacious hogchase.

In a manly oration, not unworthy of a Roman censor, the emperor reproved these disordered views, which subtilied their fame, and endangered their safety. The soldiers blushed and obeyed; discipline was confirmed: the fortifications were restored; a duke was stationed for the defence and military command of each of the principal cities; and the eye of Narses pervaded the ample prospect from Calabria to the Alps. The remains of the Gothic nation evacuated the country, or mingled with the people; the Franks, instead of revenging the death of Buccelin, abandoned, without a struggle, their Italian conquests; and the rebels Sindalb, chief of the Heruli, was subdued, taken, and hanged on a lofty gallows, by the power of the first instrument of the exarch. The civil state of Italy, after the agitation of a long tempest, was fixed by a pragmatic sanction, which the emperor promulged at the request of the pope. Justinian introduced his own jurisprudence into the schools and tribunals of the west: he ratified the acts of Theodoric and his immediate successors, but every deed was rescinded and abolished, which force had extorted, or for which he had received. A moderate treaty was framed to reconcile the rights of property with the safety of preservation, the claims of the state with the poverty of the people, and the pardon of offences with the interest of virtue and order of society. Under the exarchs of Ravenna, Rome was degraded to the situation in which it had been framed by the permission of visiting their estates in Italy, and of approaching, without obstacle, the throne of Constantinople: the regulation of weights and measures was delegated to the pope and senate; and the scholars of lawyers and physicians, of authors and grammarians, were destined to preserve, or rebuild, the light of science in the ancient capital. Justinian might dictate benevolent edicts, and Narses might second his wishes by the restoration of cities, and more especially of churches. But the power of kings is most effectual to destroy: and the twenty years of the Gothic war had accomplished the overthrow and subversion of Italy.

As early as the fourth campaign, under the discipline of Belisarius himself, fifty thousand labourers died of hunger in the narrow region of Picenum; and a strict interpretation of the evidence of Procopius would swell the loss of Italy above the total sum of her present inhabitants.

I desire to believe, but I dare not affirm, that Belisarius sincerely rejoiced in the triumph of Narses. Yet the consciousness of his own exploits might teach him to esteem without jealousy the merit of a rival; and the auspicious appearance of the aged warrior was crowned by a happy event, which saved the emperor and the capital. The barbarians, who annually visited the provinces of Europe, were less discouraged by some accidental defeats, than they were excited by the double hope of spoil and of subsistence. In the thirty-sixth year of Justinian's reign, the Danube was deeply frozen: Zabergan led the cavalry of the Bulgarians, and his standard was followed by a promiscuous multitude of Selonvianas. The savage chief passed, without opposition, the river and the mountain, spread his troops over Thrace and Macedonia, and, with more than seven thousand horse to the long wall, which should have defended the territory of Constantinople. But the works of man are impotent against the assaults of nature: a recent earthquake had shaken the foundations of the wall; and the forces of the empire were employed on the distant frontiers of Italy, Africa, and Persia. The seven schools, or companies of the guards or domestic troops, had been augmented to the number of five thousand five hundred men, whose ordinary station was in the peaceful cities of Asia. But the places of the brave Armenians were insensibly supplied by lazy citizens, who purchased

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1 The Pragmatic Sanction of Justinian, which restores and regulates the civil state of Italy, consists of xxiv articles; it is dated August 15, A. D. 534; is addressed to Narses, V. I. Procopius, Secr. Cubicius, and to Antochius, Prefectus Praetoria Italiae; and has been preserved by Julian Anticsessor, and in the Corpus Juris Civilis, after the novels and edicts of Justinian, Justin, and his predecessors.

2 A still greater number was consummated by famine in the southern provinces, without the 쉼 of a single weapon, without the loss of a single life, and without the sacrifice of a single foot of land; an event which produced no dispute of the place of bread. Procopius has seen a deserted orphan suckled by a sow, covered with a sheep, and guarded by a dog. Separate branches of the nation were held, murdered, and eaten, by two women, who were detected and slain by the emperor.

3 Quinta regis Picenum et vastus uberneus multitudines, eccles. Philippi Picanisium in hoc Thesaurariorum, praestantissimus. In the time of Vespasian, this ancient population was already diminished.

4 Perhaps fifteen or sixteen millions, Procopius (Anecdot. c. 185) computes that Asia lost five millions, that Italy was thrice extortionated, and that the empire was reduced from the number of five millions to about three millions. This was the period of the conquest of Africa and of the loss of Italy. The destruction of certain cities, the abandonment of others, by the custom of the times, the plundering of the Cherson, and the reduction of the whole island of Peloponnese, by the custom of the times, is considered by Procopius (Anecdot. c. 214, Amam. p. 102, 103.) as confirmed and illustrated by Agathas, (I. v. p. 175.) who cannot be rejected as a hostile witness.
an exemption from the duties of civil life, without being exposed to the dangers of military service. Of such soldiers, few could be tempted to salary from the gates; and none could be persuaded to remain in the field, unless they wanted strength and speed to escape from their pursuers. The very recorded numbers of the fugitives exaggerated the numbers and fierceness of an enemy, who had polluted holy virgins, and abandoned new-born infants to the dogs and vultures; a crowd of rustics, imploiring food and protection, succeeded the consternation of the city, and the troops of Zebagian were pitched at the distance of twenty miles,§ on the banks of a small river, which encircles Melanthes, and afterwards falls into the Propontis. Justinian trembled: and those who had only seen the emperor in his old age, were pleased to suppose, that he had lost the alacrity and vigour of his youth. By his command, the vessels of gold and silver were removed from the churches in the neighbourhood, and even the suburbs, of Constantinople: the rauparts were lined with trembling spectators: the golden gate was crowded with useless generals and tribunes, and the senate shared the fatigues and the apprehensions of the populace.

But the eyes of the prince and people were directed to a feeble veteran, who was compelled by the public danger to reassume the armour in which he had entered Carthage and defeated the Romans. The state of private citizens, and even of the circus, were hastily collected; the emulation of the old and young was roused by the name of Belisarius, and his first encampment was in the presence of a victorious enemy. His prudence, and the labour of the friendly peasants, secured, with a blush and rampart, the repose of the night: innumerable fires, and clouds of dust, were artfully contrived to magnify the opinion of his strength: his soldiers suddenly passed from despondency to presumption; and, while ten thousand voices demanded the battle, Belisarius assembled his knowledge, that in the hour of trial he must depend on the firmness of three hundred veterans.

The next morning the Bulgarians advanced to the charge. But they heard the shouts of multitudes, they beheld the arms and discipline of the front; they were assaulted on the flanks by two ambuscades which issued from the woods, and their foremost warriors fell by the hand of the aged hero and his guards; and the swiftness of their evolutions was rendered useless by the close attack and rapid pursuit of the Romans. In this action (so speedily was their flight) the Bulgarians lost only forty-hand of their best officers, and most of their prisoners, who felt the hand of a master, withdrew to a respectful distance.

But his friends were numerous in the councils of the emperor, and Belisarius obeyed with reluctance the commands of Sventio and Justinian, which forbade him to achieve the deliverance of his country. On his return to the city, the people still conceal as of their danger, accimpanied his triumph with acclamations of joy and gratitude, which were imputed as a crime to the victorious general. But when he entered the palace, the couriers were silent, and the emperor, after inquiries by two ambuscades which issued from the woods, and his ambulance, dismissed him to mingle with the train of slaves. Yet so deep was his impression of glory on the minds of men, that Justinian, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, was encouraged to advance near forty miles from the capital, and to inspect in person the rest-ration of the fleeing Thracians: but they were inclined to peace by the failure of their rash attempts on Greece and the Chersonesus. A menace of killing their prisoners quickened the payment of heavy ransoms; and the departure of Zebagian was hastened by the report, that double proved vessels were being built on the mouth of the river, for the passage of another enemy. The danger was soon forgotten; and a vain question, whether their sovereign had shown more wisdom or weakness, amused the idleness of the city.

About two years after the last victory, the emperor retired to Constantinople, on his return from Greece, and was received with great demonstrations of joy and devotion. Justinian was afflicted by a pain in his head; and his private essay commended the rumour of his death. Before the third hour of the day, the bakers' shops were plundered of their bread, the houses were shut, and every citizen, with hope or terror prepared for the impending tumult. The senators themselves, fearful and suspicious, were convened at the sixth hour: and the prefect received their commands to visit every quarter of the city, and to proclaim a general illumination for the recovery of the emperor's health. Many of the multitude that should have betrayed the impotence of the government, and the factions temper of the people: the guards were disposed to mutiny as often as their quarters were changed, or their pay was withheld: the frequent calamities of Greece and the barbarous state of the populace, which suffered from the orthodoxy and heresies, degenerated into bloody battles; and, in the presence of the Persian ambassador, Justinian blushed for himself and for his subjects. Capricious pardon and arbitrary punishment embittered the remorse and dissention of a long reign: a conspiracy was formed in the palace; and, unless we are deceived by the names of Marcellus and Sergius, the most virtuous and the most profligate of the couriers were associated in the same designs. They had fixed the time of the execution; their rank gave them access to the royal banquet; and their black slaves were stationed in the vestibule and porticoes, to announce the death of the tyrant, and to excite a sedition in the capital. But the indiscretion of an accomplice saved the poor remnant of the days of Justinian. The conspirators were detected and seized, with the因而 their passers: the situation of the bakers, under their garments: Marcellus died by his own hand, and Sergius was dragged from the sanctuary; Pressed by remorse, or tempted by the hopes of safety, he accused two officers of the household of Belisarius; and torture forced them to declare that they had actuated the conspirators, and that Zebagian was in the province of Constantine. Postcrity will not hastily believe that a hero who, in the vigour of life, had disdained the fairest offers of ambition and revenge, should stoop to the murder of his prince, whom he could not long expect to survive. His followers were impatient to fly; but flight must have been supported by rebellion, and he had lived enough for nature and for glory. Belisarius appeared before the council with less fear than indignation: after forty years' service, the emperor had prejudged his guilt; and justice was sanctioned by the presence and authority of the patriarch. The life of Belisarius was graciously spared; but his fortunes were seques-

§ A distance from Constantinople to Melanthes, Villa Cæsariensis. (Asinius, Marcellus, xxi. 11) is variably fixed at 190 or 191 miles. (Suidas, to. ii. 522, 523. Aristarchus, i. c. 188.) or from 190 to 198 miles. (Strabo, xiv. 730. Ptolemy, xiv. 282.) and to 199 miles. (Suidas, to. ii. 522, 523.) and to 199 miles. (Suidas, to. ii. 522, 523.) This last, though generally considered the most probable, is probably the most correct; and the most correct. (Procop. de Edif. i. c. 87.)

§ The Ayran, (Procop. Vandal, i. c. 28, p. 160, ed. Voss.) Anathor river's mouth, a town or castle of its name was fortiied by Justinian. (Procop. de Edif. i. c. 27. Fiermarc, p. 326, and Wesseling.)
prisoner in his own palace. At length his innocence was acknowledged; his freedom and honours were restored; and death, which might have been hastened by resentment and grief, removed him from the world about eight months after his deliverance. The name of Belisarius cannot die; but instead of the funeral, the memorable facts, the incident, are daily due to his name.

I only read, that his treasures, the spoils of the Goths and Vandals, were immediately confiscated by the emperor. Some decent portion was reserved, however, for the use of his widow; and as Antonina had much added to her wealth by the government, she was fortunate to the foundation of a convent. Such is the simple and genuine narrative of the fall of Belisarius and the ingratitude of Justinian. That he was deprived of his eyes, and reduced by envy to beg his bread, "Give a penny to Belisarius the general!" is a fiction of later times; which obtained credit, or rather, as a strange example of the vices of fortune.

Death and char. If the emperor could rejoice in the act of Justinian, death of Belisarius, he enjoyed the base satisfaction only eight months, the last period of a reign of thirty-eight, and a life of eighty-six years. The talents of Belisarius, if we trace the character of a prince who is not the most conspicuous object of his own times: but the confessions of an enemy may be received as the safest evidence of his virtues. The resemblance of Justinian to the bust of Domitian, is maliciously urged; with the acknowledgment, however, of a well-proportioned figure, a ruddy complexion, and a pleasing countenance. The emperor was easy of access, patient of hearing, courteous and affable in discourse, and a master of the angry passions, which rage with such destructive violence in the breast of a despot. Procopius praises his temper to reconciliation with calm and deliberate cruelty: but in the conspiracies which attacked his authority and person, a more candid judge will approve the justice, or admire the clemency, of Justinian. He excelled in the private virtues of chastity and temperance; but the impartial love of beauty would have been less disgraceful than his conjugal tenderness for Theroanda; and his abstemious diet was regulated, not by the prudence of a philosopher, but the superstition of a monk. His repasts were short and frugal; on solemn fasts, he contented himself with water and vegetables; and he often appear to have lived on the flesh of fowls. He should conclude this chapter with the comets, the earthquakes, and the plague, which astonished or afflicted the age of Justinian.

I. In the fifth year of his reign, and in Constan-

the month of September, a comet was A. D. 531—539.

seen during twenty days in the western quarter of the heavens, and which shot its rays into the north. Eight years afterwards, while the sun was in Capricorn, another appeared to follow in the Sagittary: the size was gradually increasing; the head was in the east, the tail in the west, and it remained visible about forty days. The nations, who gazed with astonishment, expected wars and calamities from their beneficent influence; and these expectations were abundantly fulfilled. The astronomers disseminated their ignorance of the nature of these blazing stars, which they affected to represent as the floating meteors of the air; and few chose to embrace the simple notion of Sempere and the Chaldeans, that they are only planets of a longer
The Decline and Fall

CHAP. IV.

THE DECLINE AND FALL

The Decline and Fall

Time and science have justified the conjectures and predictions of the Roman sage: the telescope has opened new worlds to the eyes of astronomers; 2 and, in the narrow space of history and fable, one and the same comet is already found to have revisited the earth in seven equal revolutions of five hundred and forty-seven years. The first, which preceded the Christian era one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven, is coeval with Ogyges the father of Grecian antiquity. And this appearance explains the tradition which Varro has preserved, that under his reign, the planet Venus changed its usual color from green to red as a prodigy, without example either in past or succeeding ages. 3 The second visit, in the year eleven hundred and ninety-three, is darkly implied in the fable of Elecra the seventh of the Pleiads, who has been reduced to six since the time of the Trojan war. That nymph, the wife of Dardanus, was unable to support the ruin of her country: she abandoned the dances of her sister orbs, fled to the zodiac to the north pole, and obtained, from her dishevelled locks, the name of the comet. The third period expires in the year six hundred, when it is recorded by the poet of a sibyl, and perhaps of Pliny, which arose in the west two generations before the reign of Cyrus. The fourth apparition, forty-four years before the birth of Christ, is of all others the most important. And the death of Caesar, a long-haired star was conspicuous to Rome and to the nations, during the games which were exhibited by young Octavian, in honour of Venus and his uncle. The vulgar opinion, that it conveyed to heaven the divine soul of the dictator, was cherished and conse- crated by the pieties of a sibyl: while his secret superstition referred the comet to the glory of his own times. 4 The fifth visit has been already ascribed to the fifth year of Justinian, which coincides with the five hundred and thirty-first of the Christian era. And it may deserve notice, in this, as in the preceding instance, the comet was followed, though at a longer interval, by a remark peculiar to the sun. The sixth return, in the year eleven hundred and six, is recorded by the chronicles of Europe and China; and in the first fervor of the crusades, the Christians and the Saracens might furnish a sight equal to the heavens, that it pertained the destruction of the infidels. The seventh phenomenon, of one thousand six hundred and eighty, was presented to the eyes of an enlightened age. 5 The philosophy of Bayle dispelled a prejudice which Milton had so recently adored, that the comet..."
manhood. The hut of a savage, or the tent of an Arab, may be thrown down without injury to the inhabitants; and yet, by the miserable shape they assume, the Spanish conquerors, who with so much cost and labour erected their own sepulchres. The rich mar- 
bases of a patrician are dashed on his own head: a whole people is buried under the ruins of public and private edifices, and the conflagration is kindled and propagated by the inhabitants by which are necessary for the subsistence and manufactures of a great city. Instead of the mutual sympathy which might comfort and assist the distressed, they dreadfully experience the vices and passions which are released from the fear of punishment: the tottering houses are the prey of wanton savages; revenge embraces the moment, and selects the victim; and the earth often swallows the assassin, or the ravisher, in the consummation of their crimes. Superstition involves the present danger with invisible terrors; and if the image of death may sometimes be subservient to the virtue or repentance of individuals, an affright too is more forcibly moved to expect the end of the world, or to deprave with servile homage the wrath of an aven-

Deity.

III. Ethiopia and Egypt have been the scenes of devastation, stigmatized in every age. (Hist. Lond. 372.)

A.D. 542.

In a damp, hot, stagnating air, this African fever is generated from the putrefaction of animal substances, and especially from the swarms of locusts, not less destructive to mankind in their death than in their lives. The fatal disease which depopulated the earth in the time of Justinian and his successors, first appeared in the neighbourhood of Pelusium, between the Nubian bog and the eastern channel of the Nile. From thence, tracing as it were a double path, it spread to the east, over Syria, Persia, and the Indies, and penetrated to the remotest parts of Africa, and partially to the continent of Europe. In the spring of the second year, Constantinople, during three or four months, was visited by the pestilence; andProcopius, who observed its progress and symptoms with the eyes of a physician, has emulated the skill and diligence of Thucydides in the description of his plague so frightful, though it was not an epidemic which spread itself through the body, but was, like the distemper; sometimes announced by the visions of a dis- 
tempered fancy, and the victim despairing as soon as he had heard the menace and felt the stroke of an invis-
ible spectre. But the greater number, in their beds, in the streets, in their usual occupation, were surprised by this death so slight, although the pulse nor the colour of the patient gave any signs of the approaching danger. The same, the next, or the succeeding day, it was declared by the swelling of the glands, particularly those of the groin, of the armpits, and under the ear; and when these buboes or tumours were opened, they were found to contain a curved, or black substance, of the size of a leu- 
til. If they came to a just swelling and suppuration, the patient was saved by this kind and natural discharge of the morbid humour. But if they continued hard and dry, a mortification quickly ensued, and the fifth day was commonly the term of his life. The fever was often accompanied with lethargy or delirium; the bodies of the sick were covered with black patches or carbon-
ized, irregular, innumerable blisters; vomiting was too feeble to produce an eruption, the vomitting of blood was followed by a mortification of the bowels. To pregnant women the plague was generally mortal; yet one infant was drawn alive from his dead mother, and three mothers survived the loss of their infected fœtuses. A ooth was the most perilous season; and the female sex was less susceptible than the male: but every rank and profession was attacked with indiscriminate rage, and many of those who escaped were deprived of the use of their speech, without being securely from a return of the disorder. The physicians of Constantinople were lunatics and skilful: but their art was baffled by the various symp-
toms and pertinacious vehemence of the disease: the same remedies were productive of contrary effects, and the event capriciously disappopinted their prognostics of death or recovery. The order of funerals, and therites of sepulchres, were confounded; those who were left without friends or servants, lay unburied in the streets, or in their desolate houses; and a magistrate was authorized to collect the promiscuous heaps of dead bodies, to transport them by land or water, and inter them in deep pits beyond the precincts of the city. Their own horror, and the public distress, awakened some remorse in the minds of the most vicious of mankind; the confidence of health again revived their passions and habits; but philo-

sophy must disdain the observation of Procopius, that the lives of such men were governed by what was peculiar to fortune or providence. He forgets, or he not servilely recolected, that the plague had touched the person of Justinian himself; but the abstemious diet of the emperor may suggest, as in the case of Socrates, a more rational and honourable cause for his recovery. During his sickness, the public consterna-
tion was expressed in the habits of the citizens; and their idleness and despondence occasioned a general scarcity in the capital of the east.

Contagion is the insipable symptom. Extent and du-

rations, of the plague: which by mutual respi-

ration, is transfused to the infected person. (Hist. Lond. 172.)

A.D. 544. 

In the spring of the year, the plague, having infected persons to the lungs and stomach of those who approach them. While philosophers believe and tremble, it is singular, that the existence of a real danger should have been denied by a people most prone to vain and imagi-
nory terrors. Yet the fellow-citizens of Constantinople were saved by a providential signal effect; and the knowledge they obtained of the disease, that the infection could not be gained by the closest conversation; and this persuasion might support the assiduity of friends or physicians in the care of the sick, whom inhuman prudence would have condemned to solitude and despair. But the fatal security, like the predestination of the Turks, must have aided the progress of the contagion; and those salutary precautions to which Europe is indebted for its safety, were unknown to the government of Justinian. No restraint were imposed on the free and fre-
CHAPTER V.

Idea of Roman jurisprudence.—The laws of the kings.

The twelve tribes of the decemvirs. —The laws of the people. —The decretals of the senate. —The edicts of the magistrates and emperors. —Authority of the civil law.


The civil or Roman law. Justinian are crumbling into dust; but the name of the legislator is inscribed on a fair and everlasting monument. Under his reign, and by his care, the civil jurisprudence was digested in the immortal works of the Code, the Pandects, and the Institutes; the public reason of the Romans has been silently or studiously transferred into the domestic institutions of Europe, and the laws of Justinian still command the respect or obedience of independent nations. Wise or fortunate is the prince who connects his own reputation with the honour and interest of a perpetual order of men. The divinity of their founder is the first cause, which in every age has exercised the inherent power of levelling and dividing the mankind; to commemorate his virtues; to obviate their fallings; and fiercely chastise the guilt or folly of the rebels, who presume to sully the majesty of the purple. The idolatry of love has provoked, as it usually happens, the rancour of opposition; the character of Justinian is not the better esteemed for the meanness and invective, and the injustice of a sect (the Justin-Trivinius) has refused all praise and merit to the prince, his ministers, and his laws. 4 Attached to no party, interested only for the truth and candour of his conduct, and directed by the most tenacious and skillful guides, 5 I enter with just difficulty on the subject of civil law, which has exhausted so many learned lives, and clothed the walls of so many spacious libraries. In a single, if possible in a short, chapter, I shall trace the Roman jurisprudence from Remulus to Justinian, 6 the happy and prosperous period of the Roman empires. To contemplate the principles of a science so important to the peace and happiness of society. The laws of a nation form the most instructive portion of its history; and, although I have devoted myself to write the ancient political history of the ancillary monarchy, I shall embrace the occasion to breathe the pure and invigorating air of the republic.

The primitive government of Rome 7 Law of the Twelve Tables, 8 of an elective king, a council of nobles, and a general assembly of the people. War and religion were administered by the supreme magistrate; and he alone proposed the laws, which were debated in the senate, and finally ratified or rejected by a majority of votes in the thirty curia or parishes of the city. Romulus, Numa, and Servius Tullus are celebrated as the most ancient legislators; and each of them claims his peculiar part in the three-fold division of Jurisprudence. 9 The laws of marriage, the education of children, and the authority of parents, which may seem to draw their origin from nature itself, are ascribed to the two emperors of the Roman empire, and the civil laws of Justinian, as the most complete system of institutions and of religious worship, which Numa introduced, was derived from his nocturnal converse with the nymph Egeria. The civil law is attributed to the experience of Servius: he balanced the rights and fortunes of the several classes of citizens by fifty new regulations, the observance of contracts and the punishment of crimes. The state, which he had inclined towards a democracy, was changed by the last Tarquin into lawless despotism; and when

4. Francis Hackett, a learned and acute lawyer of the sixteenth century, wished to mortify Curious, and to please the chancellor de l'Hospital. His Anti-Trivinius (which I have never been able to procure) was published in French in 1688; and his sect was propagated in Germany. (Heineccius, Opp. tom. iii. syll. p. 171-183.)

5. At the head of these guides I shall respectfully place the learned and perceptive Heineccius, a German professor, who died at Halle in 1701, and is buried in the church of his native town; his Elegies de l'ancien et du nouveau droit, his Elements de jurisprudence, and of religious worship, which Numa introduced, was derived from his nocturnal converse with the nymph Egeria. The civil law is attributed to the experience of Servius: he balanced the rights and fortunes of the several classes of citizens by fifty new regulations, the observance of contracts and the punishment of crimes. The state, which he had inclined towards a democracy, was changed by the last Tarquin into lawless despotism; and when

6. After some figures of circus, the sands of the sea, &c. (Pandect. Anecd. c. 125.) attempts a more definite account: that answer. The expression of shapes in grammar and rhetoric, and a literal interpretation would produce several millions of millions. Alphonsi de la Concorde, filii p. 58. They are, I think, the easiest, "two hundred millions," but I am ignorant of their motives. If we drop the thesaurus, the remaining coda, & c., a myriad of my books, would furnish me hundreds of millions, a number not wholly inadmissible.

7. The civil laws of the darker ages have established an absurd and incomprehensible mode of notation, which is supported by authority and precedent. In their present state, they are of no use to the commonwealth; but, if we consult them with respect to the principles, to the fundamental law, and to the laws of the constitution, we may find there, a mass of useful and important materials, a mass of materials, the book, the title, and the law.

8. The historians of England, France, and Scotland, have received them as common law or reason: in France, Italy, &c., they possess a direct or indirect influence; and they were respected in England, from the beginning of the 13th century. (Vie de l'empereur Justinien, p. 58.)
The twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth books of the Decameron, which are often sought for, are the only ones that have been preserved. Indeed, the end of these books was considered to be their crowning glory. The deaths of the authors, the Civil War, the political upheavals, and the general decadence of the ancient world were all factors that contributed to the loss of these works. The only fragments that have survived are those preserved in various manuscripts and copies, which are now scattered throughout the libraries of Europe.
and of Lycurgus. The twelve tables were committed to the memory of the young and the meditation of the old; they were transcribed and illustrated with brass plates, the arts of which, under the Romans, surpassed the number of a hundred chapters. The decemvirs had neglected to import the sanction of Zaleucus, which so long maintained the integrity of his republic. A Lorician who proposed any new law, stood forth in the assembly of the people with a cord round his neck, and if the law was rejected, the innovator was instantly strangled.

Laws of the The decemvirs had been named, and people, their tables were approved, by an assembly of the centuries, in which riches preponderated against numbers. To the first centuries, the Romans, to prevent the mad and irritable proceedings of the tribes, the ten thousand pounds of copper, ninety-eight votes were assigned, and only ninety-five were left for the six inferior classes, distributed according to their substance by the awful policy of Servius. But the tribunes soon established a more specious division of the nation, in which every citizen had an equal right to enact the laws which he is bound to obey. Instead of the centuries, they convened the tribes; and the patricians, after an impotent struggle, submitted to the decrees of an assembly, in which their votes were confounded with those of the meanest of the multitude, and the long-practised ascendancy of that body was passed over narrow bridges, and gave their voices aloud, the conduct of each citizen was exposed to the eyes and ears of his friends and countrymen. The insolvent debtor consulted the wishes of his creditor; the client would have had his patron's name, the general was followed by his veterans; and the aspect of a grave magistrate was a living lesson to the multitude. A new method of secret ballot abolished the influence of fear and shame, of honour and interest, and the abuse of freedom accelerated the progress of anarchy and despotism. The Romans

had aspired to be equal; they were levellled by the equality of servitude; and the dictates of Augustus were patientiy ratified by the formal consent of the people. The laws of Delia, applauded the virtues of honour and love; and the project of reform was suspended till a new and more tractable generation had arisen in the world. Such an example was not necessary to instruct a prudent usurper of the mischief of popular assemblies. Augustus, who was formerly hostile to the project, and who had it secretly prepared, was accomplished without resistance, and almost without notice, on the accession of his successor. Sixty thousand plebeian legislators, whose names were made infamous, and poverty secure, were supplanted by six hundred senators, who held the balance of their fortunes, and their lives, by the clemency of the emperor. The loss of Decrees of the executive power was alleviated by the senate, gift of legislative authority; and Ulpian might assert, after the practice of two hundred years, that the decrees of the senate obtained the force and validity of the laws. In the time of Augustus, the people had often been dictated by the passion of the moment; the Cenomani, Pompeian, and Julian laws, were adapted by a single hand to the prevailing disorders; but the senate, under the reign of the Caesars, was composed of magistrates and lawyers, and in questions of private jurisprudence, the integrity of their judgment was seldom perverted by fear or interest.

The silence or ambiguity of the laws Edicta of the was supplied by the occasional exacts of those who were no longer practised with the honours of the state. This ancient prerogative of the Roman kings was transferred, in their respective offices, to the consuls and dictators, the censors and praetors; and a similar right was assumed by the tribunes of the people, the ediles, and the procensors. At Rome, and in the provinces, the duties of the subject, and the intentions of the governor, were proclaimed; and the civil jurisprudence was reformed by the annual edicts of the supreme judge, the prator of the city. As soon as he ascended his tribunal, he announced by the voice of the people, with the solemnity and formality of the rules which he proposed to follow in the decision of doubtful cases, and the relief which his power would afford from the precise rigour of ancient statutes. A principle of discretion more congenial to monarchy was introduced into the republic; the art of respecting the same, and eluding the efficacy, of the laws, was improved by successive praetors; subtleties and fictions were invented to defeat the plainest meaning of the decrees, and where the end was sanitary, the means were frequently absurd. The secret or prohibited death of the dead was suffered to prevail over the order of succession and the forms of testament; and the claim, who was excluded from the character of heir, accepted with equal pleasure from an indulgent praetor the possession of the goods of his late kinsman or benefactor. In the redress of private wrongs, compensations and fines were substituted to the absolute rigour of the twelve tables; time and space were annihilated

See Heinrichs, (Hist. J. R. No. 29—32.) I have followed the translation of all the tables by Gravina (Origines J. C. p. 293—307.) and Tsenas, (Hist. de la Jurisprudence Romane. p. 24—26.) 2 Finae equi manus, (Tact. Ann. iii. 25.) Finae omnia publica et privata juris. (T. Liv. iii. 21.) 3 De principiis jur. exquisitus modis ad hanc multitudinem infini tarum et exquisitorum perennis in aliusdam distinctorum. (Tact. Ann. iii. 25.) This deep suspicion fits only two pages, but they are the pages of Tacitus. With equal sense, but with less energy, Livy (full. 31.) had complained, in hoc immensus alienis superius aliarum jurisprudentiarum vetustatem, &c. 4 sertones in Vessigiano, c. 8. 5 Cicero ad Familiar. 6 Bonnay, with Arbuthnot, and most of the moderns, (except Eschenclait de Fonderieux, &c. p. 357—410.) represent the 100,000 Names by 100,000 pounds in silver or some other metal. But their calculation can apply only to the latter times, when the rise of the acres was diminished to 5/10th of their ancient weight; or I can believe that even in the first ages, however destitute of the precious metals, a single ounce of silver could have been exchanged for seventy pounds of copper or brass; this is to say, that the copper itself according to the present rate, and, after comparing the mint and the market prices, the Roman and the Arabo- weight, the primitive use or Roman pound of copper may be appreciated at one English shilling, and the 2000 marks of silver plate amounted to 2000 pounds sterling.-Ammon. Bacher. Hist. Natur. xviii, 4) nor do I see any reason to reject those authorities, which moderate our ideas of the modern value of the first Romans.- 7 Consult the common writers on the Roman Censors, especially Si- cius Pulcher. (Hist. litter. ii. 6) The same is observed by Tacitus, (Hist. ii. i.) on the privileges of the ancient Censors. 8 See Homer, (Hist. litter. iii. 21.) 9 On the honours of the people as a torba. (Parlement. 1. tit. ii. 1. 2 seq.) But the judici- acar of the people was a torba. (Parlement. 1. tit. ii. 1. 2 seq.) And the word was loosely explained in the Greek paraphrase of Theophrastus, (p. 31—32.) (edit. Reit.) who drops the important word humanisarias.
by fanciful suppositions; and the plea of youth, or fraud, or violence, annulled the obligation, or excused the performance of an inconvenient contract. A jurisdiction thus vague and arbitrary was exposed to the most dangerous abuse: the substance as well as the form of legal procedure was concealed by the elective nature of the judges of virtue, the bias of laudable affection, and the grosser seductions of interest or resentment. But the errors or vices of each prator expired with his annual office; such maxims alone as had been approved by reason and practice were copied by succeeding judges; the rule concerning was defended by the sole times, few cases; and the temptations of injustice were removed by the Cornelian law, which compelled the prator of the year to adhere to the letter and spirit of his first proclamation. It was reserved for the curiosity and learning of Hadrian, to accomplish the design which had been conceived by the genius of Cassar; and the pratorship of Salvius Julian, an eminent lawyer, was immortalized by the composition of the peremptory edict. This well-digested code was ratified by the emperor and the senate; the right of divorce of law and equity was accepted and reconciled; and, instead of the twelve tables, the peremptory edict was fixed as the invariable standard of civil jurisprudence. Constitution of the emperors. From Augustus to Trajan, the modern civil law was created along with the questions of private law. The edicts and, in the decrees of the senate, the ediciae and aedulciae of the prince were respectfully inserted. Hadrian appears to have been the first who assumed, without disguise, the plentitude of legislative power. And this innovation, so agreeable to his active mind, was so resounding by the patience only subdued, and his long absence from the seat of government. The same policy was embraced by succeeding monarchs, and, according to the harsh metaphor of Tertullian, the gloomy and inherent force of ancient laws was cleared away by the axe of royal mandates and Constitutiones. During four centuries, from Constantine to Justinian, the public and private jurisprudence was moulded by the will of the sovereign; and few institutions, either human or divine, were permitted to stand on their former basis. The origin of imperial legislation was concealed by the darkness of ages and the terror of the laws, propagated by the servility, or perhaps the ignorance, of the civilians, who basked in the sunshine of the Roman and Byzantine courts. To the prayer of the ancient Caesars, the senate or the prince had sometimes granted a personal exemption from the obligation and penalty of particular statutes; and every indulgence was an act of jurisdiction exercised by the republic over the first of her citizens. His humble privilege was at length transformed into the prerogative of a tyrant; and the Latin expression of "released from the laws,\(^1\) was supposed to exalt the emperor above all human restraints, and to leave his conscience and reason as the sacred instrument of his conduct. A similar dependence was implied in the decrees of the senate, which, in every detail, defined the acts of his conscience. But it was not before the ideas, and even the language, of the Romans had been corrupted, that a royal law, and an irrevocable gift of the people, were created by the fauce of Ulpius, or more probably of Tribonian himself; \(^2\) and the origin of imperial power, though false and artificial, perhaps, in its consequences, was supported on a legislative principle of freedom and justice. The power of the emperor has the vigour and effect of law, since the Roman people, by the royal law, have transferred to their prince the full extent of their own power and sovereignty.\(^3\) The will of a single man, of a child perhaps, was allowed to prevail over the wisdom of ages and the inclinations of millions; and the degenerate Greeks were proud to declare, that in his hands alone the arbitrary exercise of legislation could be safety deposited. What interest or passion, what fear or hope in the court, could reach the calm and sublime elevation of the monarch? He is already master of the lives and fortunes of his subjects; and those who have incurred his displeasure, are already numbered with the dead.\(^4\) Disdaining the language of flattery, the historian may confess, that the power of the emperor was the true measure of the rise of a prince, and that the reign of a great empire can seldom be influenced by any personal considerations. Virtue, or even reason, will suggest to his impartial mind, that he is the guardian of peace and equity, and that the interest of society is inseparably connected with his own. Under the weakest and most vilenest reign the seal of justice was filled by the wisdom and integrity of Papian and Ulpius; \(^5\) and the purest materials of the Code and Pandects are inscribed with the names of Caracalla and his ministers.\(^6\) The tyrant of Rome was sometimes the benefactor of the provinces. A dagger terminated the crimes of Domitian; but the prudence of Nerva confirmed his acts, which, in the joy of their deliverance, had been rescinded by an indignant senator.\(^7\) Yet in the rescripts,\(^8\) replies to Their rescripts, the consolations of the magistrates, the wisest of princes might be deceived by a partial exhibition of the temper of the times. And this plan, which placed their hasty decisions on the same level with mature and deliberate acts of legislation, was insidiously concealed by the sense and example of Trajan. The rescripts of the emperor, his grants and decrees, his edicia and pragmatica sanzioni, were subscribed in purple ink,\(^9\) and transmitted to the provinces as general or this occasion his editor, Reimarus, joins the universal clausure which freedom and criticism have pronounced against that slavish historian. The need (Lex Regia) was still more recent than the thing. The slaves of Commodes or Caracalla would have started at the name of slavery.

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1 Dio Cassius (t. I. x. p. 190.) fixes the peremptory edict in the year of Rome 356. Their institution, however, is ascribed to the year 524 in the Acta Diurna, which have been published from the plates of the press of 324. Some, indeed, have referred to the year 526, ascribed to Constantius (who is supposed to have been the author of the edict) by Hume (in the introduction to his edition of the Acts of Diurna.) But it is evident that the name is a corruption of Cassar, and that the expression is of the ancient phrase, "the edicts of the Caesars, etc."

2 See Gravins (p. p. 304—322.) and Baerwent. (Republique Romane. tom. i. p. 235—274.) He has made a proper use of two dissertations by John Frederick Gravier and Noe, both translated into English. The valuable notes, by Barbyienne, 2 vols. in 12mo. 1821. In 1804, 411, litres. p. 423.) Cassar, t. 1. tit. xvi. reg. 1. No. 7. He has a distinctness of the institutions, and the Code is illustrated by Gravins (p. xii. 178.) and Gravins (p. 47—58.)


4 There is no reason to fear that the empire of Maximus: (Jul. Capitolini. c. 13.) Nul ne se rsaiera eis commodi et caracallae, as the historian decries the edicts of the Caesars. (Justinian, t. 1. tit. xvi. reg. 1. No. 7.)

5 Seidem, (in the Proem. ii. p. 234, 235.) Yet he only treads the middle road. And the special marriage. (Cod. Theod. t. 1. tit. ii. reg. 1.)

6 Of Antelaves Caracalla alone 200 constitutions are extant in the Code, and with his father 160. These two princes are quoted fifty times in the Pandects. Yet the judicature is left in the hands of Severus. (Rudbeck, Proleg. vii. p. 234, 235.) Yet he only treads the middle road. And the special marriage. (Cod. Theod. t. 1. tit. ii. reg. 1.)

7 A compound of vermillion and cinnamon, which marks the impres-
special laws, which the magistrates were bound to execute, and the people to obey. But as their number continually multiplied, the rule of obedience became each day more doubtful and obscure, till the will of the sovereign was fixed and ascertained in the Gregorian, the Hemicogenian, and the Theodosian codes. The two first, of which some fragments have escaped, were framed by two private lawyers, to preserve the constitutions of the pagan emperors from Hadrian to Constantine. The third, which is still extant, was dictated to three renowned and learned sages, from the scenes of a pontificate; the words were adapted to the gestures, and the slightest error or neglect in the forms of proceeding was sufficient to annual the substance of the fairest claim. The conclusion of the marriage-life was denoted by the dissension of the voice of the law, and the deserted wife regained the bunch of keys, by the delivery of which she had been invested with the government of the family. The manumission of a son, or a slave, was performed by turning him round with a gentle blow on the check; a work was performed by the casting of a stone; a prescription was interrupted by the breaking of a branch; the clenched fist was the symbol of a pledge or deposit; the right hand was the gift of faith and confidence. The indigent of covenants was a broken staff; weights and scales were introduced into every payment, and the historian, who accepted a testament, was sometimes obliged to snap his fingers, to cast away his garments, and to leap and dance with real or affected transport. If a citizen pursued any stolen goods into a neighbour's house, he concealed his nakedness with a linen towel, and hid his face with a mask or house, his hands over the eyes of a virgin or a matron. In a civil action, the plaintiff touched the ear of his witness, seized his reluctant adversary by the neck, and immoderately, in solemn lamentation, the aid of his fellow-citizens. The two compromissors grasped each other by the hand and stood prepared to contradict the testimony of the tribunal of the praetor; he commanded them to produce the object of the dispute; they went, they returned with measured steps, and a cloud of earth was cast at his feet to represent the field for which they contended. This or that sentence of the words and actions of his was the substitute of the pontiffs and the patricians. Like the Chaldean astrlogers, they announced to the clients the days of business and reposes; these important trires were interwoven with the religion of Numa; and, after the publication of the twelve tables, the Roman people accepted by the ignorance of the judges. The treachery of some plebeian officers at length revealed the profitable mystery: in a more enlightened age, the legal actions were derided and observed; and the same antiquity which sanctified the practice, obliterated the use and meaning, of their primitive forms. A more liberal art was cultivated. Succession of the however, by the sages of Rome, who, civil lawyers, in a stricter sense, may be considered as the authors of the civil law. The alteration of the idiom and manners of the Romans rendered the style of the twelve tables less familiar, to each living generation, and the doubtful passages were imperfectly explained by the study of legal antiquarians. To define the ambiguities, to circumscribe the latitude, to apply the principles, to extend the consequences, to reconcile the real or apparent contradictions, was a more and more important task; and the province of legislation was silently invaded by the expounders of ancient statutes. Their subtle interpretations concurred with the equity of the prior, to redress the tyranny of the darker ages: however strange or intricate the means, it was the matchless wisdom of juridical jurisprudence to reduce the simple dictates of nature and reason, and the skill of private citizens was usefully employed to undermine the public institutions of their country. The revolution of almost one thousand years, from the twelve tables under the reign of Justinian, may be divided into three periods: a first epoch, which was occupied with the market or assembly, the masters of the art were seen walking in the forum ready to impart the needful advice to the meanest of their fellow-citizens, from whose votes, on a future occasion, they might solicit a grateful return. As their years and honours increased, they became such as might be expected to retire from the difficult and prolix business of the forum, and the public order and peace of the civil law. The second period, the learned and splendid age of jurisprudence, may be Second period, from the birth of Cicero to the reign of Severus Alexander, A system was formed, schools were instituted, books were composed, and laws. On the public days of the forum or the market, the masters of the art were seen walking in the forum ready to impart the needful advice to the meanest of their fellow-citizens, from whose votes, on a future occasion, they might solicit a grateful return. As their years and honours increased, they became such as might be expected to retire from the difficult and prolix business of the forum, and the public order and peace of the civil law. The second period, the learned and splendid age of jurisprudence, may be Second period, from the birth of Cicero to the reign of Severus Alexander, A system was formed, schools were instituted, books were composed, and laws. 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three sages of the law; but the perfection of the science was ascribed to Servius Sulpicius their disciple, and the friend of Tully; and the long succession, which followed the retirement or undying laurels of the Caesars, is finally closed by the respectable characters of Popinian, of Paul, and of Ulpian. Their names, and the various titles of their productions, have been minutely preserved, and the example of Laboec may suggest some idea of their diligence and fame. The end of the most enlightened age, and the period under the Caesars, is finally closed by the respectable characters of Popinian, of Paul, and of Ulpian.

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selves. But positive institutions are often the result of custom and prejudice; laws and language are ambiguous and arbitrary; where reason is incapable of pronouncing, the love of argument is inflamed by the envy of others, and might swerve the blind attachment of many of their disciples; and the Roman jurisprudence was divided by the once famous sects of the Proculei ans and Sabinians. Two sages of the laws, Aticus Capito and Antiusus Laboe, adopted the peace of the Augustan age; the former distinguished by the favour of the latter monarch, the latter by the contempt of that favour, and his stern though harmless opposition to the tyrant of Rome. Their legal studies were influenced by the various colours of their temper and principles. Laboe was attached to the follies of the old republic; his rival embraced the more profitable substance of the rising monarchy. But the disposition of a courtier is tame and submissive; and Capito seldom presumed to deviate from the sentiments, or at least from the words, of his predecessors; while the bold republican pursued his independent investigations, and avaricious ill-humour. The freedom of Laboe was envied, however, by the rigour of his own conclusions, and he decided, according to the letter of the law, the same questions which his indolent competitor resolved with a latitude of equity suitable to the more lenient and feelings of mankind. If a fair exchange had been substituted to the payment of money, Capito still considered the transaction as a legal sale; and he consulted nature for the age of puberty, without confining his definition to the precise period of twelve or fourteen years.

This opposition of sentiments was propagated in the writings and lessons of the two founders; the schools of Capito and Laboe maintained their inveterate conflict from the age of Augustus to that of Hadrian; and the two sects derived their appellations from Sabinian and Capito, their most celebrated teachers. The names of Cassian and Peguanus were likewise applied to the same parties; but, by a strange reverse, the popular cause was in the hands of Peguanus, a timid slave of Domitian, while the favourite of the Caesars was represented by Cassian, who glorified in his descent from the most illustrious of slaves. By the school of Capito, the controversies of the sects were in a great measure determined. For that important work, the emperor Hadrian preferred the chief of the Sabinians: the friends of monarchy prevailed; but the moderation of Sabinian smoothed the resentment of the victors of the vanquished. Like the contumacious philosophers, the lawyers of the age of Antonines disclaimed the authority of a master, and adopted from every system the most probable doctrines. But their writings would have been less voluminous, had their choice been more unanimous. The conscience of the judge was perplexed by the number and weight of discordant testimonies, and every sentence that his passion or interest might suggest was submitted to the voice of that infallible and venerable name. An indolent edict of the younger Theodosius excuses him from the labour of comparing and weighing their arguments. Five civilians, Caius, Papinian, Paul, Ulpian, and M. destinus, were established as the oracles of jurisprudence: a majority was decisive; but their opinions were equally divided, a casting vote was ascribed to the superior wisdom of Papinian.

When Justinian ascended the throne, the reformation of the Roman law was an arduous but indispensable task. In the space of ten centuries, the infinite variety of laws and legal opinions had filled many thousand volumes, which no fortune could purchase and no capacity could digest. Books could not easily be found; and the judges, poor in the midst of riches, were unable to answer the questions of their own discretion. The subjects of the Greek provinces were ignorant of the language that disposed of their lives and properties; and the barbarous dialect of the Latins was imperfectly studied in the academies of Berytus and Constantinople. The lawyers were familiar with the infancy of Justinian; his youth had been instructed by the lessons of jurisprudence, and his imperial choice selected the most learned civilians of the east, to labour with their sovereign in the work of reformation. The theory of professors was assisted by the practice of advocates, and the experience of magistrates; and the whole undertaking was animated by the spirit of Tribonian.

Tribonian, an ordinary man, the object of so much A. D. 527–546. praises and censure, was a native of Side in Pamphylia; and by his own exertions, and the support of his own, all the business and knowledge of the age. Tri-

bonian composed, both in prose and verse, on a strange diversity of curious and abstruse subjects; a double panegyric of Justinian and the life of the philosopher Theodorus; the nature of happiness and the duties of government; Homer's catalogue and the four and twenty sorts of metre; the astronomical canon of Pto-

lemy; the changes of the months; the houses of the planets; and the harmonic system of the world. To the literature of Greece he added the use of the Latin authors, and strove to compose a universal library and in his mind: and he most assiduously culti-

vated those arts which opened the road of wealth and preferment. From the bar of the praetorian prefects, he raised himself to the honours of quatorz, of con-
sul, and of master of the offices: the council of Justinian listened to his eloquence and wisdom, and envy was mitigated by the gentleness and affability of his manners. The reproaches of imperty and avarice have which was applied to three eclecic lawyers: heresitae is synony-

mously used.

1 See the See the Theodorian Code, l. i. tit. iv. with Godfrey's Com-

mentary, tom. i. p. 39–35. This decree might give occasion to the barbarian not to pay anything, or to depart without this weight of money, and the verse of Eng. (c. x. 34.) since, in a simple exchange, the buyer could not be discriminated from the seller.

1 For the legal Labors of Justinian, I have studied the Preface to the Institutes; the Int. 3 and 34 Prefaces to the Pandects; the 1st and 25th, and 1st and 25th of the Code; and the 25th part of the Pandects; a part of the Pandects, and the Prae-terita. (Hist. de la Jurisprudence Romaine, p. 295–336.) Gravina, (Opp. p. 33–93.) and Ludovici, in his life of Justinian, (p. 19–123, 181–209.)

2 For the history of Tribonian, we see the testimonials of Procopius, (Pers. i. c. 23, 24, Aquinc. c. 13.) and Suidas, (tom. iii. p. 584. 26.) to whom we are indebted for the character of Tribonian. He was a prince of the first rank in the law; and the Council of Constantinople were often his adversaries. His legal ac-

knowledgments were equal, and his legal attainments were much more prodigious. (Hist. de la Jurisprudence Romaine, tom. i. p. 262–317.)

3 I apply the two passages of Suidas to the same man; every circumstance exactly tints. Yet the lawyers appear genuine originals, as the 'philohistoria' is inclined to separate the two characters. (Biblioth. Graec. tom. i. p. 541. ii. p. 315. iii. p. 418. iv. p. 346. 342.)
stained the virtues or the reputation of Tribonian. In a bigoted and persecuting court, the principal minister was accused of a secret aversion to the Christian faith, and was supposed to entertain the sentiments of an atheist and a pagan, which have been imputed, incorrectly, to former times—His avarice was more clearly proved and more sensibly felt. If he were swayed by gifts in the administration of justice, the example of Bacon will again occur; nor can the merit of Tribonian atone for his baseness, if he degraded the sanctity of his profession; and if large sums of money were advanced for the Storia, Tribonian preferred the base consideration of his private emolument. In the edict of Constantine, his removal was granted to the clamours, perhaps to the just indignation of the people: but the question was speedily restored, and till the hour of his death, he possessed, above twenty years, the favour and confidence of the emperor. His passive and duteful submission has been honoured with the praise of Justinian himself, whose vanity was incapable of discerning how often that submission degenerated into the grossest perfidy. Tribonian adorned the virtues of his master; the earth was unworthy of such a prince; and he affected a pious fear, that Justinian, like Eliah or Romulus, would be snatched into the air, and translated alive to the mansions of celestial glory.

The code of Justinian was made with a view to the public good. A code of laws was necessary, and the imperial authority must be the dispenser of this kind of grace. But, in the edict of the Storia, Tribonian preferred the bargain to the public benefit. Were it necessary to describe the virtues and talents of Tribonian, his name would have been the world a pure April 7, and original system of jurisprudence.

Whatever flattery might suggest, the emperor of the east was afraid to establish his private judgment as the standard of justice; but as the Roman power, he borrowed the aid of time and opinion; and his laborious compilations are guarded by the sage and legislators of past times. Instead of a statute cast in a simple mould by the hand of an artist, the works of Justinian represent a tensed pavement of antique and costly, but too often of incoherent, fragments. In the first year of his reign, he directed the faithful Tribonian, and nine learned associates, to revise the ordinances of his predecessors, as they were contained, since the time of Hadrian, in the Gregorians, Hermogenes, and Theodoricus codes, and to correct the errors and contradictions, to retrench whatever was obsolete or superfluous, and to select the wise and salutary laws, best adapted to the practice of the tribunals and the use of his subjects. The work was accomplished in fourteen mouths; and the twelve books or tables, which the compilers produced—thought he was obliged to imitate the labours of their Roman predecessors. The new code of Justinian was honoured with his name, and confirmed by his royal signature; authentic transcripts were multiplied by the pens of notaries and scribes; they were transmitted to the magistrates of the European, the Asiatic, and afterwards the African provinces; and the law of the empire was proclaimed on solemn festivals at the doors of churches. A more

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benefit of his subjects. It was their duty to select the useful and practical parts of the Roman law; and the writings of the old republicans, however curious or excellent, were no longer suited to the new system of manners, religion, and government.

Pomponius was, but his version was excelled by the school of Papinian and Ulpian. The science of the laws is the slow growth of time and experience, and the advantage both of method and materials, is naturally maintained by the most recent authors. The civilizers of the reign of the Antonines had studied the works of their predecessors: their philanthropic spirit had mitigated the rigour of antiquity, simplified the forms of proceeding, and emerged from the jealous and prejudiced spirit of the rival sects. The choice of the authorities that compose the Pandects, depended on the judgment of Tribonian; but the power of his sovereign could not absolve him from the sacred obligations of truth and fidelity. As the legislator of the empire, Justinian might repeat the acts of the Antonines, or correct the innovations, the few priapics, maintained by the last of the Roman lawyers. But the existence of past facts is placed beyond the reach of despotism; and the emperor was guilty of fraud and forgery, when he corrupted the integrity of their text, with their reverence to the works and ideas of his servile reign, and suppressed, by the hand of power, the pure and authentic copies of their sentiments. The changes and interpolations of Tribonian and his colleagues, are excused by the pretence of uniformity: but their cares have been insufficient, and the pandects, collated by some of their predecessors, still exercise the patience and subtlety of modern civilizers.

A rumour devoid of evidence has been propagated by the enemies of Justinian: that the juristic age of ancient Rome was reduced to ashes by the author of the Pandects, from the vain persuasion, that it was now either false or superfluous. Without usurping an office so inviolis, the emperor might safely commit to ignorance and time the accomplishment of this destructive wish. But the kind friends of printing, and paper, the labours and materials of writing could be purchased only by the rich; and it may reasonably be computed, that the price of books was a hundred-fold their present value.

Copies were slowly multiplied and cautiously reduced to the second century, by the sacrilegious attempt to erase the charactérs of antiquity, and Sophecus or Tactius were obliged to resign the parchment to missals, homilies, and the golden legend.

1 Strip away the crust of Tribonian, and allow for the use of technical words, and the Latin of the Pandects will be found not unworthy of the silver age. It has been vehemently attacked by Laurentius Vallo, a fastidious Grammarian of the fiftieth century, and by his apostate Florus Sabinius. It has been defended by Blest, and a non-philosophic advocate, most probably James Capellus. Their various treaties are collected by Duker, (Quaternia de Lucanis et veterum Jurisconsultorum, Ed. Rot. 1721, in 4m). 2. In the fair period of a recent century, the editors of old manuscripts, the name of an ancient patron, or the name of the pandects, is preserved in the epistle dedicata est quaque lex. (Cod. Justini. 1. t. xiv. leg. 3. No. 10). A frank confession. 3. The number of these emblematia (a polite name for forgeries) is much reduced by Bynkershoek, (in the first last books of his Observations), who poorly maintains the right of Justinian and the duty of Tribonian. 4. The antimonarchic, or opposite laws of the Code and Pandects, are sometimes the cause, and often the excuse, of the glorious emblems of the civil law, which so often affords what Montaigne calls "fictions". It is a great mistake to suppose that, in the pandects, the impious act, and in perspective, the peril of the act. (Cod. Justini. 1. t. xiv. leg. 3. No. 10). A frank confession.

1 Pomponius (Pandect. 1. l. t. ii. leg. 2) observes, that of the three founders of the civil law, Marcus, Brutus, and Manlius, excellent volumina, scripta Manlii magnificentia; that of some old republican law was, scripta curiosior et semper intima honestas. 2. of Tributius, minus frequentior; of Fabius, nullius. The most grat test slips of Roman materials are derived from books which Tribonian never saw; and, in the long period of time, even the thirteenth pandects, of the red reading of the moderns successively depend on the knowledge and errors of the bygone predecessors. 3. All, in several instances, repeat the errors of the script and the translations of some leaves in the Florintine Pandects. This fact, if it be true, is one of the most fatal consequences of the pandects. Yet the Pandects of Bologna (who died in 1112) by the Bishop, Archbishop of Cantorero, and by the care and perseverance of the future writer, in the year 1116, (in the deed of October 7. tom. p. 6, 1099—1105). Have our British MSS. of the Pandects been collected? 4. See the description of this original in Brenczmann. (Hist. Pandect. Florent. i. c. 2. 3. p. 4. 17. and i. 4.) Politian, an enthusiast, revered as the authentic standard of Justinian himself, (p. 407, 408); but this paradox is refuted by the abbreviations of the Florintine MS. G. i. c. p. 117—118.) It is composed of two paper volumes, with large margins, on a thin parchment, and the Latin characters being the hand of a Greek scribe. 5. Brenczmann, at the end of his history, has inserted two dissertations on the republic of Amphil and the Pisan war in the year 1135, &c. 6. The discovery of the pandects at Amphil (A.D. 1137) is first described (in 1509) by Lodovico Belonolus, (Brenczmann, i. c. p. 472, 73. iv. c. d. p. 417—425, on the faith of a Pisan chronicle, p. 409, 410) without a name or a date. The whole story, though unknown to the twelfth century, embellished by ignorant artists, and suspected by rigid criticism, is not, however, destitute of much internal probability, (i. c. p. 417—425) and the pandects are doubtlessly consulted in the fourteenth century by the great Bartolus, (p. 495, 496.) See also, c. i. c. p. 50—52.) 7. By Tribonian, (in the year 1406; and in 1111 the Pandects were transported to the capital. These events are authentic. The pandects of Flaminia Baldini have been rescued by Tribonian, (L. i. i. p. 230.) Acc. etd Ludovis, p. 305, 306.) 8. The pandects, or the Florintine pandects, were printed in 1607 by the press of Giorgio Ascoli. The first edition was, at first pleased with the cheapness, and at length provoked by the fraud of the compositors. (Lutrin, AAnn. Typograph. tom. i. p. 12, first edition.) 9. This execrable practice prevailed from the eighth, and more especially, the twelfth century, when it was transcribed, (Monaco, in the Memorie de l'Academie, tom. vi. p. 606, &c. Bibliotheca Raisonnée de la Diplomatique, tom. i. p. 176.)
should presume to interpret or pervert the will of their sovereign. The scholars of Accursius, of Bartolus, of Cajetan, should blush for their accomplished guilt, unless the liberty of the subject shall be secured to him for ever. Six years had not elapsed since the first proclamation of the Code, before he condemned the imperfect attempt, by a new and more accurate edition of the work; which he enriched with two hundred of his own laws, and fifty decisions of the darkest and most intricate points of jurisprudence. Every year, or, according to Procopius, each day, of his long reign, was marked by some legal innovation. Many of his acts were rescinded by himself; many were rejected by his successors, many had been obliterated by time; but the number of sixteen or twenty lost, since the reign of Justinian, is less than the number of the decisions of a single judge. The emperor, whose jurisprudence is the textbook of the highest magistrates, and whose dexterity an artist, who subscribed confessions of debt and promises of payment with the names of the richest Syrians, they pleaded the established prescription of thirty or forty years; but their defence was overruled by the retrospective edict, which extended the claims of the church to the term of a century; an edict so pregnant with injustice and disorder, that, after serving this occasion purpose, it was prudently abolished in the same reign. If candour will acquit the emperor himself, and transfer the corruption to his wife or favourites, the suspicion of so foul a vice can always vitiate the annual paymasters of the richest provinces. Many of Justinian's legal advocates may acknowledge, that such levity, whatever be the motive, is unworthy of a legislator and a man.

Monarchs seldom descend to be the preceptors of their subjects; yet Justinian, in whose name was introduced an unwritten system, was the most popular in the east and west; and his use may be considered as an evidence of their merit. They were selected by the imperial delegates, Tribonian, Theophillus, and the Areobindus; and the freedom and independence of the subject was inured with the coarser materials of a degenerate age. The same volume which introduced the youth of Rome, Constantinople, and Byrritus, to the gradual study of the Code and Pandects, is still precious to the historiographer, the philosopher, and the magistrate. The ancient publications were divided into four books; they proceeded, with no contemptible method, from 1. Persons, to, 11. Things, and from things to, 111. Actions; and the article IV. of Private Wrongs, is terminated by the principles of Criminal Law.

1. The distinction of ranks and persons, 1. Or persons, is the finest branch of a limited or absolute government. In France, the remains of liberty are kept alive by the spirit, the honours, and even the prejudices, of fifty thousand nobles. Two hundred families supply, in lineal descent, the second branch of the English legislature, which maintains the memory of the king and confirms the balance of the constitution. A gradation of patricians and plebeians, of strangers and subjects, has supported the aristocracy of Geneva, Venice, and ancient Rome. The perfect equality of men is the point in which the extremes of demerit and despotism are confounded; the spirit of one of Christian civilisation, offended, if any leads were exalted above the level of their fellow-slaves or fellow-citizens. In the decline of the Roman empire, the proud distinctions of the republic were gradually abolished, and the reason or instinct of Justinian completed the simple form of an absolute monarchy. The emperor could not eradicate the popular reverence which always waits on the possession of hereditary wealth, or the memory of famous ancestors. He delighted to honour, with titles and emoluments, his generals, magistrates, and senators; and his preciosus indulgence communicated some rays of their glory to the persons of their wives and children. But in the eye of the law, all Roman citizens were equal, and all subjects of the empire were citizens of Rome. That insinuative character was degraded into an obsolete and empty name. The voice of a Roman could no longer erect his laws, or express the annual paymasters of his provinces. The national rights might have checked the arbitrary will of a master; and the bold adventurer from Germany or Arabia was admitted, with equal favour, to the civil and military command, which the citizen alone had been once entitled to assume over the conquests of his ancestors. The freedom of the citizens was at the distinction of ingenuous and servile birth, which was decided by the condition of the mother; and the candour of the laws was satisfied, if her freedom could be ascertained, during a single moment, between the conception and the delivery. The slaves, who were liberated by a generous master, immediately entered into the middle class of libertines or freemen; but they could never be emancipated from the duties of obedience and gratitude: whatever were the fruits of their industry, their patron and his family inherited the third part; or even the whole of their fortune, if they died without children and without a testament. Justinian respected the rights of patrons; but his indulgence removed the badge of disgrace from the inferior orders of freemen: whoever ceased to be a slave, obtained, without reserve or delay, the station of a citizen; and at length the dignity of an ingenuous birth, which until the times of the Tiber was superior to the distinction of noble birth without a title; and from the nobility of the emperor, transferred, by the omnipotence of the emperor. Whatever

2. See the Annals Politiques de l'Abbe de St. Pierre, tom. i. p. 55 where is the year in the year of the Conquest, the precise year, and the exact year of the Conquest, the year in which the Conquest took place. The recent and vulgar error is derived from the Institute of the true and genuine which was transferred to the full of the king, for merit and services. The recent and vulgar essay is derived from the Institute of the true and genuine which was transferred to the full of the king, for merit and services.
Chap. V.

restraints of age, or forms, or numbers, had been formerly introduced to check the abuse of impositions, and the too rapid increase of vile and indigent Romans, he finally abolished; and the spirit of his laws promoted the extinction of domestic servitude. Yet the capacity of the state was, of course, filled with the image of Justice, with multitudes of slaves, either born or purchased for the use of their masters; and the price, from ten to seventy pieces of gold, was determined by their age, strength, and their education. 3 But the hardships of this dependent state were continually diminishing by the influence of education and civilization; and the pride of a subject was no longer elated by his absolute dominion over the life and happiness of his bondsman.

The law of nature instructs even animals to cherish and educate their infant progeny. The reason of law invests in the human species the returns of filial pity. But the exclusive, absolute, and perpetual dominion of the father over his children, is peculiar to the Roman jurisprudence, 4 and seems to be coeval with the foundation of the civil power which was invested or e-nfranchised by Romulus himself; and after the practice of three centuries, it was inscribed on the fourth table of the deacons.

In the forum, the senate, or the camp, the adult son of a Roman citizen enjoyed the public and private rights of a person in his father's house; his power was confined by the laws with immovable, the cattle, and the slaves, whom the capricious master might alienate or destroy, without being responsible to any earthly tribunal. The hand which bestowed the daily sustenance might resume the voluntary gift, and whatever was acquired by the labour or fortune of the son was immediately lost in its whole property of the father. His stolen goods (his own or his children's) might be recovered by the same action of theft; 5 and if either had been guilty of a trespass, it was in his own option to compensate the damage, or resign to the injured party the obnoxious animal.

At the call of evidences or infirmities, the master of a family could dispose of his children or his slaves. But the condition of the slave was far more advantageous, since he regained, by the first manumission, his alienated freedom; the son was again restored to his unnatural father; he might be sold or released to a service, turned to a third time, and it was not till after the third sale and deliverance, 6 that he was enfranchised from the domestic power, which had been so repeatedly abused. According to his discretion, a master might chaste his real or imaginary faults of his children, by stripes, by imprisonment, by exile, by sending them to the country to work in chains.

3 If the option of a slave was bequeathed to several legates, they drew lots, and the slaves were entitled to the share of his value: ten pieces of gold for a common servant or maid under ten years; if above that age, twenty; if they knew a trade, thirty; nineteen for a slave under ten, thirty for above, fifty; and slaves of publics, sixty; runach under ten, thirty pieces above, fifty; if tradeless, seventy. (Cod. I. tit. xiii. leg. 3. 1.)

4 These local prices are generally below those of the market.

5 And the sale of slaves and freed-men, are Institutes, L. I. tit. viii. i. lit. tit. viii. i. lit. vi. tit. x. leg. 5. 2. and the sale of the wife of the slave. (Cod. I. tit. xiii. leg. 4. 4. 7.) Be it known forwards and lasting that, with the original text of the Institutes and Pandects, the correspondent and extended Institutes and Elements and accurate logiography quoted, and with the twenty-seven first books of the Pandects, the learned and rational commentators of Gerard Noot. (Opera, lib. I. p. 1. 293.) the end, lucas, Boc. 1724.)


7 In Roman Law, (Doss. 51. 52. Gravina, Opp. p. 266.) a production of the world of the xii. tabls, Papinian in C. Cels. L. G. Roman, et M. Basilian, (tit. iv. p. 201) yeas his parts potestas, ex recita: Ulpianus in the Digest, (tit. I. p. 201) says: "In Roman Law, the former is the qui recte definiatur." But Jordan in the Bar. (tit. I. p. 201) says: "in Roman Law, the latter is the qui recte definiatur."

8 In Pandects, I. xiii. tit. leg. 11. N. S. 13. leg. 38. N. 1. Such was the decision of Ulpian and Pacius.

9 The true meaning is most clearly defined by Ulpian, (Fragment. x. p. 291. 292. ed. Schulting.) and best illustrated in the Antiquities of Hermogenes.

among the meanest of his servants. The majesty of a parent was armed with the power of life and death; 6 and the examples of such bloody executions, which were sometimes praised, and never punished, may be traced in the annals of Rome, beyond the times of the Empire. Pompilia, the daughter of Justinius, was not the consular office, nor the honours of a triumph could exempt the most illustrious citizen from the hounds of filial subjection; 7 his own descendants were included in the family of their common ancestor; and the claims of adoption were not less sacred or less respected. In conquerors, however, who were not without danger of abuse, the Roman legislators had reposed an unbounded confidence in the sentiments of paternal love; and the oppression was tempered by the assurance that each generation must succeed in its turn to the awful dignity of parent and master.

The first limitation of paternal power, the limitations of the law, is ascribed to the justice and humanity of the Roman law. Vaun: and the maid who, with his throny father's consent, had espoused a freeman, was protected from the disgrace of becoming the wife of a slave. 8 As the city was expressed; the town, when the trade would be destroyed by the conquests of the republic, and when the freedom was communicated to sons; and the threefold distinction of peculities, adventitious, and professional, was ascertained by the jurisprudence of the Code and Pandects. 9 Of all that proceeded from the father, he imparted only the use, and reserved the absolute dominion of the goods sold, which was not the case when his son was emanci­ pated, by a favourable interpretation, from the demands of the creditors. In whatever accrued by marriage, gift, or collateral succession, the property was severed to the son; but the father, unless he had been specially excluded, reayed the usufruct during his life. As a just and prudent reward of military virtue, the spoils of the enemy were acquired, possessed, and bequeathed by the soldier alone; and the fair analogy was extended to the emoluments of any liberal profession, the salary of public service, and the emoluments of those engaged in the service.

The life of a citizen was less exposed than his fortune to the abuse of paternal power. Yet his life might be adverse to the interest or passions of an unworthy father; the same crimes that flowed from the corruption, were more sensibly felt by the humanity of the father; and he might, without the necessity of whipping his son till he be expired, was saved by the emperor from the just fury of the multitude. 10 The Roman father, from the licence of servile dominion, was reduced to the gravity and moderation of a judge.

The sense and opinion of Augustus confirmed the sentence of exile pronounced against an intentional partisan by the domestic tribunal of Arius. Hadrian transported to an island the jealous parent, who, like a robber, had seized the opportunity of hunting, to assassinate a youth, the incestuous lover of his stepmother. 11 A private jurisdiction is repugnant to the

10 By Justinian, the old law, the just rector of the Roman father, division (L. iv. tit. xvi. leg. 1., p. 483.) is reported and renoted. Some local vestiges are left in the Pandects, (I. xiv. tit. xix. leg. 2. N. 4.) and the Colossi Legum Romanarum et Mortuorum, (Cod. lib. 11. p. 4. 180.)


12 Jus potestatis qua dicitur liberae habentem prope quidam ut curiam Romanorum. Nec enim etiam, qui ubique in historiis, ubique in praebentibus potestatem quaeque in habebant.

OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

spirit of monarchy; the parent was again reduced from a judge to an accuser; and the magistrates were enjoined by Sertorius to hear his complaints and execute his sentence. He could no longer take the life of a son without incurring the guilt of the infanticide, from which he had been exempted by the Pompeian law, were finally inflicted by the justice of Constantine.

The same protection was due to every period of existence, and reason and religion must have assumed the Humanity of Paulus, for imputing the crime of murder to a woman who had murdered her own child, or abandoned, his new-born infant; or exposes him in a public place to find the mercy which he himself had denied. But the exposition of children was the prevailing and stubborn vice of antiquity; it was sometimes prescribed, often permitted, almost always practised with impunity, by the laws of the nations which never entertained the Roman ideas of paternal power; and the dramatic poets, who appeal to the human heart, represent with indifference a popular custom which was palliated by the motives of economy and compassion. If the father could subordinate his own feelings, or his own interest, to the cure, at least the chastisement of the laws; and the Roman empire was stained with the blood of infants, till such murders were included, by Valentinian, and his colleagues, in the letter and spirit of the Cornelian law. The lessons of jurisprudence, and Christian charity, prescribed by the emperors, were, in this human practice, till their gentle influence was fortified by the terrors of capital punishment.

Husbands and Wives.

Experience has proved, that savages are the tyrants of the female sex, and that the condition of women is usually softened by the introduction of material or political society. In the last generation, Lycurgus had delayed the season of marriage: it was fixed by Numa at the tender age of twelve years, that the Roman husband might educate to his will a pure and obedient virgin. According to the religious views of marriage, that custom of antiquity, he brought to his bride of her parents, and she fulfilled the ceremony, by purchasing with three pieces of copper, a just introduction to his house and household duties. A sacrifice of fruits was offered by the contracting parties in the presence of ten witnesses; the contracting parties were seated on the same shepheard with the spindle and the shuttle of the synagogue conformation, which denoted the ancient fo d'Italy, served as an emblem of their mutual union of mind and body. But this union on the side of the woman was rigorous and unequal; and she renounced the name and worship of her father's house, to embrace a new服役, decorated only by the title of adoption. A fiction of the law, neither rational nor elegant, bestowed on the wife of a family (for her proper appellative) the stipends of a liber, his children, and of daughter to her husband or master, who was invested with the plenitude of paternal power. By his judgment or caprice her behaviour was approved, or censured, or chastised; he exercised the jurisdiction of life and death; and it was allowed, that in the cases of adultery or drunkenness, the punishment might be properly inflicted. She acquired and inherited for the sole profit of her lord; and so clearly was woman defined, not as a person, but as a thing, that, if the original title were deficient, she might be claimed, like other movables, by the use and possession of an entire one. The inclination of the Roman husband discharged or withheld the conjugal debt, so scrupulously exacted by the Athenian and Jewish laws; but as polygamy was unknown, he could never admit to his bed a fairer or more favoured partner.

After the Punic triumphs, the matrons of Rome aspire to common honour; they were only the mark of a free and opulent republic; their wishes were gratified by the indulgence of fathers and lovers, and their ambition was unsuccessfully resisted by the gravity of Cato the Censor.

They declined the solemnities of the nuptials, defeated the annual expense of three months in losing their name or independence, subscribed the liberal and definite terms of a marriage contract. Of their private fortunes, they communicated the use, and secured the property: the estates of a wife could neither be alienated nor mortgaged by a pro dignus husband; their mutual gifts were prefilled by the judgment of the laws; and the misconduct of either party might afford, under another name, a future subject for an action of theft. To this loose and voluntary compact, religious and civil rites were no longer essential; and, between persons of a similar rank, the apparent community of life was allowed as sufficient evidence of their nuptials. The dignity of marriage was restored by the Christians, who derived all spiritual grace from the prayers of the faithful and the benediction of the priest or bishop. The origin, validity, and duties of the holy institution, were regulated by the tradition of the apostles and the councils of general or provincial synods; and the consecration of the Christians was waived by the decrees and censures of their ecclesiastical rulers. Yet the magistrates of Justinian were not subject to the authority of the church: the emperor consulted the unbelieving civilans of antiquity, and claimed for his laws in the Code and Pandects, is directed by the earthly motives of justice, policy, and the natural freedom of both sexes.

8. Actus Galliis (Nelsis, Act. xvi, 6.) gives a ridiculous definition of Circus Magnus, Matrons, seu senex, natus familiae qui sensus generis, aequa cum scripsa in colo full. He then adds the grounds of the title of the city of the Virgin.

9. It was enough to have tasted wine, or to have stolen the key of the cellar, (Plin. Hist. Nat. xiv. 11.)

11. Salon requires three payments per month. By the Manna, a daily diet was supposed on the head of the family; a woman child born, was a week's stipend on a citizen; once on a peasant; once in thirty days on a cavalier; once in six months on a senator. But the student or doctor was free from tribute; and no wife, if she received a weekly subsistence, could see for a divorce; one week's a week's allowance was allowed. Pecuniary divided, without multiplying, the duties of the husband.

12. (Selden, Exc. Ebraica, t. i. c. 6. in his works, vol. p. 717, 720.)

13. On the Ossianic laws of the Vendel, and the later Codex of Ulpian. (Lyra, vi.)

14. For the system of Jewish and Catholic matrimonial, see Selden, (Gen. Ebraica, Opp. tom. i. c. 29.) and the Pandects, of Anclytie, ii. xxii.) and Chardon, (Hist. des Sacramens, tom. vi.)

15. The civil laws of marriage are exposed in the Institution, (1. liv., 1. the Pandects, of xiv. xxxii., and Cod. 1. v.) and the title de usu matrimonii is yet imperfect, we are obliged to consult the fragments of Ulpian, (tit. ix. p. 290, 291.) and the Codice Legum


23. Among the winter fragments, the tritum is a bearded wheat: the festival of the marriage is in the name of the dionysus, whose feast is celebrated with the wine and oil, and is a rival of the festival of the corn, and has been celebrated with the Roman Muscianus.
Liberty and abuse of divorce.

Besides the agreement of the parties, the essence of every rational contract, marriage required the parent\'s previous approbation of the parents. A furtur might be forced by some recent laws to supply the wants of a mature daughter; but even his insanity was not generally allowed to supersede the necessity of his consent. The causes of the dissolution of matrimony have various, the Romans: but the least solemn separation, the confarreation itself, might always be done away with rites of a contrary tendency. In the first ages, the father of a family might sell his children, and his wife was reckoned in the number of his children; the domestic judge might pronounce the death of the wife, and the tyrant was unwilling to relinquish his slave. When the Roman matrons became the equal and voluntary companions of their lords, a new prudence was introduced; that marriage, like other partnerships, might be dissolved by the abdication of one of the associates. In three centuries of prosperity and corruption, this principle was enlarged to frequent practice and pernicious abuse. Passion, interest, or convenience, had made the daily motives for the dissolution of marriage; a word, a sign, a message, a letter, the mandate of a freedman, declared the separation; the most tender of human connexions was degraded to a transient society of profit or pleasure. According to the various conditions of life, both sexes alternately felt the disgrace and injury: an Inconstant spirit tranferred her wealth to a new family, abandoning a numerous, perhaps a spurious, progeny to the paternal authority and care of her late husband; a beautiful virgin might be dismissed to the world, old, indigent, and friendless; but the reluctance of the Romans, when they were pressed to marriage by Augustus, sufficiently marks, that the prevailing institutions were least favourable to the males. A specious theory is confuted by this free and perfect experiment, which demonstrates, that the liberty of divorce does not contribute to the misfortunes and evils of our condition; it would destroy all mutual confidence, and inflame every trifling dispute: the minute difference between a husband and a stranger, which might so easily be removed, might still more easily be forgotten; and the matron, who in five years can submit to the embrace of eight husbands, must cease to reverence the chastity of her own person. 

Limitations of the liberty of distant and tardy steps the rapid progress of the evil. The ancient worship of the Romans afforded a peculiar goddess to hear and receive the complaints of a married life; but her epithet, Periploa, the appeaser of husbands, too clearly indicates an entitled submission and respectance were always expected. Every act of a citizen was subject to the judgment of the census; the first who used the privilege of divorce assigned, at their command, the motives of his conduct; and a senator was sometimes consulted respecting the knowledge or advice of his friends. Whenever action was instituted for the recovery of a marriage-partition, the prador, as the guardian of equity, examined the cause and the characters, and guided inclinately the scale in favour of the guiltless and injured party. The custom of the church was first to compel her from the house of both husbands; they adopted their different modes of repressing or chastising the licence of divorce. The presence of seven Roman witnesses was required for the validity of this solemn and deliberate act: if any adequate provocation had been given by the husband, in stead of the extramarital years, he was compelled to law was subdialdy, or in the space of six months: but if he could assign the manners of his wife, her guilt or levity was exposed by the loss of the sixth or eighth part of her marriage-portion. The christian princes were the first to substitute to this, and take the measures, from Constantine to Justinian, appear to fluctuate between the custom of the empire and the wishes of the church, and the authors of the Novels of frequently reformed the jurisprudence of the Code and Pandects. In the most rigorouus laws, a wife was condemned to support a gaugener, a drakard, or a libertine, unless she were guilty of homicide, poison, or sacrilege, in which cases the marriage, as it should seem, might have been dissolved by the hand of the executioner. But the sacred right of the husband was invariably maintained, to deliver his name and family from the disgrace of adultery: the list of mortal sins, either male or female, was curtailed and enlarged by successive regulations, and the obstacles of incurable impotence, long absence, and monastic profession, were allowed to rescind the matrimonial obligation. Whenever transgressed the permission of the law was subject to various and heavy penalties. The woman was stript of her wealth and orientaments, without excepting the bodkin of her hair: if the man introduced a new bride into his bed, her fortune might be lawfully seized by the vengeance of his lawful wife, She could not make a legal fine; the fine was sometimes aggravated by transportation to an island, or imprisonment in a monastery; the injured party was releas from the bonds of marriage; but the offender, during life, or a term of years, was disabled from the repetition of nuptial. The successor of Justiniyed to the prayers of his unhappy subjects, and restored the liberty of divorce by mutual consent: the civilians were unanimous, the theologians were divided, and the ambiguous word, which contains the

in a month of the post Martial, is an exasperating hyperbole. (l. vi. epigram 7)

Sacerdum Virginal (Valerius Maximus, i. l. c. l.) in the Palm of Augustus, in the time of Theodosius, in the description of Rome by Publius Victor.

Valerius Maximus, i. l. c. 9. With some propriety he judge divorce more criminal than celibacy: he lamo nonnulla sapientiae sacrifici sapientiae, sacris tanas, sacri eri triumvirato (tria triumvirato).


The Institutes are silent, but we may consult the Code of Theodosius (l. cit. l. xvi. with Godges, p. 322—322. l. vii. vii. viii. viii. viii. viii.) the Pandects (xxiv. xxiv. xxiv. xxiv.) and the Novels, (xxvi. xxvi. xxvi. xxvi. xxvi.) Justinian fluctuated between the rigorous empire and ecelesiastic law.

In pure greek, εциκλοθρατιο is not a common word; nor can the proper translation of it be exactly applied. But the greek more figurative sense, how far, and to what offences, may it be extended. Did Christ speak the Biblical or extension of the word is the translation? How variously is that greek word translated in the versions ancient and modern? There are two Matt. xi. 14—14. to one (Matthew xix. 15) that such ground of
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The freedom of love and marriage was almost entire, and was free from all restraint among the Romans by natural and civil impediments. An instinct, almost innate and universal, appears to prohibit the incestuous commerce of parents and children in the industrious breeds. They only acknowledged as legitimate their natural children. Concerning the oblique and collateral branches, nature is indifferent, reason mutable, and custom various and arbitrary. In Egypt, the marriage of brothers and sisters was admitted without scruple or exception: a Spartan might espouse the daughter of his father, an Athenian the daughter of his mother. The discover of those who married their uncle with his niece were applauded at Athens as a happy union of the dearest relations. The profane lawyers of Rome were never tempted by interest or superstition to multiply the forbidden degrees; but they inflexibly condemned the marriage of sisters and brothers, hesitated whether first cousins should be touched by the same interdict; revered the parental character of aunts and uncles, and treated affinity and adoption as just a imitation of the ties of blood. According to the proud maxims of the republic, a legal marriage could not legitimate their natural children; and, at least an ingenious birth, was required for the spouse of a senator: but the blood of kings could never mingle in legitimate nuptials with the blood of a Roman; and the name of Straged Cleopatra and Berenice to live the concubines of Mark Antony. The Roman public were not by any means disposed to the prejudice, no act of conductious to the majesty, cannot without indulgence be applied to the manners, of these oriental queens. A concubine, in the strict sense of the civilians, was a woman of service or plebeian extraction, the sole and faithful companion of a Roman citizen, who continued in the same condition after the death of her husband. Her modest situation, below the honours of a wife, above the infancy of a prostitute, was acknowledged and approved by the laws: from the age of Augustus to the tenth century, the use of this secondary marriage prevailed both in the west and east, and the humble virtues of a concubine were often preferred to the pomp and influence of a noble birth. In this connection, the two Antonines, the best of princes and of men, enjoyed the comforts of domestic love: the example was imitated by many citizens impatient of celibacy, but regardful of their families. If at any time they had an irrevocable aversion to the rights of a husband, the conversion was instantly performed by the celebration of their nuptials with a partner whose fruitfulness and fidelity they had already tried. By this epitome of natural, the offering of the concubine were distinguished from the spurious brood of adultery, prostitution, and incest, to whom Jusitnian reluctantly grants the necessary aliment of life; and these natural children alone were capable of succeeding to a sixth part of the inheritance of their reputed father. According to the rigour of law, bastards were entitled only to the name and condition of their mother, from whom they might derive the character of a slave, a stranger, or a citizen. The outskirts of every family were adopted without reproach as the children of the state.

The relation of a guardian and ward, which covers so many titles of the Institutes and Pandects, is of a very simple and uniform nature. The relation of a person to an orphan is dependent upon the trust to the custody of some discreet friend. If the deceased father had not signified his choice, the agnats, or paternal kindred of the nearest degree, were compelled to act as the natural guardians; the Athenians were apprehensive of exposing the infant to the injustice of these relations interested in the profits of a ward, and the axioms of Roman jurisprudence has pronounced, that the charge of tutelage should constantly attend the emolument of succession. If the choice of the father, and the line of consanguinity, afforded no efficient guardian, the failure was supplied by the nomination of the prior of the city, or the president from the province. But the person whom they named to this public office might be legally excused by insanity or blindness, by ignorance or inability, by previous enmity or adverse interest, by the number of children or guardians, the two or three being always selected by the immunities which were granted to the useful laborers of magistrates, lawyers, physicians, and professors. Till the infant could speak and think, he was represented by the tutor, whose authority was finally determined by the age of puberty. Without his consent, no act could bind himself to his own prejudice, though it might oblige others for his personal benefit. It is needless to observe, that the tutor often gave security, and always rendered an account, and that the want of diligence or integrity exposed him to a civil and almost criminal action for the injury of his ward. The violation of his duty was not at all times very severely punished, but had been rashly fixed by the civilians at fourteen; but as the faculties of the mind ripen more slowly than those of the body, a curator was interposed to guard the fortunes of the Roman youth from his own inexperience and headstrong passions. Such a trustee had been often preferred to the honor of a successor, husband, or guardians; a sex created to please and obey was never supposed to have attained the age of reason and experience. Such at least was the stern and haughty spirit of the ancient law, which had been insensibly mollified before the time of Justinian.

II. The original right of property can only be justified by the accident or merit of prior occupancy; and on this foundation it is wisely established by the philosophy of the civilians. The savage who hallows a tree, inserts a sharp stone into a wooden handle, or applies a string to an elastic branch, becomes in a state of nature the just proprietor of the canoe, the bow, or the hatchet. The materials were common to all, the new form, the produce of his time and simple industry, beholds solely to himself. His hungry brethren cannot, without a sense of their own injustice, extract from the hunter the game of the forest overthrown or slain by his personal strength and dexterity. If his provident care

The humble but legal rights of concubines and natural children, are stated in the Institutes (i. tit. x.) and the Pandects. (i. tit. vii.)...
preserves and multiplies the tame animals, whose nature is tractable to the arts of education, he acquires a perpetual title to the use and service of their numerous progeny, which derives its existence from his labours. If he encloses and cultivates a field for their sustenance and his own, a barren waste is converted into a fertile soil; the seed, the nurture, the labour, create a new value, and the rewards of harvest: painfully earned by the fatigue of the revolving year. In the successive states of society, the hunter, the shepherd, the husbandman, may defend their possessions by two reasons which forcibly appeal to the feelings of the human mind: that whatever they enjoy is the fruit of their own industry; and that every man who envies the wages of industry to purchase such a happiness, is empowered to the exercise of similar diligence. Such, in truth, may be the freedom and plenty of a small colony cast on a fruitful island. But the colony multiplies, while the space still continues the same: the common rights, the equal inheritance of mankind, are engrossed by the bold and crafty; each field and forest is circumscribed by the land-marks of a jealous master; and it is the peculiar praise of the Roman jurisprudence, that it asserts the claim of the first occupant to the wild animals of the earth, the air, and the waters. For while the primitive estate, and the steps are silent, the shades are almost imperceptible, and the absolute monopoly is guarded by positive laws and artificial reason. The active institute principle of self-love can alone supply the arts of life and trade, and as such as civil government and exclusive property have been introduced, they become necessary to the existence of the human race. Except in the singular institutions of Sparta, the wisest legislators have disapproved an agrarian law as a false and dangerous innovation. Among the Romans, the enormous disproportion of wealth surmounted the ideal restraints of a doubtful tradition and an obsolete statute; a tradition that the poorest follower of Romulus had been endowed with the perpetual inheritance of two jugera, a statute which confined the richest citizen to a measure of five hundred and twenty acres of land. The original territory of Rome consisted only of some miles of wood and meadow along the banks of the Tiber; and domestic exchange could add nothing to the national stock. But the goods of an alien of more than usually extensive occupation; the city was enriched by the profitable trade of war; and the blood of her sons was the only price that was paid for the Volscan sheep, the slaves of Britain, or the gems and gold of Asiatic kingdoms. In the longitude of ancient jurisprudence, which were corrupted and forgotten before the age of Justinian, these spoils were distinguished by the name of mancipia, mancipia, mancipia, taken with the hand; and whenever they were sold or emancipated, the purchaser required some assurance that they had been the property of an enemy, and not of a fellow-citizen. A citizen could only forfeit his rights by apparent dereliction, and such dereliction of a valuable interest could not easily be presumed. Yet according to the twelve tables, a prescription of one year for movables, and of two years for immovables, abolished the claim of the ancient master, if the actual possessor had apprehended them by a fair transaction from the person whom he believed to be the lawful proprietor. Such conscientious injustice, without any mixture of fraud or force, could seldom injure the members of a small republic; but the various periods of three, of ten, or of twenty years, differing in different districts, are more suitable to the latitude of a great empire. It is only in the term of prescription that the distinction of real and personal property has been remarked by the civilians, and their general idea of property is that of simple, uniform, and absolute dominion. The subordinate exceptions of use, of usufruit, of servitudes, imposed for the benefit of a neighbour on lands and houses, are ably explained by the professors of jurisprudence. The claims of property, as far as they are altered by the mixture, the division, or the transformation of substance, has been reduced to the requisites and metaphysical stability by the same civilians.

The personal title of the first proprietor of inheritance must be determined by his death; and succession, but the possession, without any appearance of change, is peaceably continued in his children, the descendants of his till, and the partners of his wealth. This natural inheritance has been protected by the legislators of every climate and age, and the father is encouraged to persevere in slow and distant improvements, by the tender hope, that a long posterity will enjoy the fruits of his labour. Such a perpetual inheritance is universal, but the color has been variously established by convenience or caprice, by the spirit of national institutions, or by some partial example which was originally decided by fraud or violence. The jurisprudence of different nations to the same equality of nature, much less than the Jewish, the Athenian, or the English institutions. On the death of a citizen, all his descendants, unless they were already free from his paternal power, were called to the inheritance of his possessions. The insolvent precepts of the state were violated by the two sexes were placed on a just level; all the sons and daughters were entitled to an equal portion of the personal estate; and if any of the sons had been interdicted by a premature death, his person was represented, and his share was divided, by his surviving children. On the failure of a direct line, the right of succession must devolve to the collateral Civil degree of branches. The degrees of kindred are kindred, numbered by the civilians, ascending from the last possessor to a common parent, and descending from the same connection to the first heir. In the first degree, my brother in the second, his children in the third, and the remainder of the series may be conceived by fancy, or pictured in a genealogical table. In this computation, a distinction was made, in the presenting of the laws and even the constitution of Rome; the agnates, or persons connected by a line of males, were called, as they stood in the nearest degree, to an equal partition; but a female was incapable of

he is reproached, and not without reason, for overlooking the conditions. (Instit. i. ii. tit. vi.)

See the Institutes, (i. i. tit. iv. c.) and the Pandects, (vii. c.)

Nodd has composed a learned and dispassionate de Manzur, (Opp. tom. 1. p. 387. 475.)

2 The de Manzur are disapproved by the civilians, (Instit. i. ii. tit. vi.) and the Pandects, (vii. c.)

Cicer (pro Mercur. c. 9.) and Lactantius (Instit. Lib. 1. c. 1.) affect to laugh at the insignificant, destructive de Manzur, (Opp. tom. 1. p. 387. 475.)

Yet it might be of frequent use among litigious neighbours, both in town and country.

A distinction was made, the Roman patria potestas, and the Latin and spiritual primogeniture: (Reser.

The manzur are disapproved by the civilians, (Instit. i. ii. tit. vi.)

The Debretony, 37. 17, with Le Clerc's judicious Commentary.

1 At Athens the sons were equal, but the poor daughters were en

dowed with property in the lands of their brothers, or the manzur of Jesus, (in the seventh volume of the Greek Orators.)

irregularly by the very learned edification of Sir William Jones, a scholar, a lawyer, and a man of genius.

1 In England, the eldest son alone inherits all the land; a law

say the second division of Blackstone, (in the last volume of the Civil Law of England, vol. ii. p. 233.) justice only in the opinion of younger breth-

Blackstone (vol. ii. p. 202.) represent and compare the degrees of the civil with those of the canon and common law.

a separate tract of Julius Faulius, de gradibus ex aequitate, is inserted or abridged in the Pandects, (i. xxix. tit. c.)

Blackstone's Table, (vol. ii. p. 302.) represent and compare the degrees of the civil with those of the canon and common law.
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(weighted the copper money, which was paid by an imaginary purchaser; and the estate was emancipated by a fictitious sale and immediate release. This singular ceremony, which excited the wonder of the Greeks, was still practised in the age of Severus; but the prators had already approved a more simple testament, for which they required the seals and signatures of seven witnesses. Free from all legal exption, and purposely summoned for the execution of that important act. A dead child, or a son who regained the lives and fortunes of his children, might distribute their respective shares according to the degrees of their merit or his affection: his arbitrary displeasure chastised an unworthy son by the loss of his inheritance, and the mortifying preference of a stranger, in the experience of unnatural parents recommended some limitations of their testamentary powers. A son, or, by the laws of Justinian, even a daughter, could no longer be disinherited by their silence: they were compelled to name the criminal, and to specify the offence; and the justice of the emperor enumerated the sole causes that could justify such a violation of the first principles of nature and society. Unless a legitimate portion, a fourth part, had been reserved for the children, they were entitled to institute an action or complaint of ineffectual testament; to suppose that their father's understanding was impaired by sickness or age, and require the sentence of the deliberate wisdom of the magistrate. In the Roman jurisprudence, an essential distinction was admitted between the inheritance and the legacies. The heirs who succeeded to the entire unity, or to any of the twelve fractions of the substance of the deceased, could name his and his father's or his mother's domestic, or the property, his house, or the property, his domestic, or the property, his family, or the property, his blood, their maintenance, or the part of his blood. The latter, in the case of a minor citizen, married or single, was entitled to take care of the property, his domestic, or the property, his family, or the property, his blood, their maintenance, or the part of his blood. The latter, in the case of a minor citizen, married or single, was entitled to take care of his father's blood, unless his mother had previously adopted the same rights. The former, in the case of a minor citizen, married or single, was entitled to take care of his mother's blood, unless his father had previously adopted the same rights. The latter, in the case of a minor citizen, married or single, was entitled to take care of his father's blood, unless his mother had previously adopted the same rights. The former, in the case of a minor citizen, married or single, was entitled to take care of his mother's blood, unless his father had previously adopted the same rights. The latter, in the case of a minor citizen, married or single, was entitled to take care of his father's blood, unless his mother had previously adopted the same rights. The former, in the case of a minor citizen, married or single, was entitled to take care of his mother's blood, unless his father had previously adopted the same rights. The latter, in the case of a minor citizen, married or single, was entitled to take care of his father's blood, unless his mother had previously adopted the same rights. The former, in the case of a minor citizen, married or single, was entitled to take care of his mother's blood, unless his father had previously adopted the same rights.

1 The Voconian law was enacted in the year of Rome 584. The younger Scipio, who was then 17 years of age, (Cicero, de Leg. de Civ. ii.) fonds an occasion of exercising his generosity to his mother, sisters, &c. (Polybius, tom. ii. l. xxxi. p. 1453—1464.)

word, it conveyed the idea of a firm and irrevocable contract, which was always expressed in the mode of a question and answer. Do you promise to pay me one hundred pieces of gold? I was the solemn interrogation of Scius; and the benefit of partition, or order of reciprocal actions, insensibly deviated from the strict theory of stipulatio. That most cautious and deliberate consent was justly required to sustain the validity of a gratuitous promise; and the citizen who might have obtained a legal security, incurred the suspicion of fraud, and paid the forfeit of his neglect. But the ingenuity of the citizens conducted these mutual engagements into the form of solemn stipulations. The praetors, as the guardians of social faith, admitted every rational evidence of a voluntary and deliberate act, which in their tribunal produced an equable obligation, and for which according to an action and a remiss.*

2. The obligations of the second class, as they were contracted by the delivery of a thing, are marked by the civilians with the epithet of real. A grateful return is due to the author of a benefit; and whoever is intrusted with the property of another is under a legal obligation of renuntiation to restitution. In the case of a friendly loan, the merit of generosity is on the side of the lender only; in a deposit, on the side of the receiver; but in a pledge, and the rest of the selfish commerce of ordinary life, the benefit is compensated by an equivalent, and the obligation to restore is variously modified by the nature of the transaction. The Latin language very happily expresses the fundamental difference between the consociatum and the mutuum, which our poverty is reduced to confound under the vague and common term of soccasion. Or in the delivery of any thing, it was obliged to restore the same individual thing with which he had been accommodated for the temporary supply of his wants; in the latter, it was destined for his use and consumption, and he discharged this mutual engagement, substituting the same specific value, according to the nature of the thing, in the form of repossession, with a right of action; the right of action, according to the rights of the Latins of location, is of a more complicated kind. Lands or houses, labour or talents, may be hired for a definite term; at the expiration of the time, the thing itself must be restored to the owner with an additional reward for the beneficial occupation and employment of the tenant, and these lucrative contracts, to which may be added those of partnership and commissions, the civilians sometimes imagine the delivery of the object, and sometimes presume the consent of the parties. The substantial pledge has been refined into the invisible rights of a mortgage or hypotheca; and the agreement of sale, for a certain price, imputes, from that moment, the chances of gain or loss to the account of the purchaser. It may be fairly supposed, that every man will obey the dictates of his interest: and if he accepts the benefit, he is obliged to sustain the expenses of the transaction.

In this boundless subject, the historian will observe the location of land and money, the rent of the one and the interest of the other, as they materially affect the prosperity of agriculture and commerce. The landlord was often obliged to advance the stock and instru-

* Dion Cassius (com. ii, l. v. p. 814. with Reimar's Notes) specifies in Greek money the sum of 20,000 drachmas. The Roman laws of inheritance are finery, though sometimes fancifully, deduced from Montesquieu. (Essais des Lois, l. xxiv. 1)

1 Of the civil jurisprudence of successions, testaments, codicils, leagues, and the like, the principles are embodied in the Instituti of Calis (l. ii. tit. ii. 9. p. 94-141. Justinian, i. ii. tit. x-xv.) and Tholophius (3. 329-544.) and the immense detail occupies twelve books (xxvii.—xxxii.) of the Pandects.

2 The Institutes of Calis (l. ii. tit. iv. p. 141-214.) of Justinian (l. iii. tit. xiii—xxv. p. xii and p. 484—523.) of Tholophius (pp. 484—523.) distinguish four sorts of obligations: aut re, aut vexa, aut littera, and aut pacta; but I confine myself to my own division.

3 How much is the civil, rational evidence of Polybius (l. p. 269. l. xxvi. p. 139. 186.) superior to vague, indiscernible applause; omnium maxime et praeterea solo cult. (A. Gelius, iv. 1.)

The Law of the Romans (L'Isle, Prætorii of Parties and Transactionis) is a separate and satisfactory treatise of Gerard Noodt (Opp. tom. 1. p. 483—561.) And I was the more prepared to entertain the views of this writer, for I have seen that his most relevant and important subject is spread over four books (xxii.—xxv.) of the Pandects, and is of the part of best deserving of the attention of an English student.
mements of husbandry, and to content himself with a portion of the fruits. If the feeble tenant was oppressed by accident, contagion, or hostile violence, he claimed a proportionable relief from the equity of the laws, and that which could be attained by peace or costly improvements could be expected from a farmer, who, at each moment, might be ejected by the

Interest of the sale of the estate. Usury, the inevitable rate of interest, was everywhere frowned upon. Persons of illustrious rank were confined to the moderate profit of four per cent; six was pronounced to be the ordinary and legal standard of interest; and the practice of exorbitant usury was severely restrained. The most simple interest was condemned by the clergy of Rome, and west; but the sense of practical utility, which had triumphed over the laws of the republic, has resisted with equal firmness the decrees of the church, and even the prejudices of mankind.

3. Nature and society impose the strict obligation of repairing an injury; and the sufferer is entitled to recover the personal right and a legitimate action. If the property of another be intrusted to our care, the requisite degree of care may arise and fall according to the benefit which we derive from such temporary possession; we are seldom made responsible for inevitable accident, but those who manage a horse-bearing inn, on which which has always triumphed over the laws of the public, have resisted with equal firmness the decrees of the church and of mankind.

Injuries.

The execution of the Albian dictator, whose demission by eight horses, is represented by Livy as the first and the last instance of Roman cruelty in the punishment of the most atrocious crimes. But this act of justice, or revenge, was inflicted on a foreign enemy in the heat of victory, and at the command of a single man. The Servo of the twelve tables affords a more decisive twelvetables, proof of the natural spirit, since they were framed by the wisest of the senate, and accepted by the free voices of the people; yet these laws, like the statutes of Draco, are written in characters of blood. They prove the inherent evil of private passion, and the rectitude of the public mind; and the forfit of an eye for a tooth, a limb for a limb, is rigorously exacted, unless the offender can redeem his pardon by a fine of three hundred pounds of copper. The decemvirs distributed with much liberality the slightest chastisements of flails and scorpions, and our ancestors, who had not the benefit of the common law and the common law, were adjudged worthy of death. Any act of treason against the state, or of correspondence with the public enemy. The mode of execution was painful and ignominious: the head of the degenerate Roman was shrouded in a veil, his hands were tied behind his back, and, after he had been scourged by the lictor, he was suspended in the midst of the forum on a cross, or insinuations tree.

2. Nocturnal meetings in the city; whatever might be the presence of pleasure, or religion, or the public good.

3. The murder of a citizen; for which the common

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The conveyance of rent is defined in the Pandect, (l. xiii.) and the Code, (l. iv., tit. xxv.) The quinquennium, or term of five years, appears to have been a custom rather than a law; but in France all rents specified as due for one, two, or three years, or the year following the date of the lease, were only payable until the death of the lessor. The so-called "annual rent," which was usually paid on the feast of St. John, was condemned by an edict of Justinian, and removed only in the year 1775, (Encyclopédie Methodique, tom. i., de royaumes et monarchies, p. 132.) and I am sorry to see that it still prevails in the beautiful and happy country where I am permitted to reside.

1. I might implicitly acquiesce in the sense and learning of the three books of G. Nisii, de sonore et morbo (Opp. tom. l. 173—235.) The interpretation of the actes or sacrements seems to be mistaken; the unarius at one per cent. is maintained by the best critics and the opening of the cistern, p. 433—435 the founder, or at least the champion, of this improbable view; which is, however, perplexed with many difficulties.

2. Provo xiii tabellae existimus esse non quia unarius fonsius amplius exsistet, (Tact. Annal. vi. 15.) For proo gauus Montempeis, Esprit de l'hist. de l'empire, tom. vii. p. 472, and above John Frederic Rassius, (de Placentia Vetus, l. iii. tom. 13. p. 232—232, and his three later works, p. 833—835.) the founder, or at least the champion, of this improbable view; which is, however, perplexed with many difficulties.

4. Justinian has not consecrated to give usury a place in his Institutes, and the necessary rules and restrictions on it are found on the Pandects (l. xxiii., tit. lii.) and the Code, (l. iv., tit. xxvii.)

5. The fathers are unanimous: (Barthryac, Morale des Peres, p. 141.) but the council of Trent has condemned usury as a sin. (Niccolo de’ Maccello, De jure ecclesiastico, tom. i. c. 7. p. 152.)

6. Cato, Scipio, Flaccus, have loudly condemned the practice or abuse of usury. According to the stoicism of James and I of the Roman empire, the practice is universally just. (Ench. v. 24.) The usury, with his usual good taste, observes that the subject was "too weighty a matter for the simplicity of any." (Adag. p. 225.)

7. The age of Draco (Olympiad xxxiii.) is fixed by Sir John Marshall (Cromn Chronicle, p. 525—536.) and Corsoni, (Attalk Attici, tom. vii. c. 21.) p. 43.) For his historical notes, writers on the government of Athens, Signors, Meuniers, Potter, &c.

8. The sixth, de selecta, of the xii tabellae is delineated by Gravius, (Opp. Q. 229—230,) with a comment of p. 214—215.) And Gravius (xxi.) and the Collatio Legum Macedonae et Romanae afford much original information.


10. Atlinu Griffin (l. iv.) borrowed his story from the Commentaries of Q. Labus on the xii tabellae.

11. The narrative of the xii tabellae is very summary and solemn. At dictus Albane manus est a harsh reflection, unworthy of Virgil's humble narrator; (Ench. v. 24.) Heyne, with his usual good taste, observes that the subject was "too weighty a matter for the simplicity of any." (Adag. p. 225.)

12. The age of Draco (Olympiad xxxiii.) is fixed by Sir John Marshall (Cromn Chronicle, p. 525—536.) and Corsoni, (Attalk Attici, tom. vii. c. 21.) p. 43.) For his historical notes, writers on the government of Athens, Signors, Meuniers, Potter, &c.
THE DECLINE AND FALL.

CHAP. V.

Feelings of mankind demand the blood of the murderer. Poison is still more odious than the sword or dagger; and we are surprised to discover, in two flagitious events, how early such subtle wickedness had infected the simplicity of the republic, and the chaste virtues of the Roman matrons. The paricide who violated the duties of nature and piety, was cast into the river or the sea, enclosed in a sack; and a cock, a viper, a dog, and a monkey, were successively added as the most suitable companions. Italy produces no monkeys; but the want could never be felt, till the sixth, or the first revealed guilt of a paricide. 4. The malice of an incendiarist. After the previous ceremony of whipping, he himself was delivered to the flames; and in this example alone our reason is tempted to approve the justice of retaliation. 5. Judicial perjury. The corrupt or malicious witness was thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock to expiate his falsehood, which was rendered still more fatal by the severity of the penal laws, and the deficiency of written evidence. 6. The corruption of a judge, who accepted bribes, to pronounce an iniquitous sentence. 7. Libels and satires, whose rude strains exposed the public to the peculiar censure of a! The author was beaten with clubs, a worthy chastisement, but it was not certain that he was left to expire under the blows of the executioner. 8. The nocturnal mischief of damaging or destroying a neighbor's cornfield was punished with an extirpation of the corn to Ceres. But the sylvan deities were less implacable, and the extirpation of a more valuable tree was compensated by the moderate fine of twenty-five pounds of copper. 9. Magical incantations; which had power, in the opinion of the Latin shepherds, to exhaust the strength and to extinguish the life, and to move from their seats his deep-rooted plantations. The cruelty of the twelve tables against insolvent debtors still remains to be told; and I shall dare to prefer the literal sense of antiquity, to the specious refinements of modern criticism. After the judicial proof or confession of the debt, thirty days of grace were allowed before a Roman was delivered into the power of his fellow-citizen. In this private prison, twelve ounces of rice was his daily food; he might be bound with a chain of fifteen pounds' weight; and his mouth was exposed in the market-place, to cut the compassion of his friends and countrymen. At the expiration of sixty days, the debt was discharged by the loss of liberty or life, the insolvent debtor was either put to death, or sold in foreign slavery beyond the Tiber; but if several creditors were alike obstinate and exacted the debt, the insolvent debtor might drive near his body, and satiate his revenge by this horrid partition. The advocates for this savage law have insisted, that it must strongly operate in deterring idleness and fraud from contracting debts which they were unable to discharge; but experience would dissipate this salutary terror, by proving, that no creditor could be found to exact this unpunishable penalty of life or limb. As the manners of Rome were insensibly polished, the criminal law also was not exempt from the same influence. The community of accusers, witnesses, and judges; and impunity became the consequence of immoderate rigour. The Pisan and Valerian laws prohibited the magistrates from inflicting on a free citizen any capital or corporal punishment; and the obloquies of blood were mortified, and perhaps devoted to the spirit, not of patrician, but of regal, tyranny.

In the absence of penal laws, and the insufficiency of civil actions, the peace or abolition of war and justice of the city were imperfectly maintained by the private jurisdiction of the citizens. The malefactors who replenish our goals, are the outcasts of society, and the crimes for which they suffer may be commonly ascribed to ignorance, poverty, and brutal appetite. For the perpetration of similar enormities, a vile plebeian might claim and abuse the federal power of justice, or an accusation of the proof or suspicion of guilt, the slave, or the stranger, was nailed to a cross, and this strict and summary justice might be exercised without restraint over the greatest part of the populace of Rome. Each family was a commonwealth, and as a grateful vassal, owed like that of the preator, to the cognizance of external actions: virtuous principles and halits were incalculable by the discipline of education; and the Roman father was accountable to the state for the manners of his children, since he disposed, without appeal, of their person, their liberty, and their inheritance. In some pressing emergencies, the citizen was authorized to avenge his private or public wrongs. The consent of the Jewish, the Athenian, and the Roman laws, approved the slaughter of the nocturnal thief; though in open day-light a robber could not be slain without previous evidence of danger and the citizens. Whoe'er surprised an adulterer in his nuptial bed might freely execute his revenge; the most bloody or wanton outrage was excused by the provocation; nor was it before the reign of Augustus that the husband could lawfully destroy his wife, or confiscate the parent was condemned to sacrifice his daughter with her guilty seducer. After the expulsion of the kings, the ambitious Roman who should dare to assume their title or imitate their tyranny, was devoted to the eternal gods; each of his fellow-citizens was armed against his person, and he might almost despair of safety. Each of the citizens, however repugnant to gratitude or prudence, had been already sanctified by the judgment of his country. The barbarous practice of wearing arms in the midst of peace, and the bloody maxims of honour, were unknown to the Romans; and, during the two pure ages, from the establishment of equal freedom to the end of the Punic wars, the city was never disturbed by sedition, and rarely polluted with atrocious crimes. The failure of penal laws was more sensibly felt when every vice was inflamed by faction at home and domi-
ment, were too often determined by the discretion of the rulers, and the subject was left in ignorance of the legal right which he might incur by every action of his life.

A sin, a vice, a crime, are the objects of theology, ethics, and jurisprudence. Measured guilt, whenever their judgments agree, they corroborate each other; but as often as they differ, a prudent legislator apprehends the guilt and punishment according to the measure of special injury. On this principle, the most daring attack on the life and property of a private citizen is judged less atrocious than the crime of treason or rebellion, which invades the majesty of the republic: the obsequious civilians unanimously pronounced, that the republic is contained in the person of its chief; and the edge of the Julian law was sharpened by the incessant diligence of the emperors.

The licentious commerce of the sexes may be tolerated as an impulse of nature, or forbidden as a source of disorder and corruption; but the fame, the fortunes, the family of the husband, are seriously injured by the infamy of the adulteress or the gallantry of the wife. The wisdom of Augustus, and the curtailing of the freedom of revenge, applied to this domestic offence the animadversion of the laws; and the guilty parties, after the payment of heavy forfeitures and fines, were condemned to long or perpetual exile in the colonies. Religious intolerance omits an equal censure against the infidelity of the husband: but as it is not accompanied by the same civil effects, the wife was never permitted to vindicate her wrongs; and the distinction of simple or double adultery, so familiar and so important in the canon law, is unknown to the jurisprudence of the Code and the Pandects.

I touch with reluctance, and despatch Unnatural vice, with impatience, a more odious vice, of which modesty rejects the name, and nature abominates the idea. The primitive Romans were infected by the example of the Etruscans and Greeks. In the mad abuse of prostitution and power, the victor of the battle was made a capital offence; but simple theft was uniformly considered as a mere civil and private injury. The degrees of guilt, and the modes of punishment...
or female partner of his guilt. From Catullus to Juvenal, the poets accuse and celebrate the degeneracy of the times, and the reformation of manners was feebly attempted by the reason and authority of the civilians, till the most virtuous of the Caesars proscribed the evil against nature as a crime against society. 1

Rigour of the Christian emperors.

The free citizens of Athens and RomeJudgments of the enjoyed in all criminal cases, the invariable privilege of being tried by their country. 2 The administration of justice is the most ancient office of a prince: it was exercised by the Roman kings, and abused by usurpers. The first emperor, Augustus, in his council, pronounced his arbitrary judgments. The first consuls succeeded to this regal prerogative; but the sacred right of appeal soon abolished the jurisdiction of the magistrates, and all public causes were decided by the supreme tribunal of the people. But a wild and precipitate spirit, from the first, disdains the essential principles of justice: the pride of despotic war was envenomed by plebeian envy, and the heroes of Athens might sometimes applaud the happiness of the Persian, whose fate depended on the chance of a single tyrant. Some solitary crime, imposed by the people on their own passions, were at once the cause and effect of the gravity and temperament of the Romans. The right of accusation was confined to the magistrates. A vote of the thirty-five tribes could inflict a fine; but the cognizance of all capital crimes was assigned by the assembly of the centuries, in which the weight of influence and property was sure to preponderate. Repeated proclamations and adjournments were interposed, to allow time for prejudice and resentment to subside; and in the case of the same emperor, the empire declared to himself the implacable enemy of unmanly lust, and the cruelty of his persecution can scarcely be excused by the purity of his motives. 3

In defiance of every principle of justice, he stretched to the past as well as future offences the operations of his edicts, with the previous allowance of a short respite for confession and pardon. A painful death was inflicted by the ambuscade of the sinful instrument, or the insertion of sharp reeds into the pores and tubes of most exquisite sensibility; and Justinian defended the propriety of the execution, since the crimes of the emperors had lost their heads, and they had been convicted of sacrilege. In this state of disgrace and agony, two bishops, Isaiah of Rhodes, and Alexander of Daphnopolis, were dragged through the streets of Constantinople, while their brethren were admonished by the voice of a crier, to observe this awful lesson, and not to pollute the sanctity of their character. Perhaps these prelates were innocent. A sentence of death and infamy was often founded on the slight and suspicious evidence of a child or a servant: the guilt of the green faction, of the rich, and of the enemies of Theodosius, was supposed by the people to have been the crime of those to whom no crime could be imputed. A French philosopher 4 has dared to remark, that whatever is secret must be doubtful, and that our natural horror of vice may be abused as an engine of tyranny. But the favourable persuasion of the same writer, that a legislator may confide in the taste and reason of mankind, is impeached by the unwelcome discovery of the antiquity and extent of the disease. 5

1 A crowd of disgraceful passages will force themselves on the memory of the classifier: I will only recommend to the cool declaration of Ovid: Odis conculcis oui non uniforme resurgent. Hoec est quod poenae tumere amore mors. Elius Lampadius, in Vit. Helvogali, in Hist. August., p. 112. Aurelius Victor, in Philosoph. Codex Theod., l. ix., terti. vii. 2. and Godfrey's Commentary, tom. iii., p. 63. Theodorus abolished the subterfuges of the brothels of Rome, in which the prostitution of both sexes was acted with impunity. 2 Constans, and his successors against adulterers, sodomy, &c. in the Theodorian (l. ix., terti. vii. 7. l. xi., terti. xxxvi. leg. 1.4) and Justinian Codes, (l. xii., terti. ix. leg. 35. 23.) These principles, the language of passions as well as reason, loudly acriate their own severity to the first Caesars. 3 Justinian (Institutiones, l. xxvi., cxxxiv, ed. Anocet, c. 11. 16, with the Notes of Alphonse, Theophanes, p. 152. Cedrenus, p. 461.) Justinian and his code of laws, in which the punishment of these crimes, as well as every other sort of crime, was more severe than in the constitutions of his predecessors. p. Monastiraki, Esprit des Lois, l. vii. c. 6. That eloquent philospher connects the rights of liberty and of nature, which should not be conformed to each other. 4 For the corruption of Palestine, see Bevis and the Chinese laws and laws of Moses. Ancient Greece is stigmatized by Diodorus Siculus, (tom. ii. l. v. p. 36.) China by the Mahometan and Christian travellers, (Ancient Relations of India and China, p. 34. translated by Remondine, and his bitter critic the Poor Persian, Lettres Edifiantes, tom. xiv. p. 395.) and native America by the Spanish historians. (Gonzalez de la Vega, l. iii. c. 13. Rycan's translation, Dictionnire de Bayeu, tom iii. p. 29.) I believe, and hope, that the negroes, in their own country, were exempt from this moral porridge. 5 The important subject of the public questions and judgments at Rome is explained with much patience, and in a clear style, by Mr. de Charlet, in the Dictionnaire, l. i. c. 1679—82), and a good abridgment may be found in the Repertoire Romaine de Bevillon, in the dictionary of the lawyer, may study Nolde, (De Jurisdictione et Impera Libri duo, tom. l. i. 8vo.) Himelfast, (ed. Paley, l. i. c. 118. Inst. l. iv., xvi. Elements of Antiquity.) and Grevinius, (Opp. 239—251.) The office, both at Rome and in England, must be considered as an occupation of the highest dignity, and not a machination of a vain and pernicious spirit. This law, which condemns the jurymen to undergo the torture from whence they have exannned the criminal.
the judicial authority of the state. In each particular case, a sufficient number was drawn from the urn; their integrity was guarded by an oath; the mode of ballot secured their independence; the suspicion of partiality was at least as fortunate, rather than more, when cast against the accuser and defendant; and the judges of Miloy, by the retribution of fifteen on each side, were reduced to fifty-one voices or tablets, of acquittal, of condemnation, or of favourable doubt. 3. In the civil juris-


diction, the prator of the city was truly a judge, and almost a legislator: but he was far no more than a stenographer when the action of law, he often referred to a delegate the determination of the fact. With the increase of legal pro-
ceedings, the tribunal of the centurivs, in which he presided, acquired more weight and reputation. But whether he acted alone, or with the advice of his counsel, the most absolute powers might be trusted to a magistrate who was annually chosen by the votes of the people. The rules and precautions of freedom have required some explanation; the order of despo-


tism is simple and inanimate. Before the age of Justin-


ian, or perhaps of Dioecletian, the decries of Roman judges had sunk to an empty title; the children or 


of the assessors might be accepted or 

despised; and in each tribunal the civil and criminal jurisdiction was administered by a single magistrate, who was raised and disgraced by the will of the emperor. Voluntary Asses. A Roman accused of any capital crime 


die might prevent the sentence of the law by voluntary exile, or death. Till his guilt had been 


legally proved, his innocence was presumed, and his per-


son was free; till the votes of the last century had been 


counted and declared, he might peaceably succeed to 


any of the allied cities of Italy, or Greece, or Asia. 8 


His fame and fortunes were preserved, at least to his 


children, by this civil death; and he might still be 


happy in every rational and sensual enjoyment, if a 


mind acceast-med to the ambitious tumult of Rome 


could. But voluntarily a man sometimes 


were reduced to poverty by the confisca-


tion of their fortunes. But if the victims of Tiberius 


and Nero anticipated the decree of the prince or senate, 


their courage and despatch were recommenced by the 


applause of the public, the decent honours of burial, 


and the validity of their testament. 9 The expedi-


ces of avarice and cruelty of Domitian appear to have depre-


ced the unfortunate of this last consolidation, and it 


was still denied even by the clemency of the Antonines. 


A voluntary death, which in the case of a capital of-


fence, intervened between the accusation and the sen-


tence, was admitted as a confession of guilt, and the 


spoils of the deceased were seized by the inhuman 


claims of the treasury. 7 Yet the civilians have always 


enjoyed the natural right of a citizen to dispose of 


his life; and the posthumous disgrace invented by Tar-


quin to check the despair of his subjects, was never 


revived or imitated by succeeding tyrants. 


1 We are indebted for this interesting fact to a fragment of Asconius Pedianus, who flourished under the reign of Tiberius. The loss of his Commentaries on the Orations of Cicero has deprived us of a valuable fund of historical and juridical knowledge. 


2 Polyb. 1. 23. 33. The extension of the empire and city of Rome obliged the exile to seek a more distant place of retirement. 


3 Eusebius, Praef. Hist. 28. 1. 25. 476, etc. 


4 Pis. Praet. Dist. 16 c. Suid. 284. 


5 R. v. v. v. c. 137, etc. 


6 Dig. 22. a. 5. 3. 


7 Plut. Historiarum, xxxvi. 34. When he fatigued his subjects in building the capitol, many of the laborers were provoked to despatch themselves by nailing their dead bodies to crosses.


8 The sole resemblance of a violent and premature death has en-


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seritude; and the Romans were oppressed at the same time by the multiplicity of their laws and the arbitrary will of their master.

CHAPTER VI.

Reign of the younger Justin.—Embassy of the Avars.

—Their settlement on the Danube.—Conquest of Italy by the Lombards.—Adoption and reign of Tiberius.—Of Maurice.—State of Italy under the Lombards and the exarchs of Ravenna.—Distress of Rome.

—Character and conduct of Gregory the first.

Death of Justinian.

During the last years of Justinian, his infirm mind was devoted to heavenly contemplation, and he neglected the business of the lower world. His subjects were impatient of the long continuance of his life and reign; yet all who were capable of reflection, apprehended the moment of his death, which might issue in trouble, in tumult, and war. Seven nephews of the childless monarch, the sons or grandsons of his brother and sister, had been educated in the splendour of a princely fortune; they had been shown in high commands in the provinces and armies; their station, which was known, should have led them to the rulers were zealous, and as the jealousy of age postposed the declaration of a successor, they might expect with equal hope the inheritance of their uncle. He expired in his palace, after a reign of thirty-eight years; and the decisive opportunity was embraced by the friends of Justin, the son of Vigilantius. At the hour of midnight, his domestics were awakened by an importunate crowd, who thundered at his door, and obtained admittance by revealing themselves to be the principal ministers of the senate. These welcome deputes announced the recent and momentous secret of the emperor's decease: reported, or perhaps invented, his dying choice of the best beloved and most deserving of his nephews, and conjured Justin to prevent the disorders of the multitude, if they should perceive, with the return of light, that they were left without a master. After promising his fidelity with the most solemn and fervent oaths to his instructions, he custom of emperor, and despotic modesty, Justin, by the advice of his wife Sophia, submitted to the authority of the senate. He was conducted with speed and silence to the palace; the guards saluted their new sovereign, and the religious and religious rites of his coronation were diligently accomplished. By the hands of the proper officers he was invested with the imperial garments, the red buskins, white tunic, and purple robe. A fortunate soldier, whom he instantly promoted to the rank of tribune, encreased his neck with a military collar; four robust youths excelled him on a shield; he stood firm and erect to receive the adoration of his subjects; and their choice was sanctified by the benediction of the patriarch, who imposed the diadem on the head of an orthodox prince. The hippodrome was filled with innumerable multitudes; and no sooner did the emperor appear on his throne, than the voices of the blue and green factions were confounded in the same loud acclamations. In the speeches which Justin addressed to the senate and people, he promised to correct the abuses which had disgraced the age of his predecessor, displayed the maxims of a just and beneficent government, and declared, that on the approaching calends of January, he would revive in his own person the name and liberality of a Roman consul. The immediate discharge of his uncle's debts exhibited a solid pledge of his faith and generosity: a train of pots laden with bags of gold advanced into the midst of the hippodrome, and the hopeless creditors of Justinian accepted this equitable payment as a voluntary gift. Before the end of three years, his example was imitated and surpassed by the emperor Sophia, who delivered the whole of the goods of the exiles; the multitude, with the left eyes and gilt bucklers of the guards, which they had found their arms and axes with more confidence than they would have shown in a field of battle. The officers who exercised the power, or attended the person, of the prince, were attired in their richest habits, and conducted to the throne of Justin, in the presence of the hierarchy. When the veil of the sanctuary was withdrawn, the ambassadors beheld the emperor of the east on his throne, beneath a canopy, or dome, which was supported by four columns, and crowned with a winged figure of Victory. In the first emotions of surprise, they submitted to the servile adoration of the Byzantine court; but as soon as they arose from the ground, Targetius, the chief of the embassy, expressed the freedom and pride of a barbarian. He extolled, by the tongue of his interpreter, the greatness of the chagrin, by whose eloquence the kingdoms of the south were permitted to exist, whose victorious subjects had traversed the frozen rivers of Scythia, and who now covered the banks of the Danube with innumerable tents. The late emperor had cultivated, with annual and costly gifts, the friendship of a grateful monarch, and the memory of her illustrious son was perpetuated by the new emperor of the Avars. The same prudence would instruct the nephew of Justinian to imitate the liberality of his uncle, and to purchase the blessings of peace from an invincible people, who delighted and excelled in the exercise of war. The reply of the emperor was delivered in the same strain of haughty defiance, and he derived his confidence from the G d of the christians, the ancient glory of Rome, and the recent triumphs of Justinian. "The empire," said he, "abounds with men and horses, and arms sufficient to defend our frontiers, and to chastise the barbarians. You offer aid, you threaten hostilities; we despise your enmity and your aid. The conquerors of the Avars solicit our alliance; shall we dread their fugitives and exiles? The beauty of our uncle was granted to your misery, to your humble condition. You offer us the holy severities of your obligations, the knowledge of your own weakness. Retire from our presence; the lives of ambassadors are

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It is surprising how Paci (Critica in Annal. Bonon. tom. ii. p. 229) could be tempted by any chronicler to contradict the plain and declarative text of Corippus, Crisicia dona, l. 1. 254, vicini dies, l. 1. 1) and to postpose, U. A. 567, the consilium of Justin and the Avars. Theophan., Chron. p. 260. Wherever Cedrenus or Zonaras are more transcribed, it is superfluous to allege their testimony. Compare, U. A. 567. The unquestioned error of the Turks, the conquerors of the Avars; but the word secluder has no apparent reference to the sole XI. C. of Constantinople, to which it relates in the first edition (1515, apud Planchon) is not longer visible. The red edition of Fregelius, Rome, has inserted in the marginal emendation of soled: but the proofs of Ducas (Jouvenel, D'Herbe, vii. ed. 240) for the early use of this title among the Turks and Femenia, are weak. I believe, U. A. 567, that the consilium of Justin, signified by Cedrenus (l. 1. 254), and B. (Bibliotheca orient. p. 825), who ascribes the war to the Arabic and Oriental annals. The second, or the fourth, of the two first battles of the century, when it was bestowed by the khalf of Baghdad on Mahommed prince of Geza, and conqueror of India.
safe; and if you return to implore our pardon, perhaps you will taste of our benevolence."

On the report of his ambassadors, the chagan was awed by the apparent force of the Avars, but he maintained the objects of his design. Instead of executing his threats against the eastern empire, he marched into the poor and savage countries of Germany, which were subject to the dominion of the Franks. After two doubtful battles he consented to retire, and the Avar king believed that the Avars had obtained that immediate supply of corn and cattle which he foresaw and solicited; but the Lombards could not long withstand the furious assault of the Avars, who were sustained by a Roman army. And as the offer of marriage was rejected with contempt, Alboin was compelled to relinquish his prey, and to leave his partisans of the eastern empire which he had inflicted on the house of Cunimund.¹

When a public quarrel is envenomed, the Lombards by private injuries, a blow that is mortal or decisive can be productive only of a short truce which allows the Gauls a successful combattant to sharpen his arms for a new encounter. The strength of Alboin had been found unequal to the gratification of his love, ambition, and revenge; he condescended to implore the formidable aid of the chagan, and the arguments that he employed are expressive of the art and policy of the barbarians. In the attack of the Avars, they had been prompted by the just desire of exterminating a people whose alliance with the Roman empire had rendered the common enemies of the nations, and the personal adversaries of the chagan. If the forces of the Avars and the Lombards should unite in this desperate and abortive quarell, the victors would receive as a reward inestimable: the Danube, the H-Brus, Italy, and Constantinople would be exposed, without a barrier, to their invincible arms. But if they hesitated or delayed to prevent the malice of the Romans, the same spirit which had insulted, would pursue the Avars to the extremity of the earth. These specious reasons were heard by the chagan with coldness and disdain: he detained the Lombard ambassadors in his camp, protracted the negotiation, and by turns alleged his want of inclination, or his want of ability, to undertake this important concern. At length he signified the ultimate price of his alliance, that the Lombards should immediately present him with the title of their entitle: that the spoils and captives should be equally divided; but that the lands of the Avars should become the sole patrimony of the Avars. Such hard conditions were eagerly accepted by the passions of Alboin; and as the Romans were dissatisfied with the ingratitude and perfidy of the Avars, Justin abandoned that incorrigible people to their fate, and remained the tranquil spectator of this unequal conflict. The deep pair of Cunimund was active and dangerous. The Avars had the advantage of the country, he was informed of the designs of the Lombards, and to prevent that union of forces which was expected, he detached Alboin from the Danube, and Alboin returned in triumph; and the Lombards, who celebrated his matchless intrepidity, were compelled to praise the virtues of an enemy.² In this extraordinary visit he had procured, Alboin has mingled with those of the most illustrious of the Franks. He was informed of the defeat of his father, and the death of his king, and he ascended the throne of the Avars. Her name was Rosamond, an appellation expressive of female beauty, and which our own history or romance has consecrated to amorous tales. The king of the Lombards, (the father of Alboin no longer lived) was contracted to the grand-daughter of Clevis; but his strange suit of faith and policy soon yielded to the hope of possessing the fair Rosamond, and of insulting her family and nation. The arts of persuasion were tried without success; and the impatient lover, by force and stratagem, obtained his desire. The marriage was celebrated, according to the ancient custom of the barbarians. At length he signified the further obstacle which could impede the progress of the confederates, and they faithfully executed the terms of their agreement.³ The fair countries of Walachia, Moldavia, Transylvania, and the parts of Hungary beyond the Danube, were occupied, without resistance, by a new colony of Seythians; and the Dacian empire

¹ For these characteristic speeches, compare the verse of Corippus (Ciliciae Deis de Caesare) [19] and the prose of Menander (Chorographia, c. 102, 105). Their divergency proves that they did not copy each other; these are the words, that the division has been original.

² For the Austrian war, see Menander, (Excerpta. Legat. p. 110.) Gregory of Tours, Hist. Franc. l. iv. c. 29.) and Paul the deacon, (De chorographia, l. ii. c. 29.)

³ Paul Warnefird, the deacon of Frei, de Gent. Langobard. l. i. c. 23; His pictures of national manners, though rudely sketched, are more lively and faithful than those of Rome, or Gregory of Tours.
of the chagars subsisted with splendour above two hundred and thirty years. The nation of the Gepidae was dissolved; but in the distribution of the captives, the slaves of the Avars were less fortunate than the companions of the Lombards, whose generosity adopted the valiant, and whose approbation was incapable with cool and deliberate tyranny. One moiety of the spoil was introduced into the camp of Albin more wealth than a barbarian could readily compute. The fair Rosamond was persuaded, or compelled, to acknowledge the rights of her victorious lover; and the daughter of Camoens approved him to be worthy of his crimes which might be indebted to her own irresistible charms.

The destruction of a mighty kingdom established the fame of Albin. In the days of Charlemagne, the Bavarians, the Saxons, and the other tribes of the Teutonic language, still repeated the songs which described the heroic virtues, the valour, liberality, and fortune of the king of the Lombards. But his ambition was yet unsatisfied; and the conqueror of the Gepidae turned his eyes from the Danube to the rieher banks of the Po and the Tiber. Fifteen years had elapsed, since his subjects, the confederates of Norse, had visited the pleasant climate of Italy; the mountains, the rivers, the highways, were familiar to their memory: the report of their success, perhaps the view of their kindred in the flames of emulation and contention. Their hopes were encouraged by the spirit and eloquence of Albin; and it is affirmed, that he spoke to their senses, by producing, at the royal feast, the fairest and most extensive magazine of a noble and generous heart in the greater part of the world. No sooner had he erected his standard, than the native strength of the Lombards was multiplied by the adventurous youth of Germany and Scythia. The robust freshness of Noricum and Pannonia had resumed the manners of barbarians; and the names of the Gepidae, Bulgarians, Saracens, and Bavarians, may be distinctly traced in the provinces of Italy. Of the Saxons, the old allies of the Lombards, twenty thousand warriors, with their wives and children, accepted the invitation of Albin. Their bravery contributed to his success; but the accession of the all-conquering power of the Lombards was not second to the courage of his host. Every mode of religion was freely practised by its respective votaries. The king of the Lombards had been educated in the Arian heresy; but the catholics, in their public worship, were allowed to have their service; while the Lombards, who were stubborn, or barbarians sacrificed a she-goat, or perhaps a captive, to the gods of their fathers. The Lombards, and their confederates, were united by their common attachment to a chief, who exalted in all the virtues and views of a savage hero; and the vigour of Albin provided an ample magazine of offensive and defensive arms for the use of the expedition. The portable wealth of the Lombards attended the march; their lands they cheerfully relinquished, to the Avars, on the solemn promise, which was made and accepted without a smile, that if they failed in the conquest of Italy, these voluntary exiles should be reinstated in their former possessions.

They might have failed, if Nurses Dissonance had been the antagonist of the Lombard prince. But he had encountered with reluctance the enemy whom they dreaded and esteemed. Nor did the arm of the barbarians want a master as active and patient of labour as his air. His government was oppressive and unpopular, and the general discontent was expressed with freedom by the deputies of Rome. Before the throne of Justin they held dictation, that their Gothic sovereignty had been more tolerable than the despotism of a Greek exarch; and that, unless their tyrants were instantly removed, they would consult their own happiness in the choice of a master. The apprehension of a revolt was urged by the voice of envy and detraction, which had so recently triumphed over the merit of Albin. The Senate and patricians of Rome pointed to supersede the conqueror of Italy, and the base motives of his recall were revealed in the insulting mandate of the empress Sophis, "that he should leave to men the exercise of arms, and return to his proper station among the munificence of the palace, where his disdained virtues were to be elevated to a more glorious sphere of power."" I will spin her such a thread, as she shall not easily unravel!" was said to have been the reply which indignation and conscious virtue extorted from the hero. Instead of attending, a slave and a victim, at the gate of the Byzantine palace, he retired to Naples, from whence (if any credit is due to the belief of the times) Nurses invited the Lombards to chastise the ingratitude of the prince and people. But the passions of the people are furious and changeable, and the Romans soon recollected the merits, or dreaded the resentment, of their victorious general. By the mediation of the pope, who undertook a special pilgrimage to Naples, their repentance was accepted; and Nurses, assuming a milder aspect and a more dutiful language, consented to fix his residence in the capitol. His death, though in the extreme period of old age, left the Lombards as flourishing as ever in the state of Italy; but, alone, he alone could have restored the last and fatal error of his life. The reality, or the suspicion, of a conspiracy disarmed and dissolved the Italians. The soldiers received the disgrace, and bewailed the loss, of their monarch. It was not without deep lamentations that a man who was alone could have repaired the last and fatal error of his life. Whatever might be the grounds of his security, Albin neither expected nor encountered a Roman army in the field. He ascended the Julian Alps, and looked down with contempt and desire on the fruitful plains to which the operation of a Milanese exarch was a seductive beckon. The inhabitants of Lombardy were alarmed at the approach of their enemies, and Longinus was himself ignorant of the state of the army and the province. In the preceding years Italy had been desolated by pestilence and famine, and a disaffected people ascribed the calamities of nature to the guilt of folly of their rulers. Whatever might be the grounds of his security, Albin neither expected nor encountered a Roman army in the field. He ascended the Julian Alps, and looked down with contempt and desire on the fruitful plains to which the operation of a Milanese exarch was a seductive beckon. The inhabitants of Lombardy were alarmed at the approach of their enemies, and Longinus was himself ignorant of the state of the army and the province. In the preceding years Italy had been desolated by pestilence and famine, and a disaffected people ascribed the calamities of nature to the guilt of folly of their rulers. He ascended the Julian Alps, and looked down with contempt and desire on the fruitful plains to which the operation of a Milanese exarch was a seductive beckon. The inhabitants of Lombardy were alarmed at the approach of their enemies, and Longinus was himself ignorant of the state of the army and the province. In the preceding years Italy had been desolated by pestilence and famine, and a disaffected people ascribed the calamities of nature to the guilt of folly of their rulers. He ascended the Julian Alps, and looked down with contempt and desire on the fruitful plains to which the operation of a Milanese exarch was a seductive beckon. The inhabitants of Lombardy were alarmed at the approach of their enemies, and Longinus was himself ignorant of the state of the army and the province. In the preceding years Italy had been desolated by pestilence and famine, and a disaffected people ascribed the calamities of nature to the guilt of folly of their rulers.
Frilli, to guard the passes of the mountains. The Lombards respected the strength of Pavia, and listened to the prayers of the Trevisans: their show and heavy multitudes proceeded to occupy the palace and city of Verona, and near the town of Padua was invested by the powers of Alboin five months after his departure from Pannonia. Terror preceded his march; he found every where, or he left, a dreary solitude; and the pusillanimous Italians presumed, without a trial, that the stranger was invincible. Escaping to lake, rocks, or mountains, and from thence he continued to move by the public calamities. Hono-
rous, but a man of no principle, the archbishop of St. Ambrose, had erudually accepted the faithless offers of a capitulation; and the archbishop, with the clergy and nobles of Milan, were driven by the perdy of Alboin to seek a refuge in the less accessible ramparts of Genoa. Alboin, with a spirited enterprise, courted the inhabitants was supported by the facility of supply, the hopes of relief, and the power of escape; but from the Tentine hills to the gate of Ravena and Rome, the inland regions of Italy became, without a battle or a siege, the lasting patrimony of the Lombards. Thus the bravest champions, who had assumed the character of a lawful sovereign, and the helpless exarch was confined to the office of annci-
ing to the emperor Justin, the rapid and irretrievable loss of his provinces and cities. One city, which had been diligently fortified by the Goths, resisted the arm of a new invader; and while Italy was subdued by the flying detachments of the Lombards, the royal camp was fixed above three years before the west-
gate of Ticinum, or Pavia. The same courage which obtains the esteem of a civilized enemy, provokes the fury of a savage, and the impotent besieger had bound himself by a tremendous oath, that age, and sex, and dignity, should be confounded in a general massacre. The aid of famine at length enabled him to execute his bloody vow; but as Alboin entered the gate, his horse stumbled, fell, and could not be raised from the ground. One of his attendants was promptly by com-
passion, or pity, being shut in the gates of the city, as a mark of the wrath of Heaven; the conqueror paused and re-
lected; he sheathed his sword, and peacefully repos-
ing himself in the palace of Theodoric, proclaimed to the trembling multitude, that they should live and obey. Delighted with the situation of a city, which was endangered by the army of the invader, and for the purchase, the prince of the Lombards disdained the ancient glories of Milan; and Pavia, during some-
ges, was respected as the capital of the kingdom of Italy.


The reign of the founder was splendid and transient; and before he could regu-
lar, and the king himself was tempted by appetite,
or vanity, to exceed the ordinary measure of his in-
temperance. After draining many copacious bowls of Khastian or Falernian wine, he called for the skull of Caninnus, the eldest son of his sideboard. The cup of victory was accepted with horrid applause by the circle of the Lombard chiefs. "Fill it again with wine," exclaimed the insane conqueror, "fill it to the brim; carry this goblet to the queen, and request in my name that she would rejoice with her fatigued. In an agony of grief and rage, Rosandom had strength to utter," Let the will of my lord be obeyed!" and touching it with her lips, pronounced a silent imprecation, that the insult should be washed away in the blood of Alboin. Some indulgence might be due to the resentment of a daughter, if she had not already violated the duties of a wife. Impeachable in her con
ty, or inconsistent in her love, the queen of Italy had stooped from the throne to the arms of a subject, and Helvichii, the king's armour-bearer, was the secret minister of her pleasure and revenge. Against the proposals of the conqueror, she could no longer urge the scruples of fidelity or gratitude; but Helvichius trembled, when he revoluted the danger as well as the guilt, when he re-
collected the matchless strength and intrepidity of a warrior, whom he had so often attended in the field of battle. He pressed, and obtained, that one of the bravest champions of the Lombards should be intro-
duced to the enterprise, but no more than a promise of secrecy could be drawn from the gallant Peredeus; and the mode of seduction employed by Rosandom betrays her shameless insensibility both to honour and love. She supplied the place of one of her female attendants who was beloved by Peredeus, and contrived some excuse for darkness and silence, till she could inform her companion that he had enjoyed the queen of the Lombards, and that his own death, or the death of Alboin, must be the consequence of such treasonable adultery. In this alternative, he chose rather to be the accomplice than the victim of Ros-
andom, whose undaunted spirit was incapable of fear or remorse. She expected and soon found a favourable moment, when the king, oppressed with wine, had retired from the table to his afternoon slumbers. His faithless spouse was anxious for his health and repose; she was shut in the palace, the attendants dismissed, and Rosandom, after lulling him to rest by her tender caresses, unchambered the chamber-door, and urged the reluctant conspirators to the instant execution of the deed. On the first alarm, the warrior started from his couch; his sword, which he attempted to dash away, was received instantly, and plunged by the hand of Rosandom; and a small steel, his only weapon, could not long protect him from the spears of the assassins. The daughter of Caninnus smiled in his fall; his body was buried under the staircase of the palace, and the grateful posterity of the Lombards revered the tomb and memory of their victorious leader.

The ambitious Rosandom aspired to Her flight and reign in the name of her lover; the city and palace of Verona were awed by her power, and a faithful band of her native Goths was prepared to avenge the revenge, and to second the wishes of their sovereign. But the Lombard chiefs, who fled in the first moments of consternation and disorder, had resumed their courage and collected their powers; and the nation, instead of submitting to her reign, demand-
ed, with unanimous cries, that justice should be execu-
ted on the guilty spouse and the murderers of their

p. 101

The classical reader will recollect the wife and murder of Can-

naudus, so agreeably told in the first book of Herodotus. The choice of Greek, egreio, as a good name, may serve as the excuse of Per-
dan, and this use of an idiom has been imitated by the best writers of antiquity (Gruenius, ad Ciceron. Ort. pro Milone, c. 109).
The decline and fall

The story of the decline of mankind was protected by the selfish policy of the

earth. With her daughter, the heiress of the Lom-

bard throne, her two lovers, her trusty Gepidae, and the spoils of the palace of Verona, Rosamond descended

died the Agige and the Po, and was transported by a

Greek vessel to the safe harbor of Venice. The
genius beheld with delight the charms and the treasures
of the widow of Albin: her situation and her past
conduct might justify the most licentious proposals;
and she readily listened to the passion of a minister, who
once more of the decline of the house of Rosamond was respected
as the equal of kings. The death of a jealous lover was an easy and grateful sacrifice, and as Helmeric
issued from the bath, he received the deadly potion
from the hand of his mistress. The taste of the liquor, its speedy operation, and his experience of the
cardinal character of Rosamond, convinced him that he was
poisoned: he pointed his dagger to her breast, compel-
led her to drain the remainder of the cup, and expired in
a few minutes, with the consolation that she could not
survive to enjoy the fruits of her wickedness.

The daughter of Albinia and Rosamond, with the richest
heir of Lombardy, and the one of the severest climates, was
chosen to be the successor of Albin. Before the end of
eighteen months, the throne was polluted by a
second murder: Clepho was stabbed by the hand of a
domestic: the regal office was suspended above ten
years, during the minority of his son Anthius; and
Italy was divided and oppressed by a ducal aristocracy of
thirty tyrants.

When the nephew of Justinian as

emperor Justin II con-

ceded the throne, he proclaimed a new

art of happiness and glory. The annals of the
second Justin are marked with disgrace and misery
at home. In the west, the Roman empire was
affected by the loss of Africa, and the conquests of the Persians. Injustice prevailed in both the
empire and the provinces; the rich plundered for their
property, the poor for their safety, the ordinary magistrates were ignorant or venal; the salutary
remedies appear to have been arbitrary and vio-
lent, and the complaints of the people could no longer
be silenced by the splendid names of a legislator and
a conqueror. The opinion which imparts to the prince
all the calamities of his times, may be sustained by
the historian as a serious truth or a salutary prejudice.
Yet a candid suspicion will arise, that the
sentiments of Justin were pure and benevolent, and that
he might have filled his station without reproach, if the
futilities of his mind had not been injured by disease,
which deprived the emperor of the use of his
feet, and confined him to the palace, a stranger to the
complaints of the people and the vices of the govern-
ment. The tardy knowledge of his own impotence determined him to lay down the weight of the diadem;
and in the choice of a worthy substitute, he showed
some symptoms of a discerning and even magnani-
mous spirit. The only son of Justin and Sophia died
in his infancy: their daughter Arabina was the wife of
Badurias, superintendent of the palace, and after-
wards commander of the Italian armies, who vainly
inspired religious rights of marriage by those of
adoption. While the empire was polluted by an
object of desire, Justin was accustomed to behold with jealousy
and hatred his brothers and cousins, the rivals of his
hopes; nor could he depend on the gratitude of those
who would accept the purple as a restitution, rather
than be guilty of the destruction of their benefactor, who
had been removed by exile, and afterwards by death; and
the emperor himself had inflicted such cruel insults on an-
other, that he must either dread his resentment or despise
his patience. This domestic animosity was refined
into a generous resolution of seeking a successor, not to
his relative Justinian, but to the artful Sophi-

a. See the history of Paul, b. i, c. 22-22. I have borrowed some
interesting circumstances from the Liber Pontificalis of Agnellus, in
Script. Rev. lat. tom. iii. p. 124. Of all chronological guides, Murat-
neri's is the most correct.

The original authors for the reign of Justin the younger, are Evagrius, Hist. Ecclel. i. vii. c. 13, Theophrastus de Carthago, in Peterse- nius, tom. iii. p. 204-219, Zosimus, tom. ii. xiv. p. 70-72. Credonius, in Compend. paul. tom. i. c. 12.

b. A prosopographus novus sacre Baduriae autr. Successor a sacri mactis Carlia eali. Cauriopis. Badurias is enumerated among the descendants and allies of the

house of Justinian. A family of noble Venetians (Cana Baduriae) built churches and gave dudes to the republic as early as the ninth century. They descend from a Badurias who produced a pedesire so ancient and illustrious. Dusegate, Fam. Byz-

The praese restoratm on princes before their elevation, is the praxis singularis of the Byzantines, and is afterwards the accession of Justinian (I. 1. 212-252). Yet even a captain of the guards could not destroy the dignity of an emperor. Evagrius (I. vii. c. 13) adds the reply to his minis-
ters. He applies this speech to the ceremony when Tiberius was invested with the ioni. A praedicate Rnnum, and the home expression of error, of Thoproseus, &c. has delayed it to his Augustan invention immediately before the death of Justinian.

4 Theophrastus Simonetta (I. xii. c. 11) declares that he shall give no permission to superintend the death of Justin as if in an attempt to correct the imperfections of language or rhetoric. Perhaps the vain sophist would have been incapable of producing such sentiments.
Reign of Tiberius,

Among the virtues of Tiberius, his beauty (he was one of the tallest and most comely of the Romans) might introduce him to the favour of Sophia; when she accepted his proposal, he promised that she should preserve her station and influence under the reign of a second and more youthful husband. But if the ambitious candidate had been tempted to flatter and dissemble, it was no longer in his power to fulfil her expectations, or his own promise. The factions of the hippocrene demanded, with some insistence, the name of their new empress; both the people and Sophia were astonished by the proclamation of Anastasia, the secret though lawful wife of the emperor Tiberius. Whatever could alleviate the disappointment of Sophia, imperial honours, a stately palace, a numerous household, was literally bestowed by the piety of her adopted son; on solemn occasions he attended and consulted the widow of his benefactor; but her ambition disguised the vain semblance of royalty, and the respectful appellation of mother served to exasperate, rather than appease, the rage of an injured woman. While she accepted, and repaid with a hearty smile, the fairest expressions of regard and confidence, a secret alliance was concluded between the dowager empress and her ancient enemies; and Justinian, the son of Germanus, was employed as the instrument of her revenge. The pride of the reigning house supported, with reluctance, the spirit of a mental disease, which was never restored to its due station, according to the tenure by which he held it, to the most deserving of his fellow-citizens. He selected Maurice from the crowd, a judgment more precious than the purple itself; the patriarch and senates were summoned to the bed of the dying prince; he restored his honour and the rest of his fortune; and the advice was solemnly delivered by the voice of the quaestor. Tiberius expressed his hope, that the virtues of his son and successor would cleft the noblest mausoleum to his memory. His memory was embellished by the public affliction; but the most sincere grief evaporated in the tumult of a new reign, and the eyes and acclamations of mankind were speedily directed to the rising sun.

The emperor Maurice derived his origin from ancient Rome; but his immediate parents were settled at Arabissus in Cappadocia, and their singular felicities preserved them alive to behold and partake of the fortune of their august son. The youth of Maurice was spent in the profession of arms; Tiberius promoted him to the command of a new and favourite legion of twelve thousand confederates; his vaunted victories were speedily displayed; and he returned to Constantinople to accept, as his just reward, the inheritance of the empire. Maurice ascended the throne at the mature age of forty-three years; and he reigned above twenty years over the east and over himself; he expelling from his mind the wild depressions of policy, restored the spirit and sounds of the ancient Roman epocha. His cold and reserved demeanour might be imputed to arrogance; his justice was not always exempt from cruelty, nor his clemency from weakness; and his rigid economy too often expressed him to the reproach of avarice. But the rational wishes of an absolute monarch must tend to the happiness of his people; for it is therefore singular enough that Paul (3, iii. 15) should distinguish him as the first Greek emperor—primum ex Graecorum genus imperatorum—immediate progenitor of an immediate progeny of emperors, who were born in the Latin provinces of Europe; and a various reading, in the account of the Graecorum ingenui, would apply the expression to the empire rather than the prince. 


* For the character and reign of Tiberius, see Evagrius, l. v. 13, Theophrastus, in Thesprotios, p. 25, to 27. Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 72. Cedrenus, p. 392. Paul Warnefrid, de Gesta Langobardorum, 1. iii. c. 11, 12. The deacon of Forum Junii appears to have possessed some curious and authentic facts. 

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Maurice was endowed with sense and courage to promote that happiness, and his administration was directed by the principles and example of Tiberius. The pusillanimity of the Greeks had introduced so complete a separation between the offices of king and of general, that a private soldier who had deserved and obtained the sable and bare head of his armies. Yet the emperor Maurice enjoyed the glory of restoring the Persian monarch to his throne; his lieutenants waged a doubtful war against the Avars of the Danube, and he cast an eye of pity, of intellectual pity, on the abject and distressful state of his Italian provinces, the District of Italy.

From Italy the emperors were incessantly tormented by tales of misery and demands of succour, which extorted the humiliating confession of their own weakness. The existing dignity of Rome was only marked by the freedom and energy of her complaints: "If you are incapable," she said, "of delivering us from the sword of the Lombards, save us at least from the calamity of famine." Tiberius forgave the reproach, and relieved the distress; a supply of corn was transported from Egypt to Italy, under the Roman name, not of Camillus, but of St. Peter, repulsed the barbarians from their walls. But the relief was accidental, the danger was perpetual and pressing; and the clergy and senate, collecting the remains of their ancient power, a sum of three thousand pounds of gold, despatched a deputation to Pampelmuse, to solicit their complaints at the foot of the Byzantine throne. The attention of the court, and the forces of the east, were diverted by the Persian war; but the justice of Tiberius applied the subsidy to the defence of the city: and he dismissed the patrician with his best advice, either to bribe the Lombard chief, or to purchase, from the aid of the kings of France. Notwithstanding this weak invention, Italy was still afflicted, Rome was again besieged, and the suburb of Classis, only three miles from Ravenna, was pillaged and occupied by the troops of a simple duke of Spoleto. Maurice gave audience to a second deputation of priests and senators; the duties and the menaces of religion were forcibly urged in the letters of the Roman pontiff; and his nuncio, the deacon Gregory, was alike qualified to solicit the powers, either of heaven or of the earth. They were first pacified, with the conditions of his predecessor: some formidable chiefs were persuaded to embrace the friendship of the Romans; and one of them, a mild and faithful barbarian, lived and died in the service of the exarch: the passes of the Alps were delivered to the Franks; and the pope encouraged them to violate, without scruple, their oaths and engagements to the misbelievers. Childerich, the great-grandson of Clovis, was persuaded to invade Italy by the payment of fifty thousand pieces; but as he had viewed with delight some Byzantine coin of the weight of one pound of gold, the king of Austrasia might stipulate, that the gift should be rendered more worthy of his acceptation, by a proper mixture of these respectable medals. The dukes of the Lombards had provoked by frequent invasions their powerful neighbours of Gaul. As soon as they were appeased, the patrician reverted to the feeble and disorderly independence: the advantages of royal government, union, secrecy, and vigour, were unanimously confessed; and Autharish, the son of Clepho, had already attained the strength and reputation of a warrior. Under the standard of their new king, the conquerors of Italy withstood three successive invasions, one of which was led by Childerich himself, the last of the Merovingian race who descended from the Alps. The first expedition was defeated by the jealous animosity of the Franks, and a few days afterwards they were vanquished in a bloody battle, with more loss and dishonour than they had sustained since the foundation of their monarchy. Impatient for revenge, they returned a third time with accumulated forces, and Autharish yielded to the fury of the torrent. The troops and treasures of the Lombards were distributed in the walled towns between the Alps and the Apenine. A nation, less sensible of danger, than of fatigue at the length and dignity of their discipline; composed of twenty commanders; and the hot vapours of an Italian sun infected with disease those trumonante bodies which had already suffered the vicissitudes of intestine and famine. The powers that were inadequate to the conquest, were more than sufficient for the destruction of the country; the trembling natives distinguished between their enemies and their deliverers. If the junction of the Merovingian and imperial forces had been effected in the neighbourhood of Milan, perhaps they might have subdued the throne of the Lombards; but the Franks expected six days the signal of a flaming village, and the arms of the Greeks were idly employed in the reduction of Modena and Parma, which were torn from them after the retreat of their transalpine allies. The victorious Autharish asserted his claim to the dominion of Italy. But the Austrasian prince was able to bear the resistance, and rid the hidden treasures of a sequestered island in the lake of Comun. At the extreme point of Calabria, he touched with his spear a column on the seashore of Rhegium, proclaiming that ancient landmark to stand the immovable boundary of his kingdom.

During a period of two hundred years, the exarchate of Italy was unequally divided between the kingdom of the Lombards and the exarchate of Ravenna. The offices and professions, which the jealousy of Constantine had separated, were united by the rule of Tiberius; and the wealth of Ravenna, which the arms were invested, in the decline of the empire, with the full remains of civil, of military, and even of ecclesiastical power. Their immediate jurisdiction, which was afterwards consecrated as the patrimony of St. Peter, extended over the modern Romagna, the marches or valleys of Ferrara and Comun, the five maritime cities from Rimini to Ancona, and a second, inland Pentapolis, between the Adriatic coast and the hills of the Apenine. Three subordinate provinces, of Rome, of Venice, and of Naples, which were divided by the effects of the division, were acknowledged, both in peace and war, the supremacy of the exarch. The duchy of Rome appears to have included the Tuscan, Sabine, and Latian conquests of the first four hundred years of the city, and the limits may be distantly traced along the coast, from Civitavecchia to Gaeta, and with the course of the river from Ameria and Narni to the port of Ostia. The numerous islands from Grado to Chiussa, composed the infant dominion of Venice; but the more accessible towns on the continent were overthrown by the Lombards, who beheld with impotent fury a new capital rising from the waves. The power of the dukes of Naples was circumscribed by the bay and the adjacent isles, by the hostile territory of Capua, and by the Roman colony of Amalfi, whose industrious
citizens, by the invention of the mariner's compass, have unveiled the face of the globe. The three islands of Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily, still adhered to the empire; and the acquisition of the further Calabria removed the last patch of Autharis from the shore of Rhegium to the isthmus of Messenia. In Sicily, the savage mountaineers preserved the liberty and religion of their ancestors; but the husbandmen of Sicily were chained to their rich and cultivated soil. Rome was oppressed by the iron sceptre of the exarchs, and a Greek, perhaps a numismatic intruder with impudence, lengthened the reign of the Atabegs. But Napoleon reversed the privilege of electing her own dukes;* the independence of Amalfi was the fruit of commerce; and the voluntary attachment of Venice was finally ennobled by an equal alliance with the eastern empire. On the map of Italy, the arrange of the exarchate occupies a very inconsiderable space, but it included an ample proportion of wealth, industry, and population. The most faithful and valuable subjects escaped from the barbarian yoke; and the banners of Pavia and Verona, of Milan and Padua, were displayed in their respective quarters by the new inhabitants of Ravenna and Virtus. The kingdom of The remained of Italy was possessed by the Lombards and Pavia, the royal seat, their kingdom was extended to the east, the north, and the west, as far as the confines of the Avarians, the Bavarians, and the Franks of Austrasia and Burgundy, and of the Goths. In Sicily, now represented by the Terra Firma of the Venetian republic, Tyrol, the Milanese, Piedmont, the coast of Genoa, Mantua, Parma, and Modena, the grand duchy of Tuscany, and a large portion of the ecclesiastical state from Perugia to the Adriatic. The dukes, and at length the princes, of the Lombards, were the successors of the monarchy, and propagated the name of the Lombards. From Capua to Tarentum, they reigned near five hundred years over the greatest part of the present kingdom of Naples.*

Language and manners of the victorious and the vanquished people. Lombards, the change of language will afford the most probable inference. According to this standard it will appear that the Lombards of Italy, and the Visigoths of Spain, were less numerous than the Franks or Burgundians; and the conquerors of Gaul must yield to the Lombards in a pastoral and rustic sagacity which almost eradicated the Iblions of Britain. The modern Italian has been insensibly formed by the mixture of nations; the awkwardness of the barbarians in the nice management of declensions and conjugations, reduced them to the use of articles and auxiliaries that by no means can be expressed by Teutonic appellations. Yet the principal stock of technical and familiar words is found to be of Latin derivation and if we were sufficiently conversant with the obsolete, the rustic, and the municipal dialects of ancient Italy, we should trace to the old, in many terms which might, perhaps, be rejected by the classic purity of Rome. A numerous army constitutes but a small nation, and the powers of the Lombards were soon diminished by the retreat of twenty thousand Saxons, who secured a dependent situation, and robbed them of any hold and perilous adventures, to their native country. The camp of Alboin was of formidable extent, but the extent of a camp would be

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* Gregor. Mon. i. 3ii. epist. 23. 25—27.
* Homer. Iliad. i. 347—348.
*慢retto; from the Italian, the first three letters of the name of Naples. After the loss of the true Calabria, the vanity of the Greeks extended their power in place of their miserable acquisition; — and the change appears to have taken place before the time of Charlemagne. (Estienne. p. 78.)
* The same. p. 319—321. and Moratoni. (Anatichia Italiano, etc. ii. Dissertation. xxxii. xviii. p. 71—305.) have been very much in the same degree a proof of this change of name. But the reason of this inferiority in taste andHospitality, the latter with discretion; both with learning, ingenuity, and truth.
* Paul. de Greg. Langobardia. i. c. 3. 5—7. Vol. II. —9
and execute the commands, of their master, had been unknown to the ingenuity of the Greeks and Romans. Scandinavia and Scythia produce the boldest and most tractable falcons; they are tamed and educated by the roving inhabitants, always on horseback and in the field, and are accurate marksmen; a new species is introduced by the barbarians into the Roman provinces; and the laws of Italy esteem the sword and the hawk as of equal dignity and importance in the hands of a noble Lombard.

Dress and arms.

So rapid was the influence of climate and manners, and so easy, that the Lombards, in the fourth generation surveyed with curiosity and affright the portraits of their savage fathers. Their heads were shaven behind, but the shaggy locks hung over their eyes and mouth, and a long beard represented the name and character of the nation. Their dress consisted of loose linen garments, after the fashion of the Anglo-Saxons, which were decorated, in their opinion, with broad stripes of variegated colours. The legs and feet were clothed in long hose, and open sandals; and even in the security of peace a trusty sword was constantly close at hand. Vered, the orator, in his oration upon the strange appearance and horrid aspect, often concealed a gentle and generous disposition; and as soon as the rage of battle had subsided, the captives and subjects were sometimes surprised by the humanity of the victor. The vices of the ancients were the effect of ignorance, of intoxication; their virtues are the most laudable, as they were not affected by the hypocrisy of social manners, not imposed by the rigid constraint of laws and education. I should not be apprehensive of deviating from my subject, if it were in my power to delineate the private life of the conquerors of Italy, and I shall relate with pleasure the adventurous gallantry of Autharis, which breathes the true spirit of chivalry and romance.

After the loss of his promised bride, a Merovingian princess, he sought in marriage the daughter of the king of Bavaria; and Garibald accepted the alliance of this Italian monarch. Impatient of the slow progress of negotiation, the ardent lover escaped from his palace, and visited the court of Bavaria in the train of his own embassy. At the public audience, the unknown stranger advanced to the throne of the king of Germany. The ambassador, who was indeed the minister of state, but that he alone was the friend of Autharis, who had trusted him with the delicate commission of making a faithful report of the charms of his spouse. Theudelinda was summoned to undertake this important examination, and after a pause of three days, he hailed her as so amiable and so humble, that it was necessary to consult the ancient laws of Italy, and the princess was to present a cup of wine to the first of her new subjects. By the command of her father, she obeyed: Autharis received the cup in his turn, and, in restoring it to the princess, he secretly touched her hand, and drew his own finger over her face and lips. In the evening, Theudelinda imparted to her nurse the indirect familiarity of the stranger, and was comforted by the assurance, that such boldness of nature, such放肆, such audacity, must, if he were the descendant of Autharis, "such are the strokes of the king of the Lombards." On the approach of a French army, Garibald and his daughter took refuge in the dominions of their ally; and the marriage was consummated in the palace of Vered. At the end of one year, it was agreed, by the voice of Autharis; but the virtues of Theudelinda had endeared her to the nation, and she was permitted to bestow, with her hand, the sceptre of the Italian kingdom.

From this fact, as well as from similar examples, it appears that the Lombards possessed freedom to elect their sovereign, and sense to decline the frequent use of that dangerous privilege. The public revenue arose from the produce of land, and the profits of justice. When the independent character of their prince was consummated, the throne of his father, he restored the administration of justice with a fair mixture of the respective domains. The proudest nobles aspired to the honours of servitude near the person of their prince; he reformed the fidelity of his vassals by the precarious gift of pensions and benefices; and atoned for the injuries of war, by the rich foundation of monasteries and churches. In peace a judge, a leader in war, he never usurped the powers of a sole and absolute legislator. The king of Italy convened the national assemblies in the palace, of which in probability, he was the chief. The representatives of ninety hundred pieces of gold declined a just sense of the value of a simple citizen. Less atrocious injuries, a wound, a fracture, a blow, an opprobrious word, were measured with scrupulous and almost ridiculous diligence; and the prudence of the

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* Their ignorance is proved by the silence even of those who professed--treatise of the arts of hunting and the history of animals. Aristotle, (Hist. Animal. L. i. c. 30, tom. i. p. 395, and the Notes of his last editor, M. Camus, tom. ii. p. 364) Pinyuy, (Hist. Natur. l. i. c. 10,) Aelian, (de Natur. Animal. l. i. c. 42,) and perhaps Homer, (Odyss. xxix. 127.) Their ignorance of the true size and common grace between the hawks and the Thracian falcons, may be illustrated from a small extract. See the annotated description of M. de Buffon, Hist. Naturelle, tom. xvi. p. 239, &c.

# Script. Barum, Italiam, tom. i. part ii. p. 129. This is the sixteenth law of the emperor Lewis the pious. His father Charlemagne had falcons in his household as well as hunters. (Memoires sur l'Ancienne Chevalerie, par M. de St. Palaye, tom. iii. p. 173.) I observe in the laws of Rotharis in more and more of the art of the king's park, (not 222,) and in Gaul, in the sixth century, it is celebrated by St. Gildas. 

### Script. Italiam multiorem circa quos habitant. Aulus (p. 207-208.) The council of Thaton has given the title of Amphilochus to the arms of a murderer.

* Paul, l. c. 22. The first dissertations of Muratori, and the first volume of Giannone's history, may be consulted for the state of the kingdom of Italy.

** Giannone (Istoria Civile di Napoli, tom. i. p. 292,) has justly censured the impertinence of Boccaccio, (Gio. iii. Notici. 2,) who, without regard to the existence of the ancient laws, has given the title of Amphilochus to the arms of a murderer.

LEGISLATOR encouraged the ignoble practice of bartering honour and revenge for a pecuniary compensation. The ignorance of the Lombards, in the state of paganism or christianity, gave implicit credit to the motives and misdeeds of witchcraft; but the judges of the seventeenth century might have been instructed and confounded by the wisdom of Rohliris, who derides the absurd superstition, and protects the wretched victims of popular or judicial cruelty. The same spirit of a legislator, who is a benefactor food for the ways of life and misfortune to the universal, at length concludes its season, by dismissing, on the ground of the Lombards, those who admitted the bishops of Italy to a seat in their legislative councils. But the success of their kings is marked with virtue and ability; the troubled scenes of their annals are adorned with fair intervals of peace, order, and domestic happiness; and the Romans enjoyed a milder and more equitable government than any of the other kingdoms which had been founded on the ruins of the western empire.

Misery of Rome

Amidst the arms of the Lombards, and under the despotism of the Greeks, we again inquire into the fate of Rome, which had reached, about the year 800, the sixth lowest period of her depression. By the removal of the seat of empire, and the successive loss of the provinces, the sources of public and private opulence were exhausted; the lofty tree, under whose shade the historians of their brethren, who were to be destroyed together like dogs, and dragged away into distant slavery beyond the sea and the mountains. Such incessant alarms must annull the pleasures and interrupt the labours of a rural life; and the Campagna of the cloister and the wilderness, in which the land is barren, the waters are impure, and the air is infectious. Curiosity and ambition no longer attracted the nations to the capital of the world; but if chance or necessity directed the steps of a wandering stranger, he contemplated with horror the vacancy and solitude of the city, and might be tempted to ask, Where is the senate, and where are the people? In a season of excessive rains, the Tiber swelled above its banks, and rushed with irresistible violence into the valleys of the seven hills. A pestilential disease arose from the stagnation of the deluge, and so rapid was the course in the midst of a solitude, which implored the mercy of heaven. A society in which marriage is encouraged and industry prevails, soon repairs the accidental losses of pestilence and war; but the foreign domination of the Romans was condemned to hopeless indigence and celibacy, the depopulation was constant and visible, and the gloomy enthusiasts might expect the approaching failure of the human race. Yet the number of citizens still exceeded the measure of subsistence; their power was supplied by citizens themselves, from Sicily or Egypt; and the frequent repetition of famine betrays the inattention of the emperor to a distant province. The edifices of Rome were exposed to the same ruin and decay; the mouldering fabrics were easily overthrown by inundations, tempests and earthquakes. It was a form in proof of national ruin, a typical advantage of stations, excided in their base triumph over the ruins of antiquity.

Misery of Rome

It is commonly believed, that pope Gregory the first attacked the temples and mutilated the statues of the city; that, by the command of the barbarian, the Palatine library was reduced to ashes, and that the history of Livy was the peculiar mark of his absurd and mischievous fanaticism. The writings of Gregory himself reveal his implacable aversion to the monuments of classic genius; and he points his severest censure against the profane learning of a bishop, who taught the art of grammar, and who studied the Latin orations, and pronounced in the same voice the praises of Jupiter and those of Christ. But the evidence of his destructive rage is double and recent: the temple of Peace, or the theatre of Marcus, have been demolished by the slow operation of ages, and a form of 430 was impressed on the copies of Virgil and Livy in the countries which were not subject to the ecclesiastical dictator.

The tombs and ruins of the city were neither more the spoil of the barbarians, nor a stadium of the pious. The tomb and relics of the saints were preserved from the heathen, and the destruction of the saracens, and the subversion of the state, and the preservation of the nation. But the relics of the apostles were guarded by miracles and invisible terrors; and it was not without fear that the pious had approached the object of his worship.

It was for these reasons, that it was dangerous to be held, the bodies of the saints and martyrs from the purest motives presumed to disturb the repose of the sanctuary, were afflicted by visions, or punished with sudden death. The unreasonable request of an emperor, who wished to deprive the Romans of their sacred treasure, the head of St. Paul, was rejected with the deepest abhorrence; and the pope asserted, most probably with truth, that a linen which had been sanctified in the neighbourhood of his body, or the filigree of his chain, which it was sometimes easy and sometimes impossible to obtain, possessed an equal degree of miraculous virtue. But the power as well as virility...
of the apostles resided with living energy in the breasts of their successors; and the chair of St. Peter was filled under the reign of Maurice by the first and birth and praetorius, greatest of the name of Gregory. His reform of Gregorius's grandfather Felix had himself been pope, and indeed the bishop, who was already honored by the law of celibacy, his consecration must have been preceded by the death of his wife. The parents of Gregory, Sylvia and Gordian, were the noblest of the senate, and the most pious of the church of Rome; his father and mother were adorned among the ancients withvirgins; and his own figure with those of his father and mother were represented near three hundred years in a family portrait, which he offered to the monastery of St. Andrew. The design and colouring of this picture afford an honourable testimony, that the art of painting was cultivated by the Italians of the sixth century; but the most abject ideas must be entertained of their taste and learning, since the epistles of Gregory, his sermons, and his dialogues, are the work of a man who was second in erudition to none of his contemporaries: his birth and abilities had raised him to the office of prefect of the city, and he enjoyed the merit of renouncing the pomp and vanities of this world. His ample patrimony was dedicated to the foundation of seven monasteries; one in Rome, and six in Sicily; and it was the wish of Gregory to be buried with his predecessors in this life, and to have the glory only in the next. Yet his devotion, and it might be sincere, pursued the path which would have been chosen by a crafty and ambitious statesman. The talents of Gregory, and the splendour which accompanied his retreat, rendered him dear and useful to the emperors: his implied obedience has been always inculcated as the first duty of a monk. As soon as he had received the character of deacon, Gregory was sent to reside at the Byzantine court, the papa or minister of the apostolic see; and he boldly assumed, in the person of St. Peter, a tone of independence dignity, which would have been criminal and dangerous in the most illustrious layman of the empire. He returned to Rome with a just increase of reputation, and after a short exercise of the monastic virtues, he was dragged from the cloister to the papal throne, by the nominating care of the clergy and people. He alone resisted, or seemed to resist, his own elevation; and his humble petition, that Maurice would be pleased to reject the choice of the Romans, could only serve to exalt his character in the eyes of the emperor and the public. When the fatal mandate was pronounced, Gregory solicited the aid of some of his friends to convey him in a barge beyond the gates of Rome, and modestly concealed himself some days among the woods and mountains, till his retreat was discovered, as it is said, by a celestial light.

The pontificate of Gregory the Great, which lasted thirteen years six months and ten days, is one of the most edifying periods of the history of the church. His virtues and even his faults, a singular mixture of simplicity and cunning, of pride and humility, of sense and supposition, were happily suited to his station and to the temper of the times. In his rival, the patriarch of Constantinople, he condemned the antichristian title of universal bishop, which the successor of St. Peter was too haughty to confer on the patriarch of Rome; his spiritual and the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Gregory were confined to the triple character of bishop of Rome, primate of Italy, and apostle of the west. He frequently ascended the pulpit, and kindled, by his rule, though pathetic, eloquence, the congenial passions of the congregation of the church. In this life, the scripture was interpreted and applied, and the minds of the people, depressed by their present calamities, were directed to the hopes and fears of the invisible world. His precepts and example defined the model of the Roman liturgy; the distribution of the parishes, the calendar of festivals, the order of processions, the service of the priests and deacons, the variety and change of sacerdotal garments. Till the last days of his life, he officiated in the canon of the mass, which continued above three hours; the Gregorian chant has preserved the vocal and instrumental music of the theatre, and the rough voices of the barbarians attempted to imitate the melody of the Roman school. Experience had shewn him the efficacy of these solemn and pompous rites, to soothe the distress, to confirm the faith, to mitigate the sufferings, and to dispel the fear, of the Roman people; and he confidently gave their tendency to promote the reign of priesthood and superstition. The bishops of Italy and the adjacent islands acknowledged the Roman pontiff as their special metropolitan. Even the existence, the authority, the sanctity of the succession of the pope, without the consent of the church of Rome, was determined by his absolute discretion: and his successful inroads into the provinces of Greece, of Spain, and of Gaul, might countenance the most lofty pretensions of succeeding popes. He interposed to prevent the abuses of popular elections; his jealous care maintained the purity of faith and discipline, and the apostolic shepherd assiduously watched over the faith and discipline of the subordinate pastors. Under his reign, the Arians of Italy and Spain were reconciled to the catholic church, and the conquest of Britain reflects glory on the name of Gregory the first. Instead of six legions, forty monks...
were embroiled for that distant island, and the pontiff recommended the austere duties which forbade him to partake the perils of thir spiritual warfare. In less than two years he could announce to the archbishop of Alexandria, that they had baptized the king of Kent with ten thousand of his Angle-Saxons, and that the Roman missionaries, like those of the primitive church, were armed only with spiritual and supernatural powers. The credulity or the prudence of Gregory was always disposed to confirm the truths of religion by the evidence of ghosts, miracles, and resurrections; and posterity has paid to his memory the same tribute, which he freely granted to the virtue of hispnach or the daring spirit of his honours have been liberally bestowed by the authority of the popes, but Gregory is the last of their own order whom they have presumed to inscribe in the calendar of saints, and temporal. Their temporal power insensibly arose government: from the calamities of the times; and the Roman bishops, who have dwelt Europe and Asia with blood, were compelled to reign as the ministers of charity and peace. I. The church of Rome, as it has been formerly observed, was endowed with ample possessions in Italy, Sicily, and the more distant provinces; and Gregory, who had acquired a civil, and even criminal jurisdiction over their tenants and husbandmen. The successors of St. Peter administered his patrimony with the temper of avigilant and moderate landlord: and the epistles of Gregory are filled with salutary instructions to abstain from doubtful or vexatious lawsuits; to preserve the integrity of weights and measures; to grant every reasonable delay, and to reduce the capitation of the slaves of the deceased, who purchased the right of marriage by the payment of an arbitrary fine. The tont or the bank was a Roman institution which appeared to be of the Tiber, at the risk and expense of the pope, in the use of wealth, he acted like a faithful steward of the church and the poor, and liberally applied to their wants the inexhaustible resources of abstinence and order. The voluminous account of his receipts and disbursements was kept above three hundred years in the Lateran, as the model of christian economy. On the four great festivals, he divided their quarterly allowance to the clergy, to his domestics, to the monasteries, the churches, the places of burial, the almshouses, and the hospital of St. John the Baptist, in the rest of the diocese. On the first day of every month, he dis tributed to the poor, according to the season, their stated portion of corn, wine, cheese, vegetables, oil, fish, fresh provisions, clothes, and money; and his treasures were continually summed to satisfy, in his name, the extraordinary demands of indigence and merit. The constant distress of the sick and helpless, of strangers and pilgrims, was relieved by the bounty of every day, and of every hour; nor would the pontiff indulge himself in a frugal repast, till he had sent the dishes from his own table to the receptacle preserving of his compassion. The munificence of the times had reduced the nobles and matrons of Rome to accept, without a blush, the ben 71oence of the church; three thousand virgins received their food and raiment from the hand of their benefactor, and many bishops of Italy escaped from the barbarians to the hospitable threshold of the Vatican. Gregory might justly be styled the father of his country; and such was the extreme sensibility of his conscience, that, for the death of a beggar who had perished in the streets, he interceded himself among several days from the consent of several nations. The misfortunes of Rome involved the apostolical pastor in the business of peace and war; and it might be doubtful to himself, whether pious or ambitious prompted him to supply the place of his absent sovereign. Gregory awakened the emperor from a long slumber, exposed the guilt or incapacity of the exarch and his inferior ministers, complained that the veterans were withdrawn from Rome for the defence of Spoleto, encouraged the Italians to guard their cities and altars; and condescending, in the crisis of danger, to name the tribunes, and to direct the operations of the provincial troops. But the martial spirit of the pope was checked by the scruples of humanity and religion: the imposition of tribute, though it was employed in the Italian war, he freely condemned as odious and oppressive; while he protected, against the imperial edicts, the pious cowardice of the soldiers who desisted a military provocation and a monastic life. If we may credit his own declarations, it would have been easy for Gregory to exterminate the Lombards by their domestic actions, without leaving a king, a duke, or a count, to save that unfortunate nation from the vengeance of their foes. As a christian bishop, he preferred the salutary offices of peace; his mediation appeased the tumult of arms; but he was too conscious of the arts of the Greeks, and the passions of the Lombards, to engage his sacred promise for the observance of the truce. Disappointed in the hope of a general and lasting treaty, he presumed to save his country, without the consent of the emperor, and put himself at the head of the church. The sword of the enemy was sus pended over Rome; it was averted by the mild eloquence and seasonable gifts of the pontiff, who commanded the respect of heretics and barbarians. The merits of Gregory were treated by the Byzantine court with reproach and insult; but in the attachment of a grateful people, he found the purest reward of a citizen, and the best right of a sovereign. 

CHAPTER VII.

Revolution of Persia after the death of Chosroes or Nu sebinshin.—His tyrant, is depo sed. — Usurpation of Bahrain.—Flight and restoration of Chosroes II. — His gratitude to the Romans. — The el og an of the Avars. — Revolt of the army against Maur ice. — His death. — Tyranny of Phocas. — Elevation of Heraclius. — The Persian war. — Chosroes' subdues Sy ria, Egypt, and Asia Minor.—Siege of Constantinople by the Persians and Avars. — Persian expeditions. — Victories and triumphs of Heraclius.

The conflict of Rome and Persia was caused of Rome prolonged from the death of Crassus to and Persia, the reign of Heraclius. An experience of seven hundred years might convince the rival nations of the impossibility of maintaining their conquests beyond the fatal limits of their existence. The emasculation of Trajan and Julian was awakened by the triumphs of Alexander, and the sovereignty of Persia indulged the ambitions hope of restoring the empire of Cyrus. Such extraordinary efforts of power and
courage will always command the attention of posterity; but the events by which the fate of nations is not materially changed, leave a faint impression on the page of history, and the patience of the reader would be exhausted by the repetition of the same hostilities, undertaken without cause, prosecuted without glory, and terminated without effect. One part of the ties which unite the human species, unknown to the simple greatness of the senate and the Caesars, were assiduously cultivated by the Byzantine princes, and the memorials of their perpetual embassies重复, with the same uniform prolixity, the language of classical splendor, the impatient wish of immortal fame, the influence of their greatness, and the servile temper of the tributary Greeks. Lamenting the barren superfluity of materials, I have studied to compress the narrative of these interesting transactions; but the just Nushirvan is still ampli- 
dad as the model of oriental kings, and the ambition of his grandson Chosroes prepared the revolution of the east, which was speedily accomplished by the arms and the religion of the suc-
cessors of Mahomet.

In the useless alternations that precede and follow the death of a prince and the sanguinary rights and wrongs of the distance of time, other of violating the peace which had been

contracted between the two empires about four years before the death of Justinian. The sovereignty of Persia and India aspired to secure its existence under the name of peace. The

province, the conquered of the east. After the death of Abrahah under the walls of Mecca, the discord of his sons and brothers gave an easy entrance to the Persians; they chased the strangers of Abyssinia beyond the seas; and a native prince of the ancient Homestes was restored to the throne as the vassal or viceroy of the great Nushirvan. But the

was declared his resolution to avenge the injuries of his christian ally the prince of Abyssinia, as they suggested a decent pretence to discontinue the annual tribute, which was purely disguised by the name of pension. The churches of Persarmenia were oppressed by the intolerant spirit of the Magi; they secretly invoked the protector of the christians, and after the pious murder of their sages, the rebels were avowed and acknowledged by the brethren and posterity of the Roman emperor. The complaints of Nushirvan were disregarded by the Byzantine court; Justin yielded to the importunities of the Turks, who offered an alliance against the common enemy; and the Persian monarchy was threatened at the same instant by the united forces of the Parthians and the Persians, and of the save.

of four score the sovereign of the east would perhaps have chosen the peaceful enjoyment of his glory and his last war with greatness; but as soon as war became the Romans, inevitable, he took the field with the A.D. 572, &c.,

ancestry of youth, whilst the aggressor

in the meanwhile his general Adaran advanced from Babylon, traversed the desert, passed the Euphrates, insulted the suburbs of Antioch, reduced to ashes the city of Apamea, and laid the spoils of Syria at the feet of his master, whose perseverance in the midst of winter at length subdued the bolhvar of the east, and brought the provinces of Syria, Mesopotamia, and Antiochian, to the banks of the river Oxus, from the confines of India. (Plln. Hist. Nat. vi. 21.)

of Asia, and his armies were received by the viceroy of the coast of Persia. (Bel's Travels, vol. p. 82—332.) He joyously observed, that such

of the annexation of the Persians, which Persicor, near Adarman, the city, formed in A.D. 572, &c.,

by the hands of the neighboring Amazonian. Ptolemy, in Ptolemy, tom. i. p. 116, 1150.

of the history of the world I can only perceive two nations on the Caspian: 1. Of the Macedonians, when Ptolemy, the admiral of the kings of Syria, Macedon, and Athens, delivered an address to the river Oxus, from the confines of India. (Plln. Hist. Nat. vi. 21.)

of that year, the year of the elephant, or the defeat of Abrahah; (Gaznei. Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. p. 84, 90, &c.) and this account allows two years for the conquest of Yemen.
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

The throne of Chosroes Nushirvan was filled by Hormuz or Hormisdas, the eldest of the most favoured of his sons. With the kingdoms of Persia and India, he inherited the reputation and example of his predecessors, and possessed the same valiant officers, and a general system of administration, harmonized by time and political wisdom to promote the happiness of the prince and people. But the royal youth enjoyed a still more valuable blessing, the friendship of a sage who had presided over his education, and who always preferred the advice of the interest of his pupil, his interest to his inclination. In a dispute with the Greek and Indian philosophers, Buzurg had once maintained, that the most grievous misfortune of life is old age without the remembrance of virtue; and our censure will that the same sovereign, for three years, to direct the councils of the Persian empire. His zeal was rewarded by the gratitude and docility of Hormuz, who acknowledged himself more indebted to his preceptor than to his parent; but when age and labour had impaired the strength, and perhaps the faculties, of this prudent counsellor, his son banished the youthful monarch to his own passions and those of his favourites. By the fatal vicissitude of human affairs, the same scenes were renewed at Ctesiphon, which had been exhibited in Rome after the death of Marcus Aemilius. The ministers of decay and corruption, who had been banished by the father, were recalled and cherished by the son; the disgrace and exile of the friends of Nushirvan established their tyranny; and virtue was driven by degrees from the mind of Hormuz, from his palace, and from the government. He never suspected his own retirement, and the ears of the king, informed him of the progress of disorder, that the provincial governors flew to their prey with the fierce despair of lions and eagles, and that their rapine and injustice would teach the most loyal of his subjects to abhor the name and authority of their sovereign. The sincerity of this advice was punished without death, the murmurs of the cities were despaired, their tumults were quelled by military execution; the intermediate powers between the throne and the people were abolished; and the childish vanity of Hormuz, who affected the daily use of the tiara, was fond of attendant the blood of the descendants and the tyrants, who reigned the master of his kingdom. In every word, and in every action, the son of Nushirvan degenerated from the virtues of his father. His aversion defrauded the troops; his jealous cuprice degraded the satraps; the palace, the tribunals, the waters of the Tigris, were staled by their blood and that of the tyrants, who exulted in the sufferings and execution of thirteen thousand victims. As the excuse of his cruelty, he sometimes descended to observe, that the fears of the Persians would be productive of hatred, and that their hatred must terminate in rebellion; but he forgot that his own guilt and folly had inspired the sentiments which he deplored, and prepared the event which he so justly apprehended. Exasperated by long and hopeless oppression, the provincials of Babylonia, Susa, and Carmania erected the standard of revolt. The princes of Arabia, India, and Scythia, refused the customary tribute to the unworthy successor of Nushirvan. The arms of the Romans, in slow sieges and frequent inroads, affrighted the borders of Mesopotamia and Assyria; one of their generals professed himself the disciple of Scipio, and the soldiers were animated by a miraculous image of Christ, whose mild aspect should never have been displayed in the front of battle. At the same time, the eastern provinces of Persia were ravaged by the marauding bands of the Lakait, who passed the Oxus at the head of three or four hundred thousand Turks. The imprudent Hormuz accepted their perfidious and formidable aid; the cities of Khorasan or Baetiana were commanded to open their gates; the march of the barbarians towards the mountains of Hyrcania removed the correspondence of the Turkish and Roman arms; and their union must have subdued the throne of the house of Sassan.

Persia had been lost by a king; it was saved by a hero. After his revolt, Varanes or Brahram is stigmatized by the history of the time, the son of Hormuz as an ungrateful slave; the proud and ambiguous reproach of despotism, since he was truly descended from the ancient princes of Rey, one of the seven families whose splendour as well as substantial prerogatives outlived them above the heads of the Persian nobility. At the siege of Dara, the valour of Varanes was rewarded under the eyes of his father, and both the son and father successively promoted him to the command of armies, the government of Media, and the superintendence of the palace. The popular prediction which marked him as the deliverer of Persia might be inspired by his lofty and extraordinary figure: the epithet Gobat is bestowed on him for the quality of dry wood; he had the strength and stature of a giant, and his savage countenance was fearfully compared to that of a wild cat. While the nation trembled, while Hormuz disguised his terror by the name of suspicion, and his servants continued their disloyalty under the mask of fear, Brahram alone displayed his undaunted courage and apparent fidelity: and as soon as he found that no more than twelve thousand soldiers would follow him against the enemy, he prudently declared, that to this fatal number heaven had reserved the honours of the triumph. The short and narrow descent of the Pole Rudbar or Hyrcanian rock, is the only pass through which an army can penetrate into the territory of Rej and the plains of Media. From the commanding heights, a band of resolute men might overwhelm with stones and darts the multitude of the Turkish host. The chief of the army ordered his son were transpierced with arrows; and the fugitives were left, without counsel or provisions, to the revenge of an injured people. The patriotism of the Persian general was stimulated by his affection for the city of his forefathers; in the hour of victory every present interest was overlooked, and every consideration vanished. The crowd and ardour of his mind was kindled by the gorgeous spectacles of beds, and Thrones, and tables of massy gold, the spoils of Asia, and the luxury of the hostile camp. A

1. See the imitation of Scipio in Theophrastus, L. ii. c. 114; the image of Christ, L. ii. c. 23. Hereafter I shall speak more fully of the Christian religion; I have almost said. This, if I am not mistaken, is the oldest writer of divine manufacture; but in the thousand years, many others issued from the same workshop.

2. D'Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, tom. i. p. 729, 730. His grandeur and populosiness in the ninth century is exaggerated beyond the bounds of credibility; but Rej has been since ruined by war and the multitudes of the air. Chardin, Voyage en Perse, tom. i. p. 279, 280. D'Herbelot, Bibliotheque Oriental, tom. i. p. 714.

3. Theophrastus, L. ii. c. 18. The story of the seven Persians is told in an interesting and graceful manner in the third book of Herodotus; and their noble descendants are often mentioned, especially in the fragments of Caesar. Yet the venerable name of Orestes, the son of Ortholan, the son of Orestes, the son of the Persians of the palace, the son of Anaximander, the son of the Persians of the palace, is no longer employed, and it may not seem probable that the seven families would survive the revolution of Persia. This, however, is not represented by the seven minstrels (Diaz, de Regno Persico, L. ii. p. 190) and some Persian nobles, like the kings of Altas and the kings of the kingdom of Arachia and Armenia. (Herodotus, lib. i. xxx.) p. 577.) They claim their descent from the bold companions of the Saracen.

4. See an accurate description of this mountain by Olearius, (Voyage en Perse, p. 397, 398.) who ascended it with much difficulty and danger in his return from Eryptah to the Caspian sea.
prince of a less malignant temper could not easily have forgiven his benefactor, and the secret hatred of Hormouz was envenomed by a malicious report, that Bahram had privately retained the most precious fruits of his Turkish victory. But the approach of a Roman army on the side of the Arazes compelled the implied

7. As he expatiated on the advantages of order and obedience, the danger of innovation, and the inevitable discord of those who had encouraged each other to trample on their lawful and hereditary sovereign. By a pathetic appeal to their humanity, he extorted that pity which is seldom refused to the fallen fortunes of a king. While they beheld the unbridled and squalid appearance of the prisoner, his tears, his chains, and the marks of ignominious stripes, it was impossible to forget how recently they had adored the divine splendour of his diadem and purple. But an imperial magnificence was the only thing which could be presumed to vindicate his conduct, and to applaud the victories of his reign. He defined the duties of a king, and the Persian nobles listened with a smile of contempt; they were fired with indignation when he dared to vilify the character of Chosroes; and by the indirect offer of resigning the sceptre to the second of his sons, he subscribed his own condemnation, and sacrificed the life of his innocent favourite. The mangled bodies of the boy and his mother were exposed to the people: the eyes of Hormouz were pierced with a hot torch. The punishment of the eldest was succeeded by the execution of his eldest son. Chosroes had ascended the throne of Persia without guilt, and his piety strove to alleviate the misery of the abdicated monarch; from the dungeon he removed Hormouz to an apartment of the palace, supplied him with all the comforts of existence, and patiently endured the furious sallies of his resentment and despair. He might despise the resentment of a blind and unpopular tyrant, but the pain was trembling on his head, till he could subvert the power, or acquire the friendship, of the great Bahram, who sternly denied the justice of a revolution, in which himself and his soldiers, the true representatives of Persia, had never been consulted. The offer of a general amnesty, and of the second rank in his kingdom, was answered by an epistle from Bahram, friend of the gods, conqueror of men, and enemy of tyrants, the satrap of satraps, general of the Persian armies, and a prince adored with the title of eleven virtues. He commands Chosroes, the son of Hormouz, to shun the example and fate of his father, to confine the traitors who had been released from their chains, to deposit in some holy place the diadem which he had usurped, and to accept from his gracious benefactor the pardon of his faults and the government of a province. The rebel might not be proud, and the king most assuredly was not humble; but the one was prompt to forgive, and the other was prompt to condescend to the weakness, and even the modest language of his reply still left room for treaty and reconciliation. Chosroes led into the field the slaves of the palace and the populace of the capital: they beheld with terror the banners of a veteran army; they were encompassed and surprised by the revolutions of the general; and the satraps who had deposed Hormouz, received the punishment of their revolt, or expiated their first treason by a second and more criminal act of disloyalty. The life and liberty of Chosroes were saved, but he was reduced to the narrow limits of his own dominions, or some foreign land; and the implacable Bahram, anxious to secure an unquestionable title, hastily returned to the palace, and ended, with a bow-string, the wretched existence of the son of Nushirvan.  

7. See the words of Theophylact, l. iv. ch. 7. See also Strabo, v. 7. 8. The Editors of the Roman lit. 420. This is genuine oriental bastard. 

8. The text of Theophylact, l. iv. 7. is inaccurate. See the nobles and satraps. He was heard with decent attention as long as he expatiated on the advantages of order and obedience, the danger of innovation, and the inevitable discord of those who had encouraged each other to trample on their lawful and hereditary sovereign.
with his remaining friends; for whether he should lurk in the valleys of mount Caucasus, or fly to the tents of the Turks, or solicit the protection of the emperor. The long enmity of the successors of Artaxerxes and Constantine increased his reluctance to appear as a supplicant in a rival court; but he weighed the forces of the Romans, and prudently considered, that the necessity of a safe retreat, and the escape more easy, and their succours more effectual. Attended only by his concubines, and a troop of thirty guards, he secretly departed from the capital, followed the banks of the Euphrates, traversed the desert, and halted at the frontiers of Syria, where he was recognised. About the third watch of the night, the Roman prefect was informed of his approach, and he introduced the royal stranger to the fortress at the dawn of day. From thence the king of Persia was conducted to the more honourable residence of Hierapolis; and Maurice dissembled his pride, and displayed his benevolence at the reception of the letters and ambassadors of the grandson of Nushirvan. They humbly represented the vicissitudes of fortune and the common interest of princes, exaggerated the ingratitude of Bahram, the agent of the evil principle, and urged with specious arguments, that it was for the advantage of the Romans themselves to support the two monarchies which balance the world, the two great luminaries by whose salutary influence it is vivified and adorned. The anxiety of Chosroes was soon relieved by the assurance, that the emperor had counted on the grace of his majesty, and that Maurice prudently declined the expense and delay of his useless visit to Constantinople.

In the name of his generous benefactor, a rich diadem was presented to the fugitive prince, with an insensible gift of jewels and gold; a powerful army was associated with him, and he, under the command of the valiant and faithful Narses, and this general, of his own nation, and his own choice, was directed to pass the Tigris, and never to sheathe his sword till he had restored Chosroes to the throne of his ancestors. The enterprise, however splendid, was necessarily unsuccessful.

His return, Persia had already repented of her fatal rashness, which betrayed the heir of the house of Sassan to the ambition of a rebellious subject; and the bold refusal of the Magi to consecrate his usurpation, compelled Bahram to assume the sceptre, regardless of it was for the advantage of the nation. The palace was soon distracted with conspiracy, the city with tumult, the provinces with insurrection; and the cruel execution of the guilty and the suspected served to irritate rather than subdue the public discord. No sooner had the prince himself appeared to display his own and the Roman banners beyond the Tigris, than he was joined, each day, by the increasing multitudes of the nobility and people; and as he advanced, he received from every side the grateful offerings of the keys of his cities and the heads of his enemies. As soon as Modan was freed from the presence of the usurper, the loyal inhabitants obeyed the first summons of Mebodes at the head of only two thousand horse, and Chosroes accepted the sacred and precious ornaments of the palace as the pledge of their truth, and a promise of his approaching success. After the junction of the imperial troops, which Bahram vainly struggled to prevent, the contest was decided by two battles on the banks of the Zab, and the confines of Media. The Romans, with the faithful Persians, and the final victory, sixty thousand, while the whole force of the usurper did not exceed forty thousand men: the two generals signalized their valour and ability, but the victory was chiefly attended to the merit of justice and discipline. With the remnant of a broken army, Bahram fled towards the eastern provinces of the Oxus: the enmity of Persia reconciled him to the Turks; but his days were shortened by the poison, perfidious from the stings of remorse and despair, and the bitter remembrance of lost glory. Yet the modern Persians still commemorate the exploits of Bahram; and some excellent laws have prolonged the duration of his troubled and transitory reign.

The restoration of Chosroes was celebrated with feasts and executions; and the music of the royal banquet was often disturbed by the groans of dying or mulcted criminals. A general pardon might have diffused comfort and tranquillity through a country which had been shaken to the roots by the late revolution. But the sanguine temper of Chosroes is blamed, we should learn whether the Persians had not been accustomed either to dread the rigour, or to despise the weakness, of their sovereign. The revolt of Bahram, and the consequent disaster, was impartially punished by the revenge or justice of the Persians; and the merit of Bindoes himself could not purify his hand from the guilt of royal blood; and the son of Hormouz was desirous to assert his own innocence, and to vindicate the sanctity of kings. During the vigour of the Roman power, several princes were overthrown by the pressure of Persia by the arms and the authority of the first Cassars. But their new subjects were soon disgusted with the vices or virtues which they had imbibed in a foreign land; the instability of their dominion gave birth to a vulgar observation, that the choice of Rome was solicitted and rejected with equal ardour by the capricious levity of oriental slaves. But the glory of Maurice was conspicuous in the long and fortunate reign of his son and his ally. A band of a thousand Romans, who continued to guard the person of Chosroes, proclaimed his confidence in the fidelity of the strangers; his posterity, or the suspicion of an attempt to dismiss this unpopular aid, he steadfastly professed the same gratitude and reverence to his adopted father; and till the death of Maurice, the peace and alliance of the two empires were faithfully maintained. Yet the mercenary friendship of the Roman prince had been purchased with costly and important gifts; the strong cities of Martyropolis and Dura were restored, and the Persarmen became the willing subjects of an empire, whose eastern limit was extended, beyond the example of former times, as far as the banks of the Euphrates and the neighbourhood of the Caspian. A pious hope was indulged, that the church as well as the state might triumph in this revolution: but if Chosroes had sincerely listened to the christian bishops, the impression was erased by the zeal and eloquence of the Magi; if he was armed with philosophic indifference, he would have accommodated his whole life, or rather his professions, to the various circumstances of an exile and a sovereign. The imaginary conversion of the king of Persia was reduced to a local and superstitious veneration for Sergius, one of the saints of Antioch,

4 Experiments cognosci est barbarus malle Romae populus rege quam habet. These experiments are admirably represented in the Experimenta et experimentis, A.D. 591—593 (Annual i. 32—41, and Mechermatex. A.D. 591, 592—594). The eyes of Tacitus seems to have transfigured the camp of the Caesars and the walls of the harem.

5 Sergius and his companion Bacchus, who are said to have suffered in the persecution of Diocletian, obtained a posthumous apotheosis, and were supposed to have appeared in France, Italy, Constantinople, and the east. Their tomb at Rapsafe was famous for miracles, and that Syrian town acquired the more honourable

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who heard his prayers and appeared to him in dreams; he enriched his shrine with offerings of gold and silver, and ascribed to his invisible patron the success of his arms, and the propagation of Siva, a devout christian and the best beloved of his wives. The beautiful and chaste, her musical and tuneful songs, her orators, and her或lents, are still famous in the history or rather in the romances of the east: her own name is expressive, in the Persian tongue, of sweetness and grace; and the epithet of Pariz alludes to the charms of her royal lover. Yet Sira never shared the passion which she inspired, and the pride of Chosroes was tortured by a jealous doubt, that while he possessed her, she had bestowed her affections on a meaner favourite.

Pride, policy, and power of the chagan of the Avars.

While the majesty of the Roman name was reviv'd in the east, the prospect of Europe is less pleasing and less glorious. By the departure of the Lombards, and the ruin of the Goths, the balance of power was destroyed on the Danube; and the Avars spread their permanent dominion from the foot of the Alps to the sea-coast of the Euxine. The reign of Avar power was brightened by the magnificent lives of their chagans, who occupied the rustic palace of Attila, appears to have imitated his character and policy; but as the same scenes were repeated in a smaller circle, a minute representation of the copy would be deteftible, as well as foreign to the original.

The pride of the second Justin, of Tiberiius, and Maurice, was humbled by a proud barbarian, more prompt to inflict, than exposed to suffer, the injuries of war; and as often as Asia was threatened by the Persian arms, Europe was oppressed by the dangerous inroads, or costly friendship, of the Avars. When the Avars' envoys approached the presence of the chagan, they were commanded to wait at the door of his tent, till, at the end perhaps of ten or twelve days, he condescended to admit them. If the substance or the style of the words deserved his ear, he inquired, with a real or affected fury, their own dignity, and that of their prince; their baggage was plundered, and their lives were only saved by the promise of a richer present and a more respectful address. But Asia's sacred ambassadors enjoyed and abused an unhonoured licence in their passage through the empire.

The great and the more important amours, the increase of tribute, or the restitution of captives and deserts; and the majesty of the empire was almost equally degraded by a base compliance, or by the false and fearful excesses, with which they eluded such insolent demands. The chagan had never seen an elephant; and his curiosity was excited by the strange, and perhaps fabulous, portrait of that wonderful animal. At his command, one of the largest elephants of the imperial stables was sent to him. But the chagan, in a maniacal condition, conveyed his precious train to the royal village in the plains of Hungary. He surveyed the enormous beast with surprise, with disgust, and possibly with terror; and smiled at the vain industry of the Romans, who, in search of such useless rarities, could explore the limits of the Hid and sea. He wished, at the destruction of the emperor, to repose in a golden bed. The wealth of Constantinople, and the skilful diligence of her artists, were instantly devoted to the gratification of his caprice; but when the work was finished, he rejected with scorn a present so unworthy the majesty of a great king. These were the casual sallies of his pride, but the avarice of the chagan was a more steady and tractable passion; a rich and regular supply of silk apparel, furniture, and plate, introduced the rudiments of art and luxury among the tents of the Scythian and the Avar. In the course of life, a preference was shown for pepper and cinnamon of India; the annual subsidy or tribute was raised from fourscore to one hundred and twenty thousand pieces of gold; and after each hostile interruption, the payment of the arrears, with infinite delay, was again the condition of the origin of the new treaty. In the language of a barbarian, without guile, the princes of the Avars affected to complain of the insincerity of the Greeks, yet he was not inferior to the most civilized nations in the refinements of dissimulation and perfidy. As the successor of the Lombards, the chagan asserted his claim to the important city of Sirmium, the ancient bulwark of the Illyrian provinces. The plains of the Lower Hungary were covered with the Avar horse, and a fleet of large boats was built in the Hercynian wood, which was designed to transport into the Save the materials of a bridge. But as the strong garrison of Singidunnin, which commanded the conflux of the two rivers, might have stopped their passage and baffled his designs, he dispelled their apprehensions by a solemn oath, that his views were not hostile to the empire, and that he was only anxious to transport the materials of a bridge. As soon as he rose from his knees, he accelerated the labour of the bridge, and despatched an envoy to proclaim what he no longer wished to conceal. "Inform the emperor," said the perfidious Bajan, "that Sirmium is invested on every side. Advise his prudence to withdraw the citizens, and consider their effects, which are dangerous and alarming."


The Greeks only describe her as a Woman by birth, a christian by religion; but she is represented as the daughter of the emperor Maurice in the Persian and Turkish romances, which celebrate the love of Khosro for Schirin, of Schirin for Perbad, the most beautiful youth of the east. D'Herbelot, Biblib, Orient, p. 728, 157, 263.

The whole series of the tyranny of Hormuz, the revolt of Bahram, and the flight and restoration of Chosroes, as related by two contemporary Greeks—more correctly by Eværus (I. v. c. 16, 17, 18, 19.) and most diffusely by Thiotheby Theophylact Somococius (I. iii. c. 6, 15, 16, c. 37, &c.) proceeding copiously from the works of Zephania and Codrus, can only transcribe and abridge. The Christian Arabs, Evænthus (Lampra, h. c. 369, p. 206—209) and Aflabihaurumus (Dyssan, p. 86—90) appear to have consulted some particular memoirs. The great Persian historians of the fifteenth century, Wirked and Censured, are only to be known by the imperfect extracts of Strickland, (Tarikh, p. 129—135.) Texiera, or rather Schōner, (Hist. of Persia, p. 152—154.) A Florentine historian, (de l'Academy, tom. vii. p. 283—291.) and D'Herbelot, (avec méme, Historique de Bahram, p. 472.) were perfectly satisfied of their authority, I could wish those original materials had been more copious. The quality and power of the chagan may be taken from MENANDER (Excerpt. Lec. p. 117, &c.) and Thiotheby, (I. c. 3, &c.) whose abilities are not much concerned about the distinction of the Avar than the Roman prince. The predecessors of Bajan had tasted the insatiable appetite, and were savagely possessed; Bajan, Hist. Des Peoples Barbaros, tom. xii. p. 545.) The chagans who invaded Italy A.D. 611, (Muratori, Amulii, tom. vi. p. 365.) was then bereft of state, foretasted, (Paul Warnefried, de Gris, Langob. I. v. c. 583. the son, perhaps, or the grandson, of Bajan.
and to resign a city which it is now impossible to relieve or defend. Without the hope of relief, the defence was abandoned, and, the walls were still untouched; but famine was enclosed within the walls, till a merciful capitulation allowed the escape of the naked and hungry inhabitants. Singidunum, at the distance of fifty miles, experienced a more cruel fate: the buildings were razed, and the vanquished people were condemned to servitude and exile. Yet the ruins of Sirmium are no longer visible; the advantageous situation of Singidunum soon attracted a new colony of Sclavonians, and the conflux of the Save and Danube is still guarded by the fortifications of Belgrade, or the White City, so often and so obstinately defended beyond the Salisians' arms. From Belgrade to the walls of Constantinople a line may be measured of six hundred miles: that line was marked with flames and with blood; the horses of the Avars were alternately bathed in the Bazine and the Adriatic; and the Roman pontiff, alarmed by the approach of a more savage enemy, was reduced to cherish the Lombards as the protectors of Italy. The despair of a captive, whom his country refused to ransom, disclosed to the Avars the invention and practice of military engines; but in the first attempts, they were rudely framed and awkwardly managed. The Avars, under their chief, Soven and Berea, of Philippopolis and Adrianople, soon exhausted the skill and patience of the besiegers. The warfare of Baian was that of a Tartar, yet his mind was susceptible of a humane and generous sentiment; he spared Anobius, whose summary waters had restored the health of the best beloved of his wives; and the Romans confess, that their starving army was fed and dismissed by the liberality of a foe. His empire extended over Hungary, Poland, and Prussia, from the mouth of the Danube to that of the Oder; and his new subjects were divided and transplanted by the jealousy policy of the conquerors. The eastern regions of Germany, which had been left vacant by the emigration of the Vandals, were replenished with Sclavonian colonists; the same tribes are discovered in the neighbourhood of the Adrian and of the Baltic, and with the name of Baian himself, the Illyrian cities of Nyessa and Lissa are again found in the heart of Silesia. In the disposition both of his troops and of the provinces, the chagan exposed the vassals, whose lives he disregarded: to the first assault; and the swords of the enemy were blunted before they encountered the native valour of the Avars.

With the disunion alliance restored the ancient troopers of the east to the defence of Emperor; 592-602; rope; and Mauricius, who had supported for ten years the insolence of the chagan, declared his resolution to march in person against the barbarians. In the space of two centuries, none of the successors of Theodosius had appeared in the field, their lives were supinely spent in the palace of Constantinople; and the Greeks could no longer understand the danger, or the decrees of the empire. The emperor Maurice was opposed by the grave flattery of the senate, the timid superstition of the patriarch, and the tears of the empress Constantina; and they all conjured him to devolve on some manner general the fatigues and perils of a Scythian campaign. Deaf to their advice and entreaty, the emperor boldly advanced seven miles from the capital; the sacred ensign of the cross was displayed in the front, and Maurice reviewed, with conscious pride, the arms and numbers of the veterans who had fought and conqueror against the insurmountable Avars. New scenes crowned his progress by sea and land; he solicited, without success, a miraculous answer to his nocturnal prayers; his mind was conferred by the death of a favourite horse, the encounter of a wild boar, a storm of wind and rain, and the birth of a monstrous child; and he forgot that the best of emperors is to muzzle our sword in the defence of our country. Under the pretence of receiving the ambassadors of Persia, the emperor returned to Constantinople, exchanged the thoughts of war for those of devotion, and disappointed the public hope, by his absence and the choice of his lieutenants. The blinding parley for the promotion of his brother Peter, whom he fled from the barbarians, from his own soldiers, and from the inhabitants of a Roman city. That city, if we may credit the resemblance of name and character, was the famous Azinum, which had alone repelled the tempests of Attila. The example of the warlike youth was propagated to succeeding generations; and they obtained, from the first or the second Justin, an honourable privilege, that their valour should be always reserved for the defence of their native country. The brother of Maurice attempted to violate this privilege, and to mingle a patriotic band with the mercenaries of his camp; they retired to the church, he was not awed by the sanctity of the place; the people rose in their cause, the gates were shut, the ramparts were manned; and the cowardice of Peter was found equal to his arrogance and injustice. The military fame of Commentriodatus 5 is the object of satire or comedy rather than of serious history; since he was even deficient in the vile and vulgar qualification of personal courage. His solemn councils, strange evolutions, and secret orders, always supplied an apology for flight or delay. If he marched against the barbarians, the pleasant valley of Mount Hautus opposed him an insuperable barrier; in his retreat, he explored, with fearless curiosity, the most difficult and obscure paths, which had almost escaped the memory of the oldest native. The only blood which he lost was drawn, in a real or affected malady, by the lance of a surgeon; and his health, which fell with exquisite sensibility the approach of the barbarians, was uniformly restored by the repose and safety of the winter season. A prince who could promote and support this unworthy favourite must derive no glory from the accidental merit of his colleague. Peter in five successive battles, which seem to have been conducted with skill and resolution, seventeen thousand two hundred barbarians were made prisoners; near sixty thou-

5 See D'Aulibo, in the Memoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, tom. xxiv. p. 412-413. The Sclavonic name of Belgrade is mentioned in the tenth century by Constantine Porphyrogennetos; the Latin appellation is Balgradum, Balamgrad; and Baian or Baianus, in the beginning of the ninth. (p. 413.)

6 Brenn. Annals, Eccles. A.D. 600, No. I. Paul Warndorf (p. iv. c. 38) relates their irruption into Frithi, and (c. 39) the captivity of his son-in-law Anobius. A.D. 637. The Sciri traversed the Hadrianian Wine country of Carantania, and made a descent in the territory of Sigmundus, (c. 57.)

7 Even the heptopolis, or movable tower, Theophrastus, l. B. 15, 17.

8 The arms and alliances of the chagan reached to the neighbour- hood of the Saxons, and the Danes were the western vassals of the chagan. The emperor Maurice conversed with some liberal harpers from that remote country, and only seems to have maintained a trade for a nation. (Theophrastus, l. B. 15, 17.

9 This is one of the most probable and luminous conjectures of the chagan of the Germanic period. See in the Deutsche, chagan de France, p. 565.) The Teuton and Serbi are found together near mount Cacass, in Hermon, and on the lower Elbe. Except the wildest traditions of the Boemian, &c. afford some colour to his hypothesis.

10 See Frederickus, in the Historians de France, tom. ii. p. 452. Baian died in the year 592. (Theophrastus, l. B. 15, 17.)

11 See See Appendix, p. 244. (According to a Slavonic compilation) 390-483, P. 424. Baian died in the year 592. (Theophrastus, l. B. 15, 17.)

12 See Appendix, p. 244. (According to a Slavonic compilation) 390-483, P. 424. Baian died in the year 592. (Theophrastus, l. B. 15, 17.)

13 This noble verse, which unites the spirit of an hero with the reason of a sage, may prove that Homer was in every light superior to his age and eminence.
sand, with four sons of the chagan, were slain: the Roman general surprised a peaceful district of the Gepids, who slept under the protection of the Avars; and his last trophies were erected on the banks of the Danube. Since the death of Teutoburg, the iron of the empire had not penetrated so deeply into the old Dacia; yet the success of Priscus was transient and barren: he was soon recalled, by the apprehension, that Baian, with dauntless spirit and recruited forces, was preparing to avenge his defeat under the auspices of Constantinople.  

The theory of war was not more fatal to man armies; similar to the camps of Caesar and Trajan, than to those of Justinian and Maurice. The iron of Tuscany or Pontus still retained the keenest temper from the skill of the Byzantine workmen. The magazines were plentifully stored with every species of offensive and defensive arms. In the construction and use of ships, engines, and fortifications, the barbarians admired the superior ingenuity of a people whom they so often vanquished in the field. The science of tactics, the art of evolutions, and stratagems of antiquity was transcribed, and studied in the books of the Greeks and Romans. But the solitude or degeneracy of the provinces could no longer supply a race of men to handle those weapons, to guard those walls, to navigate those ships, and to reduce the theory of war into the practice of successful practice. The Gepids and the Goths, the barbarians of the east, and the Saracens of the west, had been formed without a master, and expired without a disciple. Neither honour, nor patriotism, nor generous superstition, could animate the lifeless bodies of slaves and strangers, who had succeeded to the honours of the legions; it was in the camp alone that the emperor should have exercised a despotic command; it was only in the camp that his authority was disbelieved and insulted: he appeared and inflamed with gold the licentiousness of the troops; but their vices were inherent, their virtues were accidental, and their costly maintenance exhausted the substance of a state which they were unable to defend. After a long and pernicious indulgence, the cure of this inveterate evil was undertaken by Maurice; but the rash attempt, which drew destruction on his own head, tended only to aggravate the disease. A reform should be exempt from the suspicion of interest, and he must possess the confidence and esteem of those whom he proposes to reclaim. The troops of Maurice might listen to the voice of a victorious leader; they disdained the admonitions of statesmen and sophists, and when they rewarded an edtict with an exclamation of their discontent, they pay the price of their arms and clothing, they executed the avarice of a prince insensible of the dangers and fatigues from which he had escaped. The camps both of Asia and Europe were agitated with frequent and furious seditions: the enraged soldiers of Edessa pursued, with reproaches, with threats, with wounds, their trembling generals; they overturned the statues of the emperor, cast stones against the miraculous image of Christ, and either rejected the yoke of all civil and military laws, or instituted a dangerous model of voluntary subjugation. The monarch, always distant and often deceived, was incapable of yielding or persisting, according to the exigence of the moment. But the fear of a general revolt induced him too readily to accept any act of valor, or any expression of loyalty, as an atonement for the popular offence; the new reform was abolished as hastily as it had been announced, and the troops, instead of punishment and restraint, were agreeably surprised by a gracious proclamation of immunities and of pardons. Since the death of Teutoburg, the army of the empire had not imbibed the spirit of Teutoburg. The inconstancy, the peremptory usage of the emperor, the passing of edicts without the right of appeal, the blindness of the law courts, the tyrannical and relentless gifts of the emperor; their insolence was elated by the discovery of his weakness and their own strength: and their mutual hatred was inflamed beyond the desire of forgiveness or the hope of reconciliation. The historians of the times adopt the charges of Fanariot, that Maurice used to employ the troops whom he had laboured to reform; the misconduct and favour of Constantiopolis are imputed to this malevolent design; and every age must condemn the inhumanity or avarice of a prince, who, by the trilling ransom of six thousand pieces of gold, as soon as have prevented the massacre of twelve thousand prisoners in the hands of the chagan, and revolution. In the just fervor of indignation, an order was signified to the army of the Danube, that they should spare the magazines of the province, and establish the winter quarters in the hospitable vicinity of the Avars. The measure of their grievances was full: they pronounced Maurice unworthy to reign, expelled or slaughtered his faithful adherents, and under the command of Phocas, a simple centurion, returned by hasty marches to the neighborhood of Constantinople. Notwithstanding the disunion, the discord, the division, the military disorders of the third century were again revived; yet such was the novelty of the enterprise, that the insurgents were awed by their own rashness. They hesitated to invest their favourite with the vacant purple; and while they rejected all treaty with Maurice himself, they held a friendly correspondence with his son Theodosius, and with Germanus the father-in-law of the royal youth. So obscure had been the former condition of Phocas, that the emperor was ignorant of his name and character of his rival; but as soon as he learnt that the centurion, though held in sedition, was timid in the face of danger, "Alas!" cried the despising prince, "if he is a coward, he will surely be a murderer." Yet if Constantinople had been firm, the revolt of Constanza, the second chagan, the third chagan, might have stunned Phocas; he spent his fury against the walls; and the rebel army would have been gradually consumed or reconciled by the prudence of the emperor. In the games of the circes, which he repeated with unusual pomp, Maurice disguised, with smiles of confidence, the anxiety of his heart. He had been deducted from the fasces, the factions, and flattered their pride by accepting from their respective tribunes a list of nine hundred blues and fifteen hundred greens, whom he affected to esteem as the solid pillars of his throne. Their treacherous or languid support betrayed his weakness and hastened his fall: the green faction were the secret accomplices of the rebels, and the blues recommended lenity and moderation in a contest with their Roman brethren. The rigid and parimonious virtues of Maurice had long since alienated the hearts of his subjects: he was beloved by his race as a man, but detested by all who deplored the impiety of his proceedings. A fanatic monk ran through the streets with a drawn sword, denouncing against him the sentence of God, and a vile plethora, who represented his countenance as being seated on an ass,? and pursued by the imprecations of the multitude. The emperor suspected the popularity

1 Theophylact and Theophanes see ignorant of the conspiracy of Maurice. Those charges, so unfavourable to the memory of the emperor, if they are true, as Cicero of the first mentioned, in his History of Constantine (iii. 20), from whence Zonaras (com. iii. 1. iv. p. 27. and the) Thucydides, with others, with a satirical view of his character. The History of the World (p. 298), has followed another computation of the time.
2 The discourse is all in the History of the World (p. 298), with a satirical view of his character. The History of the World (p. 298), has followed another computation of the time.
Maurice were kindly interred. His fate alone was remembered; and at the end of twenty years, in the month of Theophylactus, the mournful tale was interrupted by the tears of the audience.


In a small bark, the unfortunate Maurice, with his wife and nine children, escaped to the Asiatic shore, but the violence of the wind and weather caused the vessel of St. Anthony's near Chalcidon, from whence he despatched Theodosius, his eldest son, to implore the gratitude and friendship of the Persian monarch. For himself, he refused to fly: his body was tortured with severe pains, his mind was enfeebled by superstition; he put off his life not for the duty of God, nor for the welfare of his soul. A fervent prayer and public prayer to the Almighty, that the punishment of his sins might be inflicted in this world rather than in a future life. After the abdication of Maurice, the two Leontias disputed the choice of an emperor; but the favourite of the blues, and Germanus himself was hurried along by the crowds, who rushed to the palace of Hecbolon, seven miles from the city, to adore the majesty of Phocas the centurion. A modest wish of resigning the purple to the rank and merit of Germanus was opposed by his resolute adversary, who, by the vote of the Senate and clergy, obeyed his summons, and as soon as the patriarch was assured of his orthodox belief, he consecrated the successful usurper in the church of St. John the Baptist. On the third day, amidst the acclamations of a thoughtless people, Phocas made his public entry in a chariot drawn by four white horses: the revolt of the troops was rewarded by a lavish donation, and the new sovereign, after visiting the palace, beheld from his throne the games of the hippodrome. In a dispute of precedence between the two factions, his partial judgment inclined in favour of the greens. Remember that Maurice, like Gregory the Great, resigned from the opposite side; and the indiscreet churlishness of the blues abominable and stimulated the cruelty of the tyrants. The deaths of defenders were dispatched to Chalcedon: they dragged the emperor from his sanctuary: and the five sons of Maurice were successively murdered before the eyes of their agonizing mother.

At each stroke, which felt in his heart, he found strength to reprove a pious exclamation: "Thou art just, O Lord! and thy judgments are righteous."

And such, in the last moments, was his contemplation of his own guilt. Yet he had renounced himself to the soldiers the pious falsehood of a nurse who presented her own child in the place of a royal infant. The tragic scene was finally closed by the execution of the emperor himself, in the twentieth year of his reign, and the sixty-third of his age. The bodies of the father and his five sons were cast into the sea, their heads were exposed at Constantinople to the insults or pity of the multitude, and it was not till some signs of putrefaction had appeared, that Phocas convined at the private burial of these venerable remains. In that grave, the faults and errors of

\[\text{Death of Maurice and his children. A.D. 602. Nov. 27.}\]

\[\text{They did only cast out a vague reproach—or had the emperor really listened to some obscure teacher of those ancient Greeks?}\]

\[\text{The church of St. Antoninus (whom I have not the honour to know) was torn down to the very foundations.}\]

\[\text{The port of Ephesus, where Maurice and his children were murdered, is described by Cyril (De Bogophoro Thracio, I. cit. xiv) as one of the most pleasant and most ancient cities, and its barrows were a pest to the inhabitants of the place.}\]

\[\text{The inhabitants of Constantinople were generally subject to the influence of the three theological schools, the Catharumarian, the Bentian, and the Grecian.}\]

\[\text{It was consistent with the rules of history, he could assign the medical cause. Yet even a prince would not have been more permittent than his inquiry (I. vii. c. 16. 17.) at the annual installations of the Nile, and all the opinions of the Greek philosophers on that subject.}\]

\[\text{From this generous attempt, Cornelle has deduced the intricate web of the imperial age. In his Epistles a volume is not sufficient to be clearly understood. (Cornelle de Voltaire, tom. i. p. 250.) and which, although an interval of some years, is said to have puzzled the author himself. (Histoires Drameues, tom. ii. p. 122.)}\]
still mindful of her father, her husband, and her sons, 
aspired to freedom and revenge. At the dead of night, she 
sought to the sanctuary of St. Sophia; but her 
ears, and the gold of her associate Germans, were 
invoked to invoke in revenge; but her life was forfeited to revenge, and even to justice; but the patri- 
arch obtained and pledged an oath for her safety: a 
mansion was allotted for her prison, and the widow of 
Maurice accepted and abused the liberty of his assassin. 
Thus the memory of a second conspiracy, dissolved the 
engaged interests and ruled the turn of 
Phocas. A matron who commanded the respect and 
piety of mankind, the daughter, wife, and mother of 
emperors, was tortured as the vilest malefactor, to 
force a confession of her designs and ass-illates; and 
her innocence is now to be regretted. 

the plane-tree, and 
and 

A daughter of Phocas, his only child, 
was given in marriage to the patrician 
Crispus, and the royal images of the 
bride and bridegroom were indiscriminately 
placed in the circus, by the side of the emperor. 
The father must desire that his posterity should inherit the 
fruit of his crimes, but the monarch was offended by this 
premature and popular assumption: the tribunes of 
the green faction, who accused the effrontery of 
their sculptors, were condemned to instant death; 
their lives were granted to the prayers of the people; 
but Crispus might reasonably doubt, whether a jealous 
usurper could forget and pardon his involuntary 
competition. The green faction was alienated by the in- 
gress of Claducus and the loss of the 
every province of the empire was ripe for rebellion; 
and Heraclius, exarch of Africa, persisted above two 
years in refusing all tribute and obedience to the 
curonian who disgraced the throne of Constantinople. 
By the secret emissaries of Crispus and the senate, the 
independent exarch was seduced to save and to govern 
his country: but his ambition was chilled by age, and 
he resigned the dangerous enterprise to his son Hera- 
clius, and to Nicetas, the son of Gregory, his friend 
and lieutenant. The powers of Africa were armed by the 
two adventurous youths; they agreed that the one 
should navigate the ocean, and the other to 
Constantinople, that the other should lead an army through 
Egypt and Asia, and that the imperial purple should be 
the reward of diligence and success. A faint 
rumour of their undertaking was conveyed to the ears of 
Phocas, and the wife and mother of the younger Heracli- 
us were seized as the hostages of his faith; but 

the treacherous art of Crispus extenuated the distant 
peril, the means of defence were neglected or delayed, and 
the tyrant supinely slept till the African army east 
avor to the Hellespont. His standard was joined at 
the Volusianus, and was received by his son Heraclius, 
rather as revenge; the ships of Heraclius, whose lofty masts 
were adorned with the holy symbols of religion, 
steered their triumphant course through the Propontis; 
and Phocas beheld from the windows of the palace 
his approaching and inevitable fate. The green faction 
was dispelled by the heroism of heroes; which exposed the 
fruitless resistance to the landing of the Africans; 
but the people, and even the guards, were determined 
by the well-timed defection of Crispus; and the tyrant 
was seized by a private enemy, who boldly invaded 
the solitude of the palace. Stripped of the diadem and 
purple, clothed in a vile figure, and his chains, was 
transported in a small boat to the imperial galley of 
Heraclius, who reproached him with the crimes of his abominable reign. 
"Wilt thou govern better?" were the last words of the despair of 
reigns. In after, suffering of the severity of death and 
torture, his head was severed from his body, 
mangled trunk was cast into the flames, and the same 
treatment was inflicted on the statues of the vain 
usurper, and the sedulous banner of the green faction. 
The voice of the clergy, the senate, and the people, 
were united in the demand that the traitor should be 
purified from guilt and ignorance; after some grave 
hesitation, he yielded to their entreaties. 

His coronation was accompanied by that 
election of his wife Eudoxia; and their posterity, 
Oct. 5, 627, and 
till the fourth generation, continued to 
reign with the honours of the throne. In the 
voyage of Heraclius had been easy and prosperous, 
the tedious march of Nicetas was not accomplished 
befpre the decision of the contest; but he submitted 
without a murmur to the fortune of his friend, and his 
bondable intentions were rewarded with an equestrian 
stature, and a daughter, who was more difficult to 
tryst the fidelity of Crispus, whose recent 
services were recompensed by the command of 
the Cappadocian army. His arrogance soon provoked, 
and seemed to excuse, the ingratitude of his new sov- 
erigns. In their desire of the succession of the East, 
of Phocas was condemed to embrace the monastic 
life; and the sentence was justified by the weighty 
observation of Heraclius, that the man who had 
beheld his father, could never be faithful to his friend. 
Even after his death, the republic was 
afflicted with civil discord. Chosroes invaded 
their territory, and a Roman 
army, armed with a pious cause the most for 
pre- 
midable of her enemies. According to 
A.D. 603, &c. 
the friendly and equal forms of the Byzantine and 
Persian courts, he announced his exaltation to the 
throne; and his ambassador Lilius, who had presented 
him with the heads of Maurice and his sons, was 
the best qualified to describe the circumstances of the 
tragic scene. However it might be vanquished by fiction 
or Sophisty, Chosroes turned with horror from the 
assassin, impriomined the pretended envoy, discharged 
the usurper, and declared himself the avenger of 
his father and benefactor. The death of Phocas 
afforded the pretext and resentment which humanity would feel, and honour 

\* According to Theophanes, \* C 140. 

Theophanes, scribes and modern 
writers, C Theophanes, scribes and modern 
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would dictate, promoted, on this occasion, the interest of the Persian king; and his interest was powerfully magnified by the designs of the Magi and satraps. In a strain of artful adulation, which assumed the language of freedom, they presumed to cen sure the excess of his gratitude and friendship for the Greeks; a nation with whom it was dangerous to conclude either peace or alliance; whose superiority was despised by the oriental sages, and who must be incapable of any virtue, since they could perpetrate the most atrocious crimes, the impious murder of their sovereign. For the crime of an ambitious centurion, the nation which he oppressed was chastised with the calamities of war: and the same calamities, on the account of Christian patriotism, were retaliated and reembolded on the heads of the Persians.

The general who had restored Chosroe to the throne still commanded in the east; and the name of Narses was the formidable sound with which the Assyrian mothers were accustomed to terrify their infants. It is not improbable, that a native subject of Persia should encourage his master and his friend to deliver and possess the provinces of Asia. It was still more probable, that Chosroe should animate his troops by the assurance that the sword which they dreaded the most would remain in its scabbard, or be drawn in their favour. The heart of such a tyrant was conscious how little he deserved the obedience of a hero: Narses was removed from his military command; he reared an independent standard at Hierapolis in Syria; he was betrayed by false-pretences, and burnt alive in the market-place of Constantinople. Deprived of the only chief whom they could fear or esteem, the bands which he had led to victory were twice broken by the cavalry, trampled by the elephants, and pierced by the arrows of the barbarians; and a great number of the captives were beheaded on the field of battle by the sentence of the licentious victor, who might justly condemn their seditious misconduct as the authors or accomplices of the death of Maurice. Under the reign of Phocas, the fortifications of Merdin, Dara, Amida, and Edessa, were successively besieged, reduced, and destroyed by the Persian monarch: he passed the Euphrates, and ravaged the cities, the riches, and the wealth of Cyrrhus, Bithynia, and Thrace; and Hierapolis, Chalcedis, and Berbeus or Aleppo, and soon encompassed the walls of Antioch with his irresistible arms. The rapid tide of success discloses the decay of the empire, the incapacity of Phocas, and the disaffection of his subjects; and Chosroe provided a defensible post for his father, who might justly condemn the seditious misconduct of the archbishop as the authors or accomplices of the death of Maurice and the lawful heir of the monarchy. The first intelligence from the east which Heraclius received, was that of the loss of Antioch; but the aged metropolis, so often overturned by earthquakes, and pillag ed by the enemy, could supply but a small and languid stream of treasure and blood.


7 We must now, for our better understanding, take our leave of contemporary historians, and descend, if it be a discretion, from the imitation of rhetoric and oratory, to the use of the facts and truths of history. Theophanes. (Chron. p. 214—279, and Nicphorus, (p. 3—165, supply a regular, but imperfect, series of the Persian war; and for any additional facts I quote my special authorities. Theophanes, a courtier who became a monk, was born A.D. 740; Nicphorus, patriarch of Constantinople, A.D. 825, was somewhat younger; they both suffered in the cause of images. Hankius, de Scribtoribus Byz. lib. i. cap. iii. p. 290—291.

8 The Persian historians have been themselves deceived; but Theophanes, (p. 214) accuses Chosroe of the fraud and falsehood; and the Persian authors, who is the cause of the fraud and falsehood, who was saved from the assassins, lived and died a monk on mount Troad.

9 Euthychus dates all the losses of the empire under the reign of Phocas, an error which savours the honour of Heraclius, whom he brings to an earlier period than the facts will permit. Theophanes has been more accurate, and gives the reign of Phocas for the relief of Constantinople, (Annal. tom. i. p. 233—241.) The date of Heraclius is fixed by the treaty of the Caucausus, 211. Th. Cyril. Oriental, tom. ii. p. 112, 413. Elmasi, Hist. Sarac. p. 15—16.) Abaphragius, (Dionys. p. 29, 92) are more sincere and accurate. The years of the Persian war are disposed in the chronology of Pagi.
THE DECLINE AND FALL

From the long-disputed banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, the reign of the god and nation was extended to the Hellespont and the Nile, the ancient limits of the Persian monarchy. But the provinces, which had been fashioned by the habits of six hundred years to the virtues and vices of the Roman government, supported with reluctance the yoke of the barbarians. The idea of the vices of their form of government, the institutions or at least the writings, of the Greeks and Romans, and the subjects of Heracleius had been educated to pronounce the words of liberty and law. But it has always been the pride and policy of oriental princes, to display the titles and attributes of their monarchical dignity, and to demand, with their personal name and absolute condition, and to enforce, by cruel and insolent threats, the vogue of their absolute commands. The Christians of the east were scandalized by the worship of fire, and the impious doctrine of the two principles; the Magi were not less intolerant than the bishops, and the martyrdom of some native Persians, who had deserted the religion of Zoroaster, was conceived to be the prelude of a fierce and general persecution. By the oppressive laws of Justinian, the adversaries of the church were made the enemies of the state; the alliance of the Jews, Nestorians, and Jacobites, had contributed to the success of Chosroes, and his partial favour to the sectaries provoked the hatred and fears of the catholic clergy. Conscous of their fear and hatred, the Persian conqueror governed his new subjects with an iron sceptre: and as he suspected the loyalty of his dominion, he exhausted their wealth by exorbitant tributes and licentious rapine, despoiled or demolished the temples of the east, and transported to his hereditary realms the gold, the silver, the precious marbles, the fruits of the art of Greece, and the pride of the cities. In his obscure picture of the calamities of the empire, it is not easy to discern the figure of Chosroes himself, to separate his actions from those of his lieutenants, or to ascertain his personal merit in the general blaze of glory and magnificence. He enjoyed with ostentation the fruits of victory, and magnificently retired from the hardships of war to the luxury of the palace. But in the space of twenty-four years, he was detained by superstition or resentment from approaching the gates of Ctesiphon: and his favourite residence of Armenia, or Dastagird, was situate beyond the Tigris, about sixty miles to the north of the capital. The adjacent pastures were covered with flocks and herds: the paradise or park was replenished with pheasants, peacocks, ostriches, roe-deers, and wild boars, and the noble game of lions and tigers was sometimes turned loose for the holier pleasures of the chase. Nine hundred and sixty elephants were maintained for the use or splendour of the great king: his tents and baggage were carried into the field by twelve thousand great camels and eight thousand of a smaller size; and the royal stables were filled with six thousand mules and horses, among whom the names of Scythian, Burgis, and Arabiz are renowned for their speed or beauty. Twenty thousand guards successively mounted before the palace gate; the service of the interior apartments was performed by twelve thousand slaves, and in the number of three thousand virgins, the fairest of some happy concubine might console her master for the disappointment of the legitimate wife. Sometimes, instead of the various treasures of gold, silver, gems, silk, and aromatics, which were deposited in a hundred subterraneous vaults; and the chamber Badawerden denoted the accidental gift of the winds which had wafted the spoils of Heracleius into one of the Syrian harbours of his rival. The voice of the ocean resounded with the flattery of the institution; or at least by the writings, of the Greeks and Romans, and the subjects of Heracleius had been educated to pronounce the words of liberty and law. 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Twenty thousand guards successively mounted before the palace gate; the service of the interior apartments was performed by twelve thousand slaves, and in the
the remnant of Greece, Italy, and Africa, and some maritime cities, from Tyre to Trebizond, of the Asiatic coast. After the loss of Egypt, the capital was affli-
ted by famine and pestilence, and the emperor, pressed by the un-
palable of resistance, and hopeless of relief, had resol-
ved to transfer his person and government to the more
secure residence of Carthage. His ships were already
laden with the treasures of the palace, but his flight was
arrested by the patriarch, who armed the powers
of religion in the defense of his country, led Hera-
clius to the altar of St. Sophia, and extorted a solemn
oath, that he would live and die with the people whom
God had intrusted to his care. The chalagon was en-
camped in the plains of Thrace, but he assembled his
perfidous designs, and solicited an interview with the
emperor near the town of Heraclea. Their reconcili-
tion was celebrated with equestrian games, the senate
and people in their gayest apparel resorted to the fes-
tival of peace, and the Avars beheld, with envy and
desire, the spectacle of Roman luxury. On a sudden,
the hippocrepide was encompassed by the Seychyan
cavalry, who had pressed their secret and nocturnal
march; the tremendous sound of the chalagon's whip
gave the signal of the assault; and Heraclius, wrap-
ning his diadem round his arm, was saved, with ex-
treme hazard, by the fleetness of his horse. So rapid
was the pursuit, that the Avars almost entered the gold-
dust glittering on the capricious air; and Heraclius,
but the plunder of the suburbs rewarded their treason,
and they transported beyond the Danube two hundred
and seventy thousand captives. On the shore of Chal-
cedon, the emperor held a safer conference with a more
honorable foe, who, before Heraclius descended from
his galley, saddled with reserve dignity and the
majesty of the purple. The friendly
offer of Sain, the Persi-an general, to
conduct an embassy to the presence of the great king,
was accepted with the warmest gratitude, and the
prayer for pardon and peace was humbly presented by
the patriarch prefect, the præfect of the city, and one
of the first ecclesiastics of the patriarchal church. But
the lieutenant of Chosroes had fatally mistaken the
intentions of his master. "It was not an em-
bassy," said the tyrant of Asia, "it was the person
of Heraclius, bound in chains, that he should have
brought. I will not accept the chalice of peace to the
emperor of Rome, till he has abjured his
credulity, and embraced the worship of the sun." Sain
was layed alive according to the inhuman prac-
tice of his country; and the separate and rigorous con-
signation of the ambassadors violated the laws of
nations, and the policy of all ages. Yet, the experience of six
years at length persuaded the Persian monarch to renounce the conquest of Constan-
tinople, and to specify the annual tribute or ransom of the Roman empire; a thousand talents of gold, a
thousand talents of silver, a thousand silk robes, the
thousand horses, and a thousand virgins. Heraclius
subscribed these ignominious terms, but the time and
space which he obtained to collect such treasures from
the poverty of the east was industriously em-
ployed in the preparations of a bold and desperate
attack.

His preparations for war. A. D. 621. The characters conspicuous in
history, that of Heraclius is one of the
most extraordinary and inconsistent. In the
first and last years of a long reign, the emperor
appears to be the slave of sléth, of pleasure, or of su-
perstition, then, when his wealth and the luxury of
public calamities. But the languid mists of the morn-
ing and evening are separated by the brightness of the
meridian sun: the Areatius of the palace arose the
Cesar of the camp; and the honour of Rome and Heraclius was restored to the exploits and
triumphs of six adventurous campaigns. It was the
duty of the Byzantine historians to have revealed the
causes of his slumber and vigilance. At this distance we
can only conjecture, that he was endowed with more
personal courage than political resolution; that
he was detained by the charma and perhaps the arts
of his niece Martina, with whom, after the death of
Eudocia, he contracted an incestuous marriage; and
that he yielded to the base advice of the counsellors,
who urged as a fundamental law, that the life of the
emperor should never be exposed in the field. Per-
haps he was awakened by the last insolent demand of
the Persian conqueror; but at the moment when Hera-
clius assumed the spirit of a hero, the only hopes of the Romans were drawn from the vicissitudes of
fortune, which might threaten the proud prosperity of
Chosroes, and must be favourable to those who had
attained the lowest period of depression. To provide
for the expenses of war, was the first care of the
emperor; and for the purpose of collecting the tribute,
he was allowed to collect the benevolence of the east
ern provinces. But the revenue no longer flowed in
the usual channels: the credit of an arbitrary prince
was annihilated by the power; and Heraclius was
first displayed in daring to borrow the con-
scerated wealth of churches under the solemn vow of
restoring, with usury, whatever he had been compelled
to employ in the service of religion and of the em-
prise. The clergy themselves appear to have sympathized
with the public distress, and the discreet patriarch
of Alexandria, without admitting the precedent of
sacri-
lege, assisted his sovereign by the miraculous or se-
culous revelation of a secret treasure. Of the sol-
diers who had conspired with Phæcon, only two were
found to have survived the stroke of time and of the
barbarians; the loss, even of these ardent veterans,
was imperfection supplied by the new levies of Herac-
lius, and the gold of the sanctuary united, in the
same camp, the names, and arms, and languages, of
the east and west. He would have been content with
the neutrality of the Avars; and his friendly entreaty,
not a design, but a constant and United of the
guardian, of the empire, was accompanied with a
more persuasive donative of two hundred thousand
pieces of gold. Two days after the festival of Easter,
the emperor, exchanging his purple for the simple
garb of a penitent and warrior, gave the signal of his
Cæsariality. The preparations of this new reign were
recommended to the children; the civil and military
powers were vested in the most deserving hands, and
the discretion of the patriarch and senate was authorized

4 Nicephorus, (p. 10, 11,) who brands this marriage with the names of
incest and impudic, is happy to observe, that two so con-
venient frui: the elder was marked by Providence with a stuff neck,
the younger with the loss of hearing.
5 George of Pisidia, Hist. p. 142—145, p. 53 who states the opinions,
acquired the punishallious counsel of any sinister views. Would he
have been revered the proselytes of the gnostic heresy? of Cyprian?
Where, if in 2. 1. 1. 3. (p. 12.)
6 The Oriental are not less fond of remarking this strange visitation:
I remember some story of Khorow Paris, not very unlike the
ring of Polycent at Sams. Baronius gravely described this discovery, or rather transmission of
barrels, not of honey, but of gold, (Annals, Eccles. A. D. 620, No. 3, &c.) Yet the loss of the treasure, by the early departure of
by the barbarians, who were ordered to leave the patriarch of Alexandria no more than
years afterwards, speaks the ill humour of the Bulgarians, which the
cshow of Constantinople might still feel.
7 p. 13. This circumstance need not excite our surprise. The muster-roll of a regiment, even in time of peace, is renewed by every
large levy of twenty thousand men.
8 He changed his purple, for black, buskins, and died them red in
the blood of the Persians. (Geogr. Pisid. Asiae iii. 115. 121. 122. See
the Notes of Foggini, p. xci.)
to save or surrender the city, if they should be oppressed in his absence by the superior forces of the enemy.

The neighbouring heights of Chalce- don were covered with tents and arms; and the length of Heraclius had been rashly led to the adventure; the vanity of the Persians in the sight of Constanti- nople might have been the last day of the Roman empire. As imprudent would it have been to advance into the provinces of Asia, leaving their innumerable cavalry; but the Persians were already ready to the assault; and the movement was expressed in the choice of this important post. From all sides, the scattered garrisons of the maritime cities and the mountains might repair with speed and safety to his imperial standard. The nature of Chalcedon, Cilicia, and Cilicia, in the gulf of Scændron, where the coast abruptly rises to the summits, must hang on the basalt and disorder of his rear. But the Greeks were still masters of the sea; a fleet of galleys, transports, and storeships, was assembled in the harbour; the barbarians consented to embark; a steady wind carried them through the Hellespont; the western and southern coast of Asia Minor lay on their left hand; the spirit of their chief was first displayed in a storm; and even the encomium of his train were excited to suffer and to work by the example of their master. He landed his troops on the confines of Syria and Cilicia, in the gulf of Scændron, where the coast abruptly rises to the summits, and the movement was expressed in the choice of this important post. From all sides, the scattered garrisons of the maritime cities and the mountains might repair with speed and safety to his imperial standard. The natural image of Christ, he urged them to revenge the holy altars which had been profaned by the worshippers of fire; addressing them by the exuding appellations of sons and brethren, he deplored the public and private wrongs of the republic. The subjects of a monarch were persuaded that they fought for the cause of freedom; and a similar enthusiasm was communicated to the foreign mercenaries, who must have viewed with equal indifference the interest of Rome and of Persia. Heraclius himself, with the skill and patience of a mercenary, incited the lessers warriors to the exercise of arms, and the soldiers were assiduously trained in the use of their weapons, and the exercises and evolutions of the field. The cavalry and infantry in light or heavy armour were divided into two parties; the trump- pets were fixed in the centre, and their signals directed the march, the charge, the retreat, or pursuit; the direct or oblique order, the deep or extended phalanx; to represent in fictitious combat the operations of genuine war. Whatever hardship the emperor imposed on the troops, he inflicted with equal severity on himself; their labour, their diet, their sleep, were measured by the inflexible rules of discipline; and, without despising the enemy, they were taught to repose an implicit confidence in their own valour and the wisdom of their leader. Cilicia was soon encompassed with the Persian arms; but their cavalry hesitated to enter the defiles of mount Taurus, till they were circumvented by the enemy. Heraclius, who intended to keep his rear, whilst he appeared to present his front in order of battle. By a false motion, which seemed to threaten Armenia, he drew them, against their wishes, to a general action. They were tempted by the artful lure of his ambassador, who urged them to advance to combat, the ground, the sun, and the expectation of both armies, were unpropitious to the barbarians; the Romans successfully repeated their tactics in a field of battle, and the event of the day decided the fate of the Persians; but the presence of the emperor was indispensably required to soothe the restless and rapacious spirit of the Aryans.

Since the days of Scipio and Hanni- bals, the number of men engaged, and the nature of the attack, was greater than that than which Heraclius achieved at Adrianople, Turquie, and established his troops for the winter season, in safe and plentiful quarters on the banks of the river Halys. His soul was superior to the vanity of external appearance. Constantine the Great, who was a Roman and a German, was more inclined to the of the city of Christ. The limits of Armenia, as it had been endowed to the emperor Mauric, extended as far as the Axages: the river submitted to the indignity of a

This expedition of Heraclius was the result of his hard work, perseverance, and the support of his army. It is described by the ancient historians, such as Procopius, Jordanes, and Cassiodorus, who left valuable and accurate accounts of the events. Heraclius, who had been a soldier and a general, knew the importance of discipline and order in the army. He was able to motivate his soldiers to fight with a passion that was unusual, and he was able to keep them well-fed and well-rested. His strategy was based on the use of well-trained cavalry and infantry, who were able to fight in close formation, and on the use of the Persian army's weaknesses, such as their lack of discipline and their tendency to be influenced by the promises of their leaders. Heraclius' victory at Adrianople was a turning point in the war, as it allowed the Romans to re-establish their control over the Eastern provinces of the empire. The victory at Adrianople was a testament to the strength and determination of the Roman army, and it showed that the Romans were still capable of defeating their enemies.
bridge; and Heraclius, in the footsteps of Mark Antony, advanced towards the city of Turus or Gandzas, the ancient and modern capital of Persia. At the head of forty thousand men, Chosroes himself had returned from some distant expedition to oppose the progress of the Roman arms; but he reiterated on the approach of Heraclius, declining the generous alternative of peace or of battle. Instead of half a million of inhabitants, which had been ascertained to Turus under the reign of the Sophsy, the city contained no more than three thousand houses; but the value of the royal treasures was enhanced by a tradition, that they were the spoils of Cresus, which had been transported by Cyrus from the citadel of Sardes. The rapid conquests of Heraclius were, as it were, performed a laborious task in the silence of the night. The flat roofs of the houses were defended with useless valour against the darts and torches of the Romans: the satraps and nobles of Persia, with their wives and children, and the flower of their martial youth, were either slain or made prisoners. The general escaped by a precipitate flight, but his golden armour was the prize of the conqueror; and the soldiers of Heraclius enjoyed the wealth and repose which they had so nobly deserved. On the return of the spring, the emperor traversed in seven days the mountains of Cusuditan, and passed without resistance the narrow and impetuous stream of the Bosphorus. His vengeance was returned by the fire of the new camp, as well as by the fire of the holy sepulchre. A purer spirit of religion was shown in the relief and deliverance of fifty thousand captives. Heraclius was rewarded by their tears and grateful acclamations; but this wise measure, which spread the fame of his benevolence, diffused the murmurs of the Persians against the pride and obstinacy of their own sovereign.

Amidst the glories of the succeeding campaign, Heraclius is almost lost to our eyes, and to those of the Byzantine historians. From the spacious and fruitful plains of Albania, the emperor appears to follow the progress of Hyrcanian mountains, to descend into the province of Media or Irak, and to carry his victorious arms as far as the royal cities of Casbin and Isphahan, which had never been approached by a Roman conqueror. Alarmed by the danger of his kingdom, the powers of Chosroes were already called from their winter encampment, the same winter which surrounded, in a distant and hostile land, the camp of the emperor. The Colebian allies prepared to desert his standard; and the fears of the bravest veterans were expressed, rather than concealed, by their desponding silence. "Be not terrified," said the intercept

Heraclius, "by the multitude of your foes. With the aid of Heaven, one Roman may triumph over a thousand; and if we are few, the salvation of our brethren, we shall obtain the crown of martyrdom, and our immortal reward will be liberally paid by God and posterity." These magnanimous sentiments were supported by the vigour of his actions. He repelled the three-fold attack of the Persians, improved the divisions of their chiefs, and, by a well-concerted train of marches, retreats, and successful actions, finally chased them from the field into the fortified cities of Media and Assyria. In the severity of the winter season, Sahazarra deemed himself secure in the walls of Salban; he was surprised by the activity of Heraclius, who divided his troops, and performed a laborious march through the snows of the mountains, at the head of his own, and the seventy thousand men, to which were added the barbarians of the Sophsy and the desert. The rapidity of the Roman conquests is proved by the testimony of the Caryatides of the holy sepulchre. A purer spirit of religion was shown in the relief and deliverance of fifty thousand captives. Heraclius was rewarded by their tears and grateful acclamations; but this wise measure, which spread the fame of his benevolence, diffused the murmurs of the Persians against the pride and obstinacy of their own sovereign.

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Amidst the glories of the succeeding campaign, Heraclius is almost lost to our eyes, and to those of the Byzantine historians. From the spacious and fruitful plains of Albania, the emperor appears to follow the progress of Hyrcanian mountains, to descend into the province of Media or Irak, and to carry his victorious arms as far as the royal cities of Casbin and Isphahan, which had never been approached by a Roman conqueror. Alarmed by the danger of his kingdom, the powers of Chosroes were already called from their winter encampment, the same winter which surrounded, in a distant and hostile land, the camp of the emperor. The Colebian allies prepared to desert his standard; and the fears of the bravest veterans were expressed, rather than concealed, by their desponding silence. "Be not terrified," said the intercept
struction of the sacred and profane buildings of the Asiatic suburbs, while he impatiently waited the arrival of his Scythian friends on the opposite side of the strait. In the mean time the vast multitude of Turks, barbarians, the vanguard of the Avars, forced the long wall, and drove into the capital a promiscuous crowd of peasants, citizens, and soldiers. Four score thousand of his native subjects, and of the vassal tribes of Gepid, Huns, Bulgarians, and Scavavians, who were under the soldiers of the chagan; a month was spent in marches and negotiations, but the whole city was invested on the thirty-first of July, from the suburbs of Pera and Galata to the Blackmeres and seven towers; and the inhabitants desired with all the flaming signals of the European and Asiatic shores. In the mean while the magistrates of Constantinople repeatedly strove to purchase the retreat of the chagan; but their deputies were rejected and insulted; and he suffered the patricians to stand before his throne, while the Persian envoys, in silk robes, dressed, were seated by his side. " You see," said a haughty barbarian, " the proofs of my perfect union with the great king; and his lieutenant is ready to send into my camp a select band of three thousand warriors. Preserve no longer to tempt your master with a partial and inadequate ransom; your wealth and your city are the only presents worthy of my assentance. For yourselves, I shall permit you to depart, each with an under-garment, and a shirt; and, at my entreaty, my friend Sarbar will not refuse a passage through his lines. Your absent prince, even now a captive or a fugitive, has left Constantinople to its fate; nor can you escape the arms of the Avars and Persians, unless you could soar into the air like birds, unless fishes you could dive into the waves." During ten successive days, the capital was assaulted by the Avars, who had made some progress in the science of attack, and advanced to the apart or battier the wall, under the cover of the impetuous tortoise; their engines discharged a perpetual volley of stones and darts; and twelve lofty towers of wood exalted the combattants to the height of the neighbouring ramparts. But the senate and people were animated by the spirit of Heraclius, who had detached to their relief a body of twelve thousand cuirassiers; the powers of fire and mechanics were used with superior art and success in the defence of Constantinople; and the galleys, with two and three ranks of oars, commanded the Bosphorus, and rendered the Persians the idle spectators of their defeat. The Avars were repulsed; a fleet of Scythonian canoes was destroyed in the harbour; the vessels of the chagan threatened to desert, his provisions were exhausted, and after burning his engines, he gave the signal of a slow and formidable retreat. The devotion of the Romans ascribed this signal deliverance to the Virgin Mary; but the mother of Christ would surely have condemned their inhuman murder of the Persian envoys, who were entitled to the rights of humanity, if they were not protected by the laws of nations.

After the division of his army, Heraclius prudently retired to the banks of the Phasis, from whence he maintained a defensive war against the fifty thousand gold spears of Persia. His anxiety was relieved by the deliverance of Constantinople; his hopes were confirmed by a victory of his brother division of the Turkocratic league of Chosroes with the Avars, the Roman emperor opposed the useful and honourable alliance of the Turks. At his liberal invitation, the horde of Chozars transported their tents from the plains of the Volga to the mountains of Georgia; Heraclius received them at the palace of Tediis, and the khan, with his nobles dismounted from their horses, if we may credit the Greeks, and fell prostrate on the ground, to adore the purple of the Cesar. Such voluntary homage and important aid were entitled to the grace and magnanimity of the Persian monarch. Heraclius is said to have taken off his own diadem, placed it on the head of the Turkish prince, whom he saluted with a tender embrace and the appellation of son. After a sumptuous banquet, he presented Zebiel with the plate and ornaments, the gold, the gems, and the silk, which had been inadequately bestowed on his own son, and distributed rich jewels and ear-rings to his new allies. In a secret interview, he produced the portrait of his daughter Eudocia, a prince to flatter the barbarian with the promise of a fair and augur bride, obtained an immediate succour of forty thousand horse, and drove the Persian vanguard, which Heraclius' army had defeated, on the side of the Oxus. The Persians, in their turn, retreated with precipitation; in the camp of Edessa, Heraclius reviewed an army of seventy thousand Romans and strangers; and some months were sufficiently employed in the recovery of the cities of Syria, Mesopotamia, and Armenia, whose fortifications had been imperfectly restored. Sarbar still maintained the important station of Chalecedon; but the jealousy of Chosroes, or the artifice of Heraclius, soon alienated the mind of that powerful satrap from the service of his master. A message was intercepted, by a real or fictitious hand, to the emperor of Persia, or in a garri
gan, or second in command, directing him to send, without delay, to the throne, the head of a guilty or unfortunate general. The dispatches were transmitted to Sarbar himself; and as soon as he read the sentence of his own death, he exterminarily ordered the names of four hundred officers, assembled a military council, and asked the edocarion, whether he was prepared to execute the commands of their tyrant? The Persians unanimously declared, that Chosroes had forfeited the sceptre; a separate treaty was concluded with the emperor of Persia, and the partition of the empire was agreed upon. The derivations of honour or policy restrained Sarbar from joining the standard of Heraclius, the emperor was assured, that he might prosecute, without interruption, his designs of victory and peace.

Deprived of his finest support, and his third expedition in the east, of the facility of his subjects. A.D. 627.

Sporuous in its ruins. The number of five hundred thousand may be interpreted as an oriental metaphor, to describe the men and arms, the horses and elephants, that covered Media and Assyria against the invasion of Heraclius. Yet the Romans boldly advanced from the Araxes to the Tigris, and the timid prudence of Rhazates was content to follow them by

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1 This number of eight myriads is specified by George of Pindia, (Bell, Abat, 20.) The poet (26—27) clearly indicates that the old chagan lived till the reign of Heraclius, and that his son and succes
er was born of a foreign mother. Yet Foggini (Annotas, p. 57) has great objection to this tradition to this power.

2 A bird, a fox, a mouse, and five arrows, had been the present of the Persians (Herod. 1. 101.) Subastian, an old letter a ces signes (say Roussel, with much good taste) plus elle sera magnifique une elle effrune; ce sera une courte mais que

dont l'air ne fuit que rare. (Emile. Comment. XIII. p. 146.) Yet I much question whether the senate and people of Constantinople laughed at the edocarion.

3 The Paschal Chronicle (p. 392—397) gives a minute and authen
tic account of the destruction of Constantinople. The

4 The Phases, which are (p. 264.) adds some circumstances; and a faint light may be obtained from the smokes of George of Pindia, who has composed a poem (des Belo Abarca, p. 13—143) to commemorate this auspicious event.

5 The power of the Chozars prevailed in the seventh, eighth,

and ninth centuries. They were known to the Greeks, the Arabs, and, under the name of Jofikut, to the Chazars. They are mentioned by l'Ins. des Romains, tom. ii. part. iii. p. 507—509.

6 Eudocia, daughter of Heraclius and his wife Eudocia, was born at Constantinople on the 7th of July, A.D. 601, baptized the 15th August, and crowned by the monks in the ordnary of St. Sophia, in the palace on the 8th of October of the same year. At this time she was about fifteen. Eudocia was afterwards sent to her Turkish husband, but the news of his death stopped her journey, and prevented the consummation. (Ducange, Famille Byzantine, p. 133.)

7 Elmacini (Hist. Saracen, p. 13—16) gives some curious and proba
tive facts; but his numbers are rather too high—300,000 Romans as
teugated at Edessa—500,000 Persians killed at Nineveh. The abate
cnt of a cavalry is scarcely enough to restore his sanity.
forced marches through a desolate country, till he received a peremptory mandate to risk the fate of Persia in a battle without hostiles. Eastward of the bridge of Mound, the great Nineveh had formerly been erected: the city, and even the ruins of the city, had long since disappeared: the vacant space afforded a spacious field for the operations of the two armies. But these operations are neglected by the Byzantine historians, and, as we have seen, the authors of the Tigris, and the Lycopers, describe the victory, not to the military conduct, but to the personal valor, of their favourite hero. On this memo-

Give me the complete text, as it is written on the page.
approaching end, he resolved to fix the tiara on the head of Merdaza, the most favoured of his sons. But the will of Chosroes was no longer revered, and Siroes, who had followed the court of Persia with his mother, and had conspired with the malcontents to assert and anticipate the rights of primogeniture. Twenty-two satraps, they styled themselves patriots, were tempted by the wealth and honours of a new reign; to the soldiers, the heir of Chosroes promised an increase of pay; to the mandarins, the freedom of their action; to the captives, liberty and rewards; and to the nation, instant peace and the reduction of taxes. It was determined by the conspirators, that Siroes, with the ensigns of royalty, should appear in the camp; and if the enterprise should fail, his escape was contrived to be a triumph. Siroes was saluted with unanimous acclamations; the flight of Chosroes (yet where could he have fled?) was rudely arrested, eighteen sons were massacred before his face, and he was thrown into a dungeon, where he expired on the fifth day. The Greeks and modern Persians minutely describe how Chosroes was insulted, and famished, and tortured, by the command of an inhuman son, who so far surpassed the example of his father: but at the time of his death, what tongue would express the horror of the spectators? What eye could penetrate into the lower of darkness? According to the fidelity and mercy of his christian enemies, he sunk without hope into a still deeper abyss; and it will not be denied, that tyrants of every age and sect are the best entitled to such infernal abodes. The glory of the house of Sassanid ended with the life of Chosroes: his unnatural son enjoyed only eight months the fruit of his crimes; and in the space of four years, the regal title was assumed by nine candidates, who disputed, with the sword or dagger, the fragments of an exhausted monarchy. Every province, and each city in Persia, was the scene of discord, and of blood, and the state of anarchy prevailed about eight years longer, till the factions were silenced and united under the common yoke of the Arabian caliphs.

Treaty of peace between the two empires, A.D. 628. March, &c.

As soon as the mountains became passable, the emperor received the welcome news of the success of the conspiracy, the death of Chosroes, and the elevation of his eldest son to the throne of Persia. The authors of the revolution, eager to display their merit, came to the camp of the conquerors. The last of the Persian satraps, who delivered the letters of their master to his brother the emperor of the Romans. In the language of the usurpers of every age, he imputes his own crimes to his fate, and without degrading his equal majesty, he offers to reconquer the lost discords of the two nations, by a treaty of peace and alliance more durable than brass or iron. The conditions of the treaty were easily defined and faithfully executed. In the recovery of the standards and prisoners which had fallen into the hands of the Persians, the emperor imitated the example of Augustus; their care of the provincial dignity was celebrated by the poets of the times, but the decay of genius may be measured by the distance between Horace and George of Pisania: the subjects and brethren of Heraclius were redeemed from the oppressions of the wife of Chosroes, but instead of the Roman eagles, the true symbol of the Christian cross was restored to the importunate demands of the successor of Constantine. The victor was not ambitious of enlarging the weakness of the empire; the son of Chosroes abandoned without regret the conquests of his father; and the Persians by the sound of their trumpets, and Egypt were honourably conducted to the frontier, and a war which had wounded the vitals of the two monarchies, produced no change in their external and relative situation. The return of Heraclius from Tauris to Constantinople, was a perpetual triumph; and after the death of his son, he appeared more than ever a monarch: he had already enjoyed the sabbath of his toils. After a long impatience, the senate, the clergy, and the people, went forth to meet their hero, with tears and acclamations, with olive branches and innumerable lamps: he entered the capital in a chariot drawn by four elephants; and as soon as the emperor could disengage himself from the tumult of public joy, he tasted more genuine satisfaction in the embraces of his mother and son.

The succeeding year was illustrated by a triumph of a triumph. The king of the Persians, touching the earth with the true cross to the holy sepulchre. Heraclius performed in person the pilgrimage of Jerusalem, the identity of the relic was verified by the discreet patriarch, and this august ceremony has been commemorated by the annual festival of the exaltation of the cross. Before the emperor presumed to address the conquerors, he was instructed to strip himself of the diadem and purple, the pomp and vanity of the world; but in the judgment of his clergy, the persecution of the Jews was more easily reconciled with the precepts of the gospel. He again ascended his throne to receive the addresses of the clergy, and the presents of the nation, of the provinces, of the cities. The empress Irene was left to attend God and the pope of Alexandria, was not spared the visit at Constantinople: she added a female grace to the majesty of her husband, and kept the public council with exalted rather than exercised their strength. While the emperor triumphed at Constantinople, and

1 The authentic narrative of the fall of Chosroes is contained in the letter of Heraclius (Chron. Paschal, p. 289.) and the history of Theophanes (Chron. p. 276-278.)

2 On the first rumour of the death of Chosroes, an Heraclian in two cantons was instantly published at Constantinople by George of Pisa, &c. A Vat. MS. and a poet much very much more insidious to the public enemy, (Cassiodorus, &c. v. 355.) but much more exact in the description of the person of Chosroes. (Cassiodorus, &c. v. 355.) The emperor Heraclonas (Annal. Eusebi. p. 249.) and Heraclius (Hist. Eccl. p. 9.) at the same time speak of another letter of Heraclius: he almost applauds the part of Siroes as an act of piety and justice.

3 The historical accounts of this last period of the Sassanian kings are found in Eutychius, (Annal. tom. ii. p. 251--256.) which describes the reception of Siroes, (p. 255.) and of the mother of Siroes, (p. 279.) and Asemaei (Biblioth. Oriental, tom. iii. p. 412--423.)

4 The letter of Siroes in the Paschal Chronicle (p. 9.) and other facts before he proceeds to business. The text appears in its execution in the history of Theophanes and Nicophorus.

5 The butchery of Corneille's song.

6 Monarch Heraclias au peuple qui l'attend, is much better suited to the present occasion. See his triumph in Thophanes, (p. 272--273.) and Nicophorus (p. 15.) The life of the first son of Heraclius (Chron. p. 284.) is rather more matter of interest than the life of the second son (B.B. Abbr. 256.) &c. p. 27.) The metaphor of the Sabbath is used, somewhat differently, by the emperor Vasilius. (Hist. Eccl. p. 7--10.) The year 692 A.D. the case had never been broken: and this preservation of the cross was ascribed (under God) to the devotion of queen Sara.

7 Compare, (see on Acroas. ii. 22.) and Panaetius, (p. 43.) and Heraclidas, Acroas. i. 65--69. I neglect the meaner parables of Daniel, (p. 211.) and Semeias, (p. 212.) and the apocryphal canons, or decretals of Blachelse, Pharaoh, the old serpent, &c.

8 Suidas (in Excerpt. Hist. Byzanz, p. 46.) gives this number: but either the Persians must be read for the Bavarians, or the passage does not belong to the emperor Heraclius.
obscure town on the confines of Syria was pillaged by the Saracens, and they cut in pieces some troopers who advanced to its relief: an ordinary and trifling occurrence, had it not been the prelude of a mighty revolution. These robbers were the apostles of Mahomet; their frantic valor had emerged from the desert; and in the last eight years of his reign, Heraclius lost to the Arabs the same provinces which he had rescued from the Persians.
THE DECLINE AND FALL

CHAP. VIII.

the same voice which dictated to Isaiah the future conception of a virgin. The son of a virgin, generated by the ineffable operation of the Holy Spirit, was a creature without example or resemblance, superior in every attribute of mind and body to the children of Adam. Since the introduction of the Greek or Chaldean philosophy, the Jews were persuaded of the existence of pre-existence, transmigration, and immortality of souls; and Providence was justified by a supposition, that they were confined in their earthly prisons to extinguish the stains which they had contracted in a former state. But the degrees of purity and corruption are almost incredible. It might fairly be presumed that the most sublime and virtuous of human spirits was infused into the offspring of Mary and the Holy Ghost; that his abasement was the result of his voluntary choice; and that the object of his mission was to purify, not his own, but the sins of the world. On his return to his native skies, he received the immense reward of his obedience; the everlasting kingdom of the Messiah, which had been darkly foretold by the prophets, under the canals images of peace, of conquest, and of demilion. Omnipotence could enlarge the human faculties of Christ to the extent of his intention. In the large scope of divinity, the title of God has not been severely confined to the first parent, and his incomparable minister, his only-begotten Son; might claim, without presumption, the religious, though secondary, worship of a subject world.

II. A pure God to the docets. slowly arisen in the rocky and ungrateful soil of Judea, was transplanted, in full maturity, to the happier climes of the gentiles; and the strangers of Rome or Asia, who never beheld the manhood, were not only properly disposed to embrace the divinity, of Christ. The polytheist and the philosopher, the Greek and the barbarian, were alike accustomed to conceive a long succession, an infinite chain, of angels or demons, or deities, or demons, or emanations, issuing from the throne of light. Nor could it seem strange or incredible, that the first of these gods, Logos, or word of God, of the same substance with the Father, should descend upon earth, to deliver the human race from vice and error, and to conduct them in the paths of life and immortality. But the prevailing doctrine of the eternity and inherent purity of matter infected the primitive churches of the east. Many among the gentle proselytes refused to believe that a celestial spirit, an undivided portion of the first essence, had been personally united with a mass of impure and contaminated flesh: and, in their zeal for the divinity, they phlegmatically rejected the humanity, of Christ. While his blood was still recent on mount Calvary, the Docetists, a numerous and learned sect of

Asia, invected the phænotic system, which was afterwards propagated by the Marcionites, the Manicheans, and the various names of the Gnostic heresy. They denied the truth and authenticity of the gospels, as far as they relate the conception of Mary, the birth of Christ, and the thirty years that preceded the establishment of the Messiah. He first appeared on the banks of the Jordan in the form of perfect manhood; but was a form only, and not substance; a human figure created by the hand of Omnipotence to imitate the faculties and actions of a man, and to impose a perpetual illusion on the senses of his friends and enemies. Artificers, in the same spirit of hypocrisy, that the image which was impressed on their optic nerve, eluded the most stubborn evidence of their touch; and they enjoyed the spiritual, not the corporeal, presence of the Son of God. The rage of the Jews was idly wasted against an impassive phantom; and the mystic scenes of the passion and death, the resurrection and ascension, of Christ, were represented on the theatre of Jerusalem for the benefit of mankind. If it were urged, that such ideal mimicking, such incessant deception was unworthy of the God of truth, the Docetists agreed with too many of their orthodox brethren, that the authority of antiquity. The title of God has not been severely confined to the first parent, and his incomparable minister, his only-begotten Son; might claim, without presumption, the religious, though secondary, worship of a subject world.

One of the most subtle disputants of His incorrupt the Manichean school, has pressed the body.

danger and indecency of supposing, that the God of man was clothed with an impassable and incorruptible body. Such, indeed, in the more orthodox a sys- tem, he has acquired since his resurrection, and such he must always have possessed, if it were capable of pervading, without resistance or injury, the density of intermediate matter. Devoid of its most essential properties, it might be exempt from the attributes of the infirmities of the flesh. A factus that could increase from an invisible point to its full maturity; a child that could attain the stature of perfect manhood, with- out deriving any nourishment from the ordinary sources, might continue to exist without repairing a daily waste by a daily supply of external matter. Jesus might share the repasts of his disciples without being subject to the calls of thirst or hunger; and his virgin purity was never sullied by the involuntary stains of sensual concupiscence. Of a body thus singularly constituted, a question would rise, by what means, and of what materials, it was originally framed; and our sounder theology is startled by an answer which was not peculiar to the Gnostics, that both the form and the substance proceeded from the divine essence. The ideal of pure and absolute spirit is a refinement of modern philosophy, derived from incorporeal essences, ascribed by the ancients to human souls, celestial beings, and even the Deity himself; does not exclude the notion of extended

1 About the year 200 of the Christian era, Irenæus and Hippolytus refuted the thirty-two sects, ex. \textit{cat. des sect.}. which had real- ized the rule of life in the time of Epiphanius, and ascribed the names of 

1 Juxta auctore in several superstitios, apud Josuam Christi 
sanguine recente, 

f. 22 (1 John iv 1-5).

2 The metaphysics of the soul are disannounced by Cicero, (\textit{Fiscul. 1. l.} and \textit{Maxim. de Tyri, (Deorin. xvi.) from the instructions of 
da-même, and often perplexed, the readers of the 

3 The discipies of Jesus were persuaded that a man might have signs of divine inspiration. (\textit{John c. 10, 11.}) Phœnicians before 

transmigration of virtuous souls, (Joseph, de Bell. Judae. 1. i.) 

4 The modern Rabbi is more modestly assured, that Hermes, Pythagoras, 

or Homer, did not invent them in their physiological speculations; his illustrious coun- 

5 Four different opinions have been entertained concerning the 

origin of human souls. 1. That they are eternal and divine. 2. That they are of separate gate of existence, before their union with the body. 3. That they have been propagated from the original stock of Adam, who contained in himself the mental as well as the corporeal nature. 4. That human soul is essentially created and embodied in the moment of conception. The last of these opinions, very much more probable, have prevailed among the moderns. In our spiritual history the ground is grown less sublime, without becoming more intelligible.

6 The syrians, \textit{Dox. 601. \textit{c. 146. \textit{Ad. \textit{Alym.}}} was one of the fifteen 

heretics imputed to Origen, and denied by his apologists. (Photius, \textit{Bibl. \textit{ibid. ccc. cxxxv.}}) Some of this long attribute one and 

the same soul to the persons of Adam, David, and the Messiah.
space; and their imagination was satisfied with a subtle nature of air, or fire, or ether, incomparably more perfect than the grossness of the material world. If we define the place, we must describe the figure, of the Deity. Our experience, perhaps our vanity, represents, a mere semblance of a form. The anthropomorphists, who swarmed among the monks of Egypt and the catholics of Africa, could produce the express declaration of Scripture, that man was made after the image of his Creator. The venerable Serapion, one of the 'saints of the Nitrian desert, refuted them with many a tear, his dissertation, and bewailed like an infant, his unlucky conversion, which had stolen away his God, and left his mind without any visible object of faith or devotion. The fell shadows of Cerinthus of Asia, who dared to oppose the last of the apostles. Placed on the confines of the Jewish and Gentile world, he laboured to reconcile the Gnostic with the Ebionite, by confessing in the same Messiah the supernatural union of a man and a God. He was a jealous hatchet, most exacting, from their present, fanciful improvements by Carpocrates, Basilides, and Valentine, the heretics of the Egyptian school. In their eyes, Jesus of Nazareth was a mere mortal, the legitimate son of Joseph and Mary: but he was the best and wisest of the human race, selected as the vehicle of the celestial person, and to confirm the true and supreme Deity. When he was baptized in the Jordan, the Chast, the first of the woes, the Son of God himself, descended on Jesus in the form of a dove, to inhabit his mind and direct his actions, during the allotted period of his ministry. When the Messiah was delayed, the infant person of this Jews, the Christ, an immortal and impossible being, forsook his earthly tabernacle, flew back to the plurona, or world of spirits, and left the solitary Jesus to suffer, to complain, and to expire. But the justice and generosity of such a desertion are strongly questionable; and the fate of an innocent martyr, at first perplexed, and at length abandoned, by his divine companion, might provoke the pity and indignation of the profane. Their murmurs were variously silenced by the sectaries who espoused and modified the double system of Cerinthus. It was alleged, that when Jesus was made the mediator, the place of the apathy of mind and body, which rendered him insensible of his apparent sufferings. It was affirmed, that

V. All those who believe the immnu- 4. Divine in- 

ternity of the soul, a specious and noble carnation of the factum absolutum, most exacted, from their present, a fancy upon the edge of a precipice where it was im- possible to recede, dangerous to stand, dreadful to fall; and the manifold inconveniences of their creed were aggravated by the sublime character of their theology. They hesitated to pronounce; that God himself, the Word of the second person, had been crucified and nailed to the cross. It was manifested in the flesh; that a being who pervaded the universe had been confined in the womb of Mary; that his eternal duration had been marked by the days, and months, and years, of human existence; that the Almighty had been scourged and crucified; that his impenetrable essence had felt pain and anguish; that his omniscience was not exempt from ignorance; and that the source of life and immortality expired on mount Calvary. These alarming consequences were affirmed with unblushing simplicity by Apollinaris, bishop of Laodicea, and one of the luminaries of the church. The son of a learned grammarian, he was skilled in all the sciences of Greece; eloquence, erudi- tion, and philosophy, conscious in the volumes of Apollinaris, were humbly devoted to the service of religion. The worthy friend of Athanasius, the worthy antagonist of Julian, he bravely wrestled with the Arians, and preserved the faith; in the rigour of geometrical demonstration, his commentaries revealed the literal and allegorical sense of the Scriptures. A mystery, which had long floated in the loose- ness of public belief, was defined by his perverse vigour in a mathematical form; and he first proclaimed the memorable words, "One incarnate nature of Christ," which are still re-echoed with hostile clamours in the churches of Asia, Egypt, and Ethiopia. He taught that the Godhead was united or mingled with the nature of a man; and that the Logos, the eter-
nal wisdom, supplied in the flesh the place and office of a human soul. Yet as the profound doctor had been terrified at his own rashness, Apollinaris was heard to mutter some faint accents of excuse and explanation. He continued the carnal nature of Christ, whose body either came from heaven, impassable and incorruptible, or was absorbed, and as it were transformed, into the essence of the Deity. The system of Apollinaris was strenuously attacked by the Asiatic and Syriac divines, whose schools were followed by the names of Basil, Gregory, and Chrysostom, and tainted by those of Diodorus, Theodore, and Nestorius. But the person of the aged bishop of Landecan, his character and dignity, remained inviolate; and his rivals, since we may not suspect them of the weakness of toleration, were anony, heed, perhaps, by the novelty of the arguments and difficult of the final sentence of the Catholic Church. Her judgment at length inclined in their favour; the heresy of Apollinaris was condemned, and the separate congregations of his disciples were proscribed. The legal laws of the Church were established, from the arguments and documents. Yet secretly entertained in the monasteries of Egypt, and his enemies felt the hatred of Theophilus and Cyril, the successive patriarchs of Alexandria.

V. Orthodox con. V. The grovelling Ebionite, and the sect and verbal phantastic Decrees, were rejected and denounced.

But instead of a temporary and occasional alliance, they established, and we still embrace, the substantial, indis- soluble, and everlasting union of the three persons of the Trinity, with a reasonable and human flesh. In the beginning of the fifth century the unity of the two natures was the prevailing doctrine of the Church. On all sides, it was confessed, that the mode of their co-existence could neither be represented by our ideas, nor expressed by our language. Yet a secret and ineradicable discord was cherished, between those who were most apprehensive of confounding, and those who were more fearful of separating, the divinity and the humanity of Christ. Impelled by religious frenzy, they fled with adverse hands from each other, and their alliances were perverted by the most destructive of truth and salvation. On either hand they were anxious to guard, they were jealous to defend, the union and the distinction of the two natures, and to invent such forms of speech, such symbols of doctrine, as were least susceptible of doubt or ambiguity. The poverty of ideas and language tempted them to ramnack art and nature for every possible comparison, and each comparison mised their fancy in the explanation of an incomparable mystery. In the polemic microscope, an atom is enlarged to a monster, and each particle is made evident or invisible, and conclusions that might be extricated from the principles of their adversaries. To escape from each other, they wandered through many a dark and devioes thicket, till they were astonished by the horrid phantoms of Erasmus and Apollinaris, who guarded the opposite issues of the theological labyrinth. As soon as they beheld the twilight of sense and heresy, they started, measured back their steps, and were again involved in the gloom of impenetrable orthodoxy. To purge them- selves from the guilt or reproach of damnable error, they disavowed their consequences, explained their principles, excused their indiscretions, and unanimously pronounced the sounds of concord and faith. Yet a latent and almost invisible spark still lurked among the embers of controversy; by the breath of prejudice and passion, it was quickly kindled to a mighty flame, and the verbal disputes of the oriental sects have shaken the pillars of the church and state.

The name of Cyril of Alexandria is famous in controversial story, and the catalogue of the living and his and his party have finally prevailed. In the house of his uncle, the archbishop Theophilus, he inherited the orthodox lessons of zeal and dominion, and five years of his youth were profitably spent in the adjacent monasteries of Nitria. Under the tuition of the abbot Serapion, he applied himself to ecclesiastical studies with such indefatigable zeal that Cyril parochy, torn, that in the course of one sleepless night he has pursed the four gospels, the catholic epistles, and the epistle to the Romans. Origen he detested; but the writings of Clemens and Didymus of Athens and Basil, were continually in his hands: by the theory and practice of dispute, his faith was confirmed, but his wit was sharpened; he extended round his cell the censers of scholastic theology, and meditated all the arts of allegory and metaphysics, and the more sordid, in several eccentric, folios, now peacefully slumber by the side of their rivals. Cyril prayed and fasted in the desert, but his thoughts (it is the re- proach of a friend?) were still fixed on the world; and the call of Theophilus, who summoned him to the metropolitan throne, was received by the aspiring hermit. With the approbation of his uncle he assumed the office, and acquired the fame of a popular preacher. His comely person adorned the pulpit, the harmony of his voice resounded in the cathedral, his friends were stationed to lead or second the applause of the congregation, and the last meters of the serio preserved his discourses, which, in their effect, though not in their composition, might be compared with those of the Athenian orators. The death of Theophilus expanded and realized the hopes of his successor; for Cyril, the most unprejudiced, and free soldiers and their general supported the claim of the archdeacon; but a resisting multitude, with voices and with hands, asserted the cause of their favourite; and, after a period of thirty-nine years, Cyril was settled on the throne of Alexandria. The privity was not unworthy of his ambition. At a distance from the court, A. D. 413, 414, and at the head of an immense capital, the patriarch, as he was now styled, of Alexandria, had gradually usurped the state and authority of a civil magistrate. The public and private charities of this city were administered in a manner that could not induce or appease the passions of the multitude; his commands were blindly obeyed by his numerous and fanatical parabolani, familiarized in their daily office.

1 I appeal to the confession of two oriental prelates, Gregory the Bichaphor and the Jacobite Patriarch of the east, and Elias the Nesterian metropolitan of Damascus (see Asseman, Bibliotheca Oriental, tom. ii. p. 259. col. 86, p. 511, &c.) that the Melchites, Jacobites, Nestorians, &c. agree in the doctrine, and differ only in the expression. Our most learned Christian divines—Bosanquet, Le Clerc, Asseman, La Croze, Mascheim, Juchoty are inclined to favor this charitable position; but the zeal of Pelagius is bold and angry, and the moderation of Dupin is considered in a whisper.

2 La Croze (Hist. du Christianisme des Indoors, tom. ii. p. 24,) avows that the Syriac, Nile and Arabic countries are less open to ancient authors, i.e. they are not prudently read with more diligence; and Dupin (Bibliotheque Ecclésiastique, tom. iv. p. 52, &c.) words of respect, teaches us to despise them.

3 Of Isidore of Pelusium (i. c, epist. 25, p. 5,) as the letter is not of the most honest sort, Tillemont, less sincere than the Bollandists, assigns a doubt whether this Cyril is the nephew of Theophilus. (Mem. de l'Acad. des Sciences, tom. vi. p. 285.)

4 A grammarian is named by Socrates (Hist. viii. 13.) Anastasius, or Anastasius, Bishop, at Antioch in Syria. We are not ignorant of the person, 25, p. 5.) as the letter is not of the most honest sort, Tillemont, less sincere than the Bollandists, assigns a doubt whether this Cyril is the nephew of Theophilus. (Mem. de l'Acad. des Sciences, tom. vi. p. 285.)
with scenes of death; and the prefects of Egypt were awed or provoked by the temporal power of these churchmen. An obstacle, however, was by no means removed. Cyril suspiciously opened his reign by oppressing the Novatians, the most innocent and harmless of the sectaries. The interdiction of their religious worship appeared in his eyes a just and meritorious act; and he confiscated their holy vessels, without apprehending the guilt of sacrilege. The toleration, and even the privileges, of the Jews, who had multiplied to the number of forty thousand, were secured by the laws of the Cæsars and Ptolemies, and a long prescription of seven hundred years since the foundation of Alexandria. Without any legal sentence, without any royal mandate, public, or private, nor any declaration that such might be the aediles, a seditious multitude to the attack of the synagogues. Unarmed and unprepared, the Jews were incapable of resistance; their houses of prayer were levelled with the ground, and the episcopal warrior, after rewarding his troops with the plunder of their goods, expelled from the city the remnant of the unbelieving sect. Perhaps he might plead the insolence of their prosperity, and their deadly hatred of the Christians, whose blood they had recently shed in a malicious or accidental tumult. Such crimes would have deserved the animadversion of the magistrate; but in this promiscuous massacre, the only sin, the only guilt, and Alexandria was impoverished by the loss of a wealthy and industrious colony. The zeal of Cyril exposed him to the penalties of the Julian law; but in a feeble government, and a superstitious age, he was secure of impunity, and even of praise. On the other hand, it is possible that the charges were too quickly forgotten by the ministers of Theodosius, and too deeply remembered by a priest who affected to pardon, and continued to hate, the prefect of Egypt. As he passed through the streets, his chariot was assailed by a band of five hundred of the Niren mob, and again by the wild beasts of the desert; his protestations that he was a christian and a catholic, were answered by a volley of stones, and the face of Orestes was covered with blood. The loyal citizens of Alexandria hastened to his rescue; he instantaneously claimed his justice and revenge against the monk by whose hand he had been wounded, and Ammonius expired under the rod of the licent. At the command of Cyril his body was raised from the ground, and transported, in solemn procession, to the cathedral; the name of Ammonius was changed to that of Chrysostomus the woodcutter; his tomb was decorated with the trophies of martyrdom, and the patriarch ascended the pulpit to celebrate the magnanimity of an assassin and a rebel. Such honours might incite the faithful to combat and die under the banners of the saint; and he soon promised, or accepted, the sacrifice of a virgin, who professed the religion of the Greeks, and cultivated the friendship of Orestes. Hypatia, the daughter of Theon the mathematician, was initiated in her father's studies: her learned comments have elucidated the geometry of Apollonius and Diophantus, and she publicly taught, both at Athens and Alexandria, the science of arithmetic and geometry. In the bloom of beauty, and in the maturity of wisdom, the modest maid refused her lovers and instructed her disciples; the persons most illustrious for their rank or merit were impatient to visit the female philosopher; and Cyril beheld, with a jealous eye, the gorgeous train of horses and slaves who crowded the door of her academy. A rumour was spread among the christians, that the daughter of Theon was the Virgin, to whom the obstacle was by no means removed. The archbishop; and that obstacle was speedily removed. On a fatal day, in the holy season of Lent, Hypatia was torn from her chariot, stripped naked, dragged to the church, and inhumanly butchered by the hands of Peter the reader, and a troop of savage and merciless fanatics; flesh and bone were torn from her bones with sharp oyster-shells, and her quivering limbs were delivered to the flames. The just progress of inquiry and punishment was stopped by seasonal gifts; but the murder of Hypatia has imprinted an indelible stain on the character and religion of Cyril of Alexandria.

Supercition, perhaps, would more generally expiate the blood of a virgin, than the banishment of a saint; and Cyril had accompanied his uncle to the iniquitous synod of the Oak. When the memory of Chrysostom was restored and consorted, the nephew of Theophilus, at the head of a dying faction, still maintained the justice of his sentence; nor was it till after a tedious delay and an obstinate resistance, that he yielded to the consent of the catholic world. His enmity to the Byzantine pontiff was a second cause of popular dissatisfaction; as he raised, when he envied their fortune station in the sunshine of the imperial court; and he dreaded their upstart ambition, which oppressed the metropolitans of Europe and Asia, invaded the provinces of Antioch and Alexandria, and measured the dignities of the church by those of the Persian. The long moderation of Atticus, the second usurer of the throne of Chrysostom, suspended the animosities of the eastern patriarchs; but Cyril was at length awakened by the exaltation of a rival more worthy of his esteem and hatred. After the short and troubled reign of Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, the factions of the clergy and people were appeased by the choice of the emperor, who, on this occasion, consulted the voice of fame, and invited the meritor of a stranger. Nestorius, a native of Germanicia, and a monk of Antioch, was recommended by the austerity of his life, and the purity of his morals; but the first honours which he presided before the devout Theodosius betrayed the arrograncy and impatience of his zeal. "Give me, O Cæsar!" he exclaimed, "give me the earth purged of heretics, and I will give you in exchange the kingdom of heaven. Exterminate with the heretics, and with you I will exterminate the Persians." On the fifth day, as the treaty had been already signed, the patriarch of Constantinople discovered, surprised, and attacked, a secret conventicle of the Arians; they preferred death to submission; the flames that were kindled by their despair, soon spread to the neighbouring houses, and the triumphs of Cyril was clouded by the name of inconsiderable. On either side of the Hellespont his episcopal vigour imposed a rigid formality of faith and discipline; a chro-
nological error concerning the festival of Easter was punished as an offence against the church and state. Lydia and Curtia, Sardes and Miletus, were punished, with the blood of the restless Quartodecimans; and the edict of the emperor, either of the patriarch, enumerates thirty and twenty degrees and denominations in the guilt and punishment of heresy. But the sword of persecution, which Nestorius so fearlessly wielded, was turned against his own breast. Religion was the pretext; but, in the judgment of a contemporary saint, ambition was the genuine motive of epileptic warfare. 

His heresy. In the Syrian school, Nestorius had A.D. 431 been taught to abhor the confession of the two natures, as improperly denoting the humanity of his master Christ from the divinity of the Lord Jesus. The Blessed Virgin he revered as the mother of Christ, but his ears were offended with the rush and recent title of mother of God; which had been instilled into the faithful since the origin of the Arian controversy. From the pulpit of Constantineople, a friend of the patriarch, and afterwards the patriarch himself, repeatedly preached against the use, or the abuse, of a word unknown to the apostles, unauthorized by the church, and which could only tend to alarm the timorous, and distort the simple, to the attentive, to justify, by a seeming resemblance, the old genealogy of Olympus. In his calmer moments Nestorius confessed, that it might be tolerated or excused by the unoin of the two natures, and the communication of their idiom but he was excommunicated, by contradiction, to his former sentiments. In the threaten of an infant Deity, to draw his inadequate similes from the conjugal or civil partnerships of life, and to describe the manhood of Christ as the robe, the instrument, the tabernacle of his Godhead. At these blasphemous sounds, the pillars of the sanctuaries were shaken. The unsuccessful competitors of Nestorius indulged their pious or personal resentment; the Byzantine clergy were secretly displeased with the intrusion of a stranger who is superior or absurd, might claim the protection of the monks; and the people were interested in the glory of their virgin patron. The sentence of the archbishop, and the service of the altar, were disturbed by seditious clamours: his authority and doctrine were renounced by separate congregations; every wind scattered round the empire the leaves of controversy; and the voice of the combatants on a sonorous theatre re-echoed in the cells of Pales- titian. It was the festive atrocity of the zeal and ignorance of his innumerable monks: in the school of Alexandria, he had imbibed and profes- sed the incarneation of one nature; and the successor of Athanasius consulted his pride and ambition, when he rose in arms against another Arius, more formidable and more guilty, on the second throne of the hierarchy. After a short correspondence, in which the rival prelates disguised their hatred in the hollow language of respect and charity, the patriarch of Alexandria denounced to the prince and people, to the east and to the west, the damnable error of the Nestorian parti- ff. From Egypt, most especially from Alexandria, he obtained the ambiguous counsels of toleration and silence, which were addressed to both parties while they favoured the cause of Nestorius. But the Vati- can received with open arms the messengers of Egypt. The vanity of Celestine was flattered by the appeal, and the partial version of a monk decided the faith of the pope, who, with his Latin clergy, was ignorant of the language, the arts, and the theology of the Greeks. At the head of an Italian synod, Celestine weighed the merits of the cause, approved the creed of Cyril, and recommended the submission of the prelates. He degraded the heretic from his episcopal dignity, allow- ed a respite of ten days for recantation and penance, and delegated to his enemy the execution of this rash and illegal sentence. But the patriarch of Alexandria, while the Vaticans were deliberating, added the victory to his triumph, and severe doctrines of Cyril. The professions of Nestorius have satisfied the wiser and less partial theologians of the present time?

Yet neither the emperor nor the pri- 

First council of 

mate of the east were disposed to obey Ephesus, and 

the mandate of an Italian priest; and 

A.D. 431, 

June—October, 

in the synod of the catechumens or rather of the 

episcopal 

the Greek church was unanimously demanded as 

the sole remedy that could appease or decide this 

ecclesiastical quarrel. Ephesus, on all sides acces- 

sible by sea and land, was chosen for the place, the 

festival held for the day of the meeting; a writ of summons was dispatched to each despot, 

acropol- 

and a guard was stationed to protect and con- 

fine the fathers till they should settle the mysteries of 

heaven, and the faith of the earth. Nestorius ap- 

peared not as a criminal, but as a judge; he de- 

pended on the weight rather than the number of his partisans, and his sturdy slaves from the baths of Zeuxippos, were armed for every service of injury or defence. But his adversary Cyril was more powerful in the weapons both of the flesh and of the spirit. Dis- 

obedient to the letter, or at least to the meaning, of 

the royal summons, he was attended by fifty Egyptian 

bishops, who expected from their patriarch's nod 

the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. He had contracted 

1 Cod. Theod. i. xvi. tit. v. frag. 65, with the illustrations of Bar- 

nissus. (A. D. 428. No. 33.) Gedofrey, (ad locum) and Pagi, (Critica, tom. iv. p. 292.)

2 Isidore of Pelusium, (i. iv. Epist. 37.) His words are strong and 

potent, but they are inapplicable to the present discussion. 'Hæc 

siuncta, quæ idemnimus monebamus, omnis religionis, qui cru- 

do a sa- 

int, i.e. a saint, but he never became a bishop; and I half suspect that the 

priest of Daphnetes trampled on the pride of Plato.

3 La Croze (Christianisme des Indes, tom. i. p. 41—53.) The Theology 

Épiscopale La Crozet, (tom. iii. p. 276—280) has detected the use of 

idées et de mo- 

luscules, which, in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, discriminate the school of Diodorus of Tarsus and his Nesto- 

rian disciples.

4 The CEupiir—Depa- 

ara: as in zoology we familiarly speak of ovipa- 

rous and viviparous animals. It is not easy to fix the invention 

of this word, which La Croze (Christianisme des Indes, tom. i. p. 18,) 

ascribes to Enesius of Cesarea and the Arians. The orthodox texts, 

monkeys are created by Cyril and Petaius, (Bogus, Theologic, tom. 

v. i. v. c. 15. p. 234, &c.) but the versatity of the saint is questionable; and if it could be shown, that Cyril, or his 

manuscripts, is the author of this expression, he is quite entitled to the title of a catholic MS.

5 The passage of Arelius already hinted at the newCybele of the 

Christian, (I. i. c. 51.) a letter was forged in the name of Nester, in order to introduce the idea of the theatre 

of the Syriac version, even in those copies which were used by the Chris- 

ians of St. Thomas on the coast of Malabar. (La Croze, Christianisme 

des Indes, tom. i. p. 317.) The ylotheologus of the Nestorians and 

Monophysites, insists on the godly purity of that divine MS. 

6 The Synod of Ephesus held in 428 is confirmed by that 

of his friends Jabonski (Theor. Epist. tom. iv. p. 193—195; and 

Modern, i. 304. Nestorius' criminal carnage est non est man- 

antwrum, et de quadam semi-universalis, and three more respectable judges with not even 

itronics. (Synod. Carn. 196, in iv. tom. Concil. p. 484.) In the article of Nestorius, Bayle 

has placed a small instruction on the writings of the Nestorians. (Deiphilo. Orient. tom. iv. p. 224,) the guilt and error of the 

Nestorians.

7 The Council of the Nestorians of the Persian territory, till 

the synod of Ephesus, may be found in Socin. (tom. v. c. 37—41.) The 

Christians of the 1st. c. 1. 1. 12) Libertus, (div. iv. c. 4.) the original Acts, (Concil. tom. i. p. 507.) edited with some enlarge- 

an intimate alliance with Monnem bishop of Ephesus. The despicable-primate of Asia disposed of the ready succours of thirty or forty episcopal votes; a crowd of peasants, the looters of churches, were incited by the bishop to support with blows and clamours a metaphysical argument; and the people zealously asserted the honour of the Virgin, whose body reposed within the walls of Ephesus. The fleet which had transported Cyrus from Alexandria was laden with the riches of Egypt; and he dispersed the churches, villages, monks, nuns, slaves, and fanatics, enlisted with blind obedience under the banner of St. Mark and the mother of God. The fathers, and even the guards, of the council were awed by this martial array; the adversaries of Cyril and Mary were insulted in the streets, or threatened in their houses; his execrations multiplied, his anathemas made a daily increase in the number of his adherents; and the Egyptian soon computed that he might command the attendance and the voices of two hundred bishops. But the author of the twelve anathemas foresaw and dreaded the opposition of John of Antioch, who, with a small, though respectable, train of metropolitans and clergy, was advancing by slow journeys from the distant capital of the east. Impatient of a delay, which he stigmatized as voluntary and culpable, Cyrus opened the session of the synod sixteen days after the festival of Pentecost. Nestorius, who depended on the near approach of his cause; and the aspect of Theodores. They must have interposed, to dissemble the jurisdiction, and to disobey the summons, of his enemies: they hastened his trial, and his accuser presided in the seat of judgment. Sixty-eight bishops, twenty-two of metropolitan rank, defended his cause by a modest and temperate protest; they were excluded from the councils of their brethren. Candidian, in the emperor's name, requested a delay of four days: the profane magistrate was driven with outrage and insult from the assembly of the saints. The whole of this momentous transaction was crowded into the compass of a summer's day: the bishops delivered their separate opinions; but the uniformity of style reveals the influence or the hand of a master, who has been accused of corrupting the public evidence of their acts and subscriptions. Without a dissenting voice, they recognized in the epistles of Cyril, the Nestorian, the third occasion of the controversy, and the partial extracts from the letters and homilies of Nestorius were interrupted by curses and anathemas; and the heretic was degraded from his episcopal and ecclesiastical dignity. The sentence, maliciously inscribed to the new Judas, was affixed and proclaimed in the same position which had disgraced the church of Ephesus from the days of Marcion. The same imputation was urged by some critics; issued from the church of the mother of God, were saluted as her champions; and her victory was celebrated by the illuminations, the songs, and the tumult of the night.

On the fifth day, the triumph was assumed by the arrival and indignation of the eastern bishops. In a change of the wind, before the bishop of Ephesus, John of Antioch gave audience to Candidian the imperial minister; who related his ineffectual efforts to prevent or to annul the hasty violence of the Egyptian. With equal haste and violence, the oriental synod of fifty bishops degraded Cyril and Monnem into their ecclesiastical capacities, deposed the twelve anathemas, the purest venom of the Apellian heresy, and described the Alexandria primate as a monster, born and educated for the destruction of the church. His throne was distant and inaccessible; but they instantly resolved to bestow on the fork of Ephesus the epithet of Monnem. The synod of the vigilance of Monnem, the churches were shut against them, and a strong garrison was thrown into the cathedral. The troops, under the command of Candidian, advanced to the assault; the outguards were routed and put to the sword, but the place was impregnable: the besiegers retired; their retreat was pursued by a vigorous sally; they lost their horses, and many of the soldiers were dangerously wounded with clubs and stones. Ephesus, the city of the Virgin, was defiled with rage and clamour, with sedition and blood; the rival synods dared anathemas and excommunications from their spiritual engines; and the Catholic churches were in a state of civil war and contradictory narratives of the Syrian and Egyptian factions. During a busy period of three months, the emperor tried every method, except the most effectual means of indifference and contempt, to reconcile this theological quarrel. He attempted to remove or intimidate the leaders by a common sentence of acquittal or condemnation; he inveighed his representatives at Ephesus with ample power and military force: he summoned from either party eight choosen deputies to a free and candid conference in the neighbourhood of the capital, far from the contagion of popular frenzy. But the orients refused to yield, and the catholics, proud of their numbers and of their Latin allies, rejected all terms of union or toleration. The patience of the monk Theodosius was provoked, and he dissolved in anger this episcopal tumult, which at the distance of thirteen centuries assumes the venerable aspect of a conflict between the principles of a great disputant, who said the pious prince, "that I am not the author of this confusion. His providence will discern and punish the guilty. Return to your provinces, and may your private virtues repair the mischief and scandal of your meeting." They returned to their provinces; but the same impressions which had discredited the church of Ephesus were diffused over the eastern world. After three obstinate and equal campaigns, John of Antioch and Cyril of Alexandria understood to explain and embrace: but their seeming re-union must be imputed rather to prudence than to reason, to the mutual disparity rather than to the christian charity of the patriarchs.

The Byzantine pontiff had instilled Victory of Cyril. In the royal ear a baleful prejudice A.D. 431—435, against the character and conduct of his Egyptian rival. An epistle of menace and invective, which...
accompanies the summons, accused him as a busy, insolent, and envious priest, who perverted the simplicity of the faith, violated the peace of the church and state, and laboured to destroy the influence of the wife and sister of Theodosius, presumed to suppose, or to scatter, the seeds of discord in the imperial family. At the stern command of his sovereign, Cyril had repented to Ephesus, where he was resisted, threatened, and confined, by the magistrates in the interests of Nestorius and the orthodox; who assembled the troops of Lydian and Iouia to suppress the fanatic and disorderly strain of the patriarch. Without expecting the royal licence, he escaped from his guards, precipitately embarked, deserted the imperfect synod, and retired to his episcopal fortress of Salona. Amidst the sufferings of his hope, and his confessions, both in the court and city, successfully laboured to appease the resentment, and to conciliate the favour, of the emperor. The feeble son of Arcadius was alternatively swayed by his wife and sister, by the eunuchs and women of the palace; superstition and aversion were their ruling passions; and the orthodox chiefs were assiduous in their endeavours to alarm the former, and to gratify the latter. Constantinople and the suburbs were sanctified with frequent monasteries, and the holy abbeys, Dalmatius and Eutyches, had prefixed the zeal and fidelity to the cause of Cyril, the worship of Mary, and the unity of Christ. From the first moment of their monastic life, they had never mingled with the world, or trod the profane ground of the city. But in this awful moment of the danger of the church, their vow was superseded by a more sublime and indispensable duty. At the head of a long order of monks and hermits, who carried burning tapers in their hands, and chanted litanies to the mother of God, they proceeded from their monasteries to the palace. The people were edified and inflamed by this extraordinary spectacle, and the trembling populace adhered to the prayers and entreaties of the saints, who boldly pronounced, that none could hope for salvation, unless they embraced the person and the creed of the orthodox successor of Athanasius. At the same time every avenue of the throne was assaulted with gold. Under the decent names of embassy and benefaction, the couriers carried bribes according to their measure and rapacity. But their incessant demands despoiled the sanctuaries of Constantinople and Alexandria; and the authority of the patriarch was unable to silence the just murmurs of his clergy, that a debt of sixty thousand pounds had already been recommended to support the expense of scandalous usurpation. Pulcheria, who relieved her brother of the weight of an empire, was the finest pillar of orthodoxy; and so intimate was the alliance between the thunders of the synod and the whispers of the court, that Cyril was assured of success if he could place one enmouch, and substitute another in the favour of Theodosius. Yet the Egyptian could not boast of a glorious or decisive victory. The emperor, with unaccustomed firmness, adhered to his promise of protecting the innocence of the oriental bishops; and Cyril softened his antagonisms, and confessed, with meekness and repentance, a two-fold error: −

The rash and obstinate Nestorius, before the council of Ephesus, had been accused by Cyril, betrayed by the court, and faintly supported by his eastern friends. A sentiment of fear or indignation prompted him, while it was yet time, to affect the glory of a voluntary abdication: his wish, or at least his request, was readily granted; he was banished to the island of Corfu, and his name deprecated by the empress and her son, and his successor, Maximian and Proclus, were acknowledged as the lawful bishops of Constantinople.

But in the silence of his cell, the degraded patriarch could no longer resume the innocence and security of a private citizen. A new storm had burst on him, and he was dissolved in the present, and the future he had reason to dread: the oriental bishops successively disengaged their cause from his unpopular name, and each day decreased the number of the schismatics who revered Nestorius as the confessor of the faith. After a residence at Antioch, he found a more convenient home in Ionia, where he composed his work of Hippocratic laws. He was submitted to the pope, and from the church and from the world, the exile was still pursued by the rage of bigotry and war. A wandering tribe of the Byzantines or Nubians invaded his solitary prison; in their retreat they dismissed a crowd of useless captives; but no sooner had Nestorius been abandoned, than they suddenly and gradually have escaped from a Roman and orthodox city to the milder servitude of the savages. His flight was punished as a new crime; the soul of the patriarch inspired the civil and ecclesiastical powers of Egypt; the magistrates, the soldiers, the monks, devoutly tory, pressed for the timely and adjourned trial, so as to constitute the confines of Ethiopia, the heretic was alternately dragged and recalled, till his aged body was broken by the hardships and accidents of these reiterated journeys. Yet his mind was still independent, and at last the president of the West was raised by his pastoral letters; he confirmed the orthodox thirteen of Alexandria, and, after sixteen years' banishment, the synod of Chalcodon would perhaps have restored him to the honours, or at least to the communion, of the church. The death of Nestorius prevented his obedience to their welcome summons; and his disease might afford a

4. The tedious negotiations that succeeded the synod of Ephesus are diffusely related in the original Acts (Concil. tom. iii, p. 1369—1771), ad fin. vol. and the Synodicon, in tom. vi.) Bocrates, &c. viii, c. 29, 35, 41.) Evagrius, &c. (c, 6, 7, 8, 12.) Libanius, c. 7—10.) Tillemont, Mem. Eccles. tom. xiv, p. 407—676. The most patient reader will thank me for compressing so much nonsense and falsehood in a few lines.

5. C. 15, 14. 25, 26.) 6. The original letters in the Synodicon, c. 15, 14. 25, 26.) 7. The odious name of Simmiones, which was affixed to the disciples of this heretic by Evagrius, Nestorian writer, and Asseman, Bibliot, Oriental, tom. iii, p. 239, 302.

8. See the narrative of the murders in the Acts of the Synod, Council, tom. iii, p. 1739—1759.) 9. Theergus, &c. 10. Theergus, &c. 11. Aegypt. These are the resources of the scholars who desired only to make a noise, and in shadows.

10. The eunuch of islands is applied by the grave civilans (Pand. 1. xxiv. 22, leg.) to those happy spots which are discritely watered and verdured by the Libyan sands. These three are the principal names of Otho, who is called the eunuch by Isidore Ammian. 11. The middle Oasis three days' journey to the south of Sycamore, and six days' journey from the oasis in the first climate, and only three days' journey from the confederacy. Yet these were Christian, and did only the learned Natale of Michaelis, Ad Descript. Egypt. 12. p. 51—53.

12. The invitation of Nestorius to the synod of Athens, was rejected by Zebetius, bishop of Methanae, Evagrius, &c. 13. c. 2. Asseman, Bibliot, Orient, tom. ii, p. 53, and the famous Xenianus or Philoxenus, bishop of Methanae; monastic history is preserved by Evagrius and Asseman, and stoutly maintained by La Croze, (Thersex, Epistol. tom. i, p. 151, &c.) The fact is not improbable; yet it was the interest of the Monophysites to spread the imposture, and Eutychius (tom. ii, p. 127, affirms, that Nestorius died after
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some colour to the scandalous report, that his tongue, the organ of blasphemy, had been eaten by the worms. He was succeeded by Upper Egypt, whose names were Chemnis, Panopolis, or Akmin, 3 but the immortal naivete of the Jacobites has persevered for ages to cast stones against the sepulchre, and to propagate the foolish tradition, that it was never watered by the rain of heaven, which equally descends on the righteous and the ungodly. 4 Humanity may drop a tear on the fate of Nestorius: yet justice must observe, that he suffered the persecution which he had approved and inflicted. 5

Heresy of Euty. The death of the Alexandrian primate, thus, after a reign of thirty-two years, abandons Egypt to the still lingering and unavailing efforts of zeal and the abuse of victory. 6 The Monophysite doctrine (one incarnate nature) was rigorously preached in the churches of Egypt and the monasteries of the east; the primitive creed of Apollinaris was protected by the sanctity of Cyril; and the name of Eutyches, his venerable friend, has been applied to the sect most adverse to the Syrian heresy of Nestorius. His rival Eutyches was the abbot, archimandrite, or superior, of three hundred monks, but the opinions of a simple and illiterate recluse might have expired in the cell, where he had slept above seventy years, if the resolution of the synod of Constantinople, the Byantine pontiff, had not exposed the scandal to the eyes of the christian world. His domestic synod was instantly convened, their proceedings were sullied with clamour and artifice, and the aged heretic was surprised into a seeming confession, that Christ had not derived his body from the substance of the Virgin Mary. From their partial decree, Eutyches appealed to a general council, and his cause was vigorously asserted by his godson Chrysophlius, the reigning archon of the palace, and his accomplice Dioscorus, who had succeeded to the throne, the creed, the talents, and the vices of the nestorian Monophysite, of Eutyches, the second synod of Ephesus was judiciously composed of ten metropolitans and ten bishops from each of the six dioceses of the eastern empire: some exceptions of favour or merit enlarged the number to one hundred and thirty-five; and the Syrian Barsumas, as the chief and representative of the monks, was invited to sit and vote with the successors of the apostles. But the despotism of the Alexandrian patriarch again oppressed the freedom of debate: the same spiritual and carnal weapons were again drawn against the purity of the faith. The same persons, a band of archers, served under the orders of Dioscorus; and the more formidable monks, whose minds were inaccessible to reason or mercy, besieged the doors of the cathedral. The general, and, as it should seem, the unconstrained, voice of the fathers, accepted the faith and even the monothelias of Cyril; and the heresy of the two natures was formally condemned in the persons and writings of the most learned orientals. 7 May those who divide Christ be divided with the sword, may they be hewn asunder! were the charitable wishes of a christian synod. 8 The concourse and sanctity of Eutyches were acknowledged without hesitation; but the prelates, more especially those of Thrace and Asia, were unwilling to depose their patriarch for the use or even abuse of his lawful jurisdiction. They embraced the names of Dioscorus, as he stood with a threatening aspect on the footstool of his throne, and conjured him to forgive the offences, and to respect the dignity, of his brother. 9 Do you mean to raise a sedition? exclaimed the relentless tyrant. Where are the officers? 10 At these words a furious multitude of monks and soldiers, with staves, and swords, and chains, burst into the church: the trembling bishops hid themselves behind the altar. In the rage of this great synod, they were not inspired with the zeal of martyrdom, they successively subscribed a blank paper, which was afterwards filled with the condemnation of the Byantine pontiff. Flavian was instantly delivered to the wild beasts of this spiritual amphitheatre: the monks were stimulated by the voice and example of Barsumas to avenge the injures of Christ: it is said that the patriarch of Alexandria reviled, and buffeted, and kicked, and trampled his brother of Constantinople; and it is certain, that the victim, before he could reach the place of his exile, expired on the third day, of which he bade farewell to Eutyches and Dioscorus. This second synod has been justly branded as a gang of robbers and assassins; yet the accusers of Dioscorus would magnify his violence, to alleviate the cowardice and inconstancy of their own behaviour.

The faith of Egypt had prevailed: but the vaunted party was supported by the council of Chalcedon, founded by the same pope who encountered without fear the hostile rage of Attila and Genseric. The theology of Leo, his famous tome or epistle on the mystery of the incarnation, had been disregarded by the synod of Ephesus; his authority, and that of the Lateran council, was respected, who excepted from slavery and death to relate the melancholy tale of the tyranny of Dioscorus and the martyrdom of Flavian. His provincial synod annulled the irregular proceedings of Ephesus; but as this step was itself irregular, he solicited the convention of a general council for the time and place in which he had previously been invited to Eutyches. The proposal was accepted. The synod of Chalcedon met in the year 418, the third of the consulate of Dionysius and Rufinus, and the sixth of the consulate of Probus and General. At the request of Dioscorus, those who were not able to roar 'one', pronounced against the Nestorian and Eutychian errors. 11 At Chalcedon, Nestorianism was condemned as a heresy; and the creed, which had been so long and so unavailing, was pronounced heretical. In this council, the Nestorians and Eutychians were completely defeated, and the Nestorian and monophysite errors were completely condemned. None of the Nestorian and monophysite sects could escape the condemnation and censure of the assembly at Chalcedon. The Nestorians of Egypt were more particularly accused, for it appeared that at Chaldean controversy, the name Barsumas was more particularly accursed—\( \text{\textit{chers.}} \)
disdained to preside in the Greek synod, which was speedily assembled at Nice in Bithynia; his legates required in a peremptory tone the presence of the emperor; and the weary fathers were transported to Chalecedon under the immediate eye of Marcellus and the senate of Constantinople. A quarter of a mile from the church by the church of St. Euphemia was built on the summit of a gentle though lofty ascent: the triple structure was celebrated as a prodigy of art, and the boundless prospect of the land and sea might have raised the mind of a sectary to the contemplation of the God of the universe. Six hundred and twenty fathers were chosen in order to maintain the church; but the patriarchs of the east were preceded by the legates, of whom the third was a simple priest; and the place of honour was reserved for twenty laymen of consular or senatorial rank.

The gospel was ostentatiously displayed in the centre, but the rule of faith was defined by the papal and imperial ministers, who moderated the thirteen sessions of the council of Chalecedon. Their partial interposition silenced the intemperate shouts and execrations, which degraded the episcopal gravity; but, on the formal accusation of the legates, Dioscorus was compelled from his throne by the archbishop, already condemned in the opinion of all judges. The orientals, less adverse to Nestorians than to Cyril, accepted the Romans as their deliverers: Thrace, and Ponthus, and Asia, were exasperated against the murderer of Flavian, and the new patriarchs of Constantinople and Alexandria; the places by the sacrifice of their benefactor. The bishops of Palestine, Macedonia, and Greece, were attached to the faith of Cyril; but in the face of the synod, in the heat of the battle, the leaders, with their obsequious train, passed from the right to the left with the expression of oath and the profession of confession. Of the seventeen suffragans who sailed from Alexandria, four were tempted from their allegiance, and the thirteen, falling prostrate on the ground, implored the mercy of the council, with sighs and tears, and a pathetic declaration, that, if they yielded, they should be massacred, on their return to Egypt, by the indignant people. A tardy repentance was allowed to expiate the guilt or error of the accomplices of Dioscorus: but their sins were accumulated on his head; he neither asked nor hoped for pardon, and the moderation of those who pleaded for a general amnestv was resented by the emperor, who was STYLE — 12

For these scandalous offences Dioscorus Faith of Chal-

erus was deposed by the synod, and banished by the emperor; but the purity of his faith was declared in the presence, and with the tacit appro

ilation of the fathers. Their prudence supposed rather than pronounced the heresy of Eutyches, who was condemned at Myriopolis by the church of Syria, as silent and abashed, when a bold Monophysite, casting at their feet a volume of Cyril, challenged them to anathematize in his person the doctrine of the saint. If we fairly peruse the acts of Chalecedon as they are recorded by the orthodox party, we shall find that this council, by its law, the triumphant unity of Christ; and the ambiguous concession, that he was formed or from two natures, might imply either their previous existence, or their subsequent confusion, or some dangerous interval between the conception of the man and the assumption of the God. The Roman theology, more positive and precise, adopted the term most offensive to the ears of the Egyptians, that Christ existed in two natures; and this momentous particle (which the memory, rather than the understanding, must retain) had almost produced a schism among the catholic bishops. The tone of Leo in his letter on the murder of Cyril, was intemperate and abusive; but they protested, in two successive debates, that it was neither expedient nor lawful to transgress the sacred hand-marks which had been fixed at Nice, Constantinople, and Ephesus, according to the rule of Scripture and tradition. At length they yielded to the emperor's will, and composed the council, A.D. 419. The new decree, after it had been ratified with deliberate votes and vehement acclamations, was overthrown in the next session by the opposition of the legates and their oriental friends. It was in vain that a multitude of episcopal voices repeated in chorus The definition of the fathers is irrevocable. The heresies are now discovered! Anathema to the Nestorians! Let them depart from the synod! Let them repair to Rome! The legates threatened, the emperor was absolute, and a committee of eighteen bishops prepared a new decree, which was imposed on the reluctant assembly. In the name of the fourth general council, the Christ in one person, but in two natures, was announced to the Catholic world; an invisible line was drawn between the heresy of Apollinaris and the faith of St. Cyril; and the road to paradise, a bridge for the faithful souls, was thus constructed over the abyss by the master-hand of the theological artist. During ten centuries of blindness and servitude, Europe received her religious opinions from the oracle of the Vatican; and the same doctrine, already tarnished with the rust of antiquity, was admitted without dispute into the creed of the reformers, who disclaimed the superiority of the Roman pontiff. The synod of Chalecedon still triumphs in the protestant churches; but the ferment of controversy has subsided, and the most pious christians of the present day are ignorant or careless, of their own belief concerning the mystery of the incarnation.
Discord of the senate.

A.D. 451—452.

Far different was the temper of the Greeks and Egyptians under the orthodox reigns of Leo and Marcian. Those pious emperors enforced with arms and edicts the symbol of their faith; and it was declared by the conscience or honour of five hundred bishops, that the decrees of the synod of Chalcedon might be supported even with blood. The empresses observed with satisfaction, that the same synod was odious both to the Nestorians and the Monophysites; but the Nestorians were less angry, or less powerful, and the east was distracted by the obstinate and sanguinary zeal of the Monophysites.

Three years after the death of the emperor Zeno, an assembly of theMEP was held at Constantinople in the year 451. The Nestorians, supported, as usual, by monks, in the name of the one incarnate nature, they pillaged, they burnt, they murdered; the sepulchre of Christ was defiled with blood; and the gates of the city were guarded in tumultuous rebellion against the troops of the emperor. After the disgrace and exile of Dioscorus, the Egyptians still resisted the spiritual father; and detected the usurpation of his successor, who was introduced by the fathers of Chalcedon. The throne of Proterius was supported by a guard of two thousand soldiers; he waged a five years' war against the people of Alexandria; and on the death of the emperor Zeno, he came the victim of their zeal. On the third day before the festival of Easter, the patriarch was besieged in the cathedral, and murdered in the baptistery. The remains of his mangled corpse were delivered to the flames, and his ashes to the wind; and the deed was inspired by the vision of a pretended angel; an ambitious monk, who, under the name of Timothy the Cat, succeeded to the place and opinions of Dioscorus.

This deadly superstition was inflamed, on either side, by the principle and the practice of retaliation: in the pursuit of a metaphysical quarrel, many thousands were slain; and the heretics were deprived of the substantial enjoyments of social life, and of the invisible gifts of baptism and the holy communion. Perhaps an extravagant fable of the times may conceal an allegorical picture of these fanatics, who tortured each other, and themselves. "Under the consulship of Venantius and Celer," says a grave bishop, "the people of Alexandria, and all Egypt, were seized with a strange and diabolical frenzy: great and small, slaves and freedmen, monks and clergy, the natives of the land, who opposed the synod of Chalcedon, lost their speech and reason, barked like dogs, tore each other with their own teeth, the flesh from their hands and arms."

The Heretion of Zeno.

The disorders of thirty years at length of Zeno, A.D. 452.

produced the famous Heretion of the emperor Zeno, which in his reign, and in that of Anastasius, was signed by all the bishops of

the east, under the penalty of degradation and exile, if they rejected or infringed this salutary and fundamental law. The clergy may smile or groan at the presumption of a layman who defines the articles of faith; yet if he stoops to the humiliating task, his mind is less infected by prejudice or interest, and the authority of the magistrate can only be maintained by the concord of the people.

Perhaps the most pious book, in the Egyptian period, is a history, that Zeno appears least contemptible; and I am not able to discern any Manichean or Eutychian guilt in the generous saying of Anastasius. That it was unworthy of an emperor to persecute the worshippers of Christ and the citizen of Rome. The Henoticon tends to reconcile the apostles of the East to the Monophysites; a problem which had never been described by the jealous, and even unjaundiced, eyes of our orthodox schoolmen, and it accurately represents the catholic faith of the incarnation, without adopting or disclaiming the peculiar terms or tenets of the hostile sects. A solemn anathema is pronounced against Nestorius and Egypt, and the Roman pontiffs, against all heretics by whom Christ is divided, or confounded, or reduced to a phantom. Without defining the number or the article of the word pure, the purist system of St. Cyril, the faith of Nice, Constantine, and Euphrosus, is respectfully confirmed; but, instead of bowing at the name of the fourth council, the subject is dismissed by the excuses of all contrary doctrines, if any such have been taught elsewhere or at Chalcedon. Under this ambiguous expression, the friends and the enemies of the last synod might unite in a silent embrace. The most reasonable christians acquiesced in this mode of toleration; but their reason was weak and inconstant, and their obedience was despised as timid and servile by the vehement spirit of their brethren. On a subject which engaged the thoughts and discourses of men, it was difficult to preserve an effectual neutrality; a book, a sermon, a prayer, rekindled the flame of controversy; and the bonds of communion were alternately broken and resealed by the private animosity of the bishops. The space between Nestorius and Eutyches was filled by a thousand shades of language and opinion; the accretion of Egypt, and the Roman pontiffs, of equal valor, though of unequal strength, may be found at the two extremities of the theological scale. The accep- tation, without a king or a bishop, were separated above three hundred years from the patriarchs of Alexandria, who had accepted the communion of Constantinople, with the exception of a formal communion of the synod of Chalcedon. For accepting the communion of Alexandria, without a formal approbation of the same synod, the patriarchs of Constantinople were anathematized by the popes. Their inflexible despotism involved the most orthodox of the Greek churches in this spiritual contagion, denied or doubted the validity of their sacraments, and fomented, thirty-five, years, the schism of the east and west, till they finally abolished the memory of four Byzantine pontiffs, who had dared to oppose the supremacy of St. Peter. Before that period, the precious truce of Constantinople had lost his power, and the seal of the rival prelates. Macedonius, who was

1 See the Appendix to the Acts of Chalcedon, the confirmation of the Synod by Marcian; (Concil. tom. iv. p. 1791. 1792) his letters to the monks of Alexandria, (p. 1793) of Mount Sinai, (p. 1795) of Jerusalem and Palestine; (p. 1798) his laws against the Eutychians; (p. 1803-1815, 1818) the correspondence of Leo with the provincial synods on the resolution of the council. (p. 1835, 1839.)

2 Photius (or rather Eutychus of Alexandria) confesses, in a fine passage, admirably written, that these huge losses were not inflicted, but that the Nestorians, as they had their synod of Chalcedon, (Bibl. cod. cccxxv. p. 780.) He waged a disastrous war against the city of Chalcedon, and the bishops and the clergy, with the due of the city, confounded with the deaths of his adversary—The Nestorians seems to introduce the word synods of the Monophysite council, against Eutyches he appeared to countenance the synods of the Nestorians. The apologetic claims a chaste mixture of fact and fiction; but the Nestorians were tenaciously adhered to the heretics, and the sound of controversy would have been lost in the din of debate. They were surrounded. 

3 Against Nestorius seems to introduce the word synods of the Monophysites. Against Eutyches he appeared to countenance the synods of the Nestorians. The apologetic claims a chaste mixture of fact and fiction; but the Nestorians were tenaciously adhered to the heretics, and the sound of controversy would have been lost in the din of debate. They were surrounded.

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5 See See Renanet. (Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 123, 131, 145, 153, 174.) They were reconciled by the care of Merey. (A.D. 799—819.) He performed their charge; and Eutyches was compelled to accept the communion of the rest of the church. They were the Tartar, Vat. 391, and supplied the sacraments, which had failed for want of an episcopal ordination. 

6 De his quiage baptizavit, quos ordinavit Acacius, majorum traditionum confici et verum, praeside religio signorum cum cruce praebuit. (Gal. epist. epist. Galat. xxvi. p. 256.)

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suspected of the Nestorian heresy, asserted, in disgrace and exile, the synod of Chalcedon, while his successor in the office which he proclaimed by the voice of a herald, the synod of Carthage, confirmed, that, since all could not reign, they should previously agree in the choice of a sovereign; and they accepted the blood of two unpopular ministers, whom their master, without hesitation, condemned to the lions. These furious but transient seditions were put down by the withering blasts which the army of Huns and Bulgarians, for the most part idolators, declared himself the champion of the catholic faith. In this pious rebellion he deposed Thrace, besieged Constantiople, exterminated sixty-five thousand of his fellow-christians, till he obtained the re-call of the bishops, the satisfaction of the pope, and the establishment of the council of Chalcedon, an orthodox treaty, reluctantly signed by the dying Anastasius, and more faithfully performed by the uncle of Justinian. And such was the event of first religious scourge of the holy martyrs Cosmas and Damian. The capital and the provinces of the east were decorated with the monuments of his religion; and though the far greater part of these costly structures may be attributed to his taste or ostentation, the zeal of the royal architect was probably quickened by a genuine sense of feeling and gratitude towards his invincible enemy. Among the titles of imperial greatness, the name of Pius was most pleasing to his ear; to promote the temporal and spiritual interest of the church, was the serious business of his life; and the duty of father of his country was often sacrificed to that of defender of the faith. The controversies of the times were congenial to his temper and understanding; and the theological professors must inwardly deride the diligence of a stranger, who cultivated their art and neglected his own. "What can ye fear?" said a bold composer to his associates, "from your bigoted tyrant! Sleepless and unarmed he sits whole nights.

The general history, from the council of Chalcedon to the death of Anastasius, may be found in the Breviary of Liberatum, (c. 14—19) the second and third books of Evagrius, the Abstract of the two books of Theodore the Reader, the Acts of the Synods, and the epitome of the history of the patriarch of Antioch, (v. 3.) 15. The chief events connected with some disorders in the fifteenth and sixteenth towns of the Memoirs of John Malalas, and the two prelates become the subject of the memoirs of the same author, who take leave for ever of that incomparable guide—whose bigotry is overbalanced by the merits of erudition, diligence, veracity, and scrupulous integrity. The first four books of the life of St. Paul of Thebes are also published by d'Aubigné, in the fifth volume of his editions of St. Paul's life, in the sixth century of the church and empire. The exact and accurate chronicles of Poccius, (c. 11, 12, 13, 14, 27, 28,) with the learned remarks of Alemanus, is confirmed, rather than contradicted, by the Acts of the Councils, the fourth book of Evagrius, and the abridged annals of the African church, in the sixth book—de tribus capitis, cum video doctus asperti, impromptu, a commodum conciliarii passim. 2 A chronicle ecclesiastical turris. S. C. Pocci. de Bell. Gih. I. c. 35.

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in his closet, debating with reverend grey-beards, and turning over the pages of ecclesiastical volumes."

"The conference was a spurious and rational spectacle. Justinian might have learned, "that religious controversy is the offspring of arrog

and obstinacy."

The insufficient term of three months was assigned for the conversion or exile of all heretics; and if he still connived at their precarious stay, they were deprived, under his iron yoke, not only of the benefits of society, but of the common birth-right of men and Christians. At the end of four hundred years, Pagi says, his subjects were compelled to the wild enthusiasm of perfection and prophecy, which they had imbibed from their male and female apostles, the special organs of the Paraclete. On the approach of the orthodox priests and soldiers, they grasped with alacrity the crown of martyrdom; the conventicle and the congregation perished in the flames, but these primitive fanatics were not extinguished three hundred years after the death of their tyrant. Under the protection of the Gothic confederates, the church of the Arians of Constantinople had braved the severity of the laws; their clergy equalled the wealth and magnificence of their fellow-citizens. The subjects of the empire were seized by the rapacious hand of Justinian might perhaps be claimed as the spoils of the provinces and the trophies of the barbarians. A secret remnant of pagans, who still lurked in the most refined and the most rude conditions of mankind, excited the indignation of the Christians, who were perhaps unwilling that any strangers should be the witnesses of their intestine quarrels. A bishop was named as the inquisitor of the faith, and his diligence soon discovered in the court and city, the magistrates, lawyers, physicians, and sophists, who still cherished the superstition of the Greeks. They were sternly informed that they must choose without delay between that pernicious system of Schism, and that their aversion to the gospel could no longer be disguised under the scandalous mask of indifference or impiety. The patrician Phocian perhaps alone was resolved to live and to die like his ancestors: he enfranchised himself with the stroke of a dagger, and left his tyrant the poor consolation of excoriating with ignominy the lifeless corpse of the fugitive. His weaker brethren submitted to their earthly monarch, underwent the ceremony of baptism, and laboured, by their extraordinary zeal, to erase the suspicion, or to expiate the guilt, of idolatry. The native country of the Christian Emperor, and their capital, the walls of Constantinople, saw the last sparks of his mythology: by the care of the same bishop, seventy thousand pagans were detected and converted in Asia, Phrygia, Lydia, and Caria; ninety-six churches were built for the new proselytes; and linen vestments, bibles, and liturgies, and vases of gold and silver, were supplied by the pious munificence of Justinian. The Jews, who had been gradually stripped of their immunities, were oppressed by a vexatious law, which compelled them to observe the festival of Easter on the same day on which it was celebrated by the christians; and the same complaint of the Christians, since the catholics themselves did not agree with the astronomical calculations of their sovereign: the people of Constantinepolis delayed the beginning of their Lent a whole week after it had been ordained by authority; and they had the pleasure of fasting seven days, while meat was exposed for sale by the command of the emperor. The Samaritans of Palestine were a motley race, an ambiguous sect, rejected as Jews by the pagans, by the Jews as schismatics, and by the christians as idolaters. The abomination of the cross had already been planted on their holy mount of Gerizim, but the retention of Justinian afforded only the alternative of baptism or rebellion. They chose the latter: under the standard of a desperate leader, they rose in arms, and retaliated their wrongs on the lives, the property, and the temples, of a defenceless people. The Samaritans by the bloody sword forsook the vast: twenty thousand were slain, twenty thousand were sold by the Arabs to the infidels of Persia and India, and the remains of that unhappy nation stoned for the crime of treason by the sin of hypocrisy. It has been computed that one hundred thousand Roman Christians perished in the conquest of Galilee and Samaria, and the converts of one Christian province into a desolate and smoking wilderness. But in the creed of Justinian, the guilt of murder could not be applied to the slaughter of unbelievers: and he piously laboured to establish with fire and sword the unity of the christian faith."

1 Theophan. Chron. p. 157, John, the monophysite bishop of Asia, is a very ancient witness of this tradition, in which he was himself employed by the emperor. (Aseo. Bib. Orient. tom. ii, p. 68.)

2 Compare Procop. (Hist. Arcan. c. 59, and Alman's Notes) with Theophan. (Chron. p. 190.) The council of Nice has intruded the patriarch, or rather the ambassadors, of Alexandria, with the annual proclamation of Easter; and we still read, or rather we do not read, many of the Paschal epistles of St. Cyril. Since the reign of monarchs in Egypt, the catholics were perplexed by such a foolish prejudice as that which so long opposed, among the protestants, the reformation. (Aseo. Bib. Orient. tom. ii, p. 68.)

3 For the religion and history of the Samaritans, consult Bagan. Histor. des Juifs, c. 39. They are described and comprehended under the title of Samaritans, Procop. (De Bell. Got. i, c. 33.)

4 Justin. (Chron. c. 39.)

5 In the Chronicle of Procopius, and in the History of the Monarch, in the Memorials of the Monastery of Rechab, in the Consular, and in Constantinepon, p. 434-421.
The decline and fall

Chapter VIII

His orthodoxy. With these sentiments, it was incumbent on him, at least, to be always in the right. In the first years of his administration, he signalized his zeal as the de-eiple and patron of orthodoxy; the reconciliation of the Greeks and Latins there was the crown, and the separation of the emperor and the west; the Nestorians and Eutychians were exposed, on either side, to the double edge of persecution; and the four synods, of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, were ratified by the code of a catholic law. But while Justinian strove to maintain the uniformity of faith and worship, his wife Theodora, whose vices were not incompatible with devotion, had listened to the monophysite teachers; and the open or clandestine enemies of the church revived and multiplied at the smile of their gracious patroness. The capital, the palace, the hospital bed, were torn by spiritual discord; yet so doubtful was the sincerity of the royal consorts, that their seeming disagreement was imputed by many to a secret and mischiefous confederacy against the religious and happiness of their people. This appearance of the three chapters,2 which filled most of the volumes as it deserves lines, is deeply marked with this subtle and dissolovning spirit. It was now three hundred years since the body of Ori- gen had been eaten by the worms; his soul, of which he could not be without less immediacy, was in the hands of the Creator, but his writings were eagerly perused by the monks of Palestine. In these writings, the piercing eye of Justinian descried more than ten metaphysical errors; and the primitive doctor, in the company of Pythagoras and Plato, was devoted by the clergy to the censure of hell-fire, which he had presumed to deny. Under the cover of this precedent, a treacherous blow was aimed at the council of Chalcedon. The fathers had listened without impatience to the praise of Theodora of Mopsuestia;3 and their justice or indulgence had restored both Theodoret of Cyrus, and John of Ephesus, to the communion of the church. But the characters of these oriental bishops were tainted with the reproach of heresy: the first had been the master, the two others were the friends, of Nestorius: their most suspicious passages were accused under the title of the three chapters, and the condemnation of the majority must involve the honour of a synod, whose name was pronounced with sincere or affected reverence by the catholic world. If these bishops, whether innocent or guilty, were annihilated in the sleep of death, they would not probably be animated by clamor, which had been raised over their grave. If they were already in the fangs of the demon, their tormentors could neither be aggravated nor assuaged by human indus-

2 See the Chronicle of Victor, p. 224, and the original evidence of the laws of Justinian. During the first years of his reign, Basilanin himself is in extreme need of honour with the emperor, who courted the pope, till he got him into his power.

3 Procopius, Anecd. c. 25. Evagrius, l. iv. c. 60. If the ecclesiastics never read the sacred gospels, their common suspicion grew, at least the general hatred.

4 Of the subject of the three chapters, the original acts of the fifth general council of Constantinople supply much scarce, though authentic, knowledge. (Council, tom. vi. p. 1—419.) The Greek Evagrius is here confuted and set in his true character (c. 49.); the three zealous, or heretical, authors, Ps. Juvénal, Ps. Isai, and Ps. Juvénal, in his twelve books, de tribus capitulis, which are most correctly published by Sommervogel, (his Breveaum, l. 22—24,) and Victor Tartesius in his Chronicle, (c. tom. i. Antit. Lec. Canum, p. 359—354.) The Liber Pontificalis, or Anastasium, (ibid. 639—639.) The Liber Pontificilis, or Anastasium, (ibid. 639—639.) The scribes, and the modern reader will derive some information from Debaris (Bibl. Eccl. tom. v. 1.) and Benet (ibid. tom. iv. p. 359—354.) But, despite all these arguments, the text is open, yet the latter is too firmly resolved to depreciate the authority and character of the pope.

5 Origen, had indeed too great a propensity to imitate the iambics and hemistichs of the old philosophers. Justinian, ad Nennian, in Constantinople, c. 71. (Chron. tom. i. 10.) His moderation was such that he would not even let the institution of the papal see be made by the council, and he was found guilty of the heresy of reconciliation.

6 Bambara (Dequiet, p. 11—11. ad tom. I. Antit. Lec. Canum,) has fairly written on the truth and innocence of Theodore of Monestirum. If he had been established with 10,000 men, as many enemies as there was, we should have been the more convinced. In all the subsequent catalogues of heretics, he alone, without his two brethren, is included; and it is the duty of Semon (Bibl. Orient. tom. iv. p. 339—339.) to justify the sentence.

7 See the complaints of Liberatus and Victor, and the exhortations of pope Gelasius to the emperor and exarch of Italy. Schismas... per pedes, [ed. B. Deh. 387.]—See also the composition of great importance, not without some mischiefs, of the Opus Theodori adversus Donatistas, and the commentary of Aegidius, who, besides the De exilii Vitiatione, in which he is said to have dwelt without censure, till 638. Fourteen years before, the church of Spain had overlooked the fifth general council with contemptuous silence. (Oc. Cinn. Toletan in Cod. tomi. v. p. 931—931.)

8 The bishop of the patriarchate of Aquileia were reconciled by pope Honorius, A. D. 685; (Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tomo. v. p. 219.) Sabinus, bishop of Cesarea, (lab. B. Deh. 387.) was firmly reconciled, perhaps without due provocation, till 685. Fourteen years before, the church of Spain had overlooked the fifth general council with contemptuous silence. (Oc. Cinn. Toletan in Cod. tomi. 1. p. 931—931.)

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Africa, already deplore your fall, and anathematize your name. Unless, without delay, you destroy what you have condoned and crucified. The voice, I have erred, I have sinned, anathema to Nesi- torius, anathema to Eutyches, you will deliver your soul to the same flames in which they will eternally burn.\(^2\) He died and made no sign.\(^3\) His death restored in some degree the peace of the church, and the events which attended it are limited that can excite no remark, and Phocas, are distinguished by a rare, though fortunate, vacancy in the ecclesiastical history of the east.\(^2\)

The Monothelites. The faculties of sense and reason are controversy, least capable of action on themselves; again, the organs of his functions, Justin, Tiberius, Maurice, and Phocas, are distinguished by a rare, though fortunate, vacancy in the ecclesiastical history of the east.\(^2\)

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conformity, the Roman faith was more firmly re-plant ed by the orthodox successors of Bardanes, and the fine problems of the incarnation were forgotten in the more popular and visible quarell of the worship of images. The Union of the East and West was canonically approved, and the only important question of doctrine which engaged the mind of the council was the definition of the nature of the Logos. This question required more time than the council was at liberty to give to it, and it was referred to a later assembly. 

Before the end of the seventh century, the spread of human learning, the decay of the imperial power, and the rise of Mohammedanism, had disposed the Byzantine church to tolerate, or rather to receive, with the same or even greater zeal, the religions of paganism and Nestorianism, which were prevalent among the neighboring races. The history of the relation of the church to these sects is the history of an endless controversy. The church was divided into two great branches, the Western, or Latin, and the Eastern, or Greek, which were separated by a lingual barrier, which it has been a matter of pride to the admirers of both to assert, and a matter of great regret to their adversaries, that it cannot be broken down; and this barrier has divided the church into two great schools of thought, the Latin and the Greek, in some respects, and in some points, the only difference between the two, which it is not possible to reconcile. 

The history of Monophysitism may be found in the Acts of the Synods of Rome (tom. vii. p. 277—355, 606—695) and Constanti nople, (ed. Mill, tom. iii. p. 567—719.) The progress of this heresy, and the birth of the heretics, will naturally inculcate the duty of submission, nor is it less natural that dissenters should feel and assert the principles of freedom. Under the rod of persecution, the Nestorians and Monophysites degenerated into a-bels and fugitives; and the most ancient and, perhaps, the most popular law of Rome was that the emperor not as the chief, but as the enemy, of the Christians. Language, the leading principle which unites or separates the tribes of mankind, soon divided the sectaries of the east, by a peculiar and perpetual badge, which abolished the means of intercourse, the true and the holy reconciliation of the eastern church. 

The long dominion of the Greeks, their conquests, colonies, and above all their eloquence, had propagated a language doubtless the most perfect that has been contrived by the art of man. Yet the body of the prophet both in Syria and Egypt still persevered in the use of their national idioms; with this difference, however, that the Coptic was confined to the rude and illiterate peasants of the Nile, while the Syriac from the mountains of Assyria to the Red Sea, was adapted to the higher topics of poetry and argument. Armenia and Abyssinia were infected by the speech or learning of the Greeks, and their barbaric tongues, which had been revived in the studies of modern Europe, were unintelligible to the inhabitants of the Roman empire. The Syriac and the Coptic, the Armenian and the Ethiopic, are consecrated in the service of the church. Their language, however, is enriched by domestic verses both of the Scriptures and of the most popular fathers. After a period of thirteen hundred and sixty years, the spark of controversy, first kindled by a sermon of Nestorius, still burns in every bosom of the east, and the hostile controversy still maintains the character of their founders. In the most abject state of ignorance, poverty, and servitude, the Nestorians and Monophysites reject the spiritual supremacy of Rome, and cherish the toleation of their Turkish masters, which allows them to mathematicize, on the one hand, St. Cyril and the synod of Ephesus; on the other, pope Leo and the council of Chalcedon. The weight which they cast into the downfall of the eastern empire demands our notice, and the reader may be amused with the various prospects of I. The Nestorians, II. The Jacobites, and III. The Monophysites. 

Of the three former, the Syriac is common; but of the latter, each is discriminated by the use of a national idiom. Yet the modern natives of Armenia and Abyssinia could be incapable of conversing with their ancestors; and the history of their dissenting brethren, the Jacobites or more sincere, were crushed by the penal laws; and as early as the reign of Justinian, it became difficult to find a church of Nestorians within the limits of the Roman empire. Beyond those limits they had discovered a new world, in which they might hope for liberty, and aspire to conquest. In Persia, notwithstanding the resistance of the Magi, Christianity had struck a deep root, and the nations of the east reposed under its salutary shade. The catholica, or primate, resided in the capital: in his synods, and in their dioceses, his metropolitans, bishops, and clerics, represented and promulgated the dogmas of the church; and he rejoiced in the increase of proselytes, who were converted from the Zendavesta to the Gospel, from the secular to the monastic life, and their zeal was stimulated by the presence of an artful and formidable enemy. The Persian church had been founded by the

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1. I shall now enrich my ignorance with the spolioms of Simon, Walton, Mill, Wetstein, Assemanus, Lapidus, La Croze, whom I have considered with some care. It appears, that, of all the versions which are celebrated by the fathers, it is doubtful which was the best, or what of them was the best. I have been persuaded by the evidence of the evidence of the interpretations, and by the authority of the most eminent antiquaries, that the best version is that of the church of Constantinople. 

2. On the account of the Monophysites and Nestorians, I am deeply indebted to the Bibliotheca Orientalis Christiana Operibilibri Vaticani Bibliothecae Como, by Simon Assemanus. That learned Maronite was despatched in the year 1715, by pope Clement XI, to visit the monasteries of Egypt and Syria, and to examine the writings of the Nestorians. His account of Rome 1710—1720, contains a part only, perhaps the most valuable, of his travels, and is, as I fancy, the only account of Nestorians and Monophysites in the Arabic literature; and, though a dependent of Rome, he wishes to be moderate and candid.
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

missionaries of Syria; and their language, discipline, and doctrine, were closely interwoven with its original frame. The Persians, who, under the reigns of Zeno and Anastasius, had invaded the provinces of the east, provoked their antagonists, in a land of freedom, to avow a moral, rather than a physical, union of the two persons of Christ. Since the first preaching of the gospel, the Sasanian kings beheld, with an eye of suspicion, a race of aliens and apostates, who had triumphed over the Persians, who might favour the cause, of the heretical foes of their country. The royal edicts had often prohibited their dangerous correspondence with the Syrian clergy; the progress of the schism was grateful to the jealous pride of Perozes; and he listened to the eloquence of an artful prelate, who painted Nestorius as the apostate and heretic, while the father of the faith pleaded for the freedom of his christian subjects, by granting a just preference to the victims and enemies of the Roman tyrant.

The Nestorians composed a large majority of the clergy and people; they were encouraged by the smile, and armed with the sword, of despotic power; yet many of their weaker brethren were startled at the thought of breaking loose from the communion of the christian world, and the blood of seven thousand seven hundred Monophysites or catholics, confirmed the uniformity of faith and discipline in the churches of Persia. Their ecclesiastical institutions are distinguished by a liberal principle of person, or at least of policy; the austerity of the cloister was relaxed and gradually forgotten; houses of charity were endowed for the sate masters of education of orphans and foundlings; the law of cellibacy, so forcibly recommended to the Greeks and Latins, was disregarded by the ambiguous Nestorians of Persia; the council was multiplied by the public and reiterated nuptials of the priests, the bishops, and even the patriarch himself. To this standard of natural and religious freedom, myriads of fugitives resorted from all the provinces of the eastern empire; the narrow bigotry of the Nestorians was overcome by the glowing eloquence of its most industrious subjects; they transported to Persia the arts both of peace and war; and those who

deserved the favour, were promoted to the service, of a discerning monarch. The amity of Perozes and his grandson was attended with advice, and money, and troops, by the desperate sectaries who still lurked in their native cities of the east; their zeal was rewarded with the gift of the catholic churches; but when those cities and churches were recovered by Heraclius, their open profession of treason and heresy provoked them to a refuge in foreign lands; but to foreign ally. But the seeming tranquillity of the Nestorians was often endangered, and sometimes overturned. They were involved in the common evils of Oriental despotism: their enmity to Rome could not always serve their attachment to the gospel; and to averted these pernicious arts, the bishops of Antioch and Apeana, were permitted to erect an hostile altar in the face of the catholic, and in the sunshine of the court. In his last treaty, Justinian introduced some conditions which tended to enlarge and fortify the toleration of Christianity in Persia. The emperor, ignorant of the rights of conscience, was incapable of pity or esteem for the heretics who denied the authority of the holy synods: but he flattered himself that they would gradually perceive the temporal benefits of union with the empire and the church of Rome; and if he failed in exciting their gratitude, he was at least safe to confine the jealousy of Persia. In a later age, the Latins have been burnt at Paris and protected in Germany, by the superstition and policy of the most chivalric king.

The desire of gaining souls for God, Their missions and subjects for the church, has excited in Tarsus, in equal age the diligence of the Christian, and even Christian priests. From the conquest of Persia they carried their spiritual arms to the north, the east, and the south; and the simplicity of the gospel was fashioned and painted with the colours of the Syrian theology. In the sixth century, according to a report of a Nestorian traveller, Christianity was successfully preached to the Huns, the Persians, the Indians, the Persarmenians, the Medes, and the Elamites: the barbaric churches, from the gulf of Persia to the Caspian sea, were almost infidel; and their recent faith was conspicuous in the number and sanctity of their monks and martyrs. The emperor of Trebizond, Malabard, and the king of the ocean, Soccora and Ceylon, were peopled with an increasing multitude of christians, and the bishops and clergy of those sequestered regions derived their ordination from the catholic of Babylon. In a subsequent age, the zeal of the Nestorians overlooked the limits which had confined the ambitious and apostate vassals of the Greeks and Persians. The missionaries of Baleh and Samareud pursued, without fear the footsteps of the roving Tartars, and insinuated themselves into the camps of the valleys of Iraus and the banks of the Seinga. They exposed a metaphysical creed to those illiterate shepherds; to those savagery warriors they recommended humanity and repose. Yet a khan, whose power they vainly magnified, is said to have received at their hands the rites of baptism, and even of ordination; and the fame of Presbyter or Presbyter John b has long

a See the Arabic canon of Nice in the translation of Abraham Echenelus, No. 37, 38, 39, 40, Conc. tom. ii, pp. 313, 326, ed. Venice, Theon and Arator, are both ascribed to the council of Nice enacted not more than twenty canons. Theodoret, Hist. Eccles. L. i. c. 8.) and the remainder, seventy or eighty, were collected from the synods of the Greek church. The Syriac edition of Marcellus is no longer extant. (Ammian, Bibl, Orient. tom. i. p. 135, tom. iii. p. 285, Cod. iv. p. 247.) This council of Nice is not mentioned by Fabricius, (Bibl. Orient. tom. i. p. 293.)

b A dissertation on the state of the Nestorians has swelled in the hands of Ammianus to a full volume of 590 pages, and his learned researches are amplified and explained in the Bibl. Orient., tom. ii. p. 231.

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amused the credulity of Europe. The royal convert was indulged in the use of a portable altar; but he demanded an endowment to the patriarch, to improve the state, and to support the see of Jerusalem. He shrewdly abstained from animal food, and how he might celebrate the eucharist in a desert that produced neither corn nor wine. In their progress by sea and land, the Nestorians entered Chios by the port of Canton and the northern resi-
dence of a coadjutor. Unlike the incursions of Rome, however, they assumed with a smile the characters of priests and augurs, the mandarins, who affect in public the reason of philosophers, are devoted in private to every mode of popular superstition. They cherished and they con-
formed the gods of Palestine and of India; but the prejudices of Christianity awakened the jealousy of the state, and after a short vicissitude of favour and persecution, the foreign sect expired in ignorance and oblivion. Under the reign of the caliph, the Nestor-
ian church was diffused from Chish to Jerusalem and Cyprus; and their numbers, with those of the Jacobitans, were computed to surpass the Greek and Latin communions. Twenty-five metropolitans or archbish-
ops composed their hierarchy, but several of these were dispensed, by the distance and danger of the way, from the duty of personal attendance, on the easy condition that every six years they should testify their faith, and that the submission of their bishops to the patriarch of Bagdad, a vague appellation, which has been successively applied to the royal seats of Seleucia, Ctesiphon, and Bagdad. These remote branches are long since withered, and the old patriarchal trunk is now divided by the Eligius of Mosul, the representatives, almost in the number of the genuine and primitive succession, the Josapha of Amidh, who are reconciled to the church of Rome, and the Nizamus of Van or Ormia, whose revolt at the head of forty thousand families, was promoted in the sixteenth century by the Sophis of Damascus. The number of these thousand families was the whole of the body of the Nestorians, who, under the name of Chaldeans or Assyrians, are confounded with the most learned or the most powerful nation of eastern antiquity.

The Christians of Madras were devotedly visited by the ambas-
dadors of Alfred, and their return with a cargo of pearls and spices rewarded the zeal of the English monarch, who entertained the largest projects of trade and discovery. When the Portuguese first opened the navigation of India, the Christians of St. Thomas had been established for ages on the coast of Malabar, and the difference of their character and the mixture of a foreign race in arms, in arts, and pos-
sibly in virtue, they excelled the natives of Hindostan; the husbandmen cultivated the palm-tree, the sol-
ic agriculture; the monks were the soldiers, and all their hereditary privileges were respected by the grac-
itude or the fear of the king of Cochin and the Zamo-
rin himself. They acknowledged a Gentoo sovereign, but they were governed, even in temporal concerns, by the bishop of Angamala. He still asserted his ancient title of metropolis of India, but his real jurisdiction was exercised in fourteen hundred chur-
ches, and he was intrusted with the care of two hundred thousand souls. Their religion would have rendered them the firmest and most cordial allies of the Portuguese, but the inquisi-
tors asserted or covered in the christians of St. Thomas the unpardonable guilt of heresy and schism. Instead of owning themselves the subjects of the Roman pontif, the spiritual and temporal monarch of the globe, they adhered, like their ancestors, to the communion of the Nestorian patriarch; and the bishops whom he ordained, Mosul travelled far from Persia to the land to reach their diocese on the coast of Malabar. In their Syriac liturgy, the names of Theodore and Nestorius were piously commemorated; they united their adoration of the two persons of Christ; the title of Most Victrico was offered to their ear, and they were measured with scrupulous avarice the honours of the Virgin Mary, whom the superstition of the Latins had almost exalted to the rank of a goddess. When her image was first presented to the di-epistles of St. Tho-
mas, they indignantly exclaimed, We are christians, and our religion is not to be polluted with such unhallowed veneration of the cross. Their separation from the western world had left them in ignorance of the improvements, or corruptions, of a thousand years; and their conformity with the faith and practice of the fifth century, would equally disapprov the prejudices of a papist or a proselytized Christian; hence our prudent ministers of Rome to intercept all correspondence with the Nestorian patriarch, and several of his bishops expired in the prisons of the holy office. The flock, without a shepherd, was assaulted by the power of the Portuguese, the arts of the Jesuits, and the zeal of Alexius, the Venetian, archbishop of Brindisi, who was sent on the official visitation of the coast of Malabar. The synod of Diamper, at which he presided, consigned the precious work of the reunion, and rigorously imposed the doctrine and discipline of the Roman church, without forgetting avaricious confession, the strongest engine of ecclesiastical toverty. The memory of Theodore and Nestorius was condemned, and Malabar was reduced under the dominion of the pope, of the primates, and of the Jesuits who invaded the sea of Angamala or Cranganor. Sixties of servitude, and hypocrisy were patiently endured on both sides; but as soon as the Portuguese empire was shaken by the courage and industry of the Dutch, the Nestorians asserted, with vigour and effect, the religion of their fathers. The Jesuits were incapable of defending the power which they had abused; the arms of the Portuguese re-established their falling tyrants; and the Indian archdeacon assumed the charac-
ter of bishop, till a fresh supply of episcopal gifts and

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A. D. 1250, &c.

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Syriac missionaries could be obtained from the patriarch of Babylon. Since the expulsion of the Portuguese, the Nestorian creed is freely professed on the coast of Malabar. The trading companies of Holland and England are the friends of toleration; but if oppression be less mortifying than contempt, the citizens of St. Thomas have reason to complain of the cold and silent indifference of their brethren of Europe.1

II. The History of the Monophysites.

is less copious and interesting than that of the Nestorians. Under the reigns of Zen and Anastasius, their ardent efforts surprised the ear of the priestly world; the throne of the Persian court was established on its native soil the archbishop of the Syrians. The rule of the Monophysite faith was defined with exquisite discretion by Severus patriarch of Antioch; he confined, in the style of the Hellenic, the adverse heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches, maintained against the faction of Jacobites, a faithful sound and constrained the Greeks to allow that he was a liar who spoke truth.2 But the approximation of ideas could not abate the vehemence of passion; each party was the more astonished that their blind antagonist could dispute on so trifling a difference; the tyrant of Syria endeavours to tranquilize the minds of his subjects by the blood of three hundred and fifty monks, who were slain, not perhaps without provocation or resistance, under the walls of Apamea.3 The successor of Anastasius replanted the orthodox standard in the east, and dedicated Persia and Xenissia,4 which had escaped from the Nestorians of Persia, was suffocated in his exile by the Melechites of Paphlagonia. Fifty-four bishops were swept from their thrones, eight hundred ecclesiastics were cast into prison,5 and notwithstanding the ambiguous and equivocal doctrine of Theodora, the orthodox have distance on their shelves, but it visibly have been either famished or poisoned. In this spiritual distress, the expiring faction was revived, and united, and perpetuated, by the labours of a monk; and the name of James Baradus6 has been preserved in the annals of a sect which did not yet have been converted to the Monophysite faith, and a Jew was the father of Abulpharagius7 prime of the east, so truly eminent both in his life and death. In his life, he was an elegant writer of the Syriac and Arabic tongues, a poet, physician, and historian, a subtle philosopher, and a moderate divine. In his death, his funeral was attended by his rival the Nestorian patriarch, with a train of Greeks and Armenians, who forgot their disputes, and mingled their tears over the grave of an enemy. The sect which was honoured by the virtues of Eutyches and of Abulpharagius appears, however, to sink below the level of their Nestorian brethren. The superstition of the Jacobites is more abject, their fasts more rigid,8 their intestine divisions are more numerous, and their doctors (as far as I can measure the degrees of nonsense) are more remote from the precisions of reason. Something may possibly be allowed for the rigour of the Monophysite theology; much more for the superior influence of the monastic order. In Syria, in Egypt, in Ethiopia, the Jacobite monks have ever been distinguished by the austerity of their penitence and the sobriety of their labours. Alive or dead they are esteemed as the chief friends of the Church of God, and the crosier of bishop and patriarch is reserved for their venerable hands; and they assume the government of men, while they are yet reeking with the habits and prejudices of the cloister.9

1 Concerning the christians of St. Thomas, see Asseman, Bibl. Oriunt. tom. iv. p. 391—407. 335—431; Geddes, Church History of the Christians of the East, in Biog. Brit. vol. xi. pp. 172—185; Huguet and Alcan, Historia Christianismi, in Codices Biblici, Tom. iv. pp. 710—739; and the following index, in two vol.; Lamou, La Haye, 1756, a learned and agreeable work. They have drawn from the same source, the Portuguese and Italian historians, and the narratives and prejudices of the Jacobites have been corrected by those of the protestants.

2 D'on, Euchairdamous, in his Treatise of the Incarnation, p. 235, 236, as he quoted by La Croz, (Hist, du Christianisme d'Ethiopie et d'Armenie, p. 53,) who explains, perhaps too hastily, "Quod potius rumenatur!" Reinaudet has touched (Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 127—130) the oriental accounts of Severus; and his authentic creed may be found in the epitaph of John the Jacobite patriarch of Antioch, in the tenth century, to his nephew Michael of Alexandria. (Asseman, Bibl. Orient. tom. vi. p. 132—141.)

3 Eupat, Archimandritarum et Monachorum Syria Secundos ad Pasum Honorem, Constantinople, 1581. In this ed., the person of the three Sabas, or two unities, will justify the suspicion that the names of these bishops were of the Nestorians' or of the Syriac orthodoxy, or of the Syrian sects, of the 4th century. (Asseman, ibid. 1531, No. 7, &c.)

4 See Asseman, (Bibl. Orient. tom. ii. p. 10—46.) and La Croce (Christianismi d'Ethiopie, &c. 38—49) will supply the history of the Christians of Syria, or Philoxenus, bishop of Mabue, or Hitaelahia, in Syria. He was a perfect master of the Syriac language, and the author of the Greek version of the New Testament.

5 The synod and titles of fifty-four bishops, who were exiled by Justin, are preserved in the Chronic of Dionysius. (Asseman, tom. ii. p. 24.) Severus was personally summoned to Constantinople 461, and was condemned in his absence, and the laws were cut out, says Evagrius, (iv. i. c. 4.) The prudent patriarch did not may wonder at the belief of the Syriac, and this decision was God's version of the New Testament.

6 The obscure history of James, or Jacobus Baradus, or Zanazla, may be gathered from Eutychia, (Annali, tom. i. p. 144, i. 145.) Reinaud, 393—404. Asseman, Bibl. Orient. tom. i. p. 424, tom. ii. p. 69, 234—323, 441, tom. iii. p. 353—358. 237.—290. The authenticity of the Jacobite authors has never been doubted their name and pedigree from St. James the apostle.

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Chapter VIII.

III. The Manonites.

In the style of the oriental christians, the Mononethites of every age are described under the appellation of Manonites, a name which has been insensibly transferred from a hermit to a monastery, from a monastery to a nation. Maron, in a synthesis of the ordinances of the fifth century, displayed his religious madness in Syria; the rival cities of Apanee and Emessa disputed his relics, a stately church was erected on his tomb, and six hundred of discipline united their solitary cells on the banks of the Orontes. In the course of the incursions, they nicely threaded the orthodox line between the sects of Nestorius and Eutyches; but the unfortunate question of one will or operation in the two natures of Christ, was generated by their curious leisure. Their proselyte, the emperor Heraclius, was rejected as a Manonite from the walls of Emessa; he found a refuge in the monastery of his brethren; and their theological lessons were repaid with the gift of a spacious and wealthy domain. The name and doctrine of this venerable school were propagated among the Greeks and Syriacs, and their zeal is expressed by Macarius, the patriarch of Antioch, who declared before the synod of Constantinople, that sooner than subscribe the two wills of Christ, he would submit to be hewn piece-meal and cast into the sea. A similar or a less cruel mode of persecution soon converted the unresisting subjects of the province of the glorious Nestorian rebels, was bravely maintained by the hardy natives of Mount Libanus. John Maron, one of the most learned and popular of the monks, assumed the character of patriarch of Antioch; his nephew Abraham, and several of the Maronites, defended their civil and religious freedom against the tyrants of the east. The son of the orthodox Constantinian pursued, with pious hatred, a people of soldiers, who might have stood the bulwark of his empire against the common foes of Christ and of Rome. An army of Greeks invaded Syria; the monastery of St. Maron was destroyed with fire; the bravest chieftains were betrayed and murdered, and twelve thousand of their followers were transplanted to the distant frontiers of Armenia and Thrace. Yet the humble nation of the Maronites has survived the empire of Constantinople, and they still enjoy, under their Turkish masters, the repose of an imitigated servitude. Their domestic governors are chosen among the ancient nobility; the patriarch, in his monastery of Canobin, still functions himself on the throne of Antioch; nine bishops compose his synod, and at least fifty priests, who retain the liturgy of marriage, are intrusted with the care of one hundred thousand souls. Their country extends from the ridge of Mount Libanus to the shores of Tripoli; and the gradual descent affords, in a narrow space, each variety of climate and climate, from the Holy Cedar, erect under the weight of snow, to the vine, the mulberry, and the olive trees of the fruitful valley. In the twelfth century, the Maronites, abjure the doctrine of the Monophysite heresy, were reconciled to the Latin churches of Antioch and Rome, and the same alliance has been frequently renewed by the ambition of the popes and the distress of the Syrians. But it may reasonably be questioned, whether their union has ever been so firm as when the college of Rome have vainly laboured to absolve their ancestors from the guilt of heresy and schism.

IV. Since the age of Constantine, the Armenians has signalized their attachment and independence of the Christians. The disorders of their country, and the ignorance of the Greek tongue, prevented their clergy from assisting at the synod of Chaledon, and they floated eighty-four years in a state of indifference or suspense, till their vacant faith was finally occupied by the missionaries of Julian of Halicarnassus, who is, in Egypt, their common velle, had been vanquished by the arguments of the influence of his rival Severus, the Monophysite patriarch of Antioch. The Armenians are alone the pure disciples of Eutyches, an unfortunate parent, whose heresy is acknowledged by the leaders of the Maronites, these cities, which are the Scriptures, and the spiritual progeny. They alone persevere in the opinion, that the manhood of Christ was created, or existed without creation, of a divine and incorruptible substance. Their adversaries reproach them with the adoration of a phantom; and they rotot the accession of Dexileos, a bishop of Mardedatta, as the apostle of the Armenians, who impute to the Godhead the vile impieties of the flesh, even the natural effects of nutrition and digestion. The religion of Armenia could not derive much glory from the learning or the power of its inhabitants. The natural connection with the origin of their schism; and their Christian kings, who rise and fall in the thirteenth century on the confines of Cilicia, were the clients of the Latins, and the vassals of the Turkish sultan of Iconium. The helpless nation has seldom been permitted to enjoy the tranquillity of peace, or to appreciate the bliss of their peaceful state. Yet Asia, even the scattered and disunited followers of that nation, has always maintained the title of patriarch; and the Maronites have been a powerful barrier to the progress of the Turks. We are informed of the repugnance of the ancient Christians to abandon their religion or to produce that union which the Armenians is fovent and intrepid; they have often preferred the crown of martyrdom to the white turban of Mahomet; they devoutly hate the error and idolatry of the Greeks; and their transient union with the Latins is not less striking from the difficulty of the experiment, and the spirit of the patriarch offered at the feet of the Roman pontiff.

The evidence of William of Tyre (Hist. in Generi Beli per Francos, t. xiiii. c. 7. p. 1022.) is copied or confirmed by Jacques de Vitry (Hist. Hierosolym. lib. ii. p. 1093, 1094.) But this unauthentic language expired with the power of the Franks; and the Maronites are now considered the Mononethites a sect of Monophysites (Biblio, Orient, tom. ii. p. 292.)

I find a description and history of the Maronites in the Voyage de la Syrie et du Saint Liban, par la Roque, (2 tomes in 12mo. Amsterdam, 1729.) particularly tom. i, p. 42—47, p. 174—194, tom. ii, p. 10—128. In the ancient part, he copies the prejudices of Nain and the other Mononites of Rome, which Anonimus considers the Maronites as a sect of Mononethites (Biblio, Orient, tom. ii. p. 292.)

The Maronites are briefly described by La Croix (Hist. du Christ de l'Egypte et de l'Armenie, p. 289—402.) He refers to the great Armenian History of Galatsis, (2 tomes in 12mo, Edin. 1590—1594.) and commends the state of Armenia in the third volume of the Nouveaux Memoires des Missions du Levant. The writer of a work so just must have steerage wind when it is praised by La Croix.

The schism of the Armenians is placed 54 years after the conversion of Constantine, (Hist. de Constantine, p. 304.) The emperor of the Mononethites is supposed to be the patriarch of Antioch in 1040, (Concil. tom. viii. p. 780.) The Mononethite cause was supported with fervency and subility by Constantin, a Syrian priest of Apamea, (p. 1140. &c.)

Theophanes (Chron. p. 295. 296. 363. 392. 360.) and Cedrenus, (p. 453.) state that the Maronites, the name of Mered, it is said, was corrupted to Maronites, which may be found in the mystical table of Pocock. He was not ancient; and he who examines the Maronites and the name of their country, and even of the tenth century, and may believe a Melchite, whose testimony is confirmed by the Jacobites and Latins.

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The catholic, or patriarch, of the Armenians, resides in the monastery of Ekmiasin, three leagues from Erivan. Forty or an hundred pounds of silver, or a certain number of slaves, as an annual tribute, are collected at the head of his own herd, and the greater part are only titular prelates, who dignify with their presence and service the simplicity of his court. As soon as they have performed the liturgy, they cultivate the garden; and our history, which is by a chosen hand was stationed in the choir, to defend the person of their chief. He stood erect on his throne, and throwing aside the upper garment of a warrior, suddenly appeared before the eyes of the multitude in the robes of patriarch of Alexandria. Astonishment held them mute; but no sooner had Apollinaris entered his church, and he began to return to the see of St. Leo, had not a small number of these eloquent, sarcastic, and invective, and staves, assaulted the odious minister of the emperor and the synod. A charge was instantly sounded by the successor of the apostles; the soldiers waded to their knees in blood; and two hundred thousand christians are said to have been slain by the order of the emperor; an incredible account, even if it be extended from the slaughter of a day to the eighteen years of the reign of Apollinaris. Two succeeding patriarchs, Eulogius and John, laboured in the conversion of heretics, with arms and arguments more worthy of their evangelical profession. The theological knowledge of Eulogius was at first played in many a volume, which magnified the errors of Eutyches and Severus, and attempted to reconcile the ambiguous language of St. Cyril with the orthodox creed of pope Leo and the fathers of Chalcedon. The hound, the arms and by superstition or bequeuvalence, or policy. Seven thousand five hundred poor were maintained at his expense; on his accession, he found eighty thousand pounds of gold in the treasury of the church; he collected ten thousand from the liberality of the faithful; yet the prince could boast in his testament, that he left behind him no more than the third part of the smallest of the silver coins. The churches of Alexandria were delivered to the catholics, the religion of the Monophysites was suppressed in Egypt, and a law was revived which excluded the natives from the honours and emoluments of the state.

A more important conquest still reared, maimed, of the patriarch, the oracle and leader of the Egyptian church. Theodore had resisted the threats and promises of Justinian with the spirit of an apostle or an evangelist. "Such, John and the emperor were distinctly expounded to the patriarch, were the offers of the tempter when he showed the kingdoms of the earth. But my soul is far dearer to me than life or dominion. The churches are in the hands of a prince who can kill the body; but my conscience is my own; and in exile, poverty, or chains, I will steadfastly adhere to the faith of my holy predecessors, Athanasius, Cyril, and Dioscorus. Anathema to the sons of Leo and the synod of Chalcedon! Anathema to all who embrace their creed! Anathema to them now and for evermore! Naked came I out of my mother's womb, naked shall I descend into the grave. Let those so love God, follow me and seek their salvation." After comforting his brethren, he embarked for Constantinople, and sustained, in six successive interviews, the almost irresistible weight of the royal presence. His opinions

The travelling Armenians are in the way of every traveller, and their mother church is on the high road between Constantineople and Izmir, where they are most favorably supported. Faberius, in his "Lexicon," vol. i., p. 136, Annul. (c. iv. c. 40), Chardin, Cod. ii. p. 322. Tournefort, "Oeuvres," liv. ii. and all, Tavernier, tom. i. p. 28–37. 205–213), that resembling jeweller, who had read nothing, but had seen so much and so well. 4 Eutyches, who had been a monk of Antioch, was more conspicuous for subtlety than eloquence. He proves that the enemies of the bishop, the Gaians and the Theodorsians, out of envy, that the same proposition may be orthodox in the mouth of St. Cyril, but pernicious in that of Severus; that the opposite assertions of Eutyches are equally true. &c. His writings are no longer extant, except in the Extracts of Photius, who had perused them with care and satisfaction. Cod. crit. c. 30, c. 33, c. 51. 5 See the Life of John the elencafusary by his contemporary Levitson, bishop of Tarsus, and Cyril, bishop of Heraclea, or hidden, is reflected in the Latin version of Baroccius, (U. 0. 790, &c. &c. 6. b. 66, Nos. 83). Pari (Critea, tom. ii. p. 763) and Fabrici (E. c. ii. tom. vii. p. 442) have made some critical observations.
were favourably entertained in the palace and the city; the influence of Theodor assured him a safe conduct and honourable dismissal; and he ended his days, though not on the throne, yet in the bosom, of his native land, with the hospitable hospitality of a Christian prince. At the close of the year 1500, John, on his return from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, was received with due honours by the Abbess of Apollinaria, who indecently feasted the nobles and the clergy; but his joy was checked by the intelligence of a new election; and while he enjoyed the wealth of Alexandria, his rivals reigned in the monasteries of Thebaïs, and were maintained by the voluntary oblations of the people. A perpetual succession of patriarchs arose from the ashes of Theodosius; and the Monophysite churches of Syria and Egypt were united by the name of Jacobites and the communion of the faith. But the same faith, which has been confined to a narrow sect of the Syrians, was diffused over the mass of the Egyptian or Coptic nation; who, almost unanimously, rejected the decrees of the synod of Chalcedon. A thousand years were now elapsed since Egypt had ceased to be a kingdom, since the conquerors of Asia and Europe had trampled on the ready necks of a people, whose ancient wisdom and power exceed beyond the recollection of history. The conflict of zeal and persecution rekindled some sparks of their national spirit. They ad\-\jured, with a foreign haire, the manners and language of the Greeks; every Melchite, in their eyes, was a stranger, every Jacobite a citizen; the alliance of mar-\riage, of education, of liberty, was their boast of holy brethren; and the holy Mass was their only religion, their only sin; the natives renounced all allegiance to the emperor; and his orders, at a distance from Alexandria, were obeyed only under the pressure of military force. A generous effort might have redeemed the religion and liberty of Egypt, and her six hundred monasteries might have restored their myriads of holy warriors, for whom death should have no terror, since life had no comfort or delight. But experience has proved the distinctness of active and passive courage; the fanatic who endures without a groan the tortures of the rack or the stake, would tremble and fly before the face of an armed enemy. The pusillani\-mous temper of the Egyptians could only hope for a change of masters; the arms of Chosroes depopulated the land, yet under his reign the Jacobites enjoyed a short and precarious respite. The victory of Heracli\-\les ren\-ewed and aggravated the persecution, and the patriarch again escaped from Alexandria to the desert. In his flight, Benjamin was encouraged by a voice, which bade him expect, at the end of ten years, the aid of a foreign king. During the whole of the existence of the Jacobite patriarch of Alexandria: as late as the twelfth century, Christianity prevailed; and some rites, some ruins, are still visible in the savage towns of Sennaar and Dongola. But the Nigerians at length executed their threat of returning to the worship of idols; the climate required the services of the priests, the giỏi of all the Egyptians might have preferred the triumph of the Koran to the abase\ment of the cross. A metaphysical religion may appear too refined for the capacity of the negro race; yet a black or a parrot might be taught to repeat the words of the Chalcedonian creed. Christianity was more deeply rooted in the Abyssinian empire; and, although the correspondence has been sometimes interrupted above seventy or a hundred years, the mother-church of Alexandria retains her colony in a state of perpetual pignaracy. Seven bishops possessed the Ethiopic synod: had their number amounted to ten, they might have elected an independent pri\-\mate; and one of their kings was ambitious of pro\-\moting his brother to the ecclesiastical throne. But the existence of the Abyssinian church has been the source of the power of the Coptic patriarch, a title which the episcopal office has been gradually confined to the abuna, the head and author of the Abyssinian priest\-\ of Cairo, published at Oxford, in thirty pages, a slight History Jacobitæ, 147, post. 150.  

VI. The Coptic patriarch, a rebel to VI. The Abyssinians and the Coptic patriarch, a rebel to Constantinople, is still glorified in the filial obedience of the kings of Abyssinia and Ethiopia. He repudiated his homage by nothing but a few words. Apollinaria informed him that they could bring into the field a hundred thousand horse, with an equal number of camels; that their horse could pour out or restrain the waters of the Nile; and the peace and plenty of Egypt was obtained, even in this world, by the intercession of the patriarch of Alexandria. But Junian seems to have been recommended to his patroness a conversion of the black nations of Abyssinia from the tropic of Cancer to the confines of Abyssinia. Her design was suspected and emulated by the more orthodox emperor. The rival missionaries, a Melchite and a Jacobite, embarked at the same time; but the empress, from a motive of love or fear, was more effectually obeyed; and the catholic priest was detained by the president of Thebaïs, while the king of Nubia and his court were hastily baptized in the faith of Dioscorus. The hard years of pagan rule were in the ascendant, as a dishonour; but when he accused the heresy and treason of the Egyptians, the negro convert was instructed to reply that he would never abandon his brethren, the true believers, to the persecuting ministers of the synod of Chalcedon. During several ages, the bishops of Nubia were subject to the episcopal authority of the patriarch of Alexandria; as late as the twelfth century, Christianity prevailed; and some rites, some ruins, are still visible in the savage towns of Sennaar and Dongola. But the Nigerians at length executed their threat of returning to the worship of idols; the climate required the services of the priests, the causa of all the Egyptians might have preferred the triumph of the Koran to the abasement of the cross. A metaphysical religion may appear too refined for the capacity of the negro race; yet a black or a parrot might be taught to repeat the words of the Chalcedonian creed. Christianity was more deeply rooted in the Abyssinian empire; and, although the correspondence has been sometimes interrupted above seventy or a hundred years, the mother-church of Alexandria retains her colony in a state of perpetual pignaracy. Seven bishops possessed the Ethiopic synod: had their number amounted to ten, they might have elected an independent prim\-\ate; and one of their kings was ambitious of pro\-\moting his brother to the ecclesiastical throne. But the existence of the Abyssinian church has been the source of the power of the Coptic patriarch, a title which the episcopal office has been gradually confined to the abuna, the head and author of the Abyssinian priest-
hood; the patriarch supplies each vacancy with an Egyptian monk; and the character of a stranger appears more venerable in the eyes of the peopled deserts than in those of the monarch. In the sixth century, when the schism of Egypt was confirmed, the rival chiefs, with their patrons, Justinian and Theodora, strove to outstrip each other in the contest of a remote and independent province. The industry of the emperors was amply rewarded, and the pious Theodora had established in that sequestered church the faith and discipline of the Jacobites. Encompassed on all sides by the enemies of their religion, the Ethiopians slept near a thousand years, forgetful of the world, by whom they were forgotten. They were awakened by the imminence of the danger, when a caravan of the inner promontory of Africa, appeared in the open desert, and the heir apparent to the crown of Axume, appeared in the Red sea, as if they had descended through the air from a distant planet. In the first moments of their interview, the subjects of Rome and Alexandria observed the resemblance, rather than the difference, of their faith; and each nation expected the most important benefits from an alliance with their christian brethren. In their lonely situation, the Ethiopians had almost relapsed into the savage life. Their vessels, which had traded to Ceylon, scarcely presumed to navigate the rivers of Africa; yet when the expedition was scattered in villages, and the emperor, a pious name, was content, both in peace and war, with the immovable residence of a camp. Conscious of their own independence, the Abyssinians had formed the rational project of importing the arts and ingenuity of Europe; and their ambassadors at Rome and Lisbon were instructed to solicit a colony of smiths, carpenters, tailors, masons, printers, surgeons, and physicians, for the use of their country. But the public danger soon called for the instant and effectual aid of arms and soldiers, to defend an unwarlike people from the barbarians who had encroached the coast, and whose valour and industry were unequal to the defence of their native soil. But the vows which pain had extracted, were forsworn on the return of health. The Abyssinians still adhered with unshaken constancy to the Monophysite faith; their laudable infidelity was inflamed by the exercise of dispute; they branded the Latins with the names of Arians and Nestorians, and imputed the adoration of four gods, to those who separated the two natures of Christ. Freemasonry, a place of worship, or rather of exile, was assigned to the Jesuit missionaries. Their skill in the liberal and mechanical arts, their residence in the desert, and the policy of the church, insinuated a base design; but they were not endowed with the gifts of miracles, and they vainly solicited a reparation from the European emperors. The piety of forty years at length obtained a more favourable audience, and two emperors of Abyssinia were persuaded that Rome could ensure the temporal and everlasting happiness of their vassals. The first of these royal convert lost his crown and his life; and the rebel army was sanctified by the brave, who hurled an ammunition at the apostle, and absolved his subjects from their oath of fidelity. The fate of Zadengiel was revenged by the courage and fortune of Susneus, who ascended the throne under the name of Seguirid, and more vigorously prosecuted the pious enterprise of his kinsman. After the instant instance of Cosimo de' Medici, who added the Jesuits and his illetarate priests, the emperor declared himself a proselyte to the synod of Chalcedon, presuming that his clergy and people would embrace without delay the religion of their prince. The liberty of choice was succeeded by a law, which imposed, under pain of death, the belief of the two natures of Christ: the Abyssinians were enjoined to work and to play on the sabbath; and Seguirid, in the face of Europe and Africa, pronounced his connexion with the Alexandrian church. A Jesuit, Alphonso Conversion de Mendez, the catholic patriarch of Ethiopia, was received, in the name of Urban VIII. A.D. 1638, in the hommage and abjuration of his pontifical. "I confess," said the emperor on his knees, "I confess that the pope is the vicar of Christ, the successor of St. Peter, and the sovereign of the world. To him I swear true obedience, and at his feet I offer my person and kingdom." A similar oath was repeated by his son, his brother, the clergy, the nobles, and even the ladies of the court; the Latin patriarch was invested with honours and wealth; and his missionaries erected their churches or citadels in the most convenient stations of the empire. The Jesuits themselves deplored the total indissoluble of their chief, who forgot the modesty of the gospel and the policy of his order, to introduce with hasty violence the liturgy of Rome and the inquisition of Portugal. He condoned the ancient practice of circumcision, which health rather than superstition had first invented in the climate of Ethiopia. A new baptism, a new ordination, was inflicted on the natives; and they trembled with horror when the most holy of the dead were torn from their graves, when the most illustrious of the living were exterminated by a foreign priest. In the defence of their religion and liberty, the Abyssinians rose in arms, with energy and despair but unsuccesses in zeal. They were consumed and extinguished in the blood of the insurgents: two abunas were slain in battle, whole legions were slaughtered in the field, or suffocated in their caverns; and neither merit, nor rank, nor sex, could save from an ignominious death the enemies of Rome. But the victorious monarch was finally subdued by the constancy of the nation, of his mother, of his son, and of his most faithful friends. Seguirid listened to the voice of pity, of reason, perhaps of fear; and his act of liberty of conscience instantly revealed the tyranny and weakness of his successor. On the death of his father, Basildes expelled the Latin patriarch, and restored to the wishes of the nation the faith and discipline of Rome.
THE DECLINE AND FALL

CHAPTER IX.

Plan of the four last volumes.—Succession and character of the Greek emperors of Constantinople, from the time of Heraclius to the Latin conquest.

Defects of the Byzantine history.

I have now deduced from Tranjan to Constantine, from Constantine to Heraclius, the regular series of the Roman emperors; and faithfully exposed the prosperous and adverse fortunes of their reigns. Five centuries of the decline and fall of the empire have already passed but a period of more than eight hundred years still separates me from the term of my labours, the taking of Constantinople by the Turks. Should I perseverve in the same course, a prolix and slender thread would be spun through many a volume, nor would the patient reader receive the separate reward of his patient attention.

At every step, as we sink deeper in the decline and fall of the eastern empire, the annals of each succeeding reign would impose a more ungrateful and melancholy task. These annals must continue to repeat a tedious and uniform tale of weakness and misfortune; the natural connexion of causes and events would be broken by frequent and hasty transitions, and a minute accumulation of circumstances must destroy the light and effect of these general pictures which compose the use and ornament of a remote history. From the time of Heraclius, the Byzantine theatre is contracted and darkened; the lise of empire, which had been defined by the laws of Justinian and the arms of Belisarius, recedes on all sides from our view: the Roman name, the proper subject of our inquiries, is reduced to a narrow corner of Europe, to the lonely subdues of Constantinople; and the field of the Greek empire has been compared to that of the Rhine, which loses itself in the sands, before its waters can mingle with the ocean. The scale of duration is diminished to our view by the distance of time and place; nor is the historical splendour of the empire compensated by any superior gifts of virtue and genius. In the last moments of her decay, Constantinople was doubtless more opulent and populous than Athens at her most flourishing era, when a scanty sum of six thousand talents, or twelve hundred thousand pounds sterling, was possessed by twenty-one thousand male citizens of an adult age. But each of these citizens was a free man, who dared to assert the liberty of his thoughts, words, and actions; whose person and property were guarded by equal laws; and who exercised his independent vote in the government of the republic. Their numbers seem to have been multiplied by the strong and various discriminations of character: under the shield of freedom, on the wings of emulation and vanity, each Athenian aspired to the level of the national dignity; from this commanding eminence, some chosen spirits soared beyond the reach of a vulgar eye; and the chances of superior merit in a great and populous kingdom, as they are proved by experience, would exceed the computation of imaginary millions. The territory and revenues, the name and arms, the galaxy of that solitary realm were for ever shut against the arts, the science, and the fanaticism of Europe.

* * *

The three most eminent historians, Ludolphus, (Hist. Ethnica, Francford, 1651; Commentaries, 1651; Italia, Nova, &c. 1653, in fol.) Goldsm. (Church History of Ethiopia, London, 1596, in Sena) and La Croze, (Hist. des Chrestianes, Ethnique et d'Armeni, La Haye, 1758; in 8vo.) have drawn their principal materials from the Ethiopic manuscripts, and have given the general history of Ethiopia, published by Dr. Heins, in Spic. Colombr. 1665. We might be surprised at their frankness; but their most frequent view, the spirit of persecution, was in their eyes their most magnificent virtue. Ludolphus possessed some, though a slight, advantage from the Ethiopic language, and the personal acquaintance of a few learned and pious Abyssinian priests, whom he invited from Rome to the court of Saxe Gotha. See the Theologia Ethnica of Gregorius, in Fabric. Lux Excipl. p. 716–724

[Note: This text appears to be a continuation of a larger work, possibly a history or narrative, discussing the decline and fall of the Byzantine empire, focusing on the defects of the historical records and the characteristics of the Greek emperors from Heraclius to the Latin conquest. It touches on the contrast between ancient and modern perspectives, the decline of empire, and the changing nature of historical narratives.]

Plan of the four last volumes of the

The decline and fall of the empire, as narrated by the historians of ancient Persia and Arabia, has been a source of particular interest to modern scholars. The narrative, however, has been subject to significant modifications and reinterpretations over time. The authors of the histories have sought to capture not only the events of their day but also the spirit and character of the empires they described. The study of these narratives is important for understanding the evolution of historical consciousness and the ways in which empires have been viewed and remembered. The decline and fall of the Byzantine empire, for instance, has been seen as a period of transition from the glory of ancient civilizations to the rise of modern nation-states. The narrative of the decline and fall is not only a chronicle of events but also a reflection of the values and beliefs of the societies that produced it. The study of these narratives can provide insights into the cultural and intellectual climate of the time, as well as the ways in which historical narratives are constructed and interpreted.
The chapter will contain, in a regular style, the histories of Constantine during a period of six hundred years, from the days of Heraclius to the Latin conquest: a rapid abstract, which may be supported by general appeal to the order and text of the original historians. In this latter period, the succession of families, the personal characters of the Greek princes, the mode of their life and death, the maxims and influence of their domestic government, and the tendency of their reign to accelerate or suspend the downfall of the eastern empire. Such a chronological and topographical summary of the various argument of the subsequent chapters; and each circumstance of the eventful story of the barbarians will adapt itself in a proper place to the Byzantine annals. The internal state of the empire, and the dangerous heresy of the Paulicians, which shook the east and enlightened the west, will be the subject of two separate chapters; but these inquiries must be postponed till our further progress shall have opened the view of the world in the ninth and tenth centuries of the Christian era. After this foundation of Byzantine history, the following nations will pass before our eyes: and each will occupy the space which it may be entitled by greatness or merit, or the degree of connexion with the Roman world and the present age.

The Franks; a general appellation which includes all the barbarians of France, Italy, and Germany, who were united by the sword and sceptre of Charlemagne. Their three main masses united the spoils to which it may have been Rome and Italy from the Byzantine throne, and prepared the restoration of the Roman empire in the west.

The Arabs of Saracens. Three ample chapters will be devoted to this curious and interesting object. In the first, after a picture of the country and its inhabitants, the walls and gates of the cities, we learn the character, religion, and success of the prophet. In the second I shall lead the Arabs to the conquest of Syria, Egypt, and Africa, the provinces of the Roman empire; nor can I check their victorious career till they have overthrown the monarchies of Persia and Spain. In the third I shall inquire how Constantinople and Europe were saved by the luxury and arts, the division and decay, of the empire of the caliphs.

The Bulgarians, IV. Hungarians, and V. Russians, who assaulted by sea or by land the provinces and the capital; but the last of the three nations, we believe, will excite some curiosity in their origin and

"...The emperor Heraclius had punished a tyrant and ascended his throne; and the genius of his reign is perpetual by the transient conquest and irreparable loss of the eastern provinces. After the death of Eudocia, his first wife, he disobeyed the patriarch, and violated his laws, by his second marriage with his niece Martina; and the superstition of the Greeks beheld the judgment of heaven in the fatal event of the everything of his offspring. But the opinion of an illegitimate birth is sufficient to distract the choice, and lessen the obedience of the people; the ambition of Martina was quickened by maternal love, and perhaps by the envy of a stepmother; and the aged husband was too feeble to withstand the arts of conjugal allurements. Constantine, his eldest son, enjoyed in a mature age the title of Augustus; but the weakness of his constitution required a colleague and a guardian, and he yielded with secret reluctance to the partition of the empire. The senate was summoned to the palace to ratify or attest the association of Heracleonas, the son of Martin; the imposition of the diadem was consecrated by the prayer and blessing of the patriarch; the senators and patricons adored the majesty of the great emperor and the partners of his reign; and as soon as the doors were thrown open, they were hailed by the tumultuary but important voice of the soldiers. After an interval of five months, the pompous ceremonies which formed the essence of the Byzantine state were celebrated in the cathedral and the hippodrome: the clasps of the royal brothers, and of their offspring, were affectedly displayed by the younger leaning on the arm of the monarch, and the name of Martina was mingled in the redundant or vocal acclamations of the people. Heraclius survived this association about two years; his last testimony declared that Michael of Trebizond was to be emperor of the empire, and commanded them to honour his widow Martina as their mother and their sovereign.

When Martina first appeared on the throne of Constantine, her name and attributes of royalty, she was checked by a firm faction. For many years she was in a state of captivity and exile, must be considered as a foreign nation; the enemies, and again the sovereigns, of Constantinople. Misfortunes had rekindled a spark of national virtue; and the imperial series may be continued with some dignity from the restoration to the Turkish conquest."
in his own hands, the weight of the sceptre. Your sex is excluded by nature from the toils of government. How could you combat, how could you answer, the barbarians, who, with hostile or friendly intentions, may approach the royal city? May heaven avert from the Roman capital this national disgrace, which would provoke the patience of the slaves of Persia!”

Martina descended from the throne with indignation, and sought a refuge in the female apartment of the palace. The reign of Constantine the third lasted only one hundred and three days: he expired in the thirtieth year of his age, and although a long malady, a belief was entertained that poison had been the means, and his cruel step-mother the author, Heracleon, of his untimely fate. Martina reigned indecently and unjustly, or died the harvest of his death, and assumed the government in the name of the surviving emperor; but the inconstant widow of Heracleon was universally abhorred; the jealousy of the people was awakened, and the two orphans whom Constantine had left, became the objects of the public care. It was in vain that the son of Martinus, who was no more than fifteen years of age, was taught to declare himself the guardian of his nephews, one of whom he had presented to the baptismal font; it was in vain that he swore on the wood of the true cross, to defend them against all their enemies. On his death-bed, the late emperor had despatched a trusty servant to arrest them. The king and provost, who devoured the grapes and drank the wine of their Asiatic vineyards, provoked the citizens of Constantinople against the domestic authors of their calamities, and the dome of St. Sophia re-echoed, not with prayers and hymns, but with the clamours and imprecations of an enraged multitude. At their imperious command, Heracleon appeared in the pulpit with the eldest of the royal orphans; Constans alone was saluted as emperor of the Romans, and a crown of gold, which had been taken from the tomb of Heracleus, was placed on his head, with the solemn benediction of the patriarch. But the kingdom of joy and immortality, which was pillaged, the sanctuary was polluted by a promiscuous crowd of Jews and barbarians; and the Monothelite Pyrhus, a creature of the empress, after dropping a protestation on the altar, escaped by a prudent flight from the presence of the catechumens. A more solemn and bloody task was reserved for the senate, who derived a temporary strength from the consent of the soldiers and people. The spirit of Roman freedom revived the ancient and awful examples of the judgment of tyrants, and the imperial culprits were deposed and imprisoned. Constantine, the third son of Constantine the first, was proclaimed as the successor of Constantine the second. But the severity of the conscript fathers was stained by the indiscriminate punishment of the innocent and the guilty: Martina and Heracleon were sentenced to death, the former by the order of the latter of his nose; and after this cruel execution, they consumed the remainder of their days in exile and oblivion. The Greeks, who were capable of reflection, might find some consolation for their servitude, by observing the abuse of power when it was lodged for a time in the hands of antyrants.

We shall imagine ourselves transported five hundred years backwards to the age of the Antenome, if we listen to the oration which Constans II. pronounced in the twelfth year of his reign, before the Byzantine senate: he returned his thanks for the just punishment of the assassins, who had intercepted the fairest hopes of his father’s reign, “By the divine providence,” said the young emperor, “and by your righteous decree, Martina and her inconstant progeny have been cast headlong from the throne. Your majesty and wisdom have prevented the Roman state from degenerating into lawless tyranny. I therefore exhort and beseech you to stand forth as the counsellors and judges of the commonwealth. I am anxious to introduce those salutary, just, serene, and beneficent institutions, which were formerly maintained and manifested under the vigorous and illustrious reign of your highness; but these servile Greeks were unworthy and regardless of freedom; and in his mind, the lesson of an hour was quickly erased by the prejudices of the age and the habits of despotism. He retained only a jealousy of the people. The senator, or people, sliud by the spectre address and liberal donative of their sovereign; but these servile Greeks were unworthy and regardless of freedom; and in his mind, the lesson of an hour was quickly erased by the prejudices of the age and the habits of despotism. He retained only a jealousy of the people. The senator, or people, sliud by the spectre address and liberal donative of their sovereign; but these servile Greeks were unworthy and regardless of freedom; and in his mind, the lesson of an hour was quickly erased by the prejudices of the age and the habits of despotism. He retained only a jealousy of the people. The senator, or people, sliud by the spectre address and liberal donative of their sovereign; but these servile Greeks were unworthy and regardless of freedom; and in his mind, the lesson of an hour was quickly erased by the prejudices of the age and the habits of despotism. He retained only a jealousy of the people. The senator, or people, sliud by the spectre address and liberal donative of their sovereign; but these servile Greeks were unworthy and regardless of freedom; and in his mind, the lesson of an hour was quickly erased by the prejudices of the age and the habits of despotism. He retained only a jealousy of the people. The senator, or people, sliud by the spectre address and liberal donative of their sovereign; but these servile Greeks were unworthy and regardless of freedom; and in his mind, the lesson of an hour was quickly erased by the prejudices of the age and the habits of despotism. He retained only a jealousy of the people. The senator, or people, sliud by the spectre address and liberal donative of their sovereign; but these servile Greeks were unworthy and regardless of freedom; and in his mind, the lesson of an hour was quickly erased by the prejudices of the age and the habits of despotism. He retained only a jealousy of the people. The senator, or people, sliud by the spectre address and liberal donative of their sovereign; but these servile Greeks were unworthy and regardless of freedom; and in his mind, the lesson of an hour was quickly erased by the prejudices of the age and the habits of despotism. He retained only a jealousy of the people. The senator, or people, sliud by the spectre address and liberal donative of their sovereign; but these servile Greeks were unworthy and regardless of freedom; and in his mind, the lesson of an hour was quickly erased by the prejudices of the age and the habits of despotism. He retained only a jealousy of the people. The senator, or people, sliud by the spectre address and liberal donative of their sovereign; but these servile Greeks were unworthy and regardless of freedom; and in his mind, the lesson of an hour was quickly erased by the prejudices of the age and the habits of despotism. He retained only a jealousy of the people. The senator, or people, sliud by the spectre address and liberal donative of their sovereign; but these servile Greeks were unworthy and regardless of freedom; and in his mind, the lesson of an hour was quickly erased by the prejudices of the age and the habits of despotism. He retained only a jealousy of the people. The senator, or people, sliud by the spectre address and liberal donative of their sovereign; but these servile Greeks were unworthy and regardless of freedom; and in his mind, the lesson of an hour was quickly erased by the prejudices of the age and the habits of despotism. He retained only a jealousy of the people. The senator, or people, sliud by the spectre address and liberal donative of their sovereign; but these ser
of the growth of his young beard during the Sicilian voy-
ages, was announced by the familiar surname of Per-
notor. But his reign, like that of his predecessor, was stained with fraternal discord. On his two brothers, Heracleus and Tibirius, he had bestowed the title of Augustus: an empty title, for they continued to languish, without trust or power, in the solitude of the palace. At their sister, the assembled bishops, and the emperor's threat or promise, ap-
proached the city on the Asiatic side, demanded for the royal brothers the partition or exercise of sov-
ereignty, and supported their sedition claim by a theo-
logical argument. They were christians, (they cried,) and orthodox in faith; they were the children of the holy and undivided Trinity. Since there are three equal persons in heaven, it is reasonable there should be three equal persons upon earth. The emperor in-
vited these learned divines to a friendly conference, in which they might propose their arguments to the sen-
ate: the senate obeyed the summons, but the prospect of their bodies hanging on the gibbet in the square of Galata, reconciled their companions to the unity of the reign of Constantine. He pardoned his brothers, and their names were still pronounced in the public acclama-
tions: but on the repetition or suspicion of a similar offer, the three were beheaded. The titles and names, in the presence of the catholic bishops who were assembled at Constantinople in the sixth general synod. In the close of his life, Pogonatus was anxious only to establish the right of primogenu-
ture: the hair of his two sons, Justinian and Herac-
leus, was offered on the shrine of St. Peter, as a sym-
bol of their spiritual adoption by the pope; but the elder was alone exulted to the rank of Augustus, and the assurance of the empire.

Justinian II. A.D. 685. The heri-

tance of the Roman world devolved

solemnly on a trif-

umphant lawyer was disinherited by the vices of a

boy, who imitated his nameake only in the expensive

luxury of building. His passions were strong; his

understanding was feeble; but he was intoxicated with a foolis-

h pride, that his birth had given him the command of millions, of whom the smallest com-

munity would not have chosen him for their local magis-

trate. His favourite ministers were two beings the

least susceptible of human sympathy, a eunuch and a monk:

to the one he abandoned the palace, to the other the finances; the former corrected the emperor's

motor; with a courage, the latter suspended his live-

rent tributaries, with their heads downwards, over a

slow and smoky fire. Since the days of Commodus and Caracalla, the cruelty of the Roman princes had

most commonly been the effect of their fear; but Ju-

stinian, who possessed some vigour of character, en-

joyed the sufferings, and braved the revenge, of his

subjects, about ten years, till the measure was full, of

his crimes and of their patience. In a dark dungeon,

Leontius, a general of reputation, had groaned above

three years, with some of the noblest and most des-

erving of the patricians; he was suddenly drawn

forth by the emperor. This promotion of an injured man was a mark of the con-

tempt rather than of the confidence of his prince. As

he was followed to the port by the kind offices of his

friends, Leontius observed with a sigh that he was a

victim adored for sacrifice, and destined to a

world without foreknowledge. They returned to reply, that

glory and empire might be the recompense of a

generous resolution; that every order of men abhorred

the reign of a monster; and that the hands of two hun-

dred thousand patriots expected only the voice of a

leader. The last period of his reign was the most

inflammable, and in the first effort of the conspirators, the prefect was slain, and the prisons were forced open: the

emissaries of Leontius proclaimed in every street, "Chris-

"Christians, to St. Sophia!" and the seasonable text

of the patriarch, "This is the day of the Lord!" was the prelude of an inflammatory sermon, in

which the church the people adjoined to the hidpodrome; Ju-

stinian, in whose cause not a sword had been drawn,

was dragged before these tumultuary judges, and their clamours demanded the instant death of the tyrant.

But Leontius, who was already clothed with the pur-

ple, cost an eye whereby he could behold the benefactor and of so many emperors. The life of Justin-

ian was spared; the amputation of his nose, perhaps of his tongue, was imperfectly performed; the happy

flexibility of the Greek language could impose the name of Rhinmatius; and the mutilated tyrant was

banished to Chersones in Crim-Tartary, a lonely settle-

ment, where corn, wine, and oil, were imported as

foreign luxuries.

On the edge of the Scythian wilder-

ness. Justinian still cherished the pride A. D. 695—705.
of his birth, and the hope of his restoration. After

three years' exile, he received the pleasing intelligence that his injury was avenged by a second revolt, and

that Leontius in his turn had been dethroned and

mutilated by the rebel Apsimar, who assumed the more respectable name of Tibirius. But the claim of

lineal succession was still formidable to a plebeian

ascendant. The bishop of Autun accused him of false

plaints and charges of the Chersonites, who held the

views of the tyrant in the spirit of the exile. With a band of followers, attached to his person by common

hope or common despair, Justinian fled from the inhospitable

shore to the hordes of the Chozars, who pitched their

tents between the Tamais and Boryschens. The khan

entertained with pity and respect the royal suppliant:

Phanagoria, once an opulent city, on the Asiatic side of

the lake Mecottis, was assigned for his residence;

and every Roman prejudice was stifled in his marriage

with the sister of the barbarian, who seems, however,

though his name was not inscribed on the testament

of baptism. But the faithless Chozar was soon

tempted by the gold of Constantinople; and had not

the design been revealed by the conjugal love of Theo-

dora, her husband must have been assassinated, or

betrayed into the power of his enemies. After strug-

gling, with his own sword, with the swords of the

khan, Justinian sent back his wife to her brother, and

embarked on the Euinice in search of new and more

faithful allies. His vessel was assaulted by a violent

tempest; and one of his pious companions advised

him to preserve the mercy of God by a vow of general

penance. Justinian, however, reserved his own

for he should be restored to the throne.

"Of forgiveness!" repeated the intrepid tyrant: "may

I perish this instant—may the Almighty whelm me in

the waves—if I consent to spare a single head of my

enemies!" He survived this impious menace, sailed

into the mouth of the Danube, trusted his person in

the royal village of the Bulgarians, and purchased the

aid of Terbelis, a pagan conqueror, by the promise

of his daughter and a fair partition of the treasures of the

Empire. The Bulgarian kingdom extended to the

confines of Thrace; and the two princes besieged Con-

stantinople at the head of fifteen thousand horse. Ap-

simar was disheartened by the sudden, and the inad-

vantage of his rival, whose head had been promised by

the Chozar, and of whose evasion he was yet igno-

rant. After an absence of ten years, the crimes of

Justinian were faintly remembered, and the birth and

fortunes of his heritage sovereignly excised the pity

of the multitude, and caused the discovery to rouse

the inglorious people with his hitherto unimagined

powers; and by the active diligence of his adherents

he was introduced into the city and palace of Con-

stantinople.

In rewarding his allies, and recalling His restoration

his wife, Justinian displayed some sense, at least, of

honour and gratitude; and Terbelis, who had

retired, after sweeping away a heap of gold coin,

which he measured with his Scythian whip. But

never was vow more religiously performed than the

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saered oath of revenge which he had sworn amidst the storms of the Euxine. The two usurpers, for I must reserve the name of tyrant for the conqueror, were dragged into the hippodrome, their heads hewn from their prison by the other from his palace. Before their execution, Leo the Thrice-Crowned and Apismar were cast prostrate in chains beneath the throne of the emperor; and Justinian, planting a foot on each of their necks, contemplated above an hour the chariot-race, while the inconstant people shouted the words of the Teutoblast, "Thou shalt trample on the ass and the hasilisk, and on the lion and dragon shalt thou set thy foot!" The universal defilement which he had once experienced might provoke him to repeat the wish of Caligula, that the Roman people had but one head. Yet I shall presume to observe, that such a wish is unworthy of an ingenui-
ous tyrant, since his revenge and cruelty would have been extinguished by a single blow, instead of the slow variety of tortures which Justinian inflicted on the victims of his anger. His pleasures were inhuman; nether private virtue nor public service could expiate the guilt of active, or even passive, obe-
dance to an established government; and during the six years of his new reign, he considered the axe, the cord, and the rack, as the only instruments of royalty. But his most imitable hatred was directed against the Chersonites, who had insulted his exiles, and vio-
lated the laws of hospitality. Their remote situation afforded some means of defence, or at least of escape; and a grievous tax was imposed on Constantinople, to supply the preparations of a fleet and army. "All are guilty, and all must perish," was the mandate of Justin-
ian; and the bloody execution was intrusted to his favourite Stephen, who was recommended by the episcopate of the savage. Yet even the savage Stephen im-
perfectly accomplished the intentions of his sovereign. The slowness of his attack allowed the greater part of the exiles to withdraw into the country; and the minister of vengeance contented himself with re-
ducing the youth of both sexes to a state of servitude, with roasting alive seven of the principal citizens, with drowning twenty in the sea, and with reserving forty-two in chains to receive their doom from the mouth of the emperor. In their return, their public service was driven on the rocky shores of Amaltea; and Justinian applauded the obedience of the Euxine, which had involved so many thousands of its subjects and ene-
emies in a common shipwreck; but the tyrant was still involved, and a second expedition was com-
mended to extirpate the remains of the proscribed colony. In the short interval, the Chersonites had re-
turned to their city, and were prepared to die in arms; the khan of the Chozars had denounced the cause of his odious brother; the exiles of every province were as-
sembled in Thrace; and Bardanes, under the name of Philipicus, was invested with the purple. The imperial troops, unwilling and unable to perpetrate the revenge of Justinian, escaped his revenge by ab-
juring his allegiance: the fleet, under their new sove-
ign, steered back a more auspicious course to the harbours of Sinope and Constantinople; and every tongue was prompt to pronounce, every hand to exe-
cute, the death of the tyrant. Desteute of friends, he was deserted by his barbarian guards; and the stroke of the assassin was praised as an act of patriotism and Roman virtue. His son Tiberius had taken refuge in a church; his aged grandmother guarded the door; and the innocent youth, suspending round his neck the most formidable relics, embraced with one hand the altar, with the other the wood of the true cross. But the popular fury that dares to transgress upon his position, is deaf to the cries of humanity; and the race of Her-
aclius was extinguished after a reign of one hundred years.

Bardanes, or Philipicus, was hailed at Con-
stantinople as a hero who had delivered his country from a tyrant; and he might taste some moments of gladness; but the amount of his success was uni-
versal joy. Justinian had left behind him an ample treasure, the fruit of cruelty and rapine; but this use-
ful fund was soon and idly dissipated by his succes-

ors. On the festival of his birth-day, Philipicus entertaine the multitude with the games of the hippo-
drome; but the spoils of a thousand victims of slaves, and ten thousand Berkeley, and a thousand trumpets; refreshed himself in the baths of Zeuxippus, and returning to the palace, entertained his nobles with a sumptuous banquet. At the meridian hour he withdrew to his chamber, intoxicated with flattery and wine, and for-
gotten that his example had made every subject lindsay, and that every ambitious subject was his secret enemy. Some bold conspirators introduced them-
selves in the disorder of the feast; and the slumbering monarch was surprised, hound, blinded, and deposed, and that same public service which had long been deprived of their reward; and the free voice of the senate and people promoted Artemus
from the office of secretary to that of em-
peror; he assumed the title of Anastasius
the second, and displayed in a short and troubl
and weeping reign of seven years his skill in the extinction of the imperial line, the rule of obe-
ience was violated, and every change diffused the seeds of new revolutions. In a mutiny of the fleet, an obscure and reluctant officer of the revenue was
formerly invested with the purple; after some months of a naval war, Anastasius resigned the sceptre and the conqueror, Theodosius the third, sub-
mitted in his turn to the superior ascen-
dant of Leo, the general and emperor of the oriental troops. His two predecessors were permitt
ed to retire, and the crown was offered to him, a
less impotence of Anastasius tempted him to risk and to lose his life in a treasonable enterprise; but the last
days of Theodosius were honourable and secure. The
single sublime word, "health," which he inscribed
on his tomb, expresses the confidence of philosophy in the future. The fleet was long preserved among the people of Epheus. This con-
venient shelter of the church might sometimes impose a lesson of clemency; but it may be questioned wheth-
er it is for the public interest to diminish the peril

I have dwelt on the fall of a tyrant; I shall briefly represent the founder of a new dynasty, who is known to posterity by the invidences of his enemies, and
whose public and private life is involved in the eccle-
siastical story of the Iconoclasts. Yet in spite of the clamsours of superstition, a favourable prejudice for the character of Leo the Isaurian, may be reasonably
drawn from the obscurity of his birth, and the duration of his reign.—I. In an age of manly spirit, the pros-
per of an imperial reward would have kindled every
energy of the mind, and produced a crowd of compe-
titors as deserving as they were desirous to reign. Even in the corruption and debility of the modern Greeks, the elevation of a plebeian from the last to the first rank of society, supposes some qualifications above the level of the multitude. He would probably be ignorant and disdainful of speculative science; and, in the pursuit of fortune, he might absolve himself from the obligations of benevolence and justice; but to his character we may ascribe the useful virtues of prudence and fortitude, the knowledge of mankind, and the important art of gaining the confidence and directing their passions. It is agreed that Leo was a native of Isauria, and that Conrad was his primitive name. The writers, whose awkward satire is praise, describe him as an itinerant pedlar, who drove an ass with some paltry merchandise to the country fairs; and
foolishly relate that he met on the road some Jewish fortune-tellers, who promised him the Roman empire, on condition that he should abolish the worship of idols. A more probable account relates the emigration of a body of Jews, who had been induced to accept the faith, to the pursuit of a grazier; and he must have acquired considerable wealth, since the first introduction of his son was procured by a supply of five hundred sheep to the imperial camp. His first seat was the towns of Julius and the Embrun, which attracted the notice, and by degrees the jealousy, of the tyrant. His valour and dexterity were conspicuous in the Colchian war: from Anastasius he received the command of the Anatolian legions, and by the slaughter of the soldiers he was raised to the empire with the general applause of the Roman world—II. In this dangerous elevation, Leo the third supported himself against the envy of his equals, the discontent of a powerful faction, and the assaults of his foreign and domestic enemies. The catholics, who secure his religious innovations, are obliged to confess that they were undertaken with temper and conducted with prudence. Their silence respects the wisdom of his administration and the purity of his manners. After a reign of twenty-four years, he peaceably expired in the palace of Constantinople; and the purple which he had acquired was transmitted by the right of inheritance to the his son.

Constantine V.

In a long reign of thirty-four years, the son and successor of Leo, Constantine the fifth, surnamed Copronymus, attacked with less temperate zeal the images or idols of the church. Their votaries have exhausted the earth with blasphemy, and the haughty spirit of the spotted panther, this anticlerst, this flying dragon of the serpent's seed, who surpassed the vices of Elagabalus and Nero. His reign was a long butchery of whatever was most noble, or holy, or innocent, in his empire. In person, the emperor assisted at the execution of his victims, surveyed their agonies, listened to their groans, and indulged, without satiety, his appetite for blood: a plate of noses was accepted as a grateful offering, and his domesticities were often scourged or mutilated by the royal hand. His surname was derived from his pollution of his baptism. Of the history of the church, the description of the events of the reign, the anarchy of his reign, the heresies, the heretics, the new idols, the new faith, the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, the council of Chalcedon, the name of Nicephorus, is the name of Sophia, the first to swear, and the first to violate their oath, were the five sons of Copronymus by a second marriage; and the story of these princes is singular and tragic. The right of primogeniture enjoyed by them; the cruelty of their elder brother defrauded them of legitimate to the throne; the millions of wealth; some vain titles were not deemed a sufficient compensation for wealth and power; and they repeatedly conspired against their nephew, before and after the death of his father. Their first attempt was pardoned; for the second offence they were condemned to the ecclesiastical state; and for the third treason, Nicephorus, the eldest and most guilty, was deprived of his eyes, and his four brothers, Christoper, Niceas, Anticensus, and Endoxus, were punished, as a milder sentence, by the amputation of their ears. After he was convicted of the murder of his brother, they resigned to the church of Sophia, and displayed a pathetic spectacle to the people. "Countrysmen and christians," cried Nicephorus for himself and his mute brethren, "behold the sons of your emperor, if you can still recognize our features in this miserable state. It is all we ask; it is all that remains to our enemies has spared. It is now threatened, and we now have ourselves on your compassion." The rising murmur might have produced a revolution, had it not been suppressed by the presence of a minister, who soothe red the unhappy princes with flattering and hope, and gently drew them from the edge of the palace. They were speedily embarked for Greece, and Athens was allotted for the place of their exile. In this calm
retreat, and in their helpless condition, Nicephorus and his brothers were tormented by the thirst of power, and tempted by a Slavonian chief, who offered to break their prison, and to lead them in arms, and in the purple, to the gates of Constantinople. A barbarian, ever anxious in the cause of Irene, prevented her justice or cruelty; and the five sons of Cophomy-

Constantine VI, a barbarian wife, the daughter of the khans of the Czarks, but in the matur-

age, was the immediate consequence of this barbarous exec-

cession. The catholics have been deceived or subdued by the authority of Baronius; and protestant zeal has re-echoed the words of a cardinal, desires, as it should seem, to favour the patrones of images. Yet the bloody stroke was inflicted by the court and forgotten by the world: the Isaurian dynasty was silently extinguished; and the memory of Constantine was recalled only by the nuptials of his daughter Euphrosyne with the emperor Michael the second.

The most-bigoted orthodoxy has justly ex-

erated the unnatural mother, who may not easily be paralleled in the history of crimes. To her bloody deed, superstition has attrib-

uted a subsequent darkness of seventeen days; during which most evils in mind and body, and for whose course if the sun should become so very and so re-

mote, could sympathize with the atoms of a revolving planet. On earth, the crime of Irene was left five years unpunished; her reign was crowned with exter-

nal splendour; and if she could silence the voice of conscience by the admiration and sharing of mankind. The Roman world bowed to the government of a female; and as she moved through the streets of Constantinople, the reins of four milk-white steeds were held by as many patricians, who marched on foot before the golden chariot of their queen. But these patricians were, for the most part, mere eunuchs; and their black ingratitude justified, on this occasion, the popular hatred and contempt. Raised, enriched, intrusted with the first dignities of the em-

perors, they basely conspired against their beneficence; the great treasurer Nicephorus was secretly invested with the purple; her successor was introduced into the palace, and crowned at St. Sophia by the venal patriarch. In their first interview, she recapitulated with dignity the revolutions of her life, gently accused the perjury of Nicephorus, insinuated that he owed his life to his transubstantial character; she offered the throne and treasures which she resigned, solicited a decent and honourable retreat. His avarice refused this modest compensation; and in her exile of the isle of Lesbos, the empress earned a scanty subsistence by the labor of her distaff.

Many tyrants have betrayed undoubt-

edly more criminal than Nicephorus, but none, perhaps, have more deeply in-

erated the universal abhorrence of their people. His character was stained with the three odious vices of hypocrisy, ingratitude, and avarice; his want of virtue was not redeemed by any superior talents, nor his want of talents by any pleasing qualifications. Un-

skilful and unfortunate in war, Nicephorus was van-

quished by the Saracens, and slain by the Bulgarians; and the advantage of his death overbalanced, in the public mind, the death of their emperor. His son and heir Staurak-

ius escaped from the field with a mor-

tally wounded; yet six months of an expiring life were sufficient to refute his indecency, though popular de-

claration, that a wound in all things avoids the exam-

ple of his father. On the near prospect of this demise, Michael, the great master of the palace, and the hus-

band of his sister Procopia, was named by every per-

son of the palace and city, except by his envious bro-

ther. Tenacious of a sceptre now falling from his hand, he knelt in his apartment, prayed, and cherished the idea of changing to a democracy the Roman empire. But these rash projects served only to inflame the zeal of the people and to remove the scruples of the candidate: Michael the first accepted
the purple, and, before he sunk into the grave, the son
of Nicophorus implored the clemency of
his new sovereign. Had Michael in an
age of peace endeavored to bring to
existence the arms of the victorious Bulgarians. While
his wont of ability and wisdom enabled him to the
extent of the soldiery, the masculine spirit of his
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her monastery Euphrosyne, the daughter of Constantine the sixth. Her august birth might justify a stipulation in the marriage-contract, that her children should enjoy the titles of sovereigns, and that her brother, or the nuptials of Michael and Euphrosyne were barren; and she was content with the title of mother of Theophilus, his son and successor.

Theophilus, A.B.C. example in which religious zeal has all

The character of Theophilus is a rare

Theophilus was rash and fruitless, and his justice arbitrary and cruel. He displayed the banner of the cross against the Saracens; but his first expeditions were concluded by a signal overthrow; Amorium, the native city of his ancestors, was levelled with the ground; and from his military toils, he derived only the surname of the Unfortunate. The wisdom of a sovereign is comprised in the institution of laws and the choice of magistrates, which, when a people without action, his civil government revolves round his centre with the silence and order of the planetary system. But the justice of Theophilus was fashioned on the model of the oriental despots, who, in personal and irregular acts of authority, consult the reason or passion of the monarch, and sometimes necessary to be exercised by the sword, or the penalty by the offense. A poor woman threw herself at the emperor's feet to complain of a powerful neighbour, the brother of the empress, who had raised his palace-wall to such an inconvenient height, that her humble dwelling was excluded from light and air. On the advantage, he acceded to her request, like an ordinary judge, sufficient or ample damages to the plaintiff, the sovereign adjudged to her use and benefit the palace and the ground. Nor was Theophilus content with this extravagant satisfaction; his zealous concern for the emperor's eye rendered the unhappy neighbour a subject of his resentment: the unfortunate patrician was stripped and scourged in the public place of Constantinople. For some venial

fences, some defect of equity or vigilance, the principal

ministers, a prefect, a quaestor, a captain of the guards, were banished or mutilated, or scalced with boiling pitch, or burnt alive in the hippodrome; and as these dreadful examples might be the effects of error or caprice, they must have alienated from his service the best and wisest of the citizens. But the pride of the monarch was stirred in the exercise of power, or, as he thought, of virtue; and the people, safe in their observance of the danger and dishonour of their superiors. This extraordinary rigour was justified, in some measure, by its salutary consequences; since, after a scrutiny of seventeen days, not a complaint or abuse could be found in the court or city: and it might be alleged that the Greeks could be ruled only with a rod of iron, and that the public interest is the motive and law of the supreme judge. Yet in the crime, or the suspicion, of treason, that judge is of all others the most crouded and partial. Theophilus might inflict a tardy vengeance on the assassins of Leo and the saviours of his father; but he enjoyed the fruits of their crime; and his jealous tyranny sacrificed a brother and a prince to the future safety of his life. A Persian of the race of the Sassanides died in poverty and exile at Constantinople, leaving an only son, the issue of a pious marriage. At the age of twelve years, the royal birth of Theophilus was not concealed, and the child of his sister, and was promoted to the command of thirty thousand men, who had blushed at the Mahometan conquerors. These troops, doubtfully infected with mercenary and fanatical vices, were designs of revolting against their benefactor, and erecting the

standard of their native king; but the loyal Theopho-

rus rejected their offers, disconcerted their schemes, and escaped from their hands to the camp or palace of the emperor. But the infirmities of age were speedily followed by the death of his son, to whom Theophilus, in the flower of his age, was compelled to leave the inheritance of the empire. But his jealousy was exasperated by envy and disease; he feared the dangerous virtues which might arise in such a son. He supposed it weakness; and the dying emperor demanded the hand of the Persian prince. With savage delight, he recognized the familiar features of his brother: "Thou art no longer Theophilus," he said; and, sinking on his couch, he added, with a febrile voice, "Soon, too soon, I shall be no more Theophilus.

The Russians, who have borrowed from the Greeks the greatest part of their civil and ecclesiastical policy, preserved, till the last century, a singular institution in the marriage of the Oar. They collected, not the virgins of every rank and of every province, a vain and romantic idea, but the daughters of the principal nobles, who awaited in the palace the choice of their sovereign. It is affirmed, that a similar method was adopted in the nuptials of Theophilus. With a golden apple in his hand, he slowly walked between two cordondes: his eye was detained by the charms of Icasia, a beautiful young captive, which, by this occasion, the prince could only observe, that, in this world, women had been the cause of much evil: "And surely, sir," she pertly replied, "they have likewise been the occasion of much good." This affection of unseemly wit displeased the imperial loves; he turned aside in disgust; Icasia consoled her mortification in a concert; and the modest silence of Theodora was rewarded with the golden apple. She deserved the love, but did not escape the severity, of her lord. From the palace garden he beheld a vessel deeply laden with nuptial presents of wealth and arms. The discovery, that the precious cargo of Syrian luxury was the property of his wife, he condemned the ship to the flames, with a sharp reproach, that her avarice had degraded the character of an empress into that of a merchant. Yet his last choice intrusted her with the guardianship of the empire and salvation of her husband. Michael III. was a prodigal youth who had deserted

Michael III. the ancient profession, a soldier, and was

January 20.
peror. The millions of gold and silver which had been accumulated for the service of the state, were lavished on the wildest of men, who flattered his passions and shared his pleasures; and in a reign of thirteen years, the richest of sovereigns was compelled to strike the standard of retirement. Like Nero, he delighted in the masquerades of the theatre, and sighed to be surpassed in the accomplishments in which he should have blushed to excel. Yet the studies of Nero in music and poetry, betrayed some symptoms of a liberal taste; the more ignoble arts of servile vassals were condescended to by the chariot race or the hippodrome. The four factions which had agitated the peace, still amused the idleness of the capital; for himself, the emperor assumed the blue livery; the three rival colours were distributed to his favourites, and in the vile though eager contentment he forgot the dignity of his person and the safety of his dominions. He silenced the messenger of an invasion, who presumed to divert his attention in the most critical moment of the race; and by his command the important beacon was extinguished, that too frequently spread the alarm from Paurus to Constantinople. The great and illustrious office was conferred on him; he took his first place in his confidence and esteem; their merit was profusely rewarded; the emperor feasted in their houses, and presented their children at the baptismal font; and while he applauded his own popularity, he affected to blame the cold and stately reserve of his predecessors. The universal love and esteem, although directed even to the manhood of Nero, were banished from the world; yet the strength of Michael was consumed by the indulgence of love and intemperance. In his midnight revels, when his passions were inflamed by wine, he was provoked to issue the most sanguinary commands; and if any feelings of humanity were left, he was induced, with the return of reason, to regret the salutary disobedience of his servants. But the most extraordinary feature in the character of Michael, is the profane mockery of the religion of his country. The superstition of the Greeks might indeed excite the smile of a philosopher; but his smile would have been rational and temperate, and he must have condemned the ignorant folly of a youth who insulted the objects of public veneration. A buffoon of the court was invested in the robes of the patriarch; the twelve metropolitan, among whom the emperor was ranked, assumed their ecclesiastical garments; they used his table, and distributed among their banqueting guests the imperial robes, the holy communion was administered in a nauseous compound of vinegar and mustard. Nor were these impious spectacles concealed from the eyes of the city. On the day of a solemn festival, the emperor, with his bishops or buffoons, rode on asses through the streets, encompassed by the true patriarch at the head of his clergy; and by their licentious shouts and obscene gestures, disordered the gravity of the Christian procession. The devotion of Michael appeared only in some offence to reason or piety: he received his theatrical crowns from the hands of his mother; the holy sacrament was repeatedly violated for the sake of burning the bones of Constantine the Macedonian. By this extravagant conduct, the son of Theophilus became as contemptible as he was tedious; every citizen was impatient for the deliverance of his country; and even the favourites of the moment were apprehensive that a caprice might snatch away what a caprice had bestowed. In the thirteenth year of his age, and in the hour of intoxication and sleep, Michael the third was murdered in his chamber by the founder of a new dynasty, whom the emperor had raised to an equality of rank and power.

Basil I. the Macedonian (if it be not the spurious offspring of pride and flattery) exhibits a genuine picture of the revolution of the most illustrious families. The Arsacids, the rivals of Rome, possessed the sceptre of the east near four hundred years; a younger branch of these Parthian kings continued to reign in Armenia; and their royal descendants survived the partition and servitude of that ancient monarchy. Two of these, escaped to the court of Leo the first, his bounty secured them in a safe and hospitable exile, in the province of Macedonia; Adrianople was their final settlement. During several generations they maintained the dignity of their birth; and their Roman patriotism rejected the tempting offers of the Persian and Arabian powers, the birth and blood to their native country. But their splendour was insensibly clouded by time and poverty; and the father of Basil was reduced to a small farm, which he cultivated with his own hands: yet he seemed to disgrace the blood of the Arsacids by a pious alliance: his wife, a widow of Adrianople, was pleased to count among her ancestors the great Constantine; and their royal infant was connected by some dark affinity of lineage or country with the Macedonian Alexander. No sooner was he born, than the cradle of Basil, his family, and his city, were swept away by an inundation of the Bulgarians. The capital was completely destroyed; the cities, and the villages, ravaged by their depredations and wantonness, were burned, or reduced to a confused ravine. The most extraordinary feature in the character of Michael, was the profane mockery of the religion of his country. The superstition of the Greeks might indeed excite the smile of a philosopher; but his smile would have been rational and temperate, and he must have condemned the ignorant folly of a youth who insulted the objects of public veneration. A buffoon of the court was invested in the robes of the patriarch; the twelve metropolitan, among whom the emperor was ranked, assumed their ecclesiastical garments; they used his table, and distributed among their banqueting guests the imperial robes, the holy communion was administered in a nauseous compound of vinegar and mustard. Nor were these impious spectacles concealed from the eyes of the city. On the day of a solemn festival, the emperor, with his bishops or buffoons, rode on asses through the streets, encompassed by the true patriarch at the head of his clergy; and by their licentious shouts and obscene gestures, disordered the gravity of the Christian procession. The devotion of Michael appeared only in some offence to reason or piety: he received his theatrical crowns from the hands of his mother; the holy sacrament was repeatedly violated for the sake of burning the bones of Constantine the Macedonian. By this extravagant conduct, the son of Theophilus became as contemptible as he was tedious; every citizen was impatient for the deliverance of his country; and even the favourites of the moment were apprehensive that a caprice might snatch away what a caprice had bestowed. In the thirteenth year of his age, and in the hour of intoxication and sleep, Michael the third was murdered in his chamber by the founder of a new dynasty, whom the emperor had raised to an equality of rank and power.
drawn from Constantineople, under the pretence of a Cretan expedition, and stabbed in the tent of audience, by the sword of the chamberlain, and in the presence of the emperor. About a month after this execution, Basil appeared in arms with the title of regius and government of the empire. He supported this unequal association till his influence was forfeited by popular esteem. His life was endangered by the caprice of the emperor; and his dignity was profaned by a second colleague, who had roved in the galleys. Yet his beneficence was moderate, and his death as an act of ingratitude and treason; and the churches which he dedicated to the name of St. Michael, were a poor and puerile expiation of his guilt.

The different ages of Basil the first may be compared with those of Augustus. The situation of the Greek did not allow him in his earliest youth to lead an army against his country, or to prose the noblest of his sons; but his aspiring genius stooped to the arts of a slave; he dissembled his ambition and even his virtues, and grieved, with the bloody hand of an assassin, the empire which he ruled with the wisdom and tenderness of a parent. A private citizen may feel his interest repugnant to his duty; but it must be from a deficiency of sense or courage, that an absolute monarch can separate his happiness from his glory, or his glory from the public welfare. The life of Basil was Shot against the toils of soldiers; he composed not easily have soared so high above the level of his own conduct or conceptions. But the most solid praise of Basil is drawn from the comparison of a ruined and a flourishing monarchy, that which he wrested from the disconsolate Michael, and that which he bequeathed to the Macedonian dynasty. The evils which had been sanctioned by time and example, were corrected by his master-hand; and he revived, if not the national spirit, at least the order and majesty, of the Roman empire. His application was indefatigable, his character universal, and his understanding rigorous and decisive; and in his practice he observed that rare and salutary moderation, which pursues each virtue, at an equal distance between the opposite vices. His military service had been confined to the palace; nor was the emperor endowed with the spirit or the talents of a prince. Under this model, the Roman arms were again formidable to the barbarians. As soon as he had formed a new army by discipline and exercise, he appeared in person on the banks of the Euphrates, curbed the pride of the Saracens, and suppressed the dangers though just revolt of the Mameluks. His indignation against a rebel who had long eluded his pursuit, provoked him to wish and to pray, that, by the grace of God, he might drive three arrows into the head of Chrysceher. That odious head, which had been obtained by treason rather than by valor, was suspended from a tree. His little temper, the imperial archer: a base revenge against the dead, more worthy of the times than of the character of Basil. But his principal merit was in the civil administration of the finances and of the laws. To replenish an exhausted treasury, it was proposed to reduce the number of the public slaves and capitation; his prudence abated one moiety of the restitution; and a sum of twelve hundred thousand pounds was instantly procured to answer the most pressing demands, and to allow some space for the mature operations of economy. Among the various schemes for the recovery of the revenues, the suggested capitulation, or tribute, which would have too much depended on the arbitrary discretion of the assessors. A sufficient list of honest and able agents was instantly produced by the minister; but on the more careful scrutiny of Basil himself, only two could be found, who might be safely intrusted with such dangerous powers: and they justified his esteem by their diligence and industry. The success of the prudent diligence of the emperor established by degrees an equinable balance of property and payment, of receipts and expenditure: a peculiar fund was appropriated to each service; and a public method secured the interest of the prince and the property of the people. After the death of this prince, who was more conformable by the deviation of the age to the character of a judge, he was assiduous and impartial; desirous to save, and not to strike: the oppressors of the people were severely chastised; but his personal foes, whom it might be unsafe to pardon, were condemned, after the loss of their eyes, to a life of severity and of solicitude. Basil composed and manners demanded a revision of the obsolete jurisprudence of Justinian; the voluminous body of his Institutes, Pandects, Code, and Novels, was digested under forty titles, in the Greek idiom; and the Basilé, which were improved and completed by his son and grandson, must be referred to the original genius of the founder of their race. This glorious reign was terminated by an accident in the chase. A furious stag entangled his horns in the belt of Basil, and raised him from his horse; he was rescued by an attendant, who cut the belt and slew the animal; but the fall of the king, exhausted the strength of his aged body, and he expired in the palace, amidst the tears of his family and people. If he struck off the head of the faithful servant, for presuming to draw his sword against his sovereign; the pride of despots, which had hitherto been the ruin of the empire, were hindered by the death of the last moments of despair, when he no longer wanted or valued the opinion of mankind.

Of the four sons of the emperor, Con- stantine died before his father, whose Philosophus, grief and credulity were amused by a mount of a melancholy, and disfigured by the death of a B. A. D. 527. March 1. Stephen, the youngest, was content with the honours of a patriarch and a saint; both Leo and Alexander were alike invested with the purple, but the powers of government were solely exercised by the elder brother. The name of Leo the sixth, has been dignified with the title of philosophus; and the union of the prince and the sage, of the active and speculative virtues, would indeed constitute the perfection of human nature. But the claims of Leo are far short of this ideal excellence. Did he reduce his passions and his ambitions to the dearness of reason? His life, like that of his predecessor, was filled with the puerile superstition; the influence of the clergy, and the errors of the people, were consecrated by his laws; and the oracles of Leo, which reveal, in prophetic style, the fate of the empire, are founded on the arts of astrology and divination. If we consider the number of his successes, it can only be replied, that the son of Basil was less ignorant than the greater part of his contemporaries in church and state; that his education had been directed by the learned Photius; and
that several books of profane and ecclesiastical science were composed by the pen, or in the name, of the imperial philosopher. But the reputation of his philosophy and religion was gained only by a second generation, the weakness or the repetition of his nuptials. The primitive ideas of the merit and holiness of celibacy, were preached by the monks and entertained by the Greeks. Marriage was allowed as a necessary means for the propagation of mankind; after the death of either party, the survivor might object a second marriage, the weakness or the strength of the flesh; but a third marriage was censured as a state of legal fornication; and a fourth was a sin or scandal as yet unknown to the Christians of the east. In the beginning of his reign, Leo himself had abolished the state of concubines, and condemned, without amending, third marriages; but his patriotism and love soon compelled him to violate his own laws, and to incur the penance, which in a similar case he had imposed on his subjects. In his three first alliances, his nuptial bed was unfruitful; the emperor required a female companion, and the empire a legitimate heir. The debatable Zoe was introduced into the palace as a concubine; and after a trial of her fecundity, and the birth of Constantine, her lover declared his intention of legitimating the mother and the child, by the celebration of his fourth nuptials. But the patriarch Nicholas refused his blessing to the union, with the decided prediction that another obtained by a promise of separation; and the consummated husband of Zoe was excluded from the communion of the faithful. Neither the fear of exile, nor the desertion of his brethren, nor the authority of the Latin church, nor the danger of failure or debt in the succession to the empire, could bend the spirit of the inflexible monk. After the death of Leo he was recalled from exile to the civil and ecclesiastical administration; and the edict of union which was promulgated in the name of Constantine, condemned the future scandal of his marriages, and left a tacit imputation on his own birth.

In the Greek language purple and porphyry are the same word; and as the colours of nature are invariable, we may learn that a deep dark red was the Tyrian dye which stained this domestic story. An apartment of the Byzantine palace was lined with porphyry: it was reserved for the use of the pregnant empresses; and the royal birth of their children was expressed by the appellation of porphyrogenite, or born in the purple. Several of the Roman princes had been born by the grace of Constantine, who was the first to apply to Constantine the seventh. His life and titular reign were of equal duration; but of fifty-four years, six had elapsed before his father’s death; and the son of Leo was ever the voluntary or reluctant subject of those who oppressed his weakness or abused his confidence. His uncle Alexander, who had long been invested with the title of Augustus, was the first colleague and governor of the young prince: but in a rapid career of vice and folly, the brother of Leo already emulated the reputation of Michael, and when he was extirpated by a timely death, he entreated a pardon for the crimes of Constantine, and left him to the empire a worthless favourite. The succeeding years of the minority of Constantine were occupied by his mother Zoe, and a succession or council of seven regents, who pursued their interest, gratified their passion, abandoned the republic, supplanted each other, and, calling on to the council the name of the emperor. From an obscure origin, Romanus Lecapenus had raised himself to the command of the naval armies; and in the anarchy of the times, had deserved, or at least had obtained, the national esteem. With a victorious armory, he animated the people of the capital; he mounted the Danube into the harbour of Constantinople, and was hailed as the deliverer of the people, and the guardian of the prince. His supreme office was at first defined by the new appellation of father of the emperor; but Romanus soon distrusted the subject of his adopted brother, and, and assumed, with the titles of Caesar and Augustus, the full independence of royalty, which he held near five and twenty years. His three sons, Christopher, Stephen, and Constantine, were successively adored with the same honor. The law enunciating the first degraded from the first to the fifth rank in this college of princes. Yet, in the preservation of his life and crown, he might still applaud his own fortune and the eleemosyne of the usurper. The examples of ancient and modern history would have excused the ambition of Romanus: the powers and the law of the empire were in his hand: the unspotted birth of Constantine would have justified his exclusion; and the grave or the monastery was open to receive the son of the concubine. But Lecapenus does not appear to have possessed either the virtues or the vices of a tyrant. The spirit and activity of his private life dissolved away in the sunlight of the throne: and in his revolutions, pleasures, he forgot the safety both of the republic and of his family. Of a mild and religious character, he respected the sanctity of oaths, the innocence of the youth, the memory of his parents, and the attachment of the people. The great Low-temper of his reign, and ambition of Constantine distracted the jealousy of power; his beheld, and music, his pen and his pencil, were a constant source of amusement; and if he could improve a scanty allowance by the sale of his pictures, if his price was not enhanced by the name of the artist, he was endowed with a personal talent, which few princes could employ in the hour of adversity.

The fall of Romanus was occasioned by his own vices and those of his child, and. After the decease of Christopher, his eldest son, the two surviving brothers quarrelled with each other, and contested against their father. At the hour of noon, when all strangers were regularly excluded from the palace, they entered his apartment with an armed force, and conveyed him, in the habit of a monk, to a small island in the Propontis, which was peopled by a religious community. The rumour of this domestic revolution spread to the remotest cities; but Porphyrogenitus alone, the true and lawful emperor, was the object of the public care; and the sons of Lecapenus were taught, by tardy experience, that they had achieved a guilty and perilous enterprise for the benefit of their rival. Their sister Helen, the daughter of Leo, was protected from immediate danger by a careful and circumspect design of assassinating her husband at the royal banquet. His loyal adherents were alarmed; and the two usurpers were prevented, seized, degraded from the purple, and banished for the same island and monastery where their father had been so lately confined. Old Romanus met them on the beach with a sarcastic smile, and, after a just reproach of their folly and ingratitude, presented his imperial colleagues with an equal share of his water and vegetable diet. In the fortieth year of his reign, Constantine the seventh obtained the possession of the eastern world, which he ruled, or spared at least, for fifteen years. But he was devoid of that energy of character which could emerge into a life of action and glory; and the studies which had amused and dignified his leisure, were incompatible with the serious duties of a sovereign. The emperor neglected the practice, to instruct his son in the duties of sovereignty. In the midst of his exalted life, he divulged the habits of intemperance and sloth, he dropped the reins of the administration into the hands of Helen his wife; and, in the shifting scene of her favour and caprice, each minister was regretted in the promotion of his son. Had the son of Romanus in the choice of his wife and successors, and the power and misfortunes of Constantine had endeared him to the Greeks; they excused his failings; they respected his learning, his innocence, and charity, his love of
justice; and the ceremony of his funeral was mourned
with the unfigured tears of his subjects. The body,
according to ancient custom, lay in state in the vest-
itude of the palace; and the civil and military officers,
the patricians, the senate, and the clergy, approached
in turn and bared their heads to the prostrate corpse of
their sovereign. Before the procession moved towards
the imperial sepulchre, a herald proclaimed this awful
admonition: “Arise, O king of the world, and obey
the summons of the King of kings!”

The death of Constantine was imputed to poison; and, as
Romans II. John, in his life of Constantine, Nov. 15.
derived that name from his maternal grandfather, ascended the throne of Constantinople.

A prince who, at the age of twenty, could be suspect-
ed of anticipating his inheritance, must have been al-
ready lost in the public esteem; yet Romans was rather
weak than wicked; and the largest share of the
guilt was transferred to his wife, Theophano, a woman
of base origin, masculine spirit, and flagitious
manners. The sense of personal glory and public hap-
iness, the true pleasures of royalty, were unknown to
the son of Constantine; and, while the two brothers,
Nicephorus and Leo, triumphed over the Saracens,
the hours which the emperor owed to his people were
consumed in strenuous idleness. In the morning he
visited the circuits; at noon he feasted the senators;
the greater part of the afternoon he spent in the spho-
rist’s lecture, the council of his ministers; from thence he passed over to the Asiatic side of
the Bosphorus, hunted and killed four wild bears
of the largest size, and returned to the palace, proudly
content with the labours of the day. In strength and
beauty he was conspicuous above his equals: tall and
straight as a young cyprus; and his complexion was fair
and florid, his eyes sparkling, his shoulders broad, his
nose long and aquiline. Yet even these perfections
were insufficient to fix the love of Theophano; and,
after a reign of four years, she mingled for her hus-
bond the same deadly draught which she had com-
pounded for her father, Nicephorus II.

By his marriage with this impious
woman, Romans the younger left two
sons, Basil the second and Constantine
the ninth, and two daughters, Theophano and Anne.
The first was given to the second, emperor of the west; the younger became the wife of
Woleodmir, great duke and apostle of Russia, and,
by the marriage of her grand-daughter with Henry the
first, king of France, the blood of the Macedonians,
and perhaps of the Arsacides, still flows in the veins of
the Bourbon line. After the death of her husband, the
empress aspired to reign in the name of her sons,
the elder of whom was five, and the younger only two,
years of age; but she soon felt the instability of a
throne which was supported by a female who could
not be esteemed, and two infants who could not be
feared. Theophano looked around for a protector, and
threw herself into the arms of the bravest soldier; her
heart was capacious; but the deformity of the new
favourite rendered it more than probable that interest
was the motive and excuse of her love. Nicephorus
Phoenix, united, in the popular opinion, the double mer-
rit of a hero and a saint. In the former character, his
qualifications were genuine and splendid: the descen-
dant of a race, illustrious by their military exploits, he
had displayed, in every station and in every province,
the courage of a soldier and the conduct of a chief;
and Nicephorus was crowned with laurels; but the
important conquest of the isle of Crete. His reli-
gion was of a more ambitious cast; and his hair-cloth,
his fasts, his pious idiom, and his wish to retire from
the business of the world, were a convenient mask for
his secret ambition. He professed, as a holy patriarch, by whose influence, and by a decree
of the senate, he was intrusted, during the minority of
the young princes, with the absolute and independent
command of the oriental armies. As soon as he had
secured the leaders and the troops, he boldly marched
to Constantinople, trampled on his enemies, avowed
his correspondence with the empress, and, without de-
grading her sons, assumed, with the title of Augustus,
the sacred rights of the purple. The proof of his marriage with Theophano was refused by the same
patriarch who had placed the crown on his head; by
his second nuptials he incurred a year of canonical
penance; a bar of spiritual affinity was opposed to
their celebration; and some evasion and perjury were
occasionally discovered in the ceremony. Yet the popu-
laritv of the emperor was lost in the purple; in a reign of six years he provoked the hatred of
strangers and subjects; and the hypocrisy and ava-
dores of the first Nicephoruses were revived in his suc-
sessor. Hypocrisy I shall never justify or palliate;
but I will dare to observe, that the odious vice of ava-
dor is of all others the most hastily arraigned, and
most unmercifully condemned. In a private citizen,
our judgment seldom expects an accurate scrutiny into
his fortune and expense; and in a steward of the pub-
lic, the tolerance of the hypocrite is always a vicious
increase of taxes too often an indispensable duty. In
the use of his patrimony, the generous temper of Nicepho-
rus had been proved; and the revenue was strictly
applied to the service of the state: each spring the
emperor marched in person against the Saracens; and
every autumn he diligently computed the employment of
his taxes in triumphs, conquests, and the security of
the eastern barrier.

Among the warriors who promoted his
John Zimises,
Basil II.
elevation, and served under his standard,

Constance XI.
A.D.969. Dec. 35.
a noble and valiant Armenian had deser-

wards. The statue of John Zimises was below the
ordinary standard; but this diminutive body was en-
dowed with strength, beauty, and the soul of a hero.
By the jealousy of the emperor’s brother, he was de-
graded from the office of general of the east, to that
decree, in which the princes were destined with
dignity and exile. But Zimises was ranked among
the numerous lovers of the empress; on her
intercession he was permitted to reside at Chalcodon,
in the neighbourhood of the capital; her bounty was
exacted for the reward of his services, which were
repeated in the name of the emperor of the west;
and Theophano consented, with alacrity, to the death of
an ugly and penurious husband. Some
bold and trusty conspirators were concealed in her
most private chambers: in the darkness of a winter
night, Zimises, with his principal companions, em-
bered in a small boat, traversed the Bosphorus, and
approached the palace; and Theophano consented, with
the death of an ugly and penurious husband. Some
attendants. Neither his own suspicions, nor the warnings
of his friends, nor the tardy aid of his brother Leo, nor
the fortress which he had erected in the palace, could
protect Nicephorus from a domestic foe, at whose
voice every door was opened to the assassins. As
he slept on a bear-skin, on the ground, he was roused by
their noisy intrusion, and thirty daggers glittered be-
fore his eyes. It is doubtful whether Zimises im-
bred his lusts in the blood of his sovereign, but he
enjoyed the inhuman spectacle of revenge. The mur-
der was protracted by insult and cruelty; and as soon
as he was disclosed to the public, he was executed by
an intrepid patriarch, who charged his conscience with
the deed of treason and blood; and required, as a
sign of repentance, that he should separate himself
from his more criminal associate. This salty of ap-
sists, if not more than half true, from the impression
that he could neither love nor trust a woman who had repeat-
edly violated the most sacred obligations; and The-
ophano, instead of sharing his imperial fortune, was
dismissed with ignominy from his bed and palace. In their last interview, she displayed a frantic and impotent rage; accused the ingratitude of her lover; assaulted the graces, patience, and youthfulness of her companion; and the guilt of Zoe, silent and submissive in the presence of a superior colleague; and avowed her own prostitution, in proclaiming the illegitimacy of his birth. The public indignation was appeased by her exile, and the punishment of the manner accomplices; the death of an unpopular prince was forgotten; and the guilt of Zoe, silent and submissive in the presence of a superior colleague; and avowed her own prostitution, in proclaiming the illegitimacy of his birth. Perhaps his profusion was less useful to the state than the avarice of Nicephorus; but his gentle and generous behaviour delighted all who approached his person; and it was only in the paths of victory that he reared in the footsteps of his predecessor. The greater part of his reign was employed in the camp and the field: his personal valour and activity were signalized on the Danube and the Tigris, the ancient boundaries of the Roman world; and by his double triumph over the Russians and the Saracens, he deserved the titles of saviour of the empire, and conqueror of the east. In his last return from Syria, he observed that the most fruitful lands of his new provinces were possessed by the cannibals. "And is it for them," he exclaimed, with honest indignation, "that we have fought and conquered? Is it for them that we shed our blood, and spend the revenue of the longest, and most peaceful reign?" The plaint was re-echoed to the palace, and the death of Zimisces is strongly marked with the suspicion of poison.

Basil II, and Constantine IX. twelve years, the two lawful emperors, were on the throne. Basil and Constantine had been brought up to the age of manhood. Their tender years had been incapable of domination: the respectful modesty of their attendance and salutation, was due to the age and merit of their guardians: the childless ambition of those guardians had no temptation to violate their right of succession; their patriotism was ably and faithfully administered; and the premature death of Zimisces was a loss, rather than a benefit, to the sons of Romans. Their want of experience detained them twelve years longer the obscure and voluntary pupils of a minister, who extended his influence over them; and by the time they had reached the age of youth, and to disdain the labours of government. In this silken web, the weakness of Constantine was for ever entangled; but his elder brother felt the impulse of genius and the desire of action; he frowned, and the minister was no more. Basil was the acknowledged heir to the throne, and to the happiness and prosperity of Europe; but Asia was oppressed by two veteran generals, Phocas and Sclerus, who, alternately friends and enemies, subjects and rebels, maintained their independence, and laboured to emulate the example of successful usurpation. Against these domestic enemies, the son of Romans first drew his sword, and they trembled in the presence of a lawful and high-spirited prince. The first, in the front of battle, was thrown from his horse, by the stroke of poison, or an arrow: the second, who had been twice loaded with chains, and words, and blows, with the purple, was dragged in the ruins of ending in peace the small remainder of his days. As the aged suppliants approached the throne, with dim eyes and faltering steps, leaning on his two attendants, the emperor exclaimed, in the insolation of youth and power, "And is this the man who has so long been the object of our prayers?" After he had confirmed his own authority, and the peace of the empire, the trophies of Nicephorus and Zimisces would not suffer their royal pupil to sleep in the palace. His long and frequent expeditions against the Saracens were rather glorious than useful to the empire; but the final defeat of the Paphlagonian, his last expedition, since the time of Belisarius, the most important triumph of the Roman arms. Yet instead of applauding their victorious prince, his subjects detested the rapacious and rigid avarice of Basil; and in the imperfect narrative of his exploits, we can only discern the course of the war, the capture of a town, the recovery of a city, the victory of a battle. Basil II., in his desire to reform the Church, established a canonical institution, but his zeal in religious education, which could not subdue his spirit, had clouded his mind; he was ignorant of every science; and the remembrance of his learned and feeble grand sire might encourage his real or affected contempt of laws and lawyers, of artists and arts. Of such a character, in such a situation, he took a firm and lasting possession; after the first licence of his youth, Basil the second devoted his life, in the palace and the camp, to the pacification of a hermit, wore the monastic habit under his robes and armour, observed a vow of continence, and imposed on his appetites a perpetual abstinence from flesh and blood. The sixty-eighth year of his age, his martial spirit urged him to put in person for a holy war against the Saracens of Sicily; he was prevented by death, and Basil, surmised the Slayer of the Bulgarians, was dismissed from the world, with the blessings of the clergy and the curses of the populace. After his decease, his brother, Constantine enjoyed, about three years, the power, or rather the pleasures, of royalty, and his only care was the settlement of the succession. He had enjoyed sixty-six years the title of Augustus; and the reign of the two brothers is the longest, and the most obscure, of the Byzantine history.

A lineal succession of five emperors, in a period of one hundred and sixty years, had attached the loyalty of the Greeks to the Macedonian dynasty, which had been thrice respected by the usurpers of their power. After the death of Constantine the ninth, the last male of the royal race, a new and broken scene presents itself, and the accumulated years of twelve emperors do not equal the space of his single reign. His elder brother had preferred his private chastity to the public interest; and Constantine himself, who had only three daughters; Eudocia, who took the veil, and Zoe and Theodora, who were preserved till a mature age in a state of ignorance and virginity. When their marriage was disapproved in the council of their dying father, the cold or pious Theodora refused to give an heir to the empire, but her sister Zoe presented herself a willing offer of her matrimony to Romanus Argus, a patrician of a graceful person and fair reputation, who was chosen for her husband, and, on his declining that honour, was informed, that blindness or death was the second alternative. The motive of his reluctance was conjugal affection, but his faithful wife sacrificed her own safety and comfort to his, and, by the purchase of an entrance into a monastery, removed the only bar to the imperial nuptials. After the decease of Constantine, the sceptre devolved to Romans the third; but his labours at home and abroad were equally feeble and fruitless; and the mature age, the forty-eight years of Zoe, were less favourable to the hopes of pregnancy than to the indulgence of pleasure. Her favourite chamberlain was a handsome Paphlagonian of the name of Michael, whose first trade had been that of a money-changer; and Romans, either from gratitude or equity, crowned at their criminal intercourse, or accepted a slight assurance of their innocence. But Zoe soon justified the Roman maxim, that every adulteress is capable of poisoning her husband; and the death of Romanus was instantly followed by the scandalous marriage and elevation of Michael the Paphlagonian. But Zoe, however, disappointed; instead of a virgin, a sordid and grasping lecher, she placed in her bed a miserable wretch, whose health and reason were impaired by epileptic fits, and whose conscience was tormented by despair and remorse. The most kind and skilful physicians could not restore him to his senses; and Zoe, by her constant attentions to his melancholy, encouraged him to trust in her. But Zoe, however, disappointed; instead of a virgin, a sordid and grasping lecher, she placed in her bed a miserable wretch, whose health and reason were impaired by epileptic fits, and whose conscience was tormented by despair and remorse. The most kind and skilful physicians could not restore him to his senses; and Zoe, by her constant attentions to his melancholy, encouraged him to trust in her.
most popular saints; the monks applauded his penance, and, except restitution, (to whom should he have restored?) Michael, who sought everywhere expiation for his guilt. While he groaned and prayed in sackcloth and ashes, his brother, the eunuch John, smiled at his remorse, and enjoyed the harvest of a crime of which himself was the secret and most guilty author. His administration was only the art of satiating his aversion, and his name, Zoe, was recorded in the palace of his father's and in the hands of her slaves. When he perceived the irretrievable decline of his brother's health, he introduced his nephew, another Michael, who derived his surname of Calaphanes from his father's occupation. In the evening of voices, he, the commander of the eunuchs, Zoe, adopted, for her son, the son of a mechanic; and this fictitious heir was invested with the title and purple of the Caesars, in the presence of the senate and clergy. So feeble was the character of Zoe, that she was oppressed by the liberty and power which she received by the death of the Paphlogionet; and at the end of four days she placed the crown on the head of Michael the fifth, who had protested, with tears and oaths, that he should ever reign the first and most obdient of her subjects. The only act of his short reign, due to his ingratitude to his benefactors, the eunuchs and the empress. The disgrace of the former was pleasing to the public; but the murmurs, and at length the clamours, of Constantineople deplored the exile of Zoe, the daughter of so many emperors; her fate, however, and Michael, there is a period in which the patience of the tamest slaves rises into fury and revenge. The citizens of every degree assembled in a formidable tumult which lasted three days; they besieged the palace, forced the gates, recalled their mothers, Zoe from her prison, Theodora from her monastery, and condemned the son of Calaphanes to the loss of his eyes or of his life. For the first time, the Greeks beheld with surprise the two royal sisters seated on the same throne, presiding in the senate, and giving audience to the ambassadors of the empire in the hall where the senate met, with a majesty which required no more than two months: the two sovereigns, their temerities, interests, and adherents, were secretly hostile to each other; and as Theodora was still averse to marriage, the indigatble Zoe, at the age of sixty, consented, for the public good, to sustain the enormous yoke of the empress, and the censures of the Greek church. His name and number were Constantine the tenth, and the epitthet of Monomachus, the single combatant, must have been expressive of his valour and victory in some public or private quarter. But his health was broken by the toil of the gout, and his disolute reign was spent in the alternative of sickness and pleasure. A fair and noble widow had accompanied Constantine in his exile to the isle of Lesbos, and Selegera gloated in the appellation of his mistress. After his marriage and elevation, she was invested with the title and pomp of Augusta, and occupied a contiguous apartment in the palace. The lawful consort (such was the delicacy or corruption of Zoe) consented to this strange and scandalous partition; and the emperor appeared in public between his wife and his concubine. He survived them both; but the last measures of Constantine to change the order of succession were prevented by the more vigilant friends of Theo- dora; and after his decease, she resumed, with the general consent, the possession of the empire, and by the influence of four eunuchs, the eastern world was peaceably governed about nineteen months; and as they wished to prolong their dominion, they persuaded the aged princes to nominate for her successor Michael the sixth. The surname of Stratelloctus declares his military pro-

Michael V. Calaph-

Theodora, A.D. 1054. 

Nicolaus I. Commen-

A.D. 1057. 

Aug. 31.
proaching death determined him to interpose some
moments between life and eternity. But instead of
leaving his son to his fate, his reason and inclination concurred in
the preference of his brother John, a soldier, a patriot, and the
father of five sons, the future pillars of an hereditary
succession. His first modest reluctance might be
the natural dictates of discretion and tenderness, but
his obstinate and successful perseverance, however it
may dazzle with the show of virtue, must be censured
as a criminal desertion of his duty, and a rare offence
against his family and country. The purple which he
desired was refused by Constantine Ducas, a friend of the Comnenian house, and whose noble birth
was augmented by the union of the houses of the
Caesar and of Paleologus, who was5 anxious to
obtain the imperial dignity. He was a pious
saint.

Isaac was born, December 14th, 1057, at
Chalcedon. His father, Basil II., was a
military man, who had been illustrious
in the wars of his country, and who
had a title to the throne. His mother,
Anna Dalassena, a princess of noble
descent, was of a mild and gentle
nature. His childhood was passed in
the nurse of the palace, and his
education was of a most refined
character. When a youth, he was
ordained to the priesthood, and
was esteemed by his companions
as a model of virtue and learning.

In the year 1076, Isaac was
married to Anna, a princess of the
Byzantine family, who bore him seven
sons, of whom five succeeded him on the
throne. The eldest son, Constantine
II., who was born in the year 1066,
became the Emperor in the year
1081.

His father, Basil II., died in the
year 1081, and was succeeded by
his eldest son, Constantine II., who
reigned for a short time, and was
murdered by a foreigner, named
Nicetas, in the year 1085.

The Empire was then divided
into three parts, viz., Constantinople,
Thessalonica, and Nicephorion. The
successors of the two former
emperors, Michael and Theodoras,
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and exercised in the school of obedience and adversity. The youth was dismissed from the perils of the Turkish war, by the paternal care of the emperor Roma- 

nus, who, in the opinion of the Court, with her anxious care, was accused of treason, and banished, by the sons of Ducas, to an island in the Propontis. The two brothers soon emerged into favour and action, fought by each other's side against the rebel bar- 

barians, and adhered to the emperor Michael, till he was deserted by the world and by his benefact. His first interview with Botaniates, "Prince," said Alexi- 

us, with a noble frankness, "my duty rendered me your enemy; the decrees of God and of the people have made you our subject. Judge of my future loy- 

alty by my past opposition." The successor of Mi-

chael entertained him with esteem and confidence: his valour was employed against three rebels, who disturbed the peace of the empire, or at least of the em- 

perors. Ursel, Bryennius, and Basilacius, were for- 

midable by their numerous forces and military fame; they were successively vanquished in the field, and led in chains to the foot of the throne; and whatever treat- 

ment they might receive from a timid and cruel court, they applauded the clemency, as well as the courage, of their conqueror. But the loyalty of the Comment was soon tainted by fear and suspicion; nor is it easy to trace how that suite brought, the debt of gratitude, which the former is tempted to claim by a revolt, and the latter to discharge by an executioner. The refusal of Alexius to march against a fourth rebel, the husband of his sister, destroyed the merit or me- 

memory of his past services: the favourites of Botaniates prevailed in the nation, which they apprehended and accused; and the retreat of the two brothers might be justified by the deficiency of their life or liberty. The women of the family were deposited in a sanctuary, respected by tyrants; the men, mounted on horseback, sallied from the city, and erected the standard of civil war. The soldiers, who had been gradually assem- 

bled in the capital and the neighbourhood, were de- 

voted to the cause of a victorious and injured leader; the tides of common interest and domestic alliance se- 

cured the attachment of the house of Ducas; and the generous dispute of the Comment was terminated by the decisive victory of Isaac, who was the first to invest his younger brother with the name and ensigns of royalty. They returned to Constantinople, to threat- 

en rather than beseech that impracticable fortress; but the fidelity of the guards was corrupted; a gate was surprised, and the fleet was occupied by the active combat of the Peleolidom, who fought for his father, without foreseeing that he laboured for his pos- 

terity. Alexius ascended the throne; and his aged compeer disappeared in a monastery. An army of various nations was gratified with the pillage of the city; but the public disorders were expiated by the tears and fates of the Comment, who submitted to every penance compatible with the possession of the empire.


The life of the emperor Alexius has been delineated by a favorite daughter, who was inspired by a mock regard for her person and a laudable zeal to perpe- 

tuate his virtues. Cursed is the just suspicion of her readers, the princess Anna Comnena repeatedly protests, that, besides her personal knowledge, she had searched the discourse and writings of the most respected critics; that after fifteen years, forgotten by, and forgotten of, the world, her mournful solitude was inaccessible to hope and fear; and that truth, the naked perfect truth, was more dear and sacred than the memory of her parent. Yet, in- 

stead of the simplicity of style and narrative which wins our belief, an elaborate affectation of rhetoric and science betrays in every page the vanity of a female author. The genuine character of Alexius is lost in a vague constellation of virtues; and the perpetual strain of panegyric and apology awakens our jealousy, to question the veracity of the historian and the merit of the hero. We cannot, however, refuse her judicious discourse, the eulogies of her predecessors, the misfortunes and the glory of Alexius; and that every calamity which can afflict a declining empire was accumulated on his reign by the justice of Heaven and the vices of his predecessors. In the east, the victorious Turks had spread, from Persia to the Hel- 


des, the siege of the island, and the Crescent stream was invaded by the adventurous valor of the Normans; and, in the moments of peace, the Danube poured forth new swarms, who had gained, in the science of war, what they had lost in the ferocity of manners. The sea was not less hostile than the soil; and, while the frontier was an open enemy, the palace was distracted with secret treason and conspiracy. On a sudden, the banner of the cross was displayed by the Latins; Europe was precipitated on Asia; and Constantinople had almost been swept away by this impetuous deluge. In the tempest Alexius steered the imperial vessel with da- 


terity and courage. At the head of his armies, he was hold in action, skilful in stratagem, patient of fatigue, ready to improve his advantages, and rising from his defeats with inexhaustible vigour. The discipline of the army, the care of the camp, and the endurance of men and soldiers was created by the emperor and the prece- 

cepts of their leader. In his intercourse with the Latins, Alexius was patient and artful: his discerning eye pervaded the new system of an unknown world; and I shall hereafter describe the superior policy with which he balanced the interests and passions of the champions of the first crusade. In a long reign of thirty-seven years, he subdued and adorned the envy of his equals: the laws of public and private order were restored; the arts of wealth and science were cultivated; the limits of the empire were enlarged in Europe and Asia; and all the treasures of the monasteries were transmitted to his children of the third and fourth gen- 

eration. Yet the difficulties of the times betrayed some defects in his character, and have exposed his me- 

mory to some just or unconscious reproach. The reader may possibly smile at the lavish praise which his daughter so often bestows on a flying hero; the weakness or prudence of his situation might be mis- 

taken for a want of personal courage; and his politi- 

cal arts are branded by the Latins with the names of deceit and dissimulation. The increase of the male and female branches of his family adorned the throne, and secured the line of succession against the attacks of the pride and hatred of the patricians, exhausted the reve- 

nue, and insulted the misery of the people. Anna is a faithful witness that his happiness was destroyed, and his health was broken, by the cares of a public life; the patience of Constantinople was fatigued by the length and severity of his reign; and before Alexius expired, he had lost the love and reverence of his sub- 

jects. The clergy could not forgive his application of the sacred riches to the defence of the state; but they applauded his theoretical learning and ardent love for the church. He enriched the Church by the increase of the monasteries; and, in the grace of God, he fell a victim to the jealousy of his wife Irene; and his death was, in a certain sense, an answer to the denunciation of the Koran.

"You die, as you have lived,—an impostor!"
It was the wish of Irene to supplant the eldest of her surviving sons, in favour of her daughter the princess Anna, whose beauty and weight of dianem; but the order of male succession was asserted by the friends of their country: the lawful heir drew the royal signet from the finger of his insensible or conscious father, and the empire obeyed the will of the master of the palace. Anna Comnena was stimulated by ambition more than by hatred, she despised the life of a wife, and when the design was prevented by the tears or scruples of her husband, she passionately exclaimed, that nature had mistaken the two sexes, and had endowed Bryennius with the soul of a woman. The two sons of Alexius, John and Isaac, maintained the fraternal concord, and the two eldest of their race; and the younger brother was content with the title of Soterocrates, which approached the dignity, without sharing the power, of the emperor. In the same person, the claims of primogeniture and merit were fortunately united; his swarthy complexon, hawsh features, and diminutive stature, had negatived the grave suspicion against himself. John the Handsome, which his grateful subjects more seriously applied to the beauties of his mind. After the discovery of her treason, the life and fortune of Anna were justly forfeited to the laws. Her life was spared by the clemency of the emperor, but he visited the pomp and ceremony of the triumph on her brother, and the censure of the court fixed on the most deserving of his friends. That respectable friend, Axuch, a slave of Turkish extraction, presumed to decline the gift, and to intercede for the criminal: his generous master appaulded and imitated the virtue of his favourite, and the reproach or contempt of his brother was the only chastisement of the guilty princess. After this example of clemency, the remainder of his reign was never disturbed by conspiracy or rebellion: feared by his nobles, beloved by his people, John was never reduced to the painful necessity of punishing, or even of pardoning, his personal enemies. During his government of twenty-five years, the penalty of death was abolished in the Roman empire, a law of mercy most delightful to the humane theorist, but of which the practiser, in a large and vicious community, is seldom consistent with the public safety. Severe to himself, indulgent to his subjects, the philosopher, the saint and the friend of mankind, Marcus would not have disowned the artless virtues of his successor, derived from his heart, and not borrowed from the schools. He despised and moderated the state oleh magnificence of the Byzantine court, so oppressive to the people, so contemptible to the eye of reason and of justice. He exhibited the wild bear in fear, and merit had every thing to hope; and, without assuming the tyrannic office of a censor, he introduced a gradual though visible reformation in the public and private manners of Constantinople. The only defect of this accomplished character, was the frailty of noble minds, the love of arms and military glory. Yet the frequent expeditions of John the Handsome may be justified, at least in their principle, by the necessity of repelling the Turks from the Hellespont and the Bosphorus. The sultan of Iconium was confined to the coasts of his country, his friends were destroyed, the two great empires of Asia enjoyed the transient blessings of their deliverance. From Constantinople to Antioch and Aleppo, he repeatedly marched at the head of a victorious army, and in the sieges and battles of this holy war, his Latin allies were not wanting, the barbarian would not move without the benevolence and soldier, and the maritime provinces of Asia enjoyed the transient blessings of their deliverance. From Constantinople to Antioch and Aleppo, he repeatedly marched at the head of a victorious army, and in the sieges and battles of this holy war, his Latin allies were not wanting, the barbarian would not move without the benevolence and soldier, and the maritime provinces of Asia enjoyed the transient blessings of their deliverance. 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cut asunder by the sword, of the invincible Manuel. The story of his exploits, which appear as a model or a copy of the romances of chivalry, may induce a reasonable suspicion of the veracity of the Greeks: I will not, to vindicate their credit, endanger my own; yet I may observe, that in the long series of their annals, he is the only prince who has been the subject of similar exaggeration. With the valour of a soldier, he did not unite the skill or prudence of a general: his victories were not productive of any permanent or useful conquest; and his Turkish laurels were blasted in his last unfortunate campaign, in which the loss of his men, his friends, and his palace, surpassed the measure of his predecessors, and whole summer days were idly wasted in the delicious idles of the Propontis, in the incestuous love of his niece Theodora. The double cost of a warlike and dissolute prince exhausted the revenue, and multiplied taxes; and Manuel, in the distress of his last Turkish camp, endured a bitter reproach from the mouth of a desperate soldier. As he quenched his thirst, he complained that the water of a fountain was mingled with christian blood. "It is not the first time," exclaimed a voice from the crowd, "that you have drunk, O emperor, the blood of yourchristian subjects." Manuel Comnenus was twice married, to the virtuous Bertha or Irene of Germany, and to the beauteous Maria, a French or Latin princess of Antioch. The only daughter of his first wife was destined for Dula an Hungarian prince, Comnenus, under the name of Alexius; and the consummation of their nuptials might have transferred the Roman sceptre to a race of free and warlike barbarians. But as soon as Maria of Antioch had given a son and heir to the empire, the presumptive rights of the Comnenus were established, and she was de-prised of her promised bride; but the Hungarian prince resumed his name and the kingdom of his fathers, and despised such virtues as might excite the regret and envy of the Greeks. The son of Maria was named Alexius; and at the age of ten years, he ascended the Byzantine throne, after his father's de-c ease had closed the glories of the Comnenian line.

Alexius II. A.D. 1118. September 26. Chance or first adventure of Andronicus. Gerasem was excited to flight and rebellion, from whence he was reclaimed by the firmness and clemency of John the Handsome. The errors of Isaac, the father of the emperors of Trebizond, were short and venial; but John, the elder of his sons, recom missioned his religious professions. Pressed by real or imaginary insult of his uncle, he escaped from the Roman to the Turkish camp: his apostasy was rewarded with the sultan's daughter, the title of Chibbi, or noble, and the inheritance of a princely estate; and in the fifteenth century, Mahomet the second besetested of his imperial descent from the Comnenian family. Andronicus, the younger brother of John, son of Isaac, and grand-son of Alexius Comnenus, is one of the most conspicuous characters of the age: and his genuine adventures might form the subject of a very considerable romance. His birth, his education, his fate, his fortune, was cast in the best proportions of strength and beauty; and that the want of the softer graces was supplied by a manly countenance, a lofty stature, athletic muscles, and the air and deportment of a soldier. The preservation, in his old age, of health and vigour, was the reward of temperance and silence. A piece of bread and a draught of water were the only food and drink which had been the subject of similar exaggeration. With the valour of a soldier, he did not unite the skill or prudence of a general: his victories were not productive of any permanent or useful conquest; and his Turkish laurels were blasted in his last unfortunate campaign, in which the loss of his men, his friends, and his palace, surpassed the measure of his predecessors, and whole summer days were idly wasted in the delicious idles of the Propontis, in the incestuous love of his niece Theodora, the affections of her sister Eudocia were reduced and enjoyed by Andronicus. Above the deceances of her sex and rank, she gloried in the name of his concubine; and both the palace and the camp could witness the play of virtue as of triumph. The sultan, above the deceances of her sex and rank, she gloried in the name of his concubine; and both the palace and the camp could witness the play of virtue as of triumph. The monarch was so affected by the sight of so soft and lovely an object, that he was not only unable to resist the temptation, but was actually seduced and added to his harem.

The fraternal concord of the two sons of the great Alexius had been sometimes clouded by an opposition of interest and passion. By ambition, I mean the Sebastian of the Greeks.手册 was excited to flight and rebellion, from whence he was reclaimed by the firmness and clemency of John the Handsome. The errors of Isaac, the father of the emperors of Trebizond, were short and venial; but John, the elder of his sons, reconstituted his religious professions. Pressed by real or imaginary insult of his uncle, he escaped from the Roman to the Turkish camp: his apostasy was rewarded with the sultan's daughter, the title of Chibbi, or noble, and the inheritance of a princely estate; and in the fifteenth century, Mahomet the second beset the son and heir to the empire, the presumptive rights of the Comnenus were established, and she was de-prised of her promised bride; but the Hungarian prince resumed his name and the kingdom of his fathers, and despised such virtues as might excite the regret and envy of the Greeks. The son of Maria was named Alexius; and at the age of ten years, he ascended the Byzantine throne, after his father's de-c ease had closed the glories of the Comnenian line.

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OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

Chapter IX.

prisoned in the same tower. At the dead of night she beheld a spectre: she recognized her husband: they shared their provisions; and a son was the fruit of these stolen interviews, which alleviated the tediousness of their confinement. In the custody of a woman, the vigilance of the keepers was insensibly relaxed; and the captive had accomplished his real escape, when he was discovered to Count Constantinople, and landed with a double chain. At length he found the moment, and the means, of his deliverance. A boy, his domestic servant, introduced the guards, and obtained in wax the impression of the keys. By the diligence of his friends, a similar key, with a bundle of ropes, was introduced into the Cell of the philopatric, at the bottom of a hogshead: Andronicus employed, with industry and courage, the instruments of his safety, unlocked the doors, descended from the tower, concealed himself all day among the bushes, and sealed in the night the garden-wall of the palace. A boat was stationed for his reception: he visited his own house, embraced his children, cast away his chain, mounted a fleet horse, and directed his rapid course towards the banks of the Danube. At Anæliaus in Thrace, an intrepid friend supplied him with horses and money: he passed the river traversed with speed the desert of Moldavia to the Căprăul hills, and had almost reached the town of Halicz, in Polish Russia, when he was intercepted by a party of Walachians, who resolved to convey their important captive to Constantinople. His presence of mind again extricated him from this danger. Under the pretext of the residence of the great duke: the sable Greek soon obtained the esteem and confidence of Ierouslaus: his character could assume the manners of every climate; and the barbarians applauded his strength and courage in the chase of the elks and bears of the forest. In Halicz he was honourably conducted to the court of the Căprăul fortress, and in a fortnight found himself in the town. In his resentment Manuel had ever sympathized with the martial and dissolutive character of his cousin; and his free pardon was sealed in the assault of Zemlin, in which he was second, and second only, to the valor of the emperor.

No sooner was the exile restored to freedom and his country, than his ambition revived, at first to his own, and at length to the public misfortune. A daughter of Manuel was a feebler bar to the succession of the more deserving males of the Comnenian blood: her future marriage with the prince of Hungary was repugnant to the jealousy of his sovereign, and their mutual enmity. But when an oath of allegiance was required to the presumptive heir, Andronicus alone asserted the honour of the Roman name, declined the unlawful engagement, and boldly protested against the adoption of a stranger. His success was complete. He was declared the lawful heir; he spoke the sentiments of the people, and was removed from the royal presence by an honourable banishment, a second command of the Cilician frontier, with the absolute disposal of the revenues of Cyprus. In this station the Armenians again exercised his courage and exposed his nakedness; and the same rebel, who baf- fled all his operations, was unhorsed and almost slain by the vigour of his lance. But Andronicus soon discovered a more easy and pleasing conquest, the beauti- ful Philippa, sister of the empress Maria, and daugh- ter of Raymond of Poitou, the Latin prince of Antioch.

For her sake, he deserted his station, and wasted the summer in balls and tournaments: to his love she sacrificed her innocence, her reputation, and the offer of an advantageous marriage. But the resentment of Manuel for this domestic affront, interrupted his pleasures: Andronicus left the indirect princes to weep and to repent; and, with a band of desperate adven- turers, undertook the pilgrimage of Jerusalem. His birth, his martial renown, and professions of zeal, an- nounced him as the champion of the cross; he soon captured both the clergy and the king; and the Greek prince was invested with the lordship of Berytus, on the coast of Phœnicia. In his neighbourhood resided a young and handsome queen, of a distinguished family, great-grand-daughter of the emperor Alexis, and widow of Baldwin the third, king of Jerusalem. She visited and loved his kinsman. Theodore was the third victim of his amorous seduction; and her shame was more public and scandalous than that of her predecessors. The emperor still thirsted for re- venge; and his subjects and allies of the Syrian fron- tier were repeatedly pressed to seize the person, and put out the eyes, of the fugitive. In Palestine he was no longer safe; but the tender Theodore revealed his danger, and accompanied his flight. The queen of Je- rusalem was enabled to escape to the east, by a favorite cubine; and two illegitimate children were the living monuments of her weakness. Damascus was his first refuge; and, in the characters of the great Neureddin and his servant Sahadin, the superstitious Greek might learn to reverence the virtues of the musulmans. As the friend of Neureddin he visited, most probably, Bag- dad, and the courts of Persia; and, after a long circuit round the Caspian sea and the mountains of Georgia, he finally settled among the Turks of Asia Minor, the hereditary enemies of his country. The sultan of Colonia afforded an hospitable retreat to Andronicus, his mistress, and his band of outlaws; the debt of gratitude was paid by frequent inroads in the Roman province of Trebizond; and he seldom returned without an ample harvest of spoil and of Christian captives. In the story of his adventures, he was fond of com- paring himself to David, who escaped, by a long exile, the snares of the wicked. But the royal prophet (as he presumed to add) was content to lurk on the borders of Judea, to slay an Amalekite, and to threaten, in his miserable state, the life of the avaricious Nabai. The excursions of the Comnenian prince had a wider range; and he had spread his tent over the eastern world, the glory of his name and religion. By a sentence of the Greek church, the licentious rover had been separated from the faithful; but even this excommunication may prove, that he never abused the profession of Chris- tianity.

His vigilance had eluded or repelled the open and secret persecution of the emperor; but he was at length insulted by the captivity of his female companion. The governor of Trebizond succeeded in his attempt to surprise the person of Theodore: the queen of Jeru- salem and her two children were sent to Constantino- ple, and distributed the world on the throne of banishment. The fugitive implored and obtained a final pardon, with leave to throw himself at the feet of his sovereign, who was satisfied with the submission of this haughty spirit. Prostrate on the ground, he intreated the emperor to forgive the rebel; nor would he presume to arise, unless some faithful subject would drag him to the foot of the throne, by an iron chain with which he had secretly encircled his neck. This extraordinary penance excited the wonder and pity of the assembly; his sins were forgiven, his life spared, and the banishment of his family, great-grand-daughter of the emperor Alexis, and widow of Baldwin the third, king of Jerusalem. The death of Manuel, and the disorders of the minority soon opened the fairest field to his ambition. The
emperor was a boy of twelve or fourteen years of age, without vigour, or wisdom, or experience; his mother, the empress Mary, abandoned her person and government to a favourite of the Comnenian name; and his sister, another Mary, whose husband, an Italian, was deposed with the title of Caesar, fled with her household to Sicily, and at length an insurrection, against her odious stepmother. The provinces were forgotten, the capital was in flames, and a century of peace and order was overwhelmed in the vice and weakness of a few months. A Parliament met in Constantinople; the patricians found a battle in the square of the palace, and the rebels sustained a regular siege in the cathedral of St. Sophia. The patriarch laboured with honest zeal to heal the wounds of the republic, the most respectable patriots called aloud for a guardian and avenger, and every tongue repeated the praise of the talents and even the virtues of Andronicus. In his retirement, he affected to revolve the solemn duties of his oath: "If the safety or honour of the imperial family be threatened, I will reveal and oppose the mischief to the utmost of my power. His correspondence with the Venetians was prolonged; the patricians sent him quotations from the psalms of David and the epistles of St. Paul; and he patiently waited till he was called to her deliverance by the voice of his country. In his march from Oenoe to Constantinople, his slender train included two thousand vessels and his attendants of religion and loyalty were mistaken for the language of his heart; and the simplicity of a foreign dress, which showed to advantage his majestic stature, displayed a lively image of his poverty and exile. All opposition sunk before him; he reached the straits of the Thracian Bosphorus; the Byzantine navy sailed from the harbour to receive and transport the savour of the empire: the torrent was loud and irresistible, and the insects who had basked in the sunshine of royal favour disappeared at the blast of the storm. It was the first care of Andronicus to occupy the palace, to salute the emperor, to confirm his moneys, to punish her minister, and to restore the public order and tranquillity. He then visited the sepulchre of Manuel: the spectators were ordered to stand aloof, but as he bowed in the attitude of prayer, they heard, or thought they heard, a murmur of triumph and rejoicing. "I no longer fear thee, my old enemy, who hast driven me a vagabond to every climate of the earth. Thou art safely deposited under a seven-fold dome, from whence thou canst never arise till the signal of thy triumph. It is now my turn, and speedily will I turn thy ashes and dust. As to thy successor, terrors and maths we may imagine such feelings to the man and the moment; but it is not extremely probable that he gave an articulate sound to his secret thoughts. In the first months of his administration, his designs were veiled by a fair semblance of hypocrisy, which could delude only the eyes of the multitude: the coronation of Alexius was performed with due solemnity, and his perfidious guardian, holding in his hands the body and blood of Christ, most fervently delivered as long as he lived, and was ready to die, for the service of his beloved pupil. But his numerous adherents were instructed to maintain, that the sinking empire must perish in the hands of a child, that the Romans could only be saved by a veteran prince, bold in arms, skilful in policy, and taught to reign by the long experience of fortune and mankind; and that it was the duty of every citizen to force the reluctant modesty of Andronicus to undertake the burthen of the public care. The young emperor was himself constrained to join his voice to the general acclamation, and to solicit the association of a colleague, who instantly deposed him from the summit of his person, and verified the rash declaration of the patriarch, that Alexius might be considered as dead, so soon as he was committed to the custody of his guardian. But his death was preceded by the imprison-
insensibly filled with a curious and mournful crowd, who—in his fate, prognosticated their own. But their lamentations were soon turned to curses, and their curses to threats; they dared to ask, "Why do we feign unrequited love of this? We have sworn in the name of our king, the tyrant, the only bond of our slavery."

With the dawn of the day the city burst into a general sedition, the prisons were thrown open, the coldest and most servile were roused to the defence of their country, and Isaac, the second of the name, was raised from the obscurity to the throne. Unconscious of his danger, the tyrant was absent; withdrawn from the toils of state, in the delicious islands of the Propontis. He had contracted an indecent marriage with Alice, or Agnes, daughter of Lewis the seventh, of France, and relief of the unfortunate Alexius; and his society, more suitable to his temper than to his age, was composed of a young wife and a favourite concubine. On the first alarm he rushed to Constantinople, impatient for the blood of the guilty; but he was astonished by the silence of the palace, the tumult of the city, and the general desertion of mankind. Andronicus proclaimed a free pardon to his subjects; they neither desired, nor would grant, forgiveness: he offered to resign the crown to his son Manuel; but the virtues of the son could not expiate his father's crimes. The sea was still open for his retreat; but the news of the revolution had floated along the shores of the soldiery. The presence of the tyrant was no more: the imperial galley was pursued and taken by an armed brigantine; and the tyrant was dragged to the presence of Isaac Angelus, loaded with fetters, and a long chain round his neck. His eloquence, and the tears of his female companions, pleaded in vain for his life; but, instead of the decrees of a legal execution, the new monarch abandoned the criminal to thenumerous sufferers, whom he had deprived of a father, a husband, or a friend. His teeth and hair, an eye and a hand, were torn from him, as a poor compensation for their loss; and a short respite was allowed, that he might feel the bitterness of death. Astride on a camel, without any danger of a rescue, he was carried through the city, and the basest of the populace rejoiced to trample on the fallen majesty of his prince. After a thousand blows and outrages, Andronicus was hung by the feet, between two pillars that the executioners, who had passed the day on the soil of every hand that could reach the public enemy, inflicted on his body some mark of ingenious or brutal cruelty, till two friendly or furious Italians, plunging their swords into his body, released him from all human punishment. This long and painful agony, "Lord, have mercy on the guilty, and spare thePenin mended the beaten path;" were the only words that escaped his mouth. Our hatred for the tyrant is lost in pity for the man; nor can we blame his pusillanimous resignation, since a Greek christian was no longer master of his life.

Issae. II. Ange-

I have been tempted to expatiate on the extraordinary character and adven-
dues of Andronicus; but I shall here termi-
rate the series of the Greek emperors
since the time of Heraclius. The branches that sprang from the Comnenian stock were
almost equally divided into two families; and the male line was continued only in the posterity of Andronicus himself, who, in the public confusion, usurped the sovereignty of Trebizond, so obscure in history, and so famous in romance. A private citizen of Philadelphia, Constantine Angelus, was created emperor by his marriage with a daughter of the emperor Alexius. His son Andronicus is conspicuous only by his cowardice. His grandson Isaac A. D. 1204. was punished and succeeded the tyrant; but A. D. 1204. why he was de-throned by his own vices, and the ambition of his brother; and the second Andronicus introduced the Latins to the conquest of Constantinople, the first great period in the fall of the eastern empire.

If we compute the number and duration of the reigns, it will be found, that a period of six hundred years is filled by sixty emperors, including in the Augustan list some female sovereigns; and deducting the princes who never held the sceptre, and the usurpers who possessed it for a short time, we have the number of the actual emperors, or their families. The history of the empire is divided into dynasties, each of which was governed by a system of laws, for a period of fifty years, or twenty years, in the case of the last, and two or three in the case of the first. Of these imperial houses, some possessed the capital, and some princes who did not live to possess their inheritance. The average proportion will allow one ten years for each emperor, far below the chronological rule of Sir Isaac Newton, who, from the experience of more recent and regular monarchies, has defined about eighty years to the duration of an ordinary reign. The Byzantine empire was most tranquil and prosperous when it could succeed in hereditary succession; five dynasties, the Heraclian, Isaurian, Amorian, Basilian, and Comnenian families, obtained and retained the sacred patrimony during their respective series of five, four, three, six, and four generations; several princes number their reign with those of their infancy: and Constantine the seventh and his two grandsons occupy the space of an entire century. But in the intervals of the Byzantine dynasties, the succession is rapid and broken, and the name of a successful candidate is speedily erased by a more fortunate competitor. Many were the paths that led to the summit of royalty: the fabric of rebellion was overthrown by the stroke of conspiracy, or undermined by the silent arts of intrigue; the favourers, thus cast down a step or two, were not on the throne, but in the corners of the empire, where their sufferings, and their enemies, were alternately clothed with the purple; the means of their elevation were base, and their end was often contemptible or tragic. A being of the nature of man, endowed with the same faculties, but with a longer measure of existence, would cast hour after hour on the world, and on the crimes and follies of human ambition, so eager, in a narrow span, to grasp at a precarious and short-lived enjoyment. It is thus that the experience of history exalts and enlarges the horizon of our intellectual view. In a composition of some days, in a perpetual rotation of hours, we are led into a view of the crimes and follies of kings who filled our eyes, without much regard to what is the destiny of monarchs. For the greater part of the Byzantine series, we cannot reasonably ascribe the love of fame and of mankind. The virtue alone of John Comnenus was beneficent and pure: the most illustrious of the princes, who precede or follow that respectable name, have trod with some dexterity and vigour the crooked and bloody paths of a selfish policy; in scrutinizing the imperfect characters of Leo the Isaurian, Basil the first, and Alexius Comnenus, of Theophilius, the second Basil, and Manuel Comnenus, our esteem and censure are almost equally divided; and the appearance of their imperial crowd could only desire and expect to be forgotten by posterity. Was personal happiness the aim and object of their ambition? I shall not descant on the vulgar topics of the misery of kings; but I may say the current of time has decided, by the duration of the second empire, that the most pregnant with fear, and the least susceptible of hope. For these opposite passions, a larger scope was allowed in the revolutions of antiquity, than in the smooth and solid temper of the modern world, which cannot easily repeat the triumph of Alexander or the fall of Darius. But the peculiar infelicity of the Byzantine princes exposed them to domestic perils, without affording any lively promise of foreign conquest. From the pinnacle of greatness.
Andronicus was precipitated by a death more cruel and shameful than that of the vilest malefactor; but the most glorious of his predecessors had much more to dread from their subjects than to hope from their enemies. The army was licentious without spirit, the nation turbulent without freedom; the barbarians of the north, before they were subdued, overran the country, and the loss of the provinces was terminated by the final servitude of the capital.

The entire series of Roman emperors, from the first of the Caesars to the last of the Constantines, extends above fifteen hundred years; and the term of dominion, unhappily, was not concomitant, successively the measured duration of the ancient monarchies: the Assyrians or Medes, the successors of Cyrus, or those of Alexander.

CHAPTER X.

Introduction, worship, and persecution of images. — Revolt of Italy and Rome.—Temporal domination of the pope. — Conquest of Italy by the Franks. — Establishment of iconoclastic customs, and conversion of Cludovike. — Restoration and decay of the Roman empire in the west.—Independence of Italy. — Constitution of the Germanic body.

In the connexion of the church and state, I have considered the former as the Christian church, subservient only, and relative, to the latter; a salutary maxim, if in fact, as well as in narrative, it had ever been held sacred. The oriental philosophy of the Gnostics, the dark abyss of predestination and grace, and the strange transformations of the eucharist from the sign to the substance of Christ's body,1 I have purposely abandoned to the curiosity of speculative divines. But I have reviewed, with diligence and pleasure, the objects of ecclesiastical history, by which the decline and fall of the Roman empire were materially affected, the propagation of Christianity, the constitution of the Catholic church, the ruin of paganism, and the sects that arose from the mysterious controversies concerning the Trinity and incarnation. At the head of this class, we may justly rank the worship of images, so fiercely disputed in the eighth and ninth centuries; since a question of popular superstition produced the revolt of Italy, the temporal power of the popes, and the restoration of the Roman empire in the west.

The primitive christians were possessed with an unwonted repugnance to the use and abuse of images: and allusion is observable, as their descent from the Jews, and their enmity to the Greeks. The Mosaic law had severely proscribed all representations of the Deity; and that precept was firmly established in the principles and practice of the chosen people. The vit of the christian apologists was pointed against the foolish idolaters, who bowed before the workmanship of their own hands; the images of brass and marble, which, had they been endowed with sense and motion, should have started rather from the productions of the creative powers of the artist.2 Perhaps some recent and improved monuments of the Gnostic tribe, might crown the statues of Christ and St. Paul with the profane honours which they paid to those of Aristotle and Pythagoras;3 but the public religion of the catholics was uniformly simple and spiritual; and the first notice of the use of pictures is in the concourse of the council of Libyeris, three hundred years after the christian era. Under the successors of Constantine, in the peace and luxury of the triumphant church, the more prudent bishops condescended to indulge a visible superstition, for the benefit of the credulousissentments; they were no longer restrained by the apprehension of an odious parallel. The first introduction of a symbolic worship was in the veneration of the cross, and of relics. The saints and martyrs, whose intercession was implored, were seated on the right hand of God; but the English and Irish missionaries, who were converted from idolatry, were not resisted, and the popular belief were showered round their tomb, conveyed an unquestionable sanction of the devout pilgrims, who visited, and touched, and kissed, these lifeless remains, the memorials of their merits and sufferings. But a memorial, more interesting than the skull or the sandals of a departed worthy, is the faithful copy of his person and features, delineated by the arts of painting or sculpture. In every age, such copies, so congenial to human feelings, have been cherished by the zeal of private friendship, or public estimation, with civic, and almost religious, honours; a reverence less ostentatious, but more sincere, was applied to the statues of sages and patriots; and these profane virtues, these splendid sires, disappeared in the presence of the holy men, who had died for their celestial and immortal country. And the experiment was made with caution and secrecy; and their worship and the venerable pictures were discreetly allowed to instruct the ignorant, to awaken the cold, and to gratify the prejudices of the heathen proconsuls. The first through inevitable progression, the honours of the original were transferred to the copy: the devout christian prayed before the image of a saint; and the pagan rites of genuflexion, luminaries, and incense, again stole into the catholic church. The scruples of reason, or piety, were silenced by the strong evidence of visions and miracles; and the pictures which speak, and move, and bleed, must be endowed with a divine energy, and may be considered as the proper objects of religious adoration. The most audacious pencil might tremble in the rash attempt of defining, by forms and colours, the infinite Trinity, in the form of Father, who suffused the universe.4 But the superstitious mind was more easily reconciled to paint and to worship the angels, and, above all, the Son of God, under the human shape, which, on earth, they have condescended to assume. The second person of the Trinity was clothed with a real and material body; but that body has ascended into heaven; and, had not some similitude been presented to the eyes of his disciples, the spiritual worship of Christ might have been obliterated by the visible relics and representations of the saints. A similar indoloty was requisite, and propitious, for the Virgin Mary: the place of her burial was unknown; and the assumption of her soul and body into heaven was adopted by the credulity of the Greeks and Latins. The use, and even the worship, of images, was firmly established before the end of the sixth century: they were freely cherished by the warm imagination of the Greeks and Asians: the Pantheon and Vatican were adorned with, the emblems of a new superstition; but this semblance of idolatry was more coldly entertained by the rude barbarians and the Arian clergy of the west. A more solemn form of sculpture, in brass or marble, which people the temples of antiquity, were

1 The learned Schellen has given the history of transubstantiation in a comprehensive and pithy sentence, "This opinion is only rhetoric turned into logic." (His Works, vol. iii. p. 207, in his Table Talk.)
2 Now intelligent homines inseparabiles, sed non similia simulacra et non semel posse, sed una, hoc est, expansa. (Cicero, In L. Memmi. 1. 42) Lactantius enumerates the last, as well as the most eloquent, of the Latin apologists. Their gallery of idols attacks not only the object, but the form and matter.
3 Gnosticism, and Asiaticism. (Bastara, Hist. des Ecleses Reformes, tom. ii. p. 131) This Gnostic practice has a singular affinity with the private worship of Alexander Severus. (Lampridius, c. 25. Laudon, Heidenn Monumeat, vol. iii. p. 21.)
4 See this history, 253, 301, 329, 293.
offensive to the fancy or conscience of the Christian Greeks; and a smooth surface of colours has ever been esteemed a more decent and harmless mode of imitation. 

The image of the merit and effect of a copy depends on its resemblance with the original; but the primitive copies of the eyes contumacious to the generous features of the Son of God, his mother, and his apostles: the statue of Christ at Paneas in Palestine was more probably that of some temporal saviour; the Greciotes and their profane monuments were reprobated; and the fancy of the Christian artists could only be diverted by the theory of the celestial model. In this distress, a bold and dexterous invention assured at once the likeness of the image and the innocence of the worship. A new superstructure of fable was raised on the popular basis of a Syriac legend, on the correspondence of Christ and Abgarus, so famous in the days of Eusebius, so reluctantly deserted by our modern advocates. The bishop of Casarea records the epistle, but he most strangely forgets the picture of Christ; the perfect impression of his face on a linen, with which he gratified the faith of the royal stranger, who had laid on his brother's healing hand and pronounced him cured, and yet protect him against the malice of the Jews. The ignorance of the primitive church is explained by the long imprisonment of the image in a niche of the wall, from whence, after an oblivion of five hundred years, it was released by some prudent bishop, and seasonably adorned with the gold and jewels and most glorious exploit was the deliverance of the city from the arms of Chosorea Nushirvan; and it was soon revered as a pledge of the divine promise, that Edessa should never hereafter be taken by a foreign enemy. It is true, indeed, that the text of Procopius ascribes the same exploit to an image of Beroea; that the very valour of her citizens, who purchased the absence and repelled the assaults of the Persian monarchy. He was ignorant, the profane historian, of the testimony which he is called to deliver in the ecclesiastical page of Evagrius, that the Palladian was exposed on the rampart, and that the water which had been sprinkled on the holy face, instead of quenching, added new fuel to the flames of the besieged. After this important service, the image of Edessa was preserved with respect and gratitude; and if the Armenian passions rejected the legend, the more credulous Greeks adored the similitude, which was not the work of any mortal pencil, but the immediate creation of the divine original. The style and sentiments of a Byzantine hymn will declare how far their worship was removed from the grossest idolatry. "How can we with morning's early light or evening's twilight, as we erect his statue, the host of heaven presumes not to behold? He who dwells in heaven condescends this day to visit us by his venerable image: He who is seated on the cherubim, visits us this day by a picture, which the Father has delineated with his immediate hand, which he has formed before his own face, and which he has sanctified by adoring it with fear and love." Before the end of the sixth century, these images, made without hands, (in Greek it is a single word,) were propagated in the camps and cities of the eastern empire: they were the objects of worship, and the instruments of miracles; and in the hour of danger or distress, their venerable presence could revive the hope, rekindle the courage, or repress the fury, of the Roman legions. Of these pictures, the far greater part, the transcripts of a human pencil, could only pretend to a secondary likeness and improper title: but there were others which they derived their resemblance from an immediate contact with the original, endowed, for that purpose, with a miraculous and prolix virtue. The most ambitious aspired from a filial to a fraternal relationship with the image of Edessa; and such is the reverend of Rome, or Spain, or Jerusalem, which Christ in his agony and bloody sweat applied to his face, and delivered to a holy matron. The fruitful precedent was speedily transferred to the Virgin Mary, and the saints and martyrs. In the church of Decapolis, in Palestine, the features of the mother of God were deeply inscribed in a marble tablet: the evangelist, who wrote on the holy pencil of St. Luke; and the evangelist, who was perhaps a physician, has been forced to exercise the occupation of a painter, so profane and odious in the eyes of the primitive christians. The Olympian Jove, created by the muse of Homer and the chisel of Phidias, might inspire a philosophic mind with momentary devotion; but these catholic images were faint and flatly delineated by monkish artists in the last degeneracy of taste and genius. 

The worship of images had been opposed by the fathers to the church by insensible degrees, and each petty principle had been a necessary step to the superstitious mind, as productive of comfort, and innocent of sin. But in the beginning of the eighth century, in the full magnitude of the abuse, the more timorous Greeks were awakened by an apprehension, that under the mask of Christianity they had restored the religion of their fathers; they beard, with grief and impatience, the name of idolaters: the incessant charge of the Jews and Mahometans, who derived from the Law 

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*This general history of images is drawn from the second volume of the Hist. des Edissens, References d'Egasse, tom. ii. p. 129.---139.---155. and of a many authority.---169. The protestants are so notoriously in the right, that they can venture to be impartial. See the perplexity of poor Farp, Critica, tom. i. p. 42.

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*After removing some rubbish of miracle and inconsistency, it may be allowed that as late as the year 360, Panes in Palestine was decorated with a bronze statue, representing a grave personage in a cloak, with a girtful or suppliant female kneeling before him; and that an inscription—"Εκτελεσθαι—was perhaps inscribed on the pedestal. By the Christians, this group was foolishly explained of their founder and the paragon whom he had cured of the bloody flux. (Church. viii. 16. Philostor. vii. 3. 6.) M. de Beaucé more reasonably conjectures the philosopher Apollonius, or the emperor Vespasion: in the latter supposition, the female is a city semantically described, and the queen Berenice. (Bibliothèque Grecque, tom. i. p. 92.)

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*Euseb. Hist. Eccles. I. c. 1. Th. learned Assemanus has brought more to perfection the conjecture of Strabo, Stylites, and Bishop James of Sarze: but I do not find any notice of the Saracen emperor (or the archives of Eusébe, Bibl. Orient. tom. i. p. 16. 420. 534.) their vague belief is probably derived from the Greeks.

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*The evidence for these copies is stated and rejected by the candid Lapidus. (Hieronin Testimonia, vol. i. p. 273. 296.) Among the best of these who are forcibly driven from this prophet, and the uncontrollable, post. I am ashamed, with the Grapes, Caves, Talmudics, to attempt their proofs. One might expect some degree of truth in the words of Berulle, 1591. 373. (Barnavelt's Antiquities.) But his superficial attack on the Christian religion over its credit to his name, his style, and the interested apprehensions of the church, is so manifestly false, that I conclude that this tale was invented between the years 324 and 354, most probably after the siege of Edessa in 353. (Asseman, tom. i. p. 129. 135. 154. 169. Spanheim, Hist. ediss. tom. v. p. 199. 313, of Gregory II. on Epis. i. and Leon. Isaac. Concil. tom. viii. p. 533.) There is no more probability of the one than the other.---

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*From the silence of James of Sarze, (Asseman. Bibl. Oriental. p. 120.) I am in doubt whether any other annalist who refers to this period has had any positive information. (D Califurn. and of the second Nicene Council. (Acta, v. p. 169.) The most perfect editions may be found in Codices. (Comp. ed. 173. 175.)

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*Your probable figures stand quite out from the canvass: they were so as had a great effect. (Opera Judaeos, lib. iv. p. 415. 416.) The dignity of a Greek poet applause the pictures of Titian, which he had executed, and refused to accept.

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*By Codex-max. 105. 167. 175. and the Codices Manasses, the origin of the icons is imputed to the caliph Yazid and two Jews, who procured the Empire for the pope. But the different accounts of genuine miracles are turned into an absurd conspiracy for restoring the purity of the christian worship. (See Spenser. Hist. Imag. c. 3.)
and the Keran an immortal hatred to graven images and all the relative worship. The servitude of the Jews might curb their zeal, and depreciate their authority; but the triumphant massalmaus, who reigned at this time, was irritated. Constamopole, nautical, because the scale of reproach the accumulated weight of truth and victory. The cities of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, had been fortified with the images of Christ, his mother, and his saints; and each city presumed on the hope or promise of miraculous defence. In a rapid course of three centuries, the Arabians spread before those cities and these images; and, in their opinion, the Lord of hosts pronounced a decisive judgment between the adoration and contempt of these mute and inanimate idols. For a while Edessa had braved the Persian assaulls; but the chosen city, the apostle of Christ, of which the hosts were involved in the common ruin; and his divine resem-
blance became the slave and trophy of the infidels. After a servitude of three hundred years, the Palladum was yielded to the devotion of Constantinople, for a ransom of twelve thousand pounds of silver, the redemption of two hundred massalmaus, and a perpetual rent for the territory of Edessa. In this season of distress and dismay, the eloquence of the monks was exercised in the defence of images; and they attempted to prove, that the sin and schism of the greatest part of the orientals had forfeited the favour, and annulled their protection. These grievances, when they were now opposed by the murmurs of many simple or rational christians, who appealed to the evidence of texts, of facts, and of the primitive times, and secretly desired the reformation of the church. As the worship of images had never been established by any general or particular law, but the decision of ecclesiastical councils: the empire had been retarded, or acceleratad, by the differences of men and manners, the local degrees of refinement, and the personal characters of the bishops. The splendid devotion was fondly cherished by the levity of the orientals, and the inventors of the Byantine clergy; while the rude and remote districts of Asia were strangers to this innovation of sacred luxury. Many large congregations of Gnostics and Arians maintained, after their conversion, the simple worship which had preceded their separation; and the Armenian exiles of the province of Rome, would not reconcile, in the twelfth century, to the sight of image. These various denominations of men afforded a fund of prejudice and aversion, of small account in the villages of Anatolia or Thrace, but which, in the fortune of a soldier, a prelate, or a council, might be connected with the powers of the church and state.

Leo the Isaurian, and his successors, A. D. 720–840, who, from the mountains of Isauria, ascended the throne of the east. He was ignorant of sacred and profane letters; but his education, his reason, perhaps his intercourse with the Jews and Arabs, had inspired the martial peasant with a hatred of images; and it was held to be the duty of a prince, to impose on his subjects the dictates of his own conscience. But in the outset of an unsettled reign, during ten years of toil and danger, Leo submitted to the meanness of hypocrisy, bowed before the idols he had persecuted, and treated the church as he would the honest man, and the philosopher, and the real knight, with the annual professions of his orthodoxy and zeal. In the reformation of religion, his first steps were moderate and cautious: he assembled a great council of senators and bishops, and enacted, with their consent, that all the images should be removed from the public places; but he interrupted the work where he might be visible to the eyes, and inaccessible to the superstition of the people. But it was impossible on either side to check the rapid though adverse impulse of venation and abhorrence; in their lofty perfection, the images still edified their votaries, and reproached the tyrant. He was himself provoked by resistance and inventive; and his own party accused him of an imperfect discharge of his duty, and urged for his imitation the example of the Jewish king, who had broken without scruple the bond of the temple, and declared his reign. When he was proscribed, as well as the use of religious pictures; the churches of Constantinople and the provinces were cleansed from idolatry; the images of Christ, the Virgin, and the saints, were demolished, or a smooth surface of plaster was spread over the images, as a mark of political superintendence. Support by the zeal and despotism of six emperors, the east and west were involved in a noisy conflict of one hundred and twenty years. It was the design of Leo the Isaurian to pronounce the condemnation of images, as an article of faith, and by the authority of a general council; but the erection of such an assembly was reserved for his son Constantine; and though it is stigmatized by triumphant bigotry as a meeting of fools and atheists, their own partial and mutilated acts betray many symptoms of success. The synods of Ephesus, Iconoclasts, and Alexandria, of 784 and 806, and provincial synods introduced the sum-

a See Elmacin, (Hist. Saras., p. 257.) Abaphareus, (Dyson, p. 250.) and Abaphia, (Annal. Malines, p. 281.) and the criticism of Paré, (Hist. Sarasin, p. 201.) The council of Nice refers to determine whether the images of Edessa now repose at Rome or Glena; but its report is notorious, and this ancient object of worship is no longer famous or fast upheld.

b Examine, (ni, p. 258.) The Armenian churches are either content with the cros, (Misioris du Levant, tom. iii. p. 143.) but the Greek, sometimes, in the tenth century, is subject to the superstition of the ortodox of the twelfth century.

c (Opera, tom. i. p. 625.) Spaxham's Apology for the Synod of Constantinople (p. 171.) &c.) is worked up with truth and reason, and the argument of the present Epistle of the six prelates, (p. 338–343.) is cast into the Iconoclast scale. With this mutual aid, and opposite ten
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Some flowers of rhetoric are (Opera, tom. i. p. 625.) Spaxham's Apology for the Synod of Constantinople (p. 171.) &c.) is worked up with truth and reason, and the argument of the present Epistle of the six prelates, (p. 338–343.) is cast into the Iconoclast scale. With this mutual aid, and opposite ten
dure, it is easy for us to pos the balance with a philosophic indifferent. Their creed.
night of superstition, the Christians had wandered far away from the simplicity of the gospel: nor was it easy for them to discern the clue, and read back the mazes, of the labyrinth. The worship of images was inscribed during the centuries, which saw the cross, the Virgin, the saints and their relics: the holy ground was involved in a cloud of miracles and visions; and the nerves of the mind, curiosity and scepticism, were benumbed by the habits of obedience and belief. Constantine himself is accused of indulging a royal licence to dare, to dream, or dictate the mysteries of the catholics, but they were deeply inscribed in the public and private creed of his bishops; and the holiest Iconoclasm might assault with a secret horror the monuments of popular devotion, which were consecrated to the honour of his celestial patrons. In the reformation of the sixteenth century, freedom and knowledge had expanded all the faculties of man; the thirst of innovation superseded the reverence of antiquity; and the vigour of Europe could dislodge those phantoms which terrified the sickly and servile weakness of the Greeks with the crown of martyrdom. In every act of open and clandestine treason, the emperor felt the unforgiving cunning of the monks, the faithful slaves of the superstition which they cherished and influence. They prayed, they absolved, they inflamed, they conspired: the solitude of Palestine poured forth a torrent of invective; and the pen of St. John Damascenus, the last of the Greek fathers, devoted the tyrant's head, both in this world and the next. I am not at leisure to examine how far the monk was provoked, nor how much they have exaggerated, their real and pretended sufferings, nor how many lost their lives or limbs, their eyes or their heads, by the cruelty of the emperor. From the chastisement of individuals, he proceeded to the abolition of the order; and, in it, so uselessly, his resentment might be stimulated by avarice, and justified by patriotism. The formidable name and mission of the Dragon, his visitor-general, excited the terror and abhorrence of the black nation: the religious communities were dissolved, the buildings were converted into magazines, or barracks; the lands, moveables, and cattle, were confiscated; and our modern precedents will support the charge, that much wanton or malicious havoc was exercised against the relics, and even the books, of the monasteries. With the habit and profession of monks, the public and private peace of nations was again disturbed, and it should seem, that a solemn abjuration of idolatry was exacted from the subjects, or at least from the clergy, of the eastern empire.

The patient cast abroad, with reluctance, her sacred images; they were long cherished, and viciously defended, by the independent zeal of the Italians. In ecclesiastical rank and jurisdiction, the patriarchate of Constantinople and the pope of Rome were nearly equal. But the Greek prelate was a domestic slave under the eye of his master, at whose nod he alternately passed from the content to the throne, and from the throne to the convent. A distant and dangerous station, amidst the barbarians of the west, excited the spirit and freedom of the Latin bishops. Their popular election endeared them to the Romans; the public and private indigence was received by their ample revenues; and the neglect of the emperors, who were engaged in peace and war, the temporal safety of the city. In the school of adversity the priest insensibly imbibed the virtues and the ambition of a prince; the same character was assumed, the same policy was adopted, by the Italian, the Greek, or the Syrian, who ascended to the chair of St. Peter. All the provinces, religious and provinces, the genius and fortune of the popes again restored the supremacy of Rome. It is agreed, that in the eighth century, their dominion was founded on rebellion, and that the rebellion was produced and justified, by the heresy of the Iconoclasts; but the conduct of the second and third Gregory, in

8 John, or Masnar, was a noble Christian of Damascenus, who held a considerable office of the service of the empire; and in the course of his career, he rose to the dignity of the Greek emperor, and, by a resolute resolution, a resolute conduct, he was deprived of his right hand, and was exhaustively restored by the Virgin. After this deliverance, he resigned his office, distributed his wealth, and buried himself in the monastery of St. Sabas, between Jerusalem and the Dead sea. The legend is famous, but his limited editor, Father Legros, has unluckily proved that St. John Damascenus was already a monk before the Iconoclast dispute, (Opera, tom. i. visc. St. John Damascenus, p. 10—13, et Notes ad loc.) in the narrative of this persecution from Theophanes and Ceramicus, the latter is longer, and has the dragon (Drakonos) of Louis XIV.; and highly solaces him-
this memorable contest, is variously interpreted by the wishes of their friends and enemies. The Byzantine writers unanimously declare, that, after a fruitless advance, they retrenched their expectations of the east and west, and deprecated the sacrilegious tyrant of the revenue and sovereignty of Italy. Their excommuni-
cation is still more clearly expressed by the Greeks, who beheld the accomplishment of the papal triumphs; and they strongly assailed the devotion of their countrymen, than to their country, they praise, instead of blaming, the zeal and orthodoxy of these apostolical men. The modern champions of Rome are eager to accept the praise and the precedent; this great and glorious example of the deposition of royal heretics is celebrated by the confessors of the Gallican church, who respect the saint without approving the sin. These common ad-
vocates of the crown and the mitre circumscribe the truth of facts by the rule of equity, Scripture, and tra-
tition; and appeal to the evidence of the Latin, and the lives and epistles of the popes themselves.

Epistles of Gregory II. to the second to the emperor Leo, and to the emperor, are still extant; and if they cannot be praised as the most perfect models of eloquence and logic, they exhibit the portrait, or at least the mask, of the founder of the papal monarchy. During ten pure and fortunate years, says Gregory to the emperor, we have tasted the annual comfort of your royal letters, subscribed in purple ink, with your own hand, and kissed the holy vesture of your attachment to the orthodox creed of our fathers. How delightful is the change! how tremendous the scandal! You now accuse the catholics of idolatry; and, by the accusa-
tion, you betray your own impurity and ignorance. To this ignorance we are compelled to adapt the grossness of our words and our art against the vanities of daemonism, and those who serve the images. If you are pleased to ask, the reason why the same thunders were not hurled against the Neros and the Julians of antiquity, they reply, that the weakness of the primitive church was the sole cause of her patient loyalty. On this occasion, the effects of love and hatred are the same; and good and evil, turned to kindred uses, the same. This is the condemnation of the church, and the triumph of her enemies. She prays, and she seeks, in vain, to knit the bonds of society, and, with arms and with prayers, defends her religion. The Christian people, in their view of the affair, thinks that their reason is more evident than what they desire, and that the case is not to be considered in the light of a mere question of pre-emi-

The Latin Church. (Chronograph, p. 414.) For this Gregory is styled by Cedrenus in annal. (p. 850.) Zonaras specifies the thun-
der, acrimoniurn. (Tom. b. l. x. v. 104, 105.) It may be ob-
erved, that the Greeks are apt to confound the times and actions of the two Gregorys.

• See Baratius, Anno Eccles. A. D. 730, No. 4, 5: dixit exemplum! Bellarmine, de Romano Pontifice, I. v. c. 6: multis titulis sese parte imperi. Sigonius, de Regno Italia, lib. vii. opera, tom. i. p. 169. Yet such is the change of Italy, that Sigonius is corrected by the editor of Milon, Philippus Argentona, a Bolognian, and subject of the Popes.

• Quod si christianum olim non depositorem Neronem sat Julianum, in hodierno etiam temporibus christianum quemquam Belarmino, vel Rom. Pont. i. c. 7. (Cardinal Peroz adds a distinction more homely, but not so forcible, as that of his predecessors—the freemen of heretics and associates, who break their oath, betray their coin, and renounce their allegiance to Christ and his vicar.) (Peroz, p. 89.)

Take, as a specimen, the cautious Baratius, (Hist. de l'Empereur, p. 135ff.) and the vehement Spanheim, (Hist. Innocentum) who, with a hundred more, tread in the footsteps of the centurions of Malebolghes.


• They appealed to Paul Warnefried, or Dianusus, (de Gentilis Legandi, i. v. c. 49, 505, 507, in Scripta, Itali, Maratorii, tom. i. par.) and did not seek the sentiments of the Latin, of the Gallican, or of the Alexandrian Church. (De Victu Pont. in Maratorii, tom. i. par.) Gregory II. in p. 131, Gregorius III. in p. 135, Zacharias in p. 141, Stephonius in p. 143, and Pagi in p. 147.) 3. Pagi in p. 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182. Yet I may remark, that the true Anatolius (Hist. Eccles, p. 156, ed. Reg.) and the Historia Mecristi, (I. xxiii. p. 16, tom. i. Scripta, Itali, both of the middle century, trans-
late and approve the Greek text of Thaumaturgus.

1. From all the different critiques, Lucas Holstenius, Scholestrato, Caumplani, Bichhia, Maratorii, (Papirodome-

na ad tom. in. par.) are agreed that the Liber Pontificalis was not copied from the apostolical limits and manners of the eighth and ninth centuries; and that the last and smallest part is that which is so near now. The style is barbarous, the narrative partial, the details are treading—yet it must be read. The book has a ridiculous text of the lives of the popes. The epistles of the popes are dispersed in the volumes of Collections.

2. The two epistles of Gregory II. have been preserved in the Acts of the Councils, viii. tom. i. p. 194, and viii. tom. ii. p. 725, 726. They are with much probability written to the emperor, in the summer of the year 725, by Mar-
torii. (Annals Cathol. tom. vi. p. 198, 725, and by Pagi in p. 726. Such is the force of prejudice, that some papists have praised the good sense and moderation of these letters.
The barbarians have submitted to the yoke of the gospel, while you alone are deaf to the voice of the Shepherd. These pious barbarians are kindled into rage: they thirst to avenge the persecution of the east. Abandon your rascal the cause of religion by catching at every pretext, and you have reason to repent. If you persist, we are innocent of the blood that will be spilt in the contest; may it fall on your own head."

The first assault of Leo against the A.D. 725, etc., images of Constantinople had been witnessed by a crowd of strangers from Italy and the west, who related with grief and indignation the sacrilege of the emperor. But on the reception of his scriptorium edict, they trembled for their domestic deities; the images of Christ and the Virgin, of the angels, martyrs, and saints, were abolished in all the churches of Italy, and a strong majority was opposed to the Roman pontiff, the royal favour as the price of his compliance, degradation and exile as the penalty of his disobedience. Neither zeal nor policy allowed him to hesitate; and the haughty strain in which Gregory addressed the emperor displays his contempt for the power of Rome.

Without depending on prayers or miracles, he boldly armed against the public enemy, and his pastoral letters admonished the Italians of their danger and their duty. At this signal, Ravenna, Vence, and the cities of the exarchate and Pentapolis, adored lines against the court of Rome. Preparations were made for the reception and the conduct of a fleet of angels, sent by sea and land consisted, for the most part, of the natives; and the spirit of patriotism and zeal was transfused into the mercenary strangers. The Italians were to live and die in the defence of the pope and the holy images; the Roman people were devoted to their father, and even the Lombards were ambitious to share the merit and advantage of this holy war. The most reasonable act, but the most obvious revenge, was the destruction of the statues of Leo himself; the most effectual and pleasing measure of rebellion, was made, and conducted, with a firmness which has attached to him of a power which he had recently abused by the imposition of a new capitulatio. A form of administration was preserved by the election of magistrates and governors; and so high was the public indignation, that the Italians were prepared to create an orthonomous empire, and conduct their own government. The rebuff of the church was not without its advantage; the reform of the Byzantine empire was the incident of the battle, and the emperor was prepared to receive the election of a new emperor, and they expelled the Italians not to separate from the body of the Roman monarchy. The exarch was permitted to reside within the walls of Ravenna, a capital rather than a master; and till the imperial coronation of Charlemagne, the government of Rome and Italy was exercised in the name of the successors of Constantine.

Republic of the Empire, which had been opposed by the arms and arts of Augustus.

God upon earth, the apostle St. Peter, whose image you threaten to destroy. The remote and interior kingdoms of the west present their homage to Christ and his vicegerent; and we now prepare to visit one of the most powerful monarchies of the earth, to receive from there the sacrament of baptism. The barbarians have submitted to the yoke of the gospel, while you alone are deaf to the voice of the Shepherd. These pious barbarians are kindled into rage: they thirst to avenge the persecution of the east. Abandon your rascal the cause of religion by catching at every pretext, and you have reason to repent. If you persist, we are innocent of the blood that will be spilt in the contest; may it fall on your own head.

Yet Leo was undoubtedly comprehended in the si qua . . . regionem accrasat in ecclesia sancta. The emperor Justin II, who had granted to the papal see the title of Pontifex, was the son of Justinian, who had first granted this title to the papal see. The decision is of the last importance to their safety; since, according to the oracle, Grattan Synod, xxvi. p. 35, Hist. Synod., Hist. Synod. xxxvii. 112, 113) pontifical excommunication is imminent. See the Liber Pontificalis of Agnellus, ed. supra, and the Chronicle of Constantine V, with the styles of Philip I., p. 157.) The pope's style Leo and Constantine Co- pontifical, ed. supra, and the Chronicle of Constantine V, with the styles of Philip I., p. 157.) The pope's style Leo and Constantine Co- pontifical, ed. supra, and the Chronicle of Constantine V, with the styles of Philip I., p. 157.) The pope's style Leo and Constantine Co- pontifical, ed. supra, and the Chronicle of Constantine V, with the styles of Philip I., p. 157.) The pope's style Leo and Constantine Co-
The Decline and Fall

The Sun, was rescued, after seven hundred and fifty years of servitude, from the persecution of Leo the Isaurian. By the Caesars, the triumphs of the consuls had been acknowledged; and in their place, at the end of the empire, the god Terminus, the sacred boundary, had insensibly receded from the ocean, the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates; and Rome was reduced to her ancient territory from Viterbo to Terracina, and from Narni to the mouth of the Tiber. When the kings were banished, the boundaries of their kingdom fell off; and in 670, when the ancient city of Ohrid had been founded by their wisdom and virtue. Their perpetual jurisdiction was divided between two annual magistrates: the senate continued to exercise the powers of administration and counsel; and the legislative authority was distributed in the assemblies of the people, by a well-proportioned scale of property and service. Ignorant of the arts of luxury, the primitive Romans had improved the science of government and war: the will of the community was absolute; the rights of individuals were sacred: one hundred and thirty thousand citizens were armed for defence of the conquest; and a band of robbers and outlaws was moulded into a nation, deserving of freedom, and ambitions of glory. When the sovereignty of the Greek emperors was extinguished, the ruins of Rome presented the sad image of depopulation and decay: their splendid palaces, the object of superstition, and the object of her own amazement and terror. The last vestige of the substance, or even the forms, of the constitution, was obliterated from the practice and memory of the Romans; and they were devoid of knowledge, or virtue, again to build the fabric of a commonwealth. Their scanty remnant, the offspring of slaves and strangers, was despisâle in the eyes of the victorious barbarians. As often as the Franks or Lombards expressed their most bitter contempt of a foe, they called him a Roman; and in this sense the bishop Liutprand, "we include whatever is base, whatever is cowardly, whatever is pernicious, the extremes of avarice and luxury, and every vice that can prostitute the dignity of human nature." By the necessity of their situation, the inhabitants of Rome were cast into the rough model of a republican government: they were compelled to elect some judges in peace, and some leaders in war: the nobles assembled to deliberate, and their resolves could not be executed without the union and consent of the multitude. The style of the Roman senate and people was so different from that of the by now independent empire, that the tumultuous conflict of licentiousness and oppression. The want of laws could only be supplied by the influence of religion, and their foreign and domestic counsels were moderated by the authority of the bishop. His alms, his sermons, his correspondence with the kings and prelates of the west, his recent services, their gratitude and oath, accustomed the Romans to consider him as the first magistrate or prince of the city. The Christian humility of the popes was not offended by the name of Dominus, or Lord; and their face and inscription are still apparent on the most ancient coins. Their temporal dominion is now confirmed by the reverence of the people, and their noblest title is the free choice of a people, whom they had redeemed from slavery. In the quarrels of ancient Greece, the Romans attacked the holy people of Elis enjoyed a perpetual peace, under the protection of Jupiter, A. D. 770-752, and in his wars against the Barbarians the choice of a hero who would it have been for the Romans, if a similar privilege had guarded the patrimony of St. Peter from the calamities of war; if the Christians, who visited the holy threshold, would have sheathed their swords in the presence of the apostle and his successor. But this mystic circle could have been traced only by the hand of a legislator and a sage: this pacific system was incompatible with the zeal and ambition of the popes: the Romans were not addicted, like the inhabitants of Elis, to the innocent and phædal labours of agriculture and navigation; the Barbarians of Italy, being formed by the climate, were far below the Grecian states in the institutions of public and private life. A memorable example of repentance and piety was exhibited by Liutprand, king of the Lombards. In arms, at the gate of the Vatican, the conqueror listened to the appeal of the pope, and chose the city of Rome for his residence; and, when he had designed his conquests, respectfully visited the church of St. Peter, and, after performing his devotions, offered his sword and dagger, his cuirass and mantle, his silver cross, and his crown of gold, on the tomb of the apostle. But this religious fervour was the illusion, perhaps the artifice, of the bullion: the sense of interest is strong and lasting; the love of arms and rapine was congenial to the Lombards; and both the prince and people were irresistibly tempted by the disorders of Italy, the nakedness of Rome, and the ungratefulness of her neighbours. The emperors, and the edicts of the emperor, they declared themselves the champions of the holy images; Liutprand invaded the province of Romagna, which had already assumed that distinctive appellation; the catholics of the exarchate yielded without reluctance to his civil and military demands, and the conquerors of Spoleto and Rome, the storm evaporated without effect, but the policy of Liutprand alarmed Italy with a vexatious alternative of hostility and truce. His successor Astolphus declared himself the equal enemy of the emperor and the pope: Ravenna was subdued by force or treachery, and this final conquest extinguished the series of the exarchs, who had

1 I have traced the Roman ducal according to the maps, and the maps according to the excellent dissertation of father Bertetti. (de Ducibus Rom.: vet. tom. ii. vol. iv. p. 252.) Yet I cannot observe, that Visigoth is of Lombard foundation, (p. 261.) and that Terracina, was usurped by the Greeks.

2 On the extern, population, &c. of the Roman kingdom, the reader may, I presume, with pleasure, the Discours Préliminaire to the Régimeacque Roman de St. de Boëdard, (tom. i.) who will not be accused of too much credulity for the early ages of Rome.

3 On Lombard and Venetian names, Franc, Lothrings, Bajoci, Suvii, Gébriands, tote designetum et inanimis patris amicitiam, nil alium comitatem nos Romae, discia ducatur, suas leges, suas regna, suas institutu, suas aestas, suas tempora, suas leges, suas luxurias, suas mendacii, humanitatis et superbiae. (Liutprand in Legat. Script. lat. tom. ii. pars I. p. 481.) For the sins of Cato or Tullio, Miltiades, or the old German emperors, was imputed, as a fit punishment, the daily perusal of that barbarous passage.

4 Pipino regis Francorum, dominus senator, auque universa populi generatio, sed Romanus urbis, (Ducange, tomo. iii. p. 265.) I assign these names to the year 826. If the pope was not associated in the licence and the spirit of Sallust or Livy.

5 On that occasion, the emperor Charles, last of the Carolingians, (Legat. Script. Lat. tom. iii. p. 166.) and the pope Andrew Dandolo, (scriptoria, vol. ii. p. 135.) made the sentence, that the republic of Greece was a kingdom. But the words are not ascribed to any pope, with the exception of Gregory, (Legat. Script. lat. tom. ii. pars I. p. 481.) in the sins of Cato or Tullio, Miltiades, or the old German emperors, was imputed, as a fit punishment, the daily perusal of that barbarous passage.

6 Piède regis Francorum, dominus senator, auque universa populi generatio, sed Romanus urbis, (Ducange, tomo. iii. p. 265.) I assign these names to the year 826. If the pope was not associated in the licence and the spirit of Sallust or Livy.

7 To seek in the exile of Guinevere, or the Lombard, (Chron. Venet. p. 138.) and the pope Andrew Dandolo, (Scriptoria, vol. iii. p. 135.) made the sentence, that the republic of Greece was a kingdom. But the words are not ascribed to any pope, with the exception of Gregory, (Legat. Script. Lat. tom. ii. pars I. p. 481.) in the sins of Cato or Tullio, Miltiades, or the old German emperors, was imputed, as a fit punishment, the daily perusal of that barbarous passage.

8 The opinion will depend on the various readings of the MSS of Anastasius—deceperat, or deceperat. (Script. Ital. tom. ii. p. 167.)
of their neglect, if they suffer his tomb, his temple, and his people, to fall into the hands of the perfidious Lombards. The second expedition of Pepin was not less rapid and fortunate than the first: St. Peter was satisfied, Rome was again saved, and Astolphus was taught the lessons of justice and sincerity by the scourge of a foreign master. After the church had languished about twenty years in a state of languor and decay. But their minds were not yet subdued to their condition; and instead of affecting the pacific virtues of the fickle, they peevishly harassed the Romans with a repetition of claims, evasions, and inroads, which they undertook with a lust for glory. On either side, their expiring monarchy was pressed by the zeal and prudence of pope Adrian the first, the genius, the fortune, and greatness of Charlemagne the son of Pepin; these heroes of the church and state were united in public and domestic friendship, and, while they triumphed on the one hand, they vanished their proceedings with the fairest colours of equity and moderation.

The mutual obligations of the papal and Carolingian family, form the basis, kings important link of ancient and modern, of France, civil and ecclesiastical, history. In the conquest of Italy, the Roman church obtained a favourable occasion, a species of the title, the wishes of the people, the prayers and intrigues of the clergy. But the most essential gifts of the popes to the Carolingian race were the dignities of king of France, and of patron of Rome. 1. Under the sacreted monarchy of St. Peter, the nations began to resume the practice of seeking, on the banks of the Rhine, their kings, their laws, and the oracles of their fate. The Franks were perplexed between the name and substance of their government. All the powers of royalty were exercised by Pepin, mayor of the palace, and reigned without the real ostentation of his title, to the ambition. His enemies were crushed by his valour; his friends were multiplied by his liberality; his father had been the savour of Christendom; and the claims of personal merit were repeated and ennobled in a descent of four generations. The name and image of royalty was still preserved in the last descendant of Clovis, the feeble Childeric; but his obsoleat right could only be used as an instrument of sedition; the nation was desirous of restoring the simplicity of the constitution; and Pepin, a subject and a prince, was ambitious to ascetain his own rank and dignity. The formes of imitation were now no more; they were bound, by an oath of fidelity, to the royal phaeton; the blood of Clovis was pure and sacred in their nature. 2. Except in the divorce of the daughter of Desiderius, whom Charlemagne repudiated sine aliquo crimine, Pepin Stephen IV, had most erroneously espoused the alliance of a noble Frank—eunopus, heralds, nec alios, for the submission of nations, and he imposed the first stain of bigotry. (Cod. Carol. cap. i, p. 15, 175.) An "erunt erroribus, et quos missos," says Theophanes, first wife. (Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. vi. p. 232, 234, 236, 237. But Childeric himself indulged himself in the freedom of polygamy or concubinage.

6. See the Annali d'Italia of Muratori, tom. vi, and the three first Celebrations of his Antiquitates Italian Medii, tom. vi. Legenda Sacra. tom. ii. ii. p. 723, No. 1, 6, A. D. 752, No. 1-100 and Natalis Alexander, (Hist. Novi Testamenti, dissert. i. p. 56—112) they have treated of the deposition of Childeric with learning and attention, but with a strong bias to save the independence of the crown. Yet they are hard pressed by the texts which they produce of Eginhard, Theophanes, and the old annals. Laubachianus Fuldensis, Lobiolan. 7. The Codex Carolinianus is a collection of the epistles of the popes to Charlemagne, Merovinian, and other popes, from the year 820, to the year 804, Charlemagne, as far as the year 791, when it was finished by the last of these princes. His original and authentic MSS. (Bibliotheque Caldeii) is now in the imperial library of Vienna, and has been published by Lambecius and Muratori. (Script. Rerum Ital. tom. iii. pars ii.) 8. See this most extraordinary letter in the Codex Carolinianus, exist. 101. The enemies of the popes have charged them with fraud and blasphemy; yet they surely meant to persuade rather than to deceive. The introduction of the dead, or of immortals, was familiar to the ancient orators, though it is executed on this occasion in the rude fashion of the age. 9. Conquest of Lombardy by Charles the Great, Comm. Con. A. D. 774.
eyes; and their common ambassadors addressed the Roman pontiff, to dispel their scruples, or to absolve their promise. The interest of pope Zachary, the successor of the two Gregories, prompted him to decide, and to decide in their favour; he pronounced that the naves and aisles which had been so justly won, the titles and authority of king; and that the unfortunate Childe- rie, a victim of the public safety, should be degraded, shaved, and confined in a monastery for the remainder of his days. An answer so agreeable to their wishes was accepted by the Franks, as the opinion of a cau- ristic and relentless judge, or the decree of a pontiff. The Merovingian race disappeared from the earth; and Pepin was exalted on a buckler by the suffrage of a free people, accustomed to obey his laws, and to march under his standard. His coronation was twice per- formed, with the sanction of the popes, by their most faithful servant St. Boniface, the apostle of Germany, and by the grateful hands of Stephen the third, who, in the monastery of St. Denis, placed the diadem on the head of his benefactor. The royal union of the kings of Israel was dexterously applied: the successor of Peter assumed the character of a divine am- bassee: a German chieflain was transformed into the Lord’s anointed; and this Jewish rite has been diffused and maintained by the superstition and vanity of modern Europe. The Franks were absolved from their ancient oath; but a dire anathema was thundered against all their posterior acts: they should continue to renew the same freedom of choice, or to elect a king, except in the holy and meritorious race of the Carolingian princes. Without apprehending the future danger, these princes gloried in their present security: the secretary of Charlemagne affirms, that the French sceptre was transferred by the authority of the popes; and, in their holiest enterprises, they insist, with confidence, on this signal and successful act of temporal jurisdiction.

Patriarchs of Rome. H. In the change of manners and lan- guage, the patriarchs of Rome were far removed from the senate of Romuli, or the palace of Constantine, from the free nobles of the republic, or the fictitious parents of the emperor. After the recovery of Italy and Africa by the arms of Justinian, the importance and danger of these remote provinces re- quired a person of a superior magistrate; he who, indifferently styled the exarch or the patriarch; and these governors of Ravenna, who fill their place in the chronology of princes, extended their jurisdiction over the Roman city. Since the revolt of Italy and the loss of the exarchate, the distress of the Romans had an ex- ception. This was the one great act of their independence; in this act, they exercised the right of disposing of themselves; and the decrees of the senate and people successively invested Charles Martel and his postcy with the honours of patriarch of Rome. The leaders of a powerful nation would have disdained a servile title and subordinate office; but the reign of the Greek emperors was suspended; and, in the vacancy of the empire, they derived a more glorious commission from the pope and the republic. The Roman ambassadors presented these patriarchs with the keys of the shrine of St. Peter, as a pledge and symbol of sovereignty.

with a holy banner, which it was their right and duty to unfurl in the defence of the church and city. In the time of Charles Martel and of Pepin, the interpo- sition of the Lombard kingdom covered the freedom, while it threatened the safety, of Rome; and the patri- monial aegis of the Carolingians, under their count, pres- ented itself to the eyes of these distant protectors. The power and policy of Charlemagne annihilated an enemy and imposed a master. In his first visit to the capital, he was received with all the honours which had formerly been paid to the exarch, the representative of the emperor; and these benefactions, with some new decoration from the joy and gratitude of pope Adrian the first. No sooner was he informed of the sudden approach of the monarch, than he despatched the magistrates and no- bles of Rome to meet him, with the banner, about thirty miles from the city. As the dissolute claim to rule, the Flaminian way was lined with the schools of national communities, of Greeks, Lombards, Saxons, &c.; the Roman youth were under arms; and the children of a more tender age, with palms and olive branches in their hands, chanted the praises of their great monarch, and implored his blessing. The ex- ensigns of the saints, he dismounted from his horse, led the procession of the nobles to the Vatican, and, as he ascended the stairs, devoutly kissed each step of the threshold of the apostles. In the portico, Adrian expected him at the head of his clergy; they embraced, and, as friends, they exchanged with each other speeches. In the palace, the king or patriarch assumed the right hand of the pope. Nor was the Frank content with this vain and empty demonstrations of respect. In the twenty-six years that elapsed between the conquest of Lombardy and his imperial coronation, Rome, which had been delivered from the universal sword, was subject, as his army, to the sceptre of Charlemagne. The people swore allegiance to his person and family: in his name money was coined, and justice was administered; and the election of the popes was examined and confirmed by his au- thority. Except an original and self-derived claim to rule, there was not any prerogative remaining, which the title of emperor could add to the patri- arch of Rome.

The gratitude of the Carolingians was adequate to these obligations, and their piety extended to the benefactors of the church, the victors and benefactors of the Roman church. Her ancient patrimony of farms and houses was transformed by their bounty into the temporal do- minion of cities and provinces; and the donation of the exarchate was the first-fruits of the conquests of Pepin. The keys and the hostages of the principal cities were delivered to the French ambassador; and, in his mas- ter’s name, he presented them before the tomb of St. Peter. The ample measure of the exarchate might...

a Not absolutely for the first time. On a less conspicuous theatre, it had been used, in the sixth and seventh centuries, by the prin- cipal bishops of Britain and Spain. The royal union of Constanti- nople was borrowed from the Latins in the last age of the empire. Constantinople, according to a Jewish, incomprehensible ceremony. See Selden’s Titles of Honor, in v. 20, vol. 5, p. 570.

b See Eadwine, in Vita Eadwine Eadwine, c. i. 9, & c. iii. p. 51, Childeric was depos’d, juana, the Carolingians were established— anarchy and the empire. The term, originally, is a very perspicuous word. It is, yet Eadwine, and the spring of the Latin language. Childeric. The text.

c For the title and powers of patriarch of Rome, see Dionysius, in (Gesta Caroli Mart., cap. iv. p. 312—314, Paris, 1812.) See also, (Chire, Annales, ann. 150, 1792.) On the whole, the word, and the Latin language, are much more expressive; the Codex Carolini signifies, this ample gift. Both are contemporary records; and the latter is the more authentic, since it has been pre- served, while the former is mutilated. (C.s. p. 383.)

d Between the exorbitant claims and narrow concessions of inte- rest and prejudice, from which even Muratori (Antiquitates, ii. 53—63) is not exempt, I have been guided, in the limits of the ex-

But, in the cooler moments of absence and reflection, he viewed, with an eye of jealousy and envy, the recent greatness of his ecclesiastical ally. The execution of his own and his father's promises was respectfully consulted by the king of the Lombards. The Lombards asserted the inalienable rights of the empire; and, in his life and death, Ravenna, as well as Rome, was numbered in the list of his metropolitan cities. The sovereignty of the exarchate melted away in the hands of the popes; they found in the archbishops of Ravenna a dangerous and domes tic rival: the nobles and people disliked the yoke of a priest; and, in the dis

orders of the times, they could only retain the memory of an ancient claim, which, in a more prosperous age, they have revived and realized. Faith is the sweat of the weak and of the weary, the strength of the dying and of the succumbing; and the strong though ignorant of the genius of Con.

constantine, who had been severely condemned. Perhaps the humility of a Christian priest should have rejected an earthly kingdom, which it was not easy for him to govern without renouncing the virtues of his profession. Perhaps a faithful subject, or even a generous enemy, would have been less impatient to divide the spoils of the barbarian; and if the emperor had intrusted Stephen to solicit in his behalf the revenues of the church, it might have been possible to absolve the pope from the reproach of treachery and falsehood. But in the rigid interpretation of the laws, every one may accept, without injury, whatever his benefactor can bestow without injustice. The Greek emperor had abdicated, or forbidden, his right to the exarchate; and the sword of Astolphus was broken by the stronger sword of the Carolingians. It was not in the cause of the Iconoclast that Pepin had exposed his person and array in a double expedition beyond the Alps: he possessed, and might lawfully utilize, his conquests; and to the importunities of the Greeks he piously resisted all which they could attempt to extort him from his revenues in order to return the gift which he had conferred on the Roman pontiff for the remission of his sins and the salvation of his soul. The splendid donation was granted in supine and absolute dominion, and the world beheld for the first time a christian bishop in vested with the prerogatives of a temporal prince; the choice of magistrates, the exercise of justice, the imposition of taxes, and the wealth of the palace of Ravenna. In the dissolution of the Lombard kingdom, the inhabitants of the duchy of Spoleto sought a refuge from the storm, shared their heads after the Roman fashion, declared themselves the servants and subjects of St. Peter, and completed, by this voluntary surrender, the present circle of the ecclesiastical state. That mysterious circle was enlarged to an infinite extent, by the verbal or written donation of Charlemagne, who, in the first transports of his victory, desired to make the pope his absolute master of all the islands which had formerly been annexed to the exarchate. But, in the cooler moments of absence and reflection, he viewed, with an eye of jealousy and envy, the recent greatness of his ecclesiastical ally. The execution of his own and his father's promises was respectfully consulted by the king of the Lombards. The Lombards asserted the inalienable rights of the empire; and, in his life and death, Ravenna, as well as Rome, was numbered in the list of his metropolitan cities. The sovereignty of the exarchate melted away in the hands of the popes; they found in the archbishops of Ravenna a dangerous and domes tic rival: the nobles and people disliked the yoke of a priest; and, in the dis

archate and Pentapolis, by the Disertatio Choraepigraphica Italiae Mosti Pollensi, pm. 10—114.) 2 Spoletonis deprehensi sunt, et in servitio E. Petri recipi et mora Romanae pontificii fecerunt. (Anastasius, p. 155.) Yet it may be a question whether they gave their own persons or their country. The policy and donations of Charlemagne are carefully examined by St. Marc, (Coronc., tom. i. p. 290—458) who has well studied the Codex Carolini. (Bellev.) I believe, that they were only verbal. The most ancient act of donation of which it is possible to give an extract, is that of the emperor Lewis the Pious. (Codex Carolini, de Regibus Ital., iv. cap. 17.) But, on the whole, they are not much mentioned, (Pacht, A., 317, No. 7, &c.; Marcoci, Annota.

But it is not to these considerations that we are to attribute the feeling of indignation so much manifested by the popes against the Donation of Constantine. In the revival of letters and liberty this fictitious deed was transmuted by the pen of Laurentius Valla, the pen of an eloquent critic and a Roman patriot. His conten
poraries of the fifteenth century were astonished at his sacristy boldness; yet such is the silent and irresistible progress of reason, that before the end of the next age, the fable was rejected by the contempts of history; 8 and the tacit condemnation of the advocates of the Roman church. 9 The popes themselves have indulged a smile at the credulity of the vulgar; 6 but a false and obsolete title still sanctifies their reign; and, by the same fortune which has attended the decretals and the Sibylline oracles, the edifice has subsisted after the foundations have been undermined.

While the popes established in Italy their freedom and dominon, the images, the first cause of their revolt, were restored to the Roman imperial. 11 Under the reign of Constantine the fifth, the union of civil and ecclesiastical power had overthrown the tree, without extirpating the root, of superstition. The idols, for such they were now held, were secretly cherished by the order and the sex most prone to devotion, and the pope and the cardinals obtained a final victory over the reason and authority of man. Leo the fourth maintained with less rigour the religion of his father and grandfather; but his wife, the fair and ambitious Irene, had imbied the zeal of the Athenians, the heirs of the idolatry, rather than the theology, of their ancestors. Of her marriage, her life and her death, these sentiments were inflamed by danger and dissimulation, and she could only labour to protect and promote some favourite monchs whom she drew from their caverns, and seated on the metropolitian throne of the east. But as soon as she reigned in her own name and that of her son, Irene more seriously undertook the ruin of the Iconoclasts; and the first step of her future persecution was a general edict for liberty of conscience. In the restoration of the monks, a thousand images were exposed to the public view; and letters were written to console their sufferings and miracles. By the opportunities of death or removal, the episcopal seats were judiciously filled; the most eager competitors for earthly or celestial favour anticipated and dabbled the judgment of their sovereign; and the promotion of her seen-tary Tarsius, the last remaining patriarch of the command of the oriental church. But the decrees of a general council could only be repealed by a similar assembly; 11 the Iconoclasts whom she convened, were bold in possession, and averse to debate; and the feeble voice of the bishops was re-echoed by the more formidable clamour of the soldiers and people of Constantinople. The delay and intrigues of Nice, the desire of the emperor to receive some additional security, and the tardy consent of the hosts and troops, and the choice of Nice for a second orthodox synod, removed these obstacles; and the episcopal conscience was again, after the Greek fashion, in the hands of the prince. No more than eighteen days were allowed for the consideration of this important matter; the Iconoclasts appeared, not as judges, but as criminals or penitents; the scene was decorated by the legates of pope Adrian and the eastern patriarch; 11 the decrees were framed by the president Tarasius, and ratified by the consent of Nice and the submission of two thousand and fifty bishops. They unanimously pronounced, that the worship of images is agreeable to Scripture and reason, to the fathers and councils of the church; but they hesitate whether that worship be relative or direct; whether the Godhead, and the figure of Christ, be entitled to the same mode of adoration and adoration. A second Nicean council, the acts are still extant; a curious monument of superstition and ignorance, of falsehood and folly. I shall only notice the judgment of the bishops, on the comparative merit of image worship and morality. A monk had concluded a truce with his wife, and devoted his time to the raising up of his daily prayers to a picture that hung in his cell. His scruple prompted him to consult the abbot. ·'Rather than abstain from adoring Christ and his mother in their holy images, it would be better for you,' replied the casuist, ·'to enter every brothel, and visit every prostitute, in the city.' 11

For the honour of orthodoxy, at least Final establishment of the orthodoxy of the Roman church, it is somewhat unfortunate, that the two princes who convened the two councils of Nice were both stained with the guilt of forgeries. The second of these assemblies was approved and rigorously executed by the despotism of Irene, and she refused her adversaries the toleration which at first she had granted to her friends. During the five succeeding reigns, a period of thirty-eight years, the contest was maintained, with the aid of various successes, between the worshippers and the breakers of the images; but I am not inclined to pursue with minute diligence the repetition of the same events. Niephoros allowed a general liberty of speech and practice; and the only virtue of his reign was its termination. Thelwall calls him a monster, the cause of the ruin of the faith, and eternal perdition. Superstition and weakness formed the character of Michael the first, but the saints and images were incapable of supporting their votary on the throne. In the purple, Leo the fifth as soon as the name and religion of an Armenian; and the idols, with their seditious adherents, were condemned to a second exile. Their applause would have sanctioned the murder of an impious tyrant, but his assassin and successor, the second Michael, was tainted from his birth with the Phrygian heresies: he attempted to mediate between the contending clouds; but the intractable spirit of the catholics insensibly cast him into the opposite scale. His moderation was guarded by timidity; but his son Theophilus, alike ignorant of fear and pity, was the last and most cruel of the Iconoclasts. The enthusiasm of the times ran strongly in the Catholic and Eastern emperors, who esteemed the

1. The Palladion Archeolog found it in the moon, among the things that were lost upon earth, (Orlando Furioso, xxxii. 84.)
2. Di van ferre ad un grand monte passa, Ch'el che gia buon odore, o pura lute,
Questo era il dono (se pur dir dir) lac
Che al ciel sara l'era ch'el m'ha dato
In l'oceano al mezzo, in l'oceano at
Yet this incomparable poem has been approved by a bulk of Leo X. (Panormia, vol. i. p. 226, No. II. &c.)
3. Carlo of Gournay and several of the popes, in that long and valuable digression, which has resumed its place in the last edition, carefully published from the author's MS. and printed in four volumes in quarto, under the name of Friburgo, 1722. (Istoria d'Italia, tom. i. p. 505-506.)
4. The remaining history of images, from Irene to Theodore, is collected by Barinus and his continuator, and published by Bartolomeo, (Hist, de l'Eglise, vol. ii. p. 595-612, tom. ii. p. 1392-1403.)
5. The solitude of the monks, and the most sacred persons of the church, is the same, as well as their support, (Hist, Eccles. secul. vii. et viii.)
6. The images of Jesus, the Virgin, and the saints, were similar in every country; but the catholics, excepting the primitive and orthodox monastic, and even Leo Bona, (Hist, de l'Eglise, xii. 18.) a gentleman and a scholar, is infected by the odious superstition, and his writings are loaded with it, (Hist, of the著作家, p. 355-356.)
7. The second general council of Nice, with a number of relative pieces, in the seventh volume of the Councils, p. 945-1039. A faithful version, with some critical notes, would provoke, in different readers, a sigh or a smile.
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

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Chap. X.

The Greeks were docile to the voice of their father; but the greatest part of the Latin Christians were far behind in the practice of superstition. The churches of France, Germany, England, and Spain, steered a middle course between the adoration of images and the rejection of images. They admitted into their temples, not as objects of worship, but as lively and useful memorials of faith and history. An angry book of controversy was composed and published in the name of Charlemagne; but under his authority a synod of three hundred bishops was assembled at Frankfort; they blamed the fury of the iconoclasts, but they pronounced a more severe censure against the superstitious of the Greeks, and the decrees of their pretended council, which was long despised by the barbarians of the west. Among them the worship of images advanced with silent and insensible force. The history of ihe reigns of the pious Irene, that waves of hesitation and delay, by the cross idolatry of the ages which preceded the reformation, and of the countries, both in Europe and America, which are still immersed in the gloom of superstition.

It was after the Nicene synod, and under the reign of the pious Irene, that thepopes consummated the separation of Rome and Italy, by the translation of the empire to the less orthodox Charlemagne. They were compelled to choose between the rival nations; religion was not the sole motive of their choice. The emperor, who was deposed by his friends, they held, with reluctance and suspicion, the catholic virtues of his foes. The difference of language and manners had perpetuated the enmity of the two capitals; and they were alienated from each other by the hostile opposition of seventy years. In that schism the Romans had tasted of freedom, and the popes of sovereignty: their submission would have exposed them to the revenge of a jealous tyrant; and the revolution of Italy had betrayed the impotence, as well as the tyranny, of the Byzantine court. The Greek emperors had restored the images, but they had not restored the Calabrian estates and the Illyria, diocese, which the iconoclasts had torn away from the church and the people. The successors of St. Peter were not to be partitioned with a sentence of excommunication unless they speedily abjure this practical heresy. The Greeks were now orthodox, but their religion might be tainted by the breach of the reigning monarch; the Franks were now contumacious; but a discerning eye might discern the effect of the naked eye. The emperors would see the operation, of images. The name of Charlemagne was stained by the patriarchal acrimony of his scribes; but the conqueror himself conformed, with the temper of a statesman, to the various practice of France and Italy. In his four pilgrimage visits to the Vatican, he found the churches adorned with altars and piety; knelt before the tomb, and consequently before the image, of the apostle; and joined, without scruple, in all the prayers and procession of the Roman liturgy. Would prudence or gratitude allow the pontiffs to renounce their benefactor? Had they a right to alienate his gift of the exarchate? Had they power to abolish his government of Rome? The title of patrician was below the merit and greatness of Charlemagne; and it was only by reviving the western tradition that they could pay their obligations or secure their establishment. By this decisive measure of independence they would finally separate the Church from the debasement of a provincial town, the majesty of Rome would be restored: the Latin christians would be united, under a supreme head, in their ancient metropolis; and the conquerors of the west would receive their crown from the successors of S. Peter. The Roman church would have a zealous and respectable advocate; and under the shadow of the Carolingian power, the bishop might exercise, with honour and safety, the government of the city.

Before the ruin of paganism in Rome, the competition for a wealthy bishopric was often of tumultuous bloodshed. The people were less numerous, but the times were more savage, the prize more important, and the chair of S. Peter was fiercely disputed by the leading ecclesiastics who aspired to the rank of sovereign. The reign of Adrian the first surpasses the measure of past or succeeding ages; the walls of Rome, the coronation of Charlemagne as emperor in Rome and the west.  

a See an account of this controversy in the Alexius of Anna Comnenus, d. v. p. 129.) and Mosheim, (Institut. Hist. Eccles. p. 327, 372.)

b The Libri Carolini, (Spanheim, p. 413-423.) composed in the palace or winter-quarters of Charlemagne, at Worms, A. D. 793; and sent by Engelshein to pope Hadrian I. published by a German and veritas epistola, (Concil. tom. viii. p. 1355.) The Carolins project the absolute submission of the images, and declare that, as these are the flowers of their rhetoric—decretum, proces Genes v (comminato ob haruspicinis et altissimis dismis, etc.) ditione dignis summis, etc.  

c The assemblies of Charlemagne were political, as well as ecclesiastical meetings. (See Deuten, p. 80.) that sat and voted at Frankfort must not only be understood, but the active members of the church, as well as the others. (See Decretals, p. 80.)

d Qui supra sanctissimae patris uterque (epitome and excurses) are saved excommunication and depositions, imaginum quelques contempstas, aliquot emendationes, and adnotationes imaginum. (see in canon, i, 39.)  

e A poiklos must be hard-hearted indeed, who does not pay the services of Baranes, Fagi, Alexandre, Mansel, etc. to clothe this unlucky sentence.
sacred patrimony, the ruin of the Lombards, and the friendship of Charlemagne, were the trophies of his fame: he secretly edified the throne of his successors, and displayed in a narrow space the virtues of a great prince. His memory was revered; but in the next election, a priest of the Lateran, Leo the third, was preferred to the emperor and the favourite of Adrian, whom he had promoted to the first dignities of the church. Their acquisitiveness or repentance disguised, above four years, the blackest intention of revenge, till the day of a procession, when a furious band of conspirators dispersed the unarmed multitude, and assaulted this revival of the sacred person of the pope. But their enterprise on his life or liberty was disappoytured, perhaps by their own confusion and remorse. Leo was left for dead on the ground; on his revival from the swoon, the effect of his loss of blood, he recovered his speech and sight; and this natural event was improved to the miraculous restoration of his eyes and tongue, of which he had been deprived, twice deprived, by the knife of the assassins. 7 From his prison he escaped to the Vatican; the duc de Spoleto hastened to his rescue, Charlemagne sympathized with the sinners, and in his assent to the title of Paderborn, or Westphalia accepted, or solicited, a visit from the Roman pontiff. Leo repassed the Alps with a commission of counts and bishops, the guards of his safety and the judges of his innocence; and it was not without difficulty that the Saxons delayed till the ensuing year the personal discharge of this pious office. 
In his fourth and last pilgrimage, he was received at Rome with the due honours of king and patron: Leo was permitted to purge himself by oath of the crimes imputed to his charge; his enemies were silenced, and the sacrilegious attempt against his life was punished by the mild and insufficient penalty of exile. 8 On the festival of Christmas, the last year of the eighth century, Charlemagne appeared in the church of St. Peter; and, to gratify the vanity of Rome, he had exchanged the simple dress of his country for the habit of a patriarch. 9 After the celebration of the holy mysteries, Leo suddenly placed a precious crown on his head, 10 and the dome resounded with the acclamations of the people, ' Long life and victory to Charles, the most pious Augustus, crowned by God the true King of the Franks. ' The head and body of Charlemagne were consecrated by the royal unction; after the example of the Caesars, he was saluted or adored by the pontiff; his coronation oath represents a promise to maintain the faith and privileges of the church; and the first fruits were paid in the same terms to the shrine of the apostle, in his familiar conversation, the emperor protested his ignorance of the intentions of Leo, which he would have disappointed by his absence on that memorable day. But the preparations of the ceremony must have disclosed the secret; and the journey of Charlemagne reveals his knowledge and expectation: he had acknowledged that the imperial title was the object of his ambition, and a Roman synod had pronounced, that it was the only adequate reward of his merit and service. 6

6 The assurance of Anastasius (tom. iii. pars i. p. 157, 158) is supported by the credibility of some French annalists, but Einhard, and other writers of the same age, are more moral and sincere. "Unus et omnis papa illum esset," says John the deacon of Noyon, (C. Echevin. Nap. in Script. Manetii, tom. ii. p. 314.) Thedobald, a contemporary bishop of Orleans, observes with prudence, (C. ii. can. 5.)

Reddita sunt mirerae: mirerae adsorbe nequeas.  

7 Twice, at the request of Hrothad and Leo, he appeared at Rome —longs tunicis et chlamydeis armato, et calcibusque quoeque Romae incolisse —Einhard (c. xvi. p. 127, 128) describes him. In Sumner, the simplicity of his dress, as popular in the nation, the writer is free to return to Frankish habits. His8 Padraic, who was returned to France; his patriotic dared at the apostle. (Gaillard, Vie de Charlemagne, tom. ii. p. 213.)

8 Anastasius, (c. 120.) and Einhard, (c. xxviii. p. 121—123.)

9 The murder of the deacon of Noyon, (C. 239.) the oath by Saint Stephen, (A. 240.) and the Gallican discipline, are the modern principles, of the Annalists Bertiniani, (Script. Manetii tom. ii. pars ii. p. 305.)

10 This great event of the translation or restoration of the empire.

The appellation of great has been often bestowed, and sometimes deserved. One of the achievements of Charlemagne was the only prince in Italy whose favour the title has been indisputably blended with the name. That name, with the addition of sainl, is inserted in the Roman calendar; and the saint, by a rare fertility, is crowned with a shower of the praises of the historians and philosophers of an enlightened age. 6 His real merit is doubtless enhanced by the barbarism of the nation and the times from which he emerged: but the apparent magnitude of an object is likewise enlarged by an unequal comparison; and in the view of posterity, the monarchy is elevated from the nakedness of the surrounding desert. Without injustice to his fame, I may discern some blemishes in the sanctity and generosity of the restorer of the western empire. Of his moral virtues, chastity is not the most prominent; but the public happiness, not being materially injured by his nine wives or concubines, the various indulgence of meaner or more transient amours, the multitude of his bastards whom he bestowed on the church, and the long celibacy and licentious manners of his daughters, 7 whom the father of his eldest son was the duch de Bourgogne, the Duc de Paderborn, whose enterprise for the Saxons was destined shall be scarcely permitted to accuse the ambition of a conqueror; but in a day of equal retribution, the sons of his brother Carolman, the Merovingian princes of Aquitaine, and the four thousand five hundred Saxons who were slain in the Frankish war, may have something to allude against the justice and humanity of Charlemagne. His treatment of the vanquished Saxons 8 was an abuse of the right of conquest; his laws were not less sanguinary than his arms; and in the discussion of his motives, whatever is subtracted from his glory, must redound to his credit. The patriotic reader is amazed by his incessant activity of mind and body; and his subjects and enemies were not less astonished at his sudden presence, at the moment when they believed him at the most distant extremity of the empire; neither peace nor war, nor summer nor winter, were a season of repose; but the prosperity which they readily recoiled the annals of his reign with the geography of his expeditions. But this activity was a national, rather than a personal, virtue; the vigorous life of a Frank was spent in the chase, in pilgrimage, or in military adventure; the domestic offices of the church and the state were left to his successors, and Charlemagne were distinguished only by a more numerous train and a more important purpose. His military renown must be tried by the sincerity of his troops, his enemies, and his actions. Alexander conquered with the arms of Philip, but the two heroes who preceded Charlemagne, bequeathed him their name, their examples, and their labours.

6 The vision of Welin, composed by a monk, eleven years after the death of Charlemagne, shows him in purgatory, with a vulture, who is perpetually gnawing the cubic number, while the rest of his body, the emblem of his virtues, is sound and perfect. (See Gaillard, Hist. de Charlemagne, tom. ii. p. 343.)

7 The marriage of Einhard with Emma, daughter of Charlemagne, is, in my opinion, sufficiently refuted by the problem and epistulae that seem to have been written about the year 1185 (p. 188—189.) In this latter, the husband adduces the original monuments of the reign of Pepin and Charlemagne, in the 5th volume of the Historians of Paris.

8 Besides the massacres and transcriptions, the pain of death was not uncommon; and that the following comes: 1. The refusal of baptism. 2. The false pretense of baptism. 3. A failure to receive holy orders. 4. The murder of a priest or bishop. 5. Human sacrifices. 6. The murder of men in war. In the next reign, the pillage of the church, the neo-tradition. (Gaillard, Hist. de Charlemagne, tom. ii. p. 341—347.) The Christian Saxons became the friends and equals of the Franks. (Strabo, Corpus Iuris. Germanice, p. 133.)
and the companions of their victories. At the head of his veteran and superior armies, he oppressed the savage or degenerate nations, who were incapable of confederating for their common safety; nor did he ever encounter the civil constitutions; but, and might bhold, with envy, the Saracen trophies of his grandfather. After his Spanish expedition, his rear-guard was drowned in the Pyreninne mountains; and the soldiers, whose situation was irreversible, and whose valor was useless, might accuse, with their last breath, the want of skill or caution of their general. 2 I touch with reverence the laws of Charlemagne, so highly applauded by a respectable judge. They compose not a system, but a series, of occasional and minute edicts, for the correction of abuses, the reformation of manners, the economy of his farms, the care of his poultry, and even the sale of his eggs. He wished to improve the laws and the character of the Franks; and his attempts, however good and imperfect, are deserving of praise: the inerterate evils of the times were suspended or modified by his government; 2 but in his institutions I can seldom discover the general views and the immortal spirit of a legislator, who survives himself for the benefit of posterity. The union and stability of his empire depended upon the peace and quiet; he prohibited the dangerous practice of dividing his kingdoms among his sons; and, after his numerous diets, the whole constitution was left to fluctuate between the disorders of anarchy and despotism. His esteem for the pietist and knowledge of the clergy tempted him intrans to tyrannize order with temporal dominion in his jurisdiction; and his son Lewis, when he was stripped and degraded by the bishops, might accuse, in some measure, the imprecision of his father. His laws enforced the imposition of tithes, because the demons had proclaimed in the air that the default of payment had been the cause of the last scarcity. The literary merits of Charlemagne are attested by the foundation of schools, the introduction of the arts, the works which were published in his name, and his familiar connexion with the subjects and strangers whom he invited to his court to educate both the prince and people. He could not always judge well of the provincials, if he spoke Latin, and understood Greek, he derived the rudiments of knowledge from conversation, rather than from books; and, in his mature age, the emperor strove to acquire the practice of writing, which every peasant now learns in his infancy. 3 The grammar and logick, the music and astronomy, of the times, were only cultivated as the handmaids of superstition; but the curiosity of the human mind must ultimately tend to its improvement, and the encouragement of learning reflects the purest and most pleasing lustre on the character of Charlemagne. The dignity of his person, 2 the length of his reign, the prosperity of his arms, the vigour of his government, and the reverence of distant nations, distinguished him from the royal crowd; and Europe dates a new arm from his restoration of the western empire.

THAT empire, which the glory of its Extent of its em- title: 2 and some of the fairest kingdoms in France, of Europe were the patrimony or conquest of a prince, who reigned at the same time in France, Spain, Italy, Germany, and Hungary. 1. The Roman province of Gaul had been transformed into the name and monarch of Gaillard, in the decay of the Merovingian law, its limits were contracted by the independence of the Britons and the revolt of Aquitaine. Charlemagne pursued, and confounded, the Britons on the shores of the ocean; and that ferocious tribe, whose origin and language are so different from the French, was chastised by the imposition of tribute, hostages, and peace. After a long and evasive contest, the rebellion of the dukes of Aquitaine was punished by the forfeiture of their province, their liberty, and their lives. Harsh and rigorous would have been such treatment of ambitious governors, who had too faithfully copied the example of their parent; a recent discernment has proved that these unhappy princes were the last and lawful heirs of the blood and sceptre of Clovis, a younger branch, from the brother of Dagobert, of the Merovingian house. Their ancient kingdom was reduced to the duchy of Gascony, to the counties of Aquitaine, and to the fourth of Gironde, at the first shock of the invincibility; and their race was propagated till the beginning of the sixteenth century; and, after surviving their Carlistian tyrants, they were desired to feel the injustice, or the favours, of a third dynasty. By the union of Aquitaine, France was enlarged to its present boundaries, with the addition of Dauphiné. Amaury, the natural vassals, an Arabian emir of Saragossa, protected his protection in the diet of Paderborn. Charlemagne undertook the expedition, restored the emir, and, without distinction of faith, impartially crushed the resistance of the Christians, and rewarded the obedience and service of the Muslims. In his 3 Syntaxis march, 5 which extended from the Pyrenees to the river Ebro: Barcelona was the residence of the French governor: he possessed the counties of Roussillon and Catalonia; and the infant kingdoms of Navarre and Aragon were subject to his jurisdiction. III. As king of the Lombards, and patriarque of Rome, he reigned over the greatest part of Italy.
of Italy, a tract of a thousand miles from the Alps to the borders of Calabria. The duchy of Beneventum, a Lombard fief, had spread, at the expense of the Greeks, over the modern kingdom of Naples. But Aosta, the reigning principality of the colony, would be inclined to the slavery of his country; assumed the independent title of prince; and opposed his sword to the Carlo-

vingian monarchy. His defence was firm, his submission was not inglorious, and the emperor was content with this. St. Gall, in his denunciation and the acknowledgment, on his coins, of a supreme lord. The arfital flattery of his son Grimold added the appellation of father, but he asserted his dignity with prudence, and Beneventum insensibly escaped Germany, the first who united Germany un-
der the same sceptre. The name of Oriental France is preserved in the circle of Francia; and the people of Hesse and Thuringia were recently incorporated with the victors, by the conformity of religion and government. The Alemanni, so formidable to the Romans, were the faithful vassals and confederates of the Franks; and their country was inscribed within the modern limits of Hesse, Swabia, and Switzerland. The Bavarians, with a similar indulgence of their laws and manners, were less patient of a master: the repeated treasons of Tassilo justified the abolition of their existence; and their history was somewhat among the counts, who judged and guarded that important frontier. But the north of Germany, from the Rhine and beyond the Elbe, was still hostile and pagan; nor was it till after a war of thirty-three years that Saxony, covered under the yoke of Christ and of Charlemagne. The Saxon dukes and their vassals were extirpated: the foundation of eight bishoprics, of Munster, Osparburgh, Paderborn, and Minden, of Bremen, Verden, Hildesheim, and Halberstadt, define, on either side of the Weser, the bounds of ancient Saxony: these episcopal seats were the first schools and centres of that savage land; and the religion and humanity of the children awoke, in some degree, for the massacre of the parents. Beyond the Elbe, the Sclavii, or Sla-

vonians, of similar manners and various denominations, overspread the modern dominions of Prussia, Poland, and Lithuania, and a few transplants have tempted the French historian to extend the empire to the Baltic and the Vistula. The conquest or conversion of those countries is of a more recent age; but the first union of Bohemia with the Germanic body was lavishly inscribed to the arms of Charles of Hungary, or Huns of Pannonia, the same calamities which they had inflicted on the nations. Their rings, the wooden fortifications which encircled their districts and vil-

ages, were broken down by the triple effort of a French army, that was poured into their country by land and water, through the Carpathian mountains and along the plain of the Danube. After a bloody con-

flict of eight years, the loss of some French generals was avenged by the slaughter of the most noble Huns; the chief subordinates and royal residents of the chagan was left desolate and unknown; and the treasures, the rapine of two hundred and fifty years, enriched the victorious troops, or decorated the churches of Italy and Gaul. After the reduction of Pannonia, the empire of Charlemagne was bounded only by the conflux of the Danube with the Tisey and the Save; the provinces of Istria, Lurania, and Dalmatia, were an easy, though unprofitable, accession; and it was an effect of his moderation, that he left the mar-
inious cities under the real or nominal sovereignty of the Greeks. But these distant possessions added more to the reputation, than to the power, of the Latin em-

peror: nor did he risk any ecclesiastical foundations to reclaim the barbarians from their vagrant life and habits. His invincibility was now the reliance between the rivers, the Saone and the Meuse, the Rhine and the Danube, were fairly attempted. Their execution would have vindi

fied the empire; and more cost and labour were often wasted in the structure of a castle than could have been done in the construction of a small town. If we retrace the outlines of this geo-

His neighbours

graphical picture, it will be seen that the empire of the Franks extended, between east and west, from the Ebro to the Elbe or Vistula; between the north and south, from the duchy of Beneventum to the river Eyder, the perpetual boundary of Germany and Denmark. The personal and political importance of Charlemagne was magnified by the distress and division of the rest of Europe. The islands of Great Britain and Ireland were disputed by a crowd of prin-
ces of Saxon or Scottish origin; and, after the loss of Spain, the Christian and Gothic kingdom of Tar

the Chaste was confined to the narrow range of the Asturian mountains. These petty sovereigns revered the power or virtue of the Carolingian monarch, impled the honour and support of his alliance, and styling him their common parent, the sole and su-

treme hero of the Franks. The French monarch was about to maintain equal intercourse with the caliph Harun al Rashid, whose dominion stretched from Africa to India, and accepted from his ambassadors a tent, a water-clock, an elephant, and the keys of the holy sepulchre. It is not easy to conceive the private friendship of a Frank and an Arab, who were divided in language, pers-

son, and language; but their public cor-

respondence was founded on vanity, and their remote situation left no room for a competition of interest. Two-thirds of the western empire of Rome were sub-

ject to Charlemagne, and the fruit of his activity was simply supplied by his command of the inaccessible or invi-

nable nations of Germany. But in the choice of his enemies, we may be reasonably surprised that he so often preferred the poverty of the north to the riches of the south. The three and thirty campaigns labor-

ous, as the enemies of Charle-

magne. V. He retained, as the heirs of Charles

l. Schmidt, Hist. des Allemands, tom. ii. p. 290. A.


ii. For two of the names alone, see the Verh. des historisch.

museum sechstes fest, s. 1. Twace vaca comi habitationes Pannoniae, et locos in quoque caesi Caroli

filiis et successoribus, Academiae Scientiarum Croato-Slavicae, regio, tota in hac bello Hennocum nobilitat perfudit, tota gloriam decretit, annis pecunia et congressi ex longo tempore eternus, disertis erant. 

v. See Egbert, c. 14, and Guillaume, tom. ii. p. 316—317, who men-

tion, with great proceeding, the intercourse and correspondence of Charlemagne with the emperor

Egbert, the emperor's gift of his own sword, and the modern answer of his banished son. The anecdot, if genuine, would have ad

2 The junction of the Rhine and Danube was undertaken only for the service of the Pannonian war. (Gaillard, Vie de Charlemagne, tom, ii. p. 212—316.) The casual, which would have been only two leagues in length, and of which some traces are still extant in Swa-

hia, was interrupted by excessive rain, military avocations, and superhuman fears. (Charbon, Hist. de l'Academie des Inscri-

mений civilised society, and to eradicate the seed of future emigrations. But it has been wisely observed, that in a light of precaution, all conquest must be perfec-

tual, unless it could be universal; since the increa-
sing circle must be involved in a larger sphere of hos-

tility. The subjugation of Germany withdrew the veil which had so long concealed the continent or
islands of Scandinavia from the knowledge of Europe, and awakened the torpid courage of their barbarous natives. The fiercest of the Saxon Idolaters escaped from the Christian tyrant to their brethren of the north; the ocean and Mediterranean were covered with their pillar-plots; the gates of Pisa were barred against the destructive progress of the Normans, who, in less than seventy years, precipitated the fall of his race and monarchy.

Had the pope and the Romans revived upon the primitive constitution, the titles of invidiam. The and his Constantinople, the had insertion. and his successors, on each vacancy, must have ascended the throne by a formal or tacit election. But the association of his son Lewis the Pious asserts the independent right of monarchy and conquest, and the emperor seems on this occasion to have foreseen and prevented the latent claims of the clergy. The royal youth was commanded to take the crown from the altar, and with his own hands to place it on his head, as a gift which he held from God, his father, and the nation. The same ceremony was repeated, though with less energy, in the subsequent associations of Lothaire and Louis the Pious, with their power and dominions. The A. D. 813. Lewis survived his brothers, and embraced the whole empire of Charlemagne; but the nations and the nobles, his bishops and his children, quickly discerned that this mighty mass was no longer invested by the hand of God, and the foundations of the empire were undermined to the centre, while the external surface was yet fair and entire. After a war, or battle, which consumed one hundred thousand Franks, the empire was divided by treaty between his three sons, who had violated every filial and fraternal virtue.

Lothaire I. A. D. 848—855. The kingdom of Lothaire and France were forever separated; the provinces of Gaul, between the Rhone and the Alps, the Meuse and the Rhine, were assigned, with Italy, to the imperial dignity of Lothaire. In the partition of his share, Lorraine and Arles, two recent and transitory kingdoms, were bestowed on the younger children; and Lewis the second, his eldest son, was content with the realm of Italy, the proper and sufficient patrimony of a Roman emperor. On his death without any male issue, the vacant throne was disputed by his uncles and cousins, and the popes most dexterously seized the occasion of judging the claims and merits of the candidates, and of bestowing on the most obsequious, or most liberal, the imperial office of Advocate of the Roman Church. The design of the Carolingian race no longer exhibited any symptoms of virtue or power, and the ridiculous epitaph of the held, the soundest, the fondest father, and where ingenuity distinguished the same uniform and characteristic features of a crowd of kings alike deserving of oblivion. By the failure of the collateral branches, the whole inheritance devolved on Charles the Fat, the last emperor of his family; his insanity authorized the dejection of Germany, Italy, and France; he was deposed in a diet, and solicited his bready from the rebels by whose contempt his life and liberty had been spared. According to the measure of their force, the governors, the bishops, and the lords, usurped the fragments of the falling empire; and some preference was shown to the female or illegitimate blood of Charlemagne. Of the greater part, the title and the possession were alike doubtful, and the merit was adequate to the contracted scale of their dominions. Those who could appear with an army to the gates of Rome, were consequently acknowledged by the Vatican; but their modesty was more frequently satisfied with the appellation of kings of Italy; and the whole term of seventy-four years may be deemed a vacancy, from the abdication of Charles the Fat to the establishment of Otho the first.

Otho was elected king of Germany, with the sanction of the dukes of Saxony; and if he truly descended from Witikind, the adversary and proselyte of Charlemagne, the posterity of a vanquished people was exalted to reign over their conquerors. His father Henry the Fowler was elected, by the suffrage of the nation, to save and institute the kingdom of Germany. His insignia were enlarged on every side by his son, the first and greatest of the Othis. A portion of Gaul to the west of the Rhine, along the banks of the Meuse and the Moselle, was assigned to the Germans, by whose blood and language it has been tinged since the time of Caesar. Between the Palatinate of the Rhine, and the Alps, the successors of Otho acquired a vain supremacy over the broken kingdoms of Burgundy and Arles.

In the north, Christianity was propagated by the sword of Otho, the conqueror and apostle of the Slavonic nations of the Elbe and Oder; the marches of Brandenburg and Silesia were fortified with German colonies; and the king of Denmark, the dukes of Poland and Bohemia, confessed themselves his tributary vassals. At the head of a victorious army, he passed the Alps, subdued the kingdom of Italy, delivered the pope, and for ever fixed the imperial crown in the name and nation of Germany. From that memorable era, two maxims of public jurisprudence were introduced by force and ratified by time. 1. That the prince, who was elected in the German diet, acquired, from that instant, the subject kingdoms of Italy and Rome. But prudent statesmen might not legally assume the titles of emperor and Augustus, till he had received the crown from the hands of the Roman pontiff.

The imperial dignity of Charlemagne, as was announced to the east by the altar, the western and the southern emperors, was not properly a crown nor a diadem. Of his fathers, the Greek emperors, he presumed to adopt the more equal and familiar appellation of brother. Perhaps in his connexion with Irene he aspired to the name of husband; his embassy to Constantinople spoke the language of peace and friendship, and might conceal a treaty of marriage with that ambitious princess, who had renounced the most sacred duties of a mother. The nature, the duration, the probable consequences of such an union between two distant and dissolom empires, it is impossible to conjecture; but the unanimous silence of the Latins may teach us to suspect, that the report was invented by the enemies of Otho king of Germany, the emperors and aspirants to the western empire, A. D. 962.

1 He was the son of Otho, the son of Lodolph, in whose favour the emperor the ignotus, Otho, the son of Laudemont, the son of the emperor Constantine, and the son of the emperor Charlemagne. The biographer of St. Bruno, (Biblioth. Bavariensis catalog. tom. iii. p. 579) gives a splendid character of his family. Auchterlach stans ad hominum memoriam cones nobilissimis; pullus in corum stippe ignotum, nullus decenter facie repertur. (Apud Struven, Corp. Hist. German. p. 215.) Yet Gundulf! (in Henrici Anzaci) is not satisfied of his descent from Witikind.

2 See the treatise of Corningius: (De Finibus Imperii Germanici, Francorum, 1634. in 4to.) he rejects the extravagant and improper scale of the Roman and Carolingian empires, and discusses with moderation the real and probable extent of the Roman empire.

3 The power of constant force may to number Conrad I, and Henry the Fowler, in a period of empire over which was never assumed by those kings of Germany. The Italians, Muratori for instance, are more scrupulous and correct, and only reckon the princes who have been crowned with the sceptre.

4 Invidiam tamen succedit Homer, (C. P. Imperatorius super hoc ignotum, ipsam sequentem, in monachis, nomen remanens, quod ... mittere ad eos curas lerantenes, et in epistolis fratres cos appellantes. Eguhard, c. 25. p. 124.) Perhaps it was on their account, like Augustus, he affected some reluctance to receive the empire.
of Irene, to charge her with the guilt of betraying the church and state to the strangers of the west. The French ambassadors were the spectacles, and had nearly been the victims, of the conspiracy of Nicephorus, and the national hatred. Constantinople was evacuated, and the imperial palace of another Rome: a proverb, "That the Franks were good friends and had neighbours," was in every one's mouth; but it was dangerous to provoke a neighbour who might be tempted to irritate, in the church of St. Sophia, the vanity of his imperial coronation. After a tedious journey of circuit and delay, the ambassadors of Nicephorus found him in his camp, on the banks of the river Sa/na; and Charlemagne affected to confound their vanity by displaying, in a Francoven village, the pomp, or at least the pride, of the Byzantine palace. The Greeks were successively led through four halls of audience: in the first they were ready to fall prostrate before a splendid personage in a chair of state, till he informed them that he was only a servant, the constable, or master of the horse, of the emperor. The same mistake, and the same manner, were repeated in the apartments of the coast palace, then in the temple, and in the chamberlain; and their impatience was gradually heightened, till the doors of the presence-chamber were thrown open, and they beheld the genuine monarch, on his throne, enriched with the foreign luxury which Charlemagne had accumulated, and sheathed with the reverence of his victorious chiefs. A treaty of peace and alliance was concluded between the two empires, and the limits of the east and west were defined by the right of present possession. But the Greeks soon forgot this humiliating cession, and remembered it only to hate the barbarians by whom it was extorted. During the short union of virtue and power, they respectfully saluted the august Charlemagne with the acclamations of basileus, and emperor of the Romans. As soon as these qualities were separated in the person of his pious son, the Byzantine letters were inscribed, "To the king, or, as he styles himself, the emperor, of the Franks and Lombards." When both power and virtue were extinct, they despised Lewis the second of his hereditary title, and with the barbarous appellation of rex or regis, degraded him among the crowd of Latin princes. His reply is expressive of his weakness: he proves, with some learning, that both in sacred and profane history, the name of king is synonymous with the Greek word basilisk; if, at Constantinople, it were assumed in a more exclusive use, he claims the ancestors, from the first pope, a just participation of the honours of the Roman purple. The same controversy was revived in the reign of the Othos; and their ambassador describes, in lively colours, the insidious of the Byzantine court. The Greeks affected to despise the poverty and ignorance of the Franks and Saxons; and in their last decline refused to prostitute to the kings of Germany the title of Roman emperors.

1 Theophanes speaks of the conquest and sacking of Charlo, Kephalaia, (Chronograph, p. 505), and of his treaty of marriage with Irene, (p. 482) which is unknown to the Latins. Guiliard relates his rank as a pagan, (Gulielmi chronicae, Greek chaps. p. 466—468.)

2 Guiliard very properly observes, that this passage was a base infraction of the sacred representation, tom. ii. p. 631; but it is in the presence, and for the benefit, of children of a larger growth.

3 Compare, in the original texts collected by Paris, tom. iii. A.D. 812, No. 7, A.D. 924, No. 10., the contrast of Charlemagne and his son to the former the ambassador of Michael (who were indeed different men) in his letter to the emperor, and their respective reception in the palatine and exarch's apartments; to the latter, Facio imperatori Burgundorum, &c., &c.

4 See the epitope, in Paralipomena, of the anonymous writer of Salerno, (Eccles. Lat. tom. ii. par. ii. p. 234—235, c. 83—107.) when Baronius (lectiones et annales, ii. p. 479) transcribed it in his Annals.

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6 These emperors, in the election of the popes, continued to exercise the powers in the election of the popes, which had been assumed by the Gothic and Grecian princes; and the importance A.D. 899—1000, of this prerogative increased with the temporal estates and spiritual influence of ecclesiastic power. In the christian aristocracy, the principal members of the clergy still formed a sect to assist the administration, and to supply the vacancy, of the bishop. Rome was divided into twenty-eight parishes, and each parish was governed by a cardinal-priest, or presbyter, a title which, however common and modest in its origin, has aspired to emulate the purple of kings. Their number was enlarged by the association of the seven deacons of the most considerable hospitals, the seven palantine judges of the Lateran, and some dignitaries of the church. The ecclesiastical senate was directed by the seven cardinal-bishops of the Roman province, who were less occupied in the subduing dioceses of Ostia, Porto, Velitrs, Tusculum, Pranceis, Tibur, and the Sabines, than by their weekly service in the Lateran, and their superior share in the honours and dignities of the Roman empire. After the death of the pope, these bishops recommended a successor to the suffrage of the college of cardinals, and their choice was ratified or rejected by the applause or clamour of the Roman people. But the election was opposed to a previous scrutiny among the candidates, that he accepted an oath of fidelity, and confirmed the donations which had successively enriched the pontificate of St. Peter. In the frequent schisms, the rival claims were submitted to the sentence of the emperor; and in a synod of bishops he presumed to judge, to condemn, and to punish, the crimes of a guilty pontiff. Otho the first imposed a treaty on the senate and people, who engaged to prefer the candidate most acceptable to his majesty: his successors anticipated or prevented their choice: they bestowed the Roman benefice, like the bishoprics of Cologne or Bamberg, on the challengers of the office; and even would he be the merit of a Frank or Sax, his name sufficiently attests the interposition of foreign power. These acts of prerogative were most splendidly excused by the views of a popular election. The competitor was to have the reputation, and even the ancestors, from the first pope, a just participation of the honours of the Roman purple. The same controversy was revived in the reign of the Othos; and their ambassador describes, in lively colours, the insidious of the Byzantine court. The Greeks affected to despise the poverty and ignorance of the Franks and Saxons; and in their last decline refused to prostitute to the kings of Germany the title of Roman emperors.

1 The origin and progress of the title of cardinal may be found in Thomas, (Antiquitates Ital. et Germ. tom. i. p. 502—503) and in later and sacred history, (Anastasius, Italic. Med. s. viii. tom. vi. p. 130—132.)


3 In ancient times, the Roman elections were not only tumultuous, but even bloody. It is said that historical writers, either having perished, or having been lost, the selection of Odoth and fled to Lyons (Unius, p. 546), The important circumstances confirm the decree of the clergy and people of Rome as fiercely rejected by Baronius, (lectiones et annales, i. p. 121—122.) and explained by St. Marc, (Abguino, tom. i. p. 806—916, tom. iv. p. 415—417.) It is evident that historical writers, whether having perished, or having been lost, the selection of Odoth and fled to Lyons.
fluence of two sister prostitutes, Marozia and Theodora, was founded on their wealth and beauty, their political and amorous intrigues; the most strenuous of their lovers were rewarded with the Roman minre, and their reigns may have suggested to the darker ages the fabric of a female pope. The bastard son, the grand-son, and the great-grandson, of Marozia, a rare genealogy, were seated in the chair of St. Peter, and it was at the age of nineteen years that the second of these became the head of the Latin church. His youth and manhood were of a suitable complexion; and the names of arms of arms borne by them, at the charges that were urged against him in a Roman synod, and in the presence of Otho the Great. As John XII. had renounced the dress and the decencies of his profession, the soldier may not perhaps be dis

honoured by the wine which he drank, the blood that he spilled, the flames that he kindled, the licentious pursuits of gaming and hunting. His open simony might be the consequence of distress; and his blasphemous invocation of Jupiter and Venus, if it be true, could not possibly be serious. But we read with some surprise that the worthy grandson of Marozia lived in pure and unblemished virtue, the Higgins neglected of the Lateran palace was turned into a school for prostitution, and that his rapes of virgins and widows had deterred the female pilgrims from visiting the tomb of St. Peter, lest, in the devout act, they should be violated by his successors. The popes had great pleasure on these characters of antichrist; but to a philosophic eye, the views of the clergy are far less dangerous than their virtues. After a long series of scandal, the apostolic see was rent and exalted by the austerities and zeal of Gregory. He had devoted his life to the execution of two projects. I. To fix in the college of cardinals the freedom and independence of election; and for ever to abolish the right or usurpation of the emperors and the Roman people. II. To bestow and resume the temporal power, the possession of which he made a decided extension over the kings and kingdoms of the earth. After a contest of fifty years, the first of these designs was accomplished by the firm support of the ecclesiastical order, whose liberty was connected with that of their chief. But the second attempt, though it was crowned with some partial and apparent success, has been vigorously resisted by the secular power, and finally extinguished by the improvement of human reason.

In the revival of the empire of Rome, the ecclesiastics, who possessed the temporal power in the name of the people, seem to have been the only parties who could maintain the union of the two; and the Roman church was the only party who could have been the patron and defender of the empire, if the union had been attempted.

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> The reign of John IX. was distinguished by the union of the imperial and pontifical crowns, and the union of the Roman empire, and the Papal throne.

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whipped through the city, and cast into a dungeon; thirteen of the most guilty were hanged, others were imprisoned or expelled; and this was a process which was justified by the ancient laws of Theodosius and Justinian. The voice of fame has accused the second Otho of a perfidious and bloody act, the massacre of the senators, whom he had invited to his table under the fair semblance of hospitality and friendship. In the minority of his son Otho the third, Rome made a bold attempt to shake off the Saxon yoke, and the consul Crescentius was the Brutes of the republic. From the condition of a subject and an exile, he twice rose to the command of the armies, and, oppressed, expelled, and created the pCOPE, and formed a conspiracy for restoring the authority of the Greek emperors. In the fortress of St. Angelo, he maintained an obstinate siege, till the unfortunate consul was betrayed by a promise of safety: his body was suspended on a gibbet, and his head was exposed on the battlements of the castle. By a reverse of fortune, Otho, after separating his troops, was besieged three days, without food, in his palace; and a disgraceful escape saved him from the justice or fury of the Romans. The senetor Pobeny was the leader of the people, and the widow of Crescentius chief mourner for the future husband, by a poison which she administered to her imperial lover. It was the design of Otho the third to abandon the ruder countries of the north, to erect his throne in Italy, and to revive the institutions of the empire. But his successors only more in their lives appeared on the banks of the Tiber, to receive their crown in the Vatican. Their absence was contemptible, their presence odious and formidable. They descended from the Alps, at the head of their barbarians, who were strangers and enemies to the people; the traditions of the past were swept away in tumult and bloodshed. A faint reminiscence of their ancestors still tormented the Romans; and they held with pious indignation the succession of Saxons, Franks, Swabians, and Bohemians, who usurped the purple and prerogatives of the Caesars.

The Kingdom of Italy.

A.D. 774—1260.

To nature and reason than to hold in obedience remote countries and foreign nations, in opposition to their inclination and interest. A torrent of barbarians may pass over the earth, but an interest may be found in a system of policy and oppression: in the centre, an absolute power, prompt in action, and rich in resources: a swift and easy communication with the extreme parts: fortifications to check the first effect of rebellion: a regular administration to protect and punish; and a well-disciplined army to inspire fear, without provoking discontent and despair. Far different was the situation of the German Caesars, who were ambitious to enslave the kingdom of Italy. Their patrimonial estates were stretched along the Rhine, or scattered in the provinces; but this ample domain was allotted by the imprudence or distress of successive princes; and their revenue, from minute and vexatious prerogative, was scarcely sufficient for the maintenance of their household. Their troops were formed by the legal or voluntary service of their feudal vassals, who passed the Alps with reluctance, assumed the license of rapine and disorder, and capriciously deserted before the end of the campaign. Whole armies were swept away or dispersed (This influence of the climate: the survivors brought back the bones of their princes and nobles, and the effects of their own impenitence were often imputed to the treachery and malice of the Italians, who rejoiced at least in the calamities of the barbarians. This irregular tyranny might conceivably, in equal terms with the petty tyranny of Italy; nor can the people, or the reader, be much interested in the event of the quarrel. But in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Lombards rekindled the flame of industry and freedom; and the general characteristics and examples of their power are strongly briefed in the republics of Turin. In the Italian cities, music and poetry, art and literature, had never been totally abolished; and their first privileges were granted by the favour and policy of the emperors, who were desirous of erecting a plebeian barrier against the independence of the nobles. But their rapid progress, the rapid extension of their power and pretensions, were founded on the numbers and spirit of these rising communities. Each city filled the measure of its diocese or district; the jurisdiction of the counts and bishops, of the marquises and counts, was banished from the land; and the proudest title of the very largest monarchs was their submission to the sway of the Lombards—vassalage, and commons, into which the republic was divided. Under the protection of equal law, the labours of agriculture and commerce, were gradually revived; but the martial spirit of the Lombards was nourished by the presence of danger; and as often as the bell was rung, or the standard erected, the gates of the city poured forth a numerous and intrepid band, whose zeal in their own cause was soon guided by the use and discipline of arms. At the foot of these popular ramparts, the pride of the Caesars was overthrown; and the invincible genius of liberty prevailed over the two Frederic, the greatest princes of the middle age: the first, superior perhaps in military prowess; the second, who undoubtedly excelled in the softer accomplishments of peace and learning.

Ambitious of restoring the splendour of Froreder the first, of extending the sway of the Saxon emperors, the republics of Lombardy, with the arts of a statesman, the value of a soldier, and the cruelty of a tyrant. The recent discovery of the Pandects had renewed a science most favourably to despotion; and his own advocates proclaimed the emperor the absolute master of the lives and properties of his subjects. His royal prerogatives, in a less odious sense, were acknowledged in the diet of Roncaglia; and the revenue of Italy was fixed at thirty thousand pounds of silver, which were multiplied to an infinite degree by the benevolence of the fiscal officers. The suburban cities were reduced by the terror or the force of his arms: his captives were delivered to the executioner, or shot from his military engines; and, after the siege and surrender of Milan, the buildings of that
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

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state capital were razed to the ground, three hundred hostages were sent into Germany, and the inhabitants were dispersed in four villages, under the yoke of the inflexible conqueror.1 But Milan soon rose from her ashes; and the league of Lombardy was cemented by distress: their cause was espoused by Venice, pope Alexander the third, and the Greek emperor Manuel, who, in the treaty of Constance, Frederick subscribed, with some reservations, the freedom of four and twenty cities.

Frederic the second, A.D. 1250.

His grandson contended with their vigour and maturity: but Frederic the second was finally opposed by the arms of the Lombards and the thrones of the popes, who, like the ancients, possessed bodies of men, armed by a spirit which scorned the servile jurisprudence of the new or the ancient Rome. It would have been a vain and a dangerous attempt to impose a monarch on the armed freemen, who were impatient of a magistrate; on the bold, who refused to obey; on the powerful, who aspired to command. The empire of Charlemagne and Otho was distributed among the dukes of the nations or provinces, the counts of the smaller districts, and the margraves of the marches or frontiers, who all united the civil and military authority as it had been delegated to the lieutenants of the first Carolingian. The counts were soldiers of fortune, reduced their mercenary legions, assumed the imperial purple, and either failed or succeeded in their revolt, without wounding the power and unity of government. If the dukes, margraves, and counts, of Germany, were less audacious in their claims, the consequences of their success were more lasting and pernicious to the state. Instead of aiming at the supreme rank, they silently laboured to establish and appropriate their provincial independence. Their ambition was seconded by the weight of their estates and vassals, their mutual example and example of the popes. The nobility, the change of princes and families, the minority of Otho the third and Henry the fourth, the ambition of the popes, and the vain pursuit of the fugitive crowns of Italy and Rome. All the attributes of regal and territorial jurisdiction were gradually usurped by the command of the popes, the mitigating influence of concord and war, of life and death, of coinage and taxation, of foreign alliance and domestic economy. Whatever had been seized by violence, was ratified by favour or distress, was granted as the price of a doubtfull vote or a voluntary service; whatever had been granted to one, could not, without injury, be denied to his successor or equal; and every act of local or temporary possession was insensibly moulded into the constitution of the Germanic kingdom. In every province, the visible presence of the duke or count was interposed between the throne and the nobles; the obstacles of the law became the vassals of a private chief; and the standard, which he received from his sovereign, was often raised against him in the field. The temporal power of the clergy was cherished and exalted by the superstition or policy of the Carlowitzing and Saxon dynasies; who, on the recommendation and fidelity; and the bishops of Germany were made equal in extent and privilege, superior in wealth and population, to the most ample states of the military order. As long as the emperors retained the prerogative of bestowing on every vacancy these ecclesiastical and secular benefices, their cause was maintained by the gratitude or ambition of their friends and favourites. But in the quarrel of the investitures, they were deprived of their influence over the episcopal chapters; the freedom of election was restored, and the sovereign was reduced, by a solemn mockery, to his first prelates. The idea of a despot, once in his realm, was at all events bound in each church. The secular governors, instead of being recalled at the will of a superior, could be degraded only by the sentence of their peers. In the first age of the monarchy, the appointment of the son to the ducy or county of his father, was solicited as a favour; it was gradually obtained as a custom, and extended as a right: the linear succession was often extended to the collateral or female branches; the states of the empire (their popular, and at length their legal, appellation) were divided and alienated by testament and sale; and all idea of a public trust was lost. The German emperors, who usurped the titles of the Roman emperors, could not even be enriched by the casualities of forfeiture and extinction: within the term of a year, he was obliged to dispose of the vacant seat, and in the choice of the candidate, it was his duty to consult either the general or the provincial diet. After the death of Frederic the second, Germany was left a monster with a hundred heads. A crowd of princes and prelates disputed the ruins of the empire; the lords of innumerable castles were less prone to obey, than to imitate, their superiors; and, according to the measure of their strength, their inheritances received the names of conquest or robbery. Such anarchy was the inevitable consequence of the laws and manners of Europe; and the kingdoms of France and Italy were shattered into fragments by the violence of the same tempest. But the Italian cities and the French vassals were divided and destroyed, while the union of the Germanies has produced, under the name of an empire, a great system of a federative republic. In the frequent and at last the perpetual institution of diets, a national spirit was kept alive, and the powers of a common legislature are still exercised by the three branches of the diet, by the college of electors, princes, and the free and imperial cities of Germany. Seven of the most powerful feudatories were permitted to assume, with a distinguished name and rank, the exclusive privilege of choosing the Roman emperor; and these electors were the kings of Bohemia, the duke of Saxony, the elector of the Palatinate, the count palatine of the Rhine, and the three archbishops of Mentz, of Treves, and of Cologne. II. The college of princes and prelates purged themselves of a promiscuous multitude: they reduced to four representative votes, the long series of independent counts, and electoral princes, the hundred sixty thousand of whom, as in the Polish diets, had appeared on horseback in the field of election. III. The pride of birth and dominion, of the sword and the mitre, wisely adopted the commons as the third branch.
of the legislature, and, in the progress of society, they were introduced about the same era into the national assemblies of France, England, and Germany. The Hanseatic league commanded the trade and navigation of the north; the confederates of the Rhine secured the peace and intercourse of the inland country; the influence of the cities has been adequate to their wealth and policy, and their negative still invalidates the acts of the two superior colleges of electors and princes. 1

Weakened and poverty of the German empire. 

It is in the fourteenth century that we may view the statesman, the statesman, and contrast of the Roman empire of Germany, which no longer held, except on the borders of the Rhine and Danube, a single province of Trapani or Constantine. Their unworthy successors were the counts of Hapsburgh, of Nassau, of Luxembourgh, and of Schwarzeburgh. The emperor Henry the seventh pre-emured for his son the crown of Bohemia, and his grandson Charles the fourth was born among a people strange and barbarous in the estimation of the Germans themselves. 2 After the execrations of Lewis of Bavaria, the reception of the gift or promise of the vacant empire from the Roman pontiffs, who, in the exile and captivity of Avignon, affected the dominion of the earth. The death of his competitors united the electoral college, and Charles was unanimously saluted king of the Romans, and emperor; a title which in the same epoch was prostituted to the Caesars of Germany and Greece. The German emperor was more than the elective and impotent magistracy of an aristocracy of princes, who had not left him a village that he might call his own. His best prerogative was the right of presiding and proposing in the national senate, which was consoled at his summons; and his native kingdom of Bohemia, less opulent than the adjacent city of Nuremburgh, was the firmest seat of his power and the richest source of his revenue. The army by which he passed the Alps consisted of three hundred horse. In the cathedral of St. Ambroise, Charles was crowned with the iron crown, which tradition ascribed to the Lombard monastery; but he was admitted only with a peacefull train; the gates of the city were shut upon him; and the king of France was a captive by the hands of the Visconti to whom he confirmed in the sovereignty of Milan. In the Vatican he was again crowned with the golden crown of the empire; but, in obedience to a secret treaty, the Roman emperor immediately withdrew, without reproosing a single night within the walls of Rome. 3 Petrarch and Boccaccio revivified the visionary glories of the capital, deplores and upbraids the ignominious flight of the Bohemian: and even his contemporaries could observe, that the sole exercise of his authority was in the lucrative sale of privileges and titles. The gold of Italy secured the election of his son; but such was the shameful poverty of the Roman emperor, that his person was arrested by a butcher in the streets of Worms, and was detained in the public inn, as a pledge or hostage for the payment of his expenses.

For this manly scene, let us, 

A.D. 1355.

Contrast of the two Caesars. 

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For this manly scene, let us, 

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the character of a private Roman; and his most artful flatterers respected the secret of his absolute and perpetual monarchy.

CHAPTER XI.

Description of Arabia and its inhabitants.—Birth, character, and doctrine of Mohamet.—He preaches at Mecca.—Flies to Medina.—Propagates his religious notion with the sword.—Voluntary or reluctant submission of the Arabs.—His death and successors.—The claims and fortunes of All All and the Kazzars.

After pursuing above six hundred years the fleeting Chariots of Constantiopole and Germany, I now descend, in the reign of Heraclius, on the eastern borders of the Greek monarchy. While the state was exhausted by the Persian war, and the church was distracted by the Nestorian and Monophysitische sects, Mahomet, in the sword, in one hand, and the Koran in the other, erected his throne on the ruins of Christianity and of Rome. The genius of the Arabian prophet, the manners of his nation, and the spirit of his religion, involve the causes of the decline and fall of the eastern empire; and our eyes are curiously intent on one of the most curious events of the world. The ancient word has impressed a new and lasting character on the nations of the globe.

Description of Arabia.

In the vacant space between Persia, Russia, Egypt, and Ethiopia, the Arabian peninsula may be conceived as a triangle of spacious but barren soil; bounded on the northern point of Beleor on the Ephrates, a line of fifteen hundred miles is terminated by the straits of Babelmandel and the land of frankincense. About half this length may be allowed for the middle breadth, from east to west, from Bassor to Nasz, from the Persian gulf to the Indian ocean; and the whole breadth, from north to south, has been greatly increased; and the southern basin presents a front of a thousand miles to the Indian ocean. The entire surface of the peninsula exceeds in a fourfold proportion that of Germany or France; but the far greater part has been justly stigmatized with the epithets of the desert and the sandy; for the climate is warm and unhealthy.

Tartary are decked, by the hand of nature, with lofty trees and luxuriant herbage; and the lonesome traveller derives a sort of comfort and society from the presence of vegetable life. But in the dreary waste of Arabia, a boundless level of sand is intersected by sharp and naked mountains; and the face of the desert, without the shelter of sky, is entirely open to the direct and intense rays of the tropical sun. Instead of refreshing breezes, the winds, particularly from the south-west, diffuse a molasses and even deadly vapour; the hillocks of sand which they alternately raise and scatter, are compared to the billows of the ocean, and whole caravans, which advance, have been lost and buried in the whirlwind. The common benefits of water are an object of desire and contest; and such is the scarcity of wood, that some art is requisite to preserve and propagate the element of fire. Arabia is desolate of navigable rivers, which fertilize the soil, and convey its produce to the adjacent remote nations; the torrents that fall from the hills are impeded by the thirsty earth: the rare and hardy plants, the tamarind or the acacia, that strike their roots into the clefts of the rocks, are nourished by the dews of the night: a scanty supply of water, the rarest of earthly treasures, and the peculiar gifts of frankincense, wine, coffee, which have rolled over a bed of sulphur or salt. Such is the general and genuine picture of the climate of Arabia. The traveller returns with the experience that for a future time, national or partial enjoyments. A shady grove, a green pasture, a stream of fresh water, are sufficient to attract a colony of sedentary Arabs to the fortunate spots which can afford food and refreshment to themselves and their cattle, and which encourage their industry in the cultivation of the palm-tree and the vine. The high and sandy lands which border on the Indian ocean are distinguished by their superior plenty of wood and water; the air is more temperate, the fruits are more delicious, the animals and the human race more numerous; the fertility of the soil invites and rewards the toil of the husbandman; and the peculiar gifts of frankincense, wine, and coffee have attracted in different ages the merchants of the world. If it be compared with the rest of the peninsula, this sequestered region may truly deserve the appellation of the happy; and the splendid beauty and perfection of the landscape, the freshness of the air, the perfect health of the climate, the incomparable blessings of luxury and innocence were ascribed to the natives; the soil was impregnated with gold and gems, and both the land and sea were supposed to exhale the most refreshing of the mists; this earthly paradise that nature had reserved her choicest favours and her most curious workmanship; and her inimitable beauty was never to be seen, should scarcely retain a vestige of its ancient geography. The maritime districts of Bohrein and Oman are opposed to the realm of Persia. The kingdom of Yemen displays the limits, or at least the situation, of Arabia Felix; the name of Negdiff is extended over the desert; and the land of Mahomet has illustrated the province of Hezaj along the coast of the Red Sea.

In the thirty days, or stations, between Cairo and Mecca, there are fifteen destitute of good water. See the route of the Hadjees, in Shaw's Travels, p. 477.

This constitutes, especially the thurif or frankincense, of Arabia, occupy the twelfth book of Pinus. Our great poet (Paradise Lost, 1.) Theodore (1. 388; 4. 246) introduces, in travelling over the desert of Arabia Felix, by the north-east wind from the Saharan coast. Many a longed-for pleasure with the grateful scents of old Ocean smiles. (Pinn. Hist. Nat., xiii. 42.)

A dcathless plant, with much superb learning. 1 That Name is the thurif, is that, and the mention of the Arabian name, the name of Mabruk, the Arabic name of Petreol. (Oxon. 1659, in fac.) The thirty pages of text and version

1 Petri. 1. 188; 4. 246.
The measure of population is regulated by the means of subsistence; and the inhabitants of this vast peninsula might be outstripped by the subjects of a fertile and industrious province. Along the shores of the Persian gulf, of the ocean, and even of the Red sea, the ichthyophagi, or fish-eaters, and the bedouin, vagabond in quest of their pretious food, in this primitive and abject state, which ill deserves the name of society, the human brute, without arts or laws, almost without sense or language, is powerfully distinguished from the rest of the animal creation. Generations and ages might roll away in silent oblivion, and the bedouin, savage with his hawks restrained from multiplying his race, by the wants and pursuits which confined his existence to the narrow margin of the sea-coast. But in a early period of antiquity the great body of the Arabs had emerged from this scene of misery, and as the mixed wildness could not maintain a people of hunters, they rose at once to the more secure and plentiful condition of the pastoral life. The same life is uniformly pursued by the roving tribes of the desert; and in the portrait of the modern Bedouena, we may trace the features of those who, in the time of Moses, Necho, and Solomon, dwelt under similar tents, and conducted their horses, and camels, and sheep, to the same springs and the same pastures. Our toil is lessened, and our wealth is increased, by our dominion over the useful animals; and the Arabian shepherd had acquired the abode of the pastoral life. The beast of burden, slave.

Arabia, in the opinion of the naturalist, is the genuine and original country of the horse; the climate most propitious, not indeed to the size, but to the spirit and swiftness, of that generality. The merit of the Barb, the Spanish, and the English breed, is derived from a mixture of Arabian blood: the Bedouens preserve, with superstitions care, the honours and the memory of the purest race: the males are sold at a high price, but the females are seldom alienated; and the birth of a noble foal was esteemed, among the Bedouens, as a subject of joy and mutual congratulation. These horses are educated in the tents, among the children of the Arabs, with a tender familiarity, which trains them in the habits of gentleness and attachment. They are accustomed only to walk and to gallop; their sensations are not felt by the incessant action of the whip: their powers are reserved for the moments of flight and pursuit; but no sooner do they feel the touch of the hand or the stirrup, than they dart away with the swiftness of the wild; and if their friend be distant, they instantly stop, till they have recovered his seat. The sands of Africa and Arabia is a sacred and precious gift. That strong and patient beast ofburthen can perform, without eating or drinking, a journey of several days; and a reservoir of fresh water is preserved in a large bag, a fifth stomach of the animal, whose body is imprinted with the marks of servitude: the larger breed is capable of transporting a weight of a thousand pounds; and the dromedary, of a lighter and more active frame, outstrips the fleetest courser in the race. Alive or dead, almost without reverence, the beast of burden is tendered in quest of their pretious food. The beast of prey, the hunter himself, who was fond of milk, prefers the cow, and does not condone the use of the camel; but the milk of Merca and Mecca, the most ancient and populous cities, was already more luxurious. (Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii., p. 406.)

Yet an essential difference may be found between the horaces of Scythia and Arabia. The Bedouen of the desert, whose chief food were collected into towns, and employed in the labours of trade and agriculture. A part of their time and industry was still devoted to the management of their cattle: they mingled, in peace and war, with their brethren of the desert; and the Bedouena derived from their descent, the Semitic genius, the supplies of their wants, and some rudiments of art and knowledge. Among the forty-two cities of Arabia, enumerated by Abulfeda, the most ancient and populous were situated in the happy Yemen; the towers of Saman, and the marvelous reservoir of Meah; constructed by the kings of the Homeries: but their profane lustre was eclipsed by the prophetical glories of Medina and Mecca, near the Red sea, and at the distance from each other of two hundred and seventy miles. The Mecca: last of these holy places was known to the Greeks and Romans, by the spot of the original pilgrimage; and the termination of the word is expressive of its greatness, which has not indeed, in the most flourishing period,

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exceeded the size and popolousness of Marseilles. Some latent motive, perhaps of superstition, must have impelled the founders, in the choice of a most improper situation. They erected their habitations of mud or stone, in conical forms, of which the scars, the walls broad, at the foot of three barren mountains: the soil is a rock; the water even of the holy well of Zemzem is bitter or brackish; the pastures are remote from the city; and grapes are transported above seventy miles from the gardens of Tayef. The fame and spirit of the Korishites, whose freedom was designated in Meccan popular and conspicuous among the Arabian tribes; but their ungrateful soil refused the labours of agriculture, and their position was favourite to the enterprises of trade. By the sea-port of Gedda, at the distance only of forty miles, they maintained an easy correspondence with Abyssinia; and that Christian kingdom afforded the first refuge to the disciples of Mahomet. The treasures of Africa were conveyed over the peninsula of Gerra or Katif, in the province of Bahrein, a city built, as it is said, of rock-salt, by the Chaldæans:2 and from thence, with the activity of a people naturally addicted to trade, were loaded on mules to the mouth of the Euphrates. Mecca is placed almost at an equal distance, a month's journey, between Yemen on the right, and Syria on the left hand. The former was the winter, the latter the summer, station of her caravans; and their seasonable arrival relieved the people of the tedious toil of the tedious navigation of the Red sea. In the markets of Sanaa and Merah, in the harbours of Oman and Aden, the camels of the Koreshites were laden with a precious cargo of aromatics; a supply of corn and manufactures was purchased in the fairs of Bostra and Damascus. The lucrative exchange was attended with pleasure and Richard in the streets of Mecca; and the noblest of her sons united the love of arts with the profession of mercade,3

National indep. The perpetual independence of the Arabs has been the theme of praise or execration among strangers and natives; and the arts of controversy transform this singular event into a tragedy and a miracle, in favour of the posterity of Ismael.4 Some exceptions, that can neither be dismissed nor eluded, render this mode of reasoning as indirect as it is superfluous; the kingdom of Yemen has been suggested for the support of the Homerys in the Persians, the sultans of Egypt, and the Turks:5 the holy cities of Mecca and Medina have repeatedly bowed under a Scebian tyrant; and the Roman province of Arabia6 embraced the peculiar wilderness in which

1. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 411. See one of these salt houses near Eissora, in Diderot, Biblot., Orient, p. 6.
3. A marvellous doctor (Universal Hist. vii. xx. ec虚空 escholion) has often cited the greatness of Christianity by the independence of the Arabs. A crisis, civil; the exceptions of fact, might diminish the truth to the text. (Graec. vi. 15.) The extent of the application, and the foundation of the pedigree.
5. D'Herbelot, B. (A. D. 1334) and Selim II. (1583.) See Cantiour's History of the Ommains, p. 141, 242. The proofs, which rested on Sassa, commanded twenty one bow long before was even remitted to the Porte, (Massigni, State Mairte dell' Imperio Ommoun. p. 124;) and the Turks were expelled about the year 1400. (Vid. Iran.)
6. Of the Roman province, under the name of Arabia, and the third Palaestina, the first part the most remote; and the second from their area from the year 105, when they were subdued by Palom, a lieutenant of Trajan. (Omn. Cosma, l. xiv. 1.) The capital of Arabia has always been the same, because was founded the city of the sons of Israel, (Gen. xxv. 12, &c. with the Commentaries of Jerome, Lib. xxxv. 1. 1.) Arabia Felix, the name which has been given to the countries, lying on the borders of the Red sea, from two to ten days' journey to the south of Ejah, (Procop. de Bell. Pers. 1. 1. c. 10.) The Ejahs and the sons of the common population of Arabia, (Arbain in Perigo Maria Erastos, p. 11, in Husson, tom. 1.) at a place (Pliny, Hist. Nat. vi. 38.) Pagus Albus Harward in the territory of Medina. (D'Anville, Memoire sur Egypte, p. 455.) These real genealogies, and some naval invasions of Taim, (Perigli, p. 14, 15,) are magnified by history and medallists into the Roman conquest of Arabia.

7. A Nebuchad, Description de l'Arihie, p. 309, 390, 329—33!) affords the next most authentic intelligence of the Turkish empire in Arabia.

8. Diodore Siculus, con. l. xiv. p. 250—254, edit. Weiske. He had clearly engaged in the 'free state' of the Nezah, which now restored the arms of Antiquus and his sons (Strabo, l. xvi., ed. 1773) of which the whole has been in the hands of Reza, and named in a thousand miles from the part of Yemen between Mea and Marz and the ocean. The name of Dezele is the same, but the form of writing has been changed. (Om. ed. 161.) See the Imper. of Reza, (Om. ed. 151.) The name of the same name of the same foreigner, and the latter part of the region of Medina. (Om. ed. 151.) and in the most lively colours, by Ammianus Marcellinus, (l. xiv. c. 4.) who had spoken of them as early as the time of Marcus.
The Greeks and Latins, under the general appellation of Saracens, a name which every christian mouth has been taught to pronounce with terror and abhorrence.

Their doctrine.

The slaves of domestic tyranny may in freedom vaine extoll in their national independant and character. 1 and he enjoys, in some degree, the benefits of society, with little capacity for more. In every tribe, superstition, or gratitude, or fortune, has exalted a particular family above the heads of their equals. The dignities of sheich and emir invariably descend in this chosen race; but the order of succession is loose and precarious; and the most worthy or aged of the noble kinship are preferred to the simple, though important, office of composing disputes by their advice, and guiding valour by their example. Even a female of sense and spirit has been permitted to command the countrymen of Zonobas. 2 The momentary junction of several tribes produces an army; their more lasting union of the tribe as a whole, the emir of emirs, whose banner is displayed at their head, may despair, in the eyes of strangers, the honours of the kingly name. If the Arabian princes abuse their power, they are quickly punished by the desertion of their subjects and of their heralds, or by the operation of the local and personal jurisdiction. Their spirit is free, their steps are unconfined, the desert is open, and the tribes and families are held together by a mutual and voluntary compact. The softer nations of Yemen supported the pomp and majesty of a monarch; but if he could not love or forget his subjects, and were not permitting the precarious existence of his vassals, the active powers of government must have been devoted on his nobles and magistrates. The cities of Mecca and Medina present, in the heart of Asia, the form, or rather the substance, of a commonwealth.

The grandfather of Mahomet, and his lineal ancestors, appalled and domesticated the original savages as the princes of their country; but they reigned, like Pericles at Athens, or the Medici at Florence, by the opinion of their wisdom and integrity; their influence was divided with their patrimony; and the sceptre was transferred from the necks of the prophet to a younger branch of the tribe norovish. On such occasions, they convened the assembly of the people; and since mankind must be either compelled or persuaded to obey, the use and reputation of oratory among the ancient Arabs is the clearest evidence of public freedom. The force of the popular votes, their power of freedom was of a very different cast from the nice and artificial machinery of the Greek and Roman republics, in which each member possessed an undivided share of the civil and political rights of the community. In the mere simple state of the Arabs, the nation is free, because each of her sons disdains a base submission to the will of a master. His breast is fortified with the austere virtues of courage, patience, and sobriety; the love of independence prompts him to exercise the habits of self-command; and the fear of dishonour guards him from the intemperance of cupidity, danger, and of death. The gravity and firmness of the mind is conspicuous in his outward demeanour: his speech is slow, weighty, and concise, he is seldom provoked to laughter, his only gesture is that of stroking his beard, or fanning his face, and his moderate self-esteem, sense of his own importance teaches him to accost his equals without levity, and his superiors without awe. 3 The liberty of the Saracens survived their conquests: the first caliphs indulged the bold and familiar language of their subjects; they ascended the pulpit to persuade and edify them. 4 Their honours were increased by their arms, and by the possession of the throne which was the first before the empire was removed to the Tigris, that the Abbassides adopted the proud and pompous ceremonial of the Persian and Byzantine courts.

In the study of nations and men, we find the laws of war and may observe the causes that render them so discreditable. Hostile and friendly to each other, this fate to narrow or enlarge, to mollify or exasperate, the social character. The separation of the Sarracens from the rest of mankind, has accustomed them to confound the ideas of stranger and enemy together, and even to have considered Mahomet as the successor of Moyses. This spirit, and the want of the outlaws, the fright of the enemy, the fatigues of the campaign, and the rule of the Persian service, have produced a maxim of jurisprudence, which they believe and practise to the present hour. They pretend, that in the division of the earth, the rich and fertile countries were assigned to the other branches of the human family; and that the poorness of the outlaws Israel might create, by their pressure, the portion of the Sarracens, which was the inheritance of which he had been unjustly deprived. According to the remark of a Persian, no people have been equally addicted to that of commerce; the caravans which traverse the desert are ransomed or pillaged; and their neighbours, since the remote times of Job and Solomon, have been confined to the east and west, or to the limits of a very distant desert, in want of the vessels and the personal wealth. The life is a solitary traveller, he rides furiously against him, crying, with a loud voice, "Undress thyself, thy aunt (my wife) is not without a garment." A ready submission entitles him to mercy; resistance will provoke the aggressor, and his own blood must express the blood which he presumes to shed in legitimate defence. A single robber, or a few associates, are branded with their genuine name; but the exploits of a numerous band assume the character of a lawful and proper war; and the motives of a very great and justifiable passion against mankind, was doubly inflamed by the domestic licence of rapine, murder, and revenge. In the constitution of Europe, the right of peace and war is now confined to a small number, and the actual exercise to a small number of representatives most of the European states. Each state, which is the object of envy, and which can boast of a national character, is doomed to the spoils of war. In the Sarracens, an obscure tribe on the borders of Egypt. The appellation cannot therefore attach to any national character, and, since it was inspired by strangers, it must be found, not in the Arabic, but in a foreign language. 5

Saracens, ... multitude alien in essesence (Explication totius Mundii, p. 3, in Hudson, tom. ii.) The reign of Mecca is famous in the桉lock. Specimen, p. 15).

1 D'Arvieux, &c. ... see in the report of Agatharchides, (de Mari Raporibus, tom. i. p. 37. p. 215.) and Strabo, (l. xvi. p. 1121.) But I much suspect that this is not the true state of things, though we are haunted by the reports of travellers, or on reports, of the fact, a custom, and a law.

2 Non gloriosus antiquius Arabus, nisi gladius, hospitum, et eloquen... (Theophylactus, ad Pocock, Specimen, p. 161, 162.) This gift of Saracens is the most obnoxious to the vanity of the conquerors.

3 He was the first caliph of the Abbassides, and the second of the Saracens. He had the charge of the guards of the shepherds, they had formerly subdued Egypt. (Narram, Canon, Chron. p. 82–84.)

4 Of the immediate successors, see the account of D'Arvieux, 1209, (D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 73.) The two historians who wrote the Aymon Arab, (D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 73.) under the name of Bworn, the shepherds kings, they had formerly subdued Egypt. (Narram, Canon, Chron. p. 82–84.)

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judge and avenger of its own cause. The nice sensibility of honour, which weighs the insult rather than the injury, sheds its deadly venom on the quarrels of the Arabs of every age: but in bearded, is most easily wounded; an indelict action, a contemptible word, can be expiated only by the blood of the offender; and such is their patient inveteracy, that they expect whole months and years the opportunity of revenge. A fine or compensation for murder is familiar to the barbarians of every age: but in Arabia the kinsmen of the dead are at liberty to accept the atonement, or to exercise with their own hands the law of retaliation. The refined malice of the Arabs refuses even the hand of the murderer, substitutes an innocent to the guilty person, and transfers the penalty to a third person. As the death was observed by the Arabs before the time of Mahomet, during which their swords were religiously sheathed both in foreign and domestic hostility; and this partial truce is more strongly expressive of the habits of anarchy and warfare.

Their social qualifications and virtues. But the spirit of rapine and revenge was attempted by the milder influence of trade and literature. The solitary peninsula is encompassed by the most civilised nations of the ancient world: the merchant is the friend of mankind: and the annual caravans imported the first seeds of knowledge and politeness into the cities, and even the camps, of the desert. Whatever may be the pedigrees of the Arabs, their language is derived from the same original stock with the Hebrew, the Syriac, and the Chaldean tongues: the independence of the tribes was marked by their peculiar dialects; but the tribes are entitled to that name which the pure and perspicuous idiom of Mecca. In Arabia, as well as in Greece, the perfection of language outstripped the refinement of manners; and her speech could diversify the fourscore names of honey, the two hundred of a serpent, the five hundred of a lion, the thousand of a carcase; and her daughter the Bithynian was intrusted to the memory of a illustrious people. The monuments of the Homerites were inscribed with an obsolete and mysterious character; but the Cufic letters, the ground-work of the present alphabet, were invented on the banks of the Euphrates; and the recent invention was taught at Mecca by a stranger who settled in that city after the birth of Mahomet. The arts of grammar, of metre, and of rhetoric, were unknown to the free-born eloquence of the Arabs: but their penetration was sharp, their fancy luxuriant, their wit strong and savetentious; and their

more elaborate compositions were addressed with energy and effect to the minds of their heart-rending, love-parched, or converted. The genius and merit of a singing poet was a golden cord, binding to himself and the kindred tribes. A solemn banquet was prepared, and a chorus of women, striking their tambourines, and displaying the pomp of their ornaments, sung in the presence of their sons and husbands the felicity of their native tribe; that a champion had now appeared to vindicate their rights; that a herald had raised his voice to immortalize their renown. The distant or hostile tribes resorted to an annual fair, which was abolished by the fanaticism of the first Moslems; a national assembly that must have contributed to refine and harmonise the barbarians. Thirty days were employed in the exchange of language, not only the written, but of eloquence and poetry. The prize was disputed by the generous emulation of the hards; the victorious performance was deposited in the archives of princes and emirs; and we may read in our own language, the seven original poems which were inscribed in letters of gold, and suspended in the temple of Mecca. The Arabian poets were the historians and moralists of the age; and if they sympathized with the prejudices, they inspired and crowned the virtues, of their countrymen. The indivisible union of generosity and valour was the darling theme of their song; and when they attempted to satire against the attenuated power, they affirmed, in the bitterness of reproach, that the men knew not how to give, nor the Examples of women to deny. The same hospitality, generosity, which was practised by Abraham, and celebrated by Homer, is still renewed in the camps of the Arabs. The feroce Bedouins, the terror of the desert, embrace, without inquiry or hesitation, the stranger who dares to confide in their honour and to enter their tent. His treatment is kind and respectful; he shares the wealth, or the poverty, of his host; and, after a needful repose, he is dismissed on his way, with thanks, with blessings, and perhaps with gifts. The heart and hand are more largely expanded by the wants of a brother or a friend; and the heroic acts that could deserve the public applause, must have surpassed the narrow measure of discretion and experience. A dispute had arisen, who, among the citizens of Mecca, were of the purest blood of the stock of Mecca; and a wise application was made to the three who were deemed most worthy of the title. Abdullah, the son of Abbas, had undertaken a distant journey, and his foot was in the stirrup when he heard the voice of a suppliant, *O son of the uncle of the apostle of God,* which disturbed him in his travel. He dismounted, to present the pilgrim with his camel, her rich caparison, and a purse of four thousand pieces of gold, excepting only the sword, either for its intrinsic value, or as the gift of an honoured kinsman. The servant of Kaiss informed the second suppliant that his master was asleep; but he immediately added, *here is a purse of seven thousand pieces of gold, (it is all) we have in the house,* and here is an order, that will entitle you to a camel and a slave:**The master, as soon as he awoke, praised and eulogisned his faithful steward with a gentle reproof, that his respecting his slumbers he had stinted his bounty. The third of these heroes, the blind Arabah, at the hour of prayer, was supporting his steps on the shoulders of two slaves. **Alas!** he replied, *my coffers are empty! If God, to prove the natural sagacity of the Arabs, (D’Arbequ. Biblio. Orient, p. 120, 121. Gaugler, Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. p. 27—46.) but of their rudeness, or rather their want of a noble fancy, are observed. ( Specimen, p. 150—153.)”

*Specimen* (p. 150—153.)”

*See the Preliminary Discourse, p. 29, 30.*

1. For a familiar tale in Voltaire’s Zadig (de Chiel et de Cheval) is re-
The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire

Chapter XI

... but these you may sell; if you refuse, I renounce them." At these words, pushing away the youths, he gaped along the wall with his staff. The character of Hatem is the perfect model of Arabic virtue; he was brave and liberal, an eloquent poet, and a successful robber: forty camels were rustled at his hospitable feast; and at the prayer of a supplemental vow, he restored both the captives and the spoil. The freedom of his countrymen disdained the laws of justice; they proudly indulged the spontaneous impulse of pity and benevolence.

The religion of the Arabs, as well as that of the Hebrews, consisted in the worship of the sun, the moon, and the fixed stars; a primitive and specious mode of superstition. The bright luminaries of the sky display the visible image of the Deity: their number and distance convey to a philosopher, or even a vulgar, eye, the idea of boundless space; the character of eternity is marked on these solid globes, that seem incapable of corruption or decay: the regularity of their motions may be ascribed to a principle of reason or instinct; and their real or imaginary influence encourages the vain belief that the earth and its inhabitants are the object of their power or benevolence. The science of astronomy was cultivated at Babylon; but the school of the Arabs was a clear firmament and a naked plain. In their nocturnal marches, they steered by the guidance of the stars: their names, and order, and daily station, were familiar to them. The devotion of the Bedouins, who was taught by experience to divide in twenty-eight parts the zodiac of the moon, and to bless the constellations that refreshed, with salutary rains, the thirst of the desert. The reign of the heavenly orbs could not be extended beyond the visible sphere; and some metaphysical powers were necessary to sustain the transmigration of souls and the resurrection of bodies: a camel was left to perish on the grave, that he might serve his master in another life; and the invocation of departed spirits implies that they were still endued with consciousness and power. I am ignorant, and I am ashamed, of the rise of the idolatry on the historian; of the local deities, of the stars, the air, and the earth, of their sex or titles, their attributes, or subordination. Each tribe, each family, each independent warrior, created and changed the rites and the object of his faith, was subject to the nearest and most sacred obligation to the religion, as well as to the language, of The Caaba or Mecca. The genuine antiquity of the temple of Mecca. CAABA ascends beyond the Christian era; in describing the coast of the Red sea, the Greek historian Diiodorus has remarked, between the Thamudites and the Sabaeans, a famous temple, whose superior sanctity was revered by all the Arabs; the lien or silken veil, which is annually renewed by the Turkish emperor, was first offered by a pious king of the Homerites, who reigned seven hundred years before the time of Mohomet. A tent, or a cavern, might suffice for the worship of the savages, but an edifice of stone and cay has been erected in its place; and the art and power of the monarchs of the east have been confined to the simplicity of the original model. A spacious portico includes the quadrangle of the Caaba; a square chapel, twenty-four cubits long, twenty-three broad, and twenty-seven high; a door and a window admit the light; the double roof is supported by three pillars of wood: a spout (now of gold) discharges the rain-water, and the well Zemzem is protected by a dome from accidental pollution. The tribe of Korish, by fraud or force, had acquired the custody of the Caaba; the sacred idol was devolved to them, without dispute, by the old Caaba, or home; and the family of the Hashemites, from whence he sprung, was the most respectable and sacred in the eyes of their country. The precursors of Mecca enjoyed the rights of sanctuary; and, in the last month of each year, the city and temple were crowded with a long train of pilgrims, who petted with their vows and offerings in the house of God. The same rites, which are now accomplished by the faithful musulman, were invented and practised by the superstition of the idolaters. At an awful distance they cast away their garments: seven times, with hasty steps, they encir- cled the stone; seven times they rubbed their faces, seven times they visited and adored the adjacent mountains; seven times they threw stones into the valley of Minna: and the pilgrimage was achieved, as at the present hour, by a sacrifice of sheep and camels, and the burial of a white ram. Each tribe either found or introduced in the Caaba their domestic worship: the temple was adorned, or defiled, with three hundred and sixty gods of men, eagles, lions, and antelopes; and most conspicuous was the statue of Hebel, of red agate, holding in his hands the image of the Arab idol, with the instruments and symbols of profane divination. But this statue was a monument of Syrian arts: the devotion of the ruder ages was content with a pillar or a tablet: and the rocks of the desert were hewn into gods or altars, in imitation of the black stone of Mecca, which is deeply tainted with the reproach of an iodolatrous origin. From Japan to Sacrifices and Peru, the use of sacrifice has univers- ally prevailed; and the vorry has expressed his gratitude, or fear, by destroying, or consuming, in honour of his deity, a portion of the earth, of the air, or of the gifts. The life of a man is the most precious ob- lation to deprecate a public calamity: the altars of Phoe- nicia and Egypt, of Rome and Carthage, have been polluted with human gore: the cruel practice was long preserved among the Arabs; in the third century, a boy was annually sacrificed by the tribune of the Mna- tians; and a royal captive was piously slaughtered by the prince of the Saracens, the ally and soldier of...
the emperor Justinian. A parent who dragged his son to the altar, exhibits the most painful and sublime effort of fanaticism: the deed, or the intention, was sanctified by the example of saints and heroes; and the father of Mahomet himself was devoted by a rash vow to the worship of the freedom of his three red camels. In the time of ignorance, the Arabs, like the Jews and Egyptians, abstained from the taste of swine's flesh; they circumcised their children at the age of puberty: the same customs, without the censure or the pretext of the Koran, have been silently transmitted from age to age. It is more simple to believe that he adhered to the habits and opinions of his youth, without foreseeing that a practice congenial to the climate of Mecca, might be useful as an inconsiderant on the banks of the Danube or the Volga.

Introduction of Arabia was free; the adjacent kingdoms were shaken by the storms of conquest and tyranny, and the persecuted sects fled to the happy land where they might profess what they thought. The Mahometan religion, and the religious sects and combinations of the Sabians and Magians, of the Jews and Christians, were disseminated from the Persian gulf to the Red sea. In a remote period of antiquity, Sabianism was diffused over Asia by the science of the Chaldeans and the arts of the Assyrians. From the observation of the heavenly bodies, and the supposed signs of the planets, the Arabian astronomers deduced the eternal laws of nature and providence. They admired the seven gods, or angels, who directed the course of the seven planets, and shed their irresistible influence on the earth. The attributes of the seven planets, with the twelve signs of the zodiac, and the twenty-four constellations of the northern and the southern skies, were represented by images and talismans; the seven days of the week were dedicated to their respective deities: the Sabians prayed three days each day; and the temple of the moon at Haran was the term of their pilgrimage. But the religious genius of their faith was always ready either to bear or to lend: in the course of the tradition, the deluge, and the patriarchs, they held a singular agreement with their brethren; they secretly approached the secret books of Adam, Seth, and Enoch; and a slight misgiving of the gospel has transmuted the last remnant of the polytheists into the Christians of Syria, in our day.

Persians, and Sabians, and Jews, and Arabians were uprooted by the Magians: but the injuries of the Sabians were revenged by the sword of Alexander; Persia groaned above fifty hundred years under a foreign yoke; and the purest disciples of Zoroaster escaped from the contagion of idolatry, and breathed with their adversaries the freedom of the earth five hundred years before the death of Mahomet. The Jews, the Mahometans dispersed their phantastic opinions and apocryphal gospels; the churches of Yemen, and the princes of Hera and Sassan, were instructed in a pure creed by the Jacobite and Nestorian bishops. The Sabians presented the library of the Chaldean and the Sabian books to the Arab, who was free to elect or to compose his private religion: and the rude superscription of his house was mingled with the sublime theology of sages and philosophers. A fundamental article of faith was inculcated by the consent of the learned strangers; the existence of God, who is exalted above the powers of heaven and earth, but who has often revealed himself to mankind by the ministry of his angels and prophets, and whose grace or justice has interrupted, by seasonable miracles, the order of nature. The most rational of the Arabs acknowledged his power, though they neglected his word; and it was habit rather than conviction to express their attachment to the Chaldean or Sabian god of idolatry. The Jews and Christians were the people of the book; the Bible was already translated into the Arabic language; and the volume of the Old Testament was accepted by the censuses of these implacable enemies. In the story of the Hebrew patriarchs, the Arabs were pleased to discover the fathers of their nation. They applauded the bimbs and promises of Ismael; revered the faith and virtue of Abraham; traced their pedigrees and their own to the creation of the first man, and imbued with equal credit the prodigies of the holy text, and the dreams and traditions of the Jewish rabbi.

Queens, (de Bell. Persico, l. c. c. 55.) and Pococke, (Voyage, p. 72, 75.) attest the human sacrifices of the Arabs in the sixth century. The danger and escape of Abbasin, (Herodot. p. 14; Belon, ii. c. 21.) is a tradition rather than a fact, (Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. iv. p. 82—84.)

1. Sabine carries abstinence, says Suidas, (Physicata, c. 53,) who copies Pliny (v. viii, 60.) in the strange supposition, that horses cannot live in Arabia. The Egyptians were actuated by a natural and superstitious horror for that unclean beast. (Marsham, Canon, p. 205.)

2. The old Arabsians likewise practised, post coitum, the rite of abstinence, (Herodot. l. i. c. 53,) which is sanctioned by Jewish law, (Kedem, Belon, p. 72, &c.) or rather by the Malakh of Shab Abash, (Hakluyt, p. 71, &c.)

3. The Chaldean and Sabian doctors are not fond of the subject; yet they hold circumcision necessary to salvation, and pretend that Mahomet was actuated by the same motives. (Mantua, Specimen, p. 193, 194.) See also (Belon, Hist. Orient. c. 24, 25; Belon, Hist, Orient, c. 22—23; Belon, Hist. Orient, c. 23—24; and Belon, Hist. Orient, c. 22—23.) See also (Belon, Hist, Orient, c. 22—23; Belon, Hist. Orient, c. 23—24; and Belon, Hist. Orient, c. 22—23.)

4. The Sabianles of the Huns, (t. i. c. 12—15,) has cast on their religion the curious but superficial glance of a Greek. Their astronomy would be far more valuable; they had looked through the telescope of astronomy, and had formed an idea of the number of the planets or of the fixed stars.

5. The Hebrews of the Chaldean (Porphyry, De Gent. ii. tom. iii. 243.) and Marsham, Canon, Strabo, p. 174, who doubt the fact, because it is adverse to his system. The earliest date of the Chaldæan astronomy is given by Belon (Hist. Orient. c. 19.) or rather the quest of Babylon, by Alexander, they were communicated, at the request of the Emperor Maximus, to the astronomer Hipparcos. What a moment in the annals of science! 1

6. Pococke, (Specimen, p. 135—146.) Huetinger, (Hist. Orient, p. 162.) and Marsham, (Specimen, p. 115.) and Vossius, (Pretiosae, p. 15.) and Pococke, (Specimen, p. 275, 276.) and Sale, (Prefatory Discourse, p. 49.) and Pococke, (Specimen, p. 193, 194.)

7. In the conversion of the Jews of Yemen, and the recent conversion of the Jews of the Christians; (Achob, (Ecclesiast. de la Triomphe, p. 135—137.) will fix the period of these ambiguousChristians; nor was it the same with the Sabian coity, (Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. iv. p. 906—911.) may explain their tenet. But it is a slippery
he could produce many generations of pure and genuine nobility: he sprung from the tribe of Koreish and the family of Hashem, the most illustrious of the Arabs, the princes of Mecca, and the hereditary guardians of the sacred edifice of the Mahometan religion. His name was Abdul Motalleb, the son of Hashem, a wealthy and generous citizen, who relieved the distress of famine with the supplies of commerce. Mecca, which had been fed by the liberality of the father, was saved by the influence of the son. The kinship of Yathrib was subject to the Christian power of Abyssinia; their vassal Abraham was provoked by an insult to avenge the honour of the cross; and the holy city was invested by a train of elephants, and an army of Africans. A treaty was proposed; and, in the first audience, the grandam of Mahomet demanded, the restitution of his cattle. "And why," said Abraham, "do you not rather implore my clemency in favour of your temple, which I have threatened to destroy!" "Because," replied the intrepid chief: "the cattle is my own; the Caaba belongs to the gods, and they will defend their house by injury and sacrefice." The want of provisions, or the value of the Koreish, compelled the Abyssinians to a disgraceful retreat: their discorner had been adorned with a miraculous flight of birds, who delivered them down stones on the heads of the infidels; and the delirium was long commenmated by the alacra of the cattled. The glory of Abdul Motalleb was crowned with domestic happiness, his life was prolonged to the age of one hundred and ten years, and he became the father of six daughters and thirteen sons. His best beloved Abdallah was the most beautiful and modest of the Arabian youth, and was chosen for his marriage by a niece of the holy race, whose nuptial life introduced into the Caaba the religion of the christians. In his early infancy, he was deprived of his father, his mother, and his grandfather; his uncles were strong and numerous; and in the division of the inheritance, the orphan's share was confined to five camels or a manservant. At home and abroad, in peace and war, Abu Taleb, the most respectable of his uncles, was the guide and guardian of his youth; in his twenty-fifth year, he entered into the service of Cadigajj, a rich and wealthy prince of Mecca, who had been rewarded with his fidelity by the gift of her hand and fortune. The marriage contract, in the simple style of antiquity, re-

cites the mutual love of Mahomet and Cadijah; des-

" The decline and fall."

Chap. XI.

scribes him as the most accomplished of the tribe of Koreish; and stipulates a dowry of twelveounces of gold and twenty camels, which was supplied by the liberality of his uncle.ii By this alliance, the son of Abdul Motalleb not only impregnated the holy prophet, and the judicious matron was content with his domestick virtues, till, in the fortieth year of his age, he assumed the title of a prophet, and proclaimed the religion of the Koran.

According to the tradition of his country and the inscriptions of palaces, Mahomet was distinguished as the prophet, by the beauty of his person, an outward gift which is seldom despised, except by those to whom it has been refused. Before he spoke, the orator engaged on his side the affections of a public or private audience. They applauded his commanding presence, his majes-

ty and his eloquence: his suggestions, his interloc-

tion to the rich and powerful was dignified by his cadescension and affability to the poorest citizens of Mecca: the frankness of his manner concealed the artifice of his views; and the habits of courtesy were imputed to personal friendship or universal benevo-

lence. In the example of Mahomet, the most wit easy and social, his imagination sublime, his judg-

cement clear, rapid, and decisive. He possessed the courage both of thought and action; and, although his designs might gradually expand with his success, the first idea which he entertained of his divine mission was the stamp of an original and superior genius. The son of Abdallah was educated in the bosom of the noblest race, in the use of the purest dialect of Arabia; and the fluency of his speech was corrected and en-

hanced by the practice of discreet and seasonable silence. With these powers of eloquence, Mahomet was an adequate instrument; his youth had never been instrusted in the arts of reading and writing; the common ignorance exempted him from shame or re-

proach, but he was reduced to a narrow circle of exist-

cence, and deprived of those faithful mirrors, which reflect to our mind the minds of sages and heroes. Yet the books that he read were the books of his own view: and some fancy has been indulged in the poli-

tical and philosophical observations which are ascribed

i I copy the honourable testimony of Abu Taleb to his family and Mahomet, given by the Prophet to Ockley, and corrected by Gagnier, Specimen et epistola parte Libri Hanomandi. ii The private life of Mahomet, from his birth to his mission, is preserved by Abu Fedaw, in Vit. c. 3—7, and the Arabian writers of genealogical and historical note, who are alluded to by Porro and d'Arvieux, P. Specimen et epistola parte Libri Hanomandi.
the Arabian traveller. He compares the nations and the religions of the earth; discovers the weakness of the Persian and Roman monarchies; beholds, with pity and indignation, the degeneracy of the times; and resolves to unite, under one God and one king, the territories of the East and West. Our more accurate inquiry will suggest, that instead of visiting the courts, the camps, the temples of the east, the two journeys of Mahomet into Syria were confined to the fairs of Bostra and Damascas: that he was only thirteen years of age when he accompanied the caravans into Arabia; and that his duty compelled him to return as soon as he had disposed of the merchandise of Cadijah. In these hasty and superficial excursions, the eye of genius might discern some objects invisible to his grosser companions; some seeds of knowledge might be cast upon a fruitful soil; but his ignorance of the Syrian language must have checked his curiosity; and I cannot perceive, in the life or writings of Mahomet, that his prospect was far extended beyond the limits of the Arabian world. From every region of that solitary world, the pilgrims of Mecca were annually assembled, by the calls of devotion and commerce, in the face of Mecca, the cradle of God: the Syrian citizen, in his native tongue, might study the political state and character of the tribes, the theory and practice of the Jews and christians. Some useful strangers might be tempted, or forced, to implore the rights of hospitality; and the enemies of Mahomet, by every means of violence or bribery, the martyr. Mahomet, whom they accuse of lending their secret aid to the composition of the Koran. Conversation enriches the understanding, but solitude is the school of genius; and the unfitness of a work denotes the hand of a single artist. From his earliest youth Mahomet was pious and good, and during the month of Ramadan, he withdrew from the world, and from the arms of Cadijah: in the cave of Hera, three miles from Mecca, he consulted the spirit of fraud or enthusiasm, whose abode is not in the heavens, but in the mind of the prophet. The faith which, under the name of Zulma, he preached to his family and nation, is compounded of an eternal truth, and a necessary fiction. That there is only one God, and that Mahomet is the Apostle of God. One God. It is the boast of the Jewish apologetics, that while the learned nations of antiquity were debauched by the fables of polytheism, their simple ancestors of Palestine preserved the knowledge and worship of the true God. The moral attributes of Jehovah may not easily be reconciled with the standard of human virtue: his metaphysical qualities are darkly expressed; but each page of the s蘧tauch and the prophets is an evidence of his power; the unity of his name is inscribed on the first table of the law; and his sanctuary was never defiled by any visible image of the invisible essence. After the ruin of the temple, the faith of the Hebrew exiles was purified and enlightened, by the spirit and devotion of the sages, and the prophets. Mahomet will not justly prejudice his reproach, that the Jews of Mecca or Medina adored Ezra as the son of God. But the children of Israel had ceased to be a people; and the religions of the world were guilty, at least in the eyes of the prophet, of giving sons, or daughters, or companions, to the Supreme God. In the rude idoltry of the Arabs, the crime is not so much a reproach to the Semitic system, as excused by the pre-eminence of the first planet, or intelligence, in their celestial hierarchy; and in the Magian system the conflict of the two principles betrays the imperfection of the conqueror. The christians of the seventh century had insensibly relaxed from the fidelity of faith; and the Koran is a glorious testimony to the unity of the God. The prophet of Mecca rejected the worship of idols and men, of stars and planets, on the rational principle that whatever rises must set, that whatever is born must die, that whatever is corruptible must decay and perish. In the light of the Author of the world, in which he dwelt and abode an infinite and eternal being, without form or place, without issue or similitude, present to our most secret thoughts, existing by the necessity of his own nature, and deriving from himself all moral and intellectual perfection. These sublime truths, thus announced in the language of the prophetic, are firmly held by his disciples, and defined with metaphysical precision by the interpreters of the Koran. A philosophical theist might subscribe the popular creed of the Mahommutans; but a creed too sublime perhaps for our present faculties. What object remains for the fancy, or the criticism, or the curiosity, when abstracted from the unknown substance all ideas of time and space, of motion and matter, of sensation and reflection? The first principle of reason and revelation was confirmed by the voice of Mahomet; his proselytes, from India to Morocco, are distinguished by the name of his sect. 1. The Count de Bouvillouville (Vie de Mahomet, p. 292—328) leaves us to infer this from the figure, which Corvinus, his agent, of Cyrus of Persia. His journey to the court of Persia was probably a fiction; he cannot trace the origin of his explanation. 2. Les Grece sont parties des honneurs. 3. These terms are expressed by almost all the Arabian writers, both Mahometans and christians, (Garnier, ad Abulfeda, p. 179.) 4. I am not at leisure to pursue the fables or conjectures which under the names of assis or companions are mentioned by the interpreters of the Koran, (Aur. 16. 6. 2.) 5. Garnier, Not. ad Abulfeda, p. 11. 6. Muslims, (p. 595.) 7. This is undoubtedly the case. (p. 357.) 8. See the Koran, particularly the second, (p. 357) the fifth, (p. 437) and the sixth, (p. 414) chapters, which proclaim the omnipresence of the Creator. 9. The most valuable are translated by Pococke, (Specimen, p. 271; 284—282.) O'Kane, (Hist. of the Nations of the Middle East, v. 4.) Belzoni, (De Religione Musulmanis, l. I. p. 7—8.) and Chardin, (Voyages sur l'Asie, tom. iv. p. 4—25.) The great truth, that God is without similitude, is boldly criticised by Macaroni, (Alcoran, tom. 1. part. ii. p. 87—91) because he made men after his own image.
by the name of Unitarians; and the danger of idolatry has been prevented by the interdiction of images.

The doctrine of eternal decrees and absolute predestination is strictly embraced by the Mahometans; and they struggle with the common difficulties, how to reconcile the presence of God with the freedom and responsibility of man; how to explain the permission of evil under the reign of infinite power and infinite goodness.

The God of nature has written his apathy on the surface of existence in all his works, and his law is a criticism on the whole order of things. To restore the knowledge of the one, and the practice of the other, has been the real or pretended aim of the prophets of every age: the liberty of Mahomet allowed to his predecessors the same credit which he claimed for himself; and the chain of inspiration was prolonged from the fall of Adam to the promulgation of the Koran. During that period, some rays of prophetic light had been imparted to one hundred and twenty-four thousand of the elect, discriminated by their respective measure of virtue and grace; three hundred and thirteen apostles were sent with a special commission to recall their countrymen to idolatry and superstition; one hundred and four volumes had been dictated by the holy spirit; and six legislators of transcendent brightness have announced to mankind the six successive revelations of various rites, but of one immovable religion. The authority and station of Adam, Noah, Moses, Jesus, and Mahomet, rest, for the most part, in just gradation above each other; but whenever there has been any one among the prophets or authors of the Koran, the universe is darkened. The writings of the patriarchs were extant only in the apocryphal copies of the Greeks and Syrians: the conduct of Adam had not entitled him to the gratitude or respect of his children: the seven precepts of Noah were observed by an inferior and imperfect class of the proscylytes of the synagogue; the memory of Abraham was obscurely revered by the Sabians in his native land of Chaldea; of the myriads of prophets, Moses alone lived and reigned; and the remnant of the inspired writings was comprised in the books of the Old and New Testament. The miraculous story of Moses is conscripted and emblazoned in the Koran; and the captive Jews enjoy the secret reversion of poetical passages on their own and their enemies whose recent crowds they deride. For the author of Christianity, the Mahometans are taught by the prophet to entitle a high and mysterious reverence.

Jesus. Verily, Christ Jesus, the son of Mary, the apostle of God, and his word, which he conveyed by Mary, into the Spirit proceeding from him: honourable in this world, and in the world to come; and one of those who approach near to the presence of God. The wonders of the genuine and apocryphal gospels are profusely heaped on his head; and the Latin church has not disdained to borrow from the Koran the immaculate conception of his virgin mother. Yet Jesus was a mere mortal; and, at the day of judgment, his testimony will serve to condemn both the Jews, who reject him as a prophet, and the christians, who adore him as the Son of God. The nation which so highly esteemed his reputation, and conspired against his life; but their intention was only a ghastly, a phantom or a criminal was substituted on the cross, and the innocent mint was translated to the seventh heaven. During six hundred years the doctrine of the new temple as the center of revelation; but the christians insensibly forget both the laws and the example of their founder; and Mahomet was instructed by the Gnostics to accuse the church, as well as the synagogue, of corrupting the integrity of the sacred text. The piety of Moses and of Christ rejoiced in the assurance of a future prophet, the same in substance as himself but different in genus. A paper copy, in a volume of silk and jewels, was brought down to the lowest heaven by the angel Gabriel, who, under the Jewish economy, had indeed been despatched on the most important errands; and this trusty messenger successively revealed the chapters and verses to the Arabian prophet. True, the word of God was communicated in the same manner to the apostles and evangelists of Christ, might not be incompatible with the exercise of their reason and memory; and the diversity of their genius is strongly marked in the style and composition of the books of the New Testament. But Mahomet was content with a character more humble, yet more sublime, of a simple editor: the substance of the Koran, according to himself or his disciples, is uncreated and eternal; subsisting in the essence of the Deity, and inscribed with a pen of light on the table of his everlasting decrees. A planner from sapphire and agate, the word of God, and of the apostle, was diligently recorded by his disciples on palm-leaves and the shoulder-bones of mutton; and the pages, without order or connexion, were cast into

1. Reland, de Relig. Moham. 1, r.p. 17—47, Sale's Preliminary Discourse, p. 78—75, Voyage de Chardin, tom. iv. pp. 28—37, and 37—47. For the Persian addition, "All is the vicar of God!" Yet the preceptive number of prophets is not ascertained. For the apocryphal books of Adam, see Fabritius, Codex Pseudo-Abelinianus, tom. iv. col. 377—387; Codex Paris., tom. iv. col. 378—388. For the books of Enoch, see Sike, p. 165—169. But the book of Enoch is conscripted, in some measure, by the indication of the apostle St. Jude; and a long legendary fragment is added by Schinz and Scaliger.

2. The seven precepts of Noah are explained by Marsham, Canon. Chronicum, p. 154—159. He adopts, on this occasion, the learning and credulity of St. Helen.

3. See the gospel of St. Thomas, or of the infancy, in the Codex Apocalipticus. See the references of the last to the various testimonies concerning it. (p. 155—156.) It was printed in Greek by Cottereil, in the folio of 1671, and in Arabic by Sike, who presents us with a copy more recent than the above, but imperfect in its quotations and in the original sense of the speech of Christ in his cradle, his living birds of clay. (Sike, c. l. p. 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 178, 179, 184, 203, 204, Codere, c. 2, p. 161—164.)

4. It is darkly hinted in the Koran, (c. 3, p. 38,) and more clearly explained by the tradition of the Sonnets, (Sale's Note, tom. ii. p. 223.) In the twelfth century, the imprecate conception was condemned by St. Bernard as a presumptuous novelty. (See Paus, Hist. Philos. Tom. iii. 1, p. 604.)

5. See the Koran, c. 3, v. 55, c. 4, v. 156, of Maracci's edition, c. 2, p. 179. Here, as in the prayer of Azur, "let me take the same creed you have received, I will not have the same faith as you, but will make easy the system of the sectarians; but the commentaries of many moderns are as obscure as the word of God; and another man, a friend or an enemy, was cherished in the likeness of Jesus; a folio, which they had read in the gospel of St. Barnabas, and which had been started as early as the time of Irenaeus, by some Eunuch heretics. (Beauvoir, Hist. du Manichéene, tom. ii. p. 25, 30, 34.)

6. This charge is obscurely urged in the Koran, (c. 3, p. 43,) but meminied by the Apostle Eusebius, and by his followers, in their discourses and writings and criticism to give any weight or colour to their suspicions. Yet the Ariums and Nestorians could relate some stories, and the apocryphal gospels were a favorite light to the heretics of that age. See Beauvoir, tom. i. p. 278—282.

7. See the gospel of St. Thomas, or of the infancy, in the Codex Apocalipticus. See the references of the last to the various testimonies concerning it. (p. 155—156.) It was printed in Greek by Cottereil, in the folio of 1671, and in Arabic by Sike, who presents us with a copy more recent than the above, but imperfect in its quotations and in the original sense of the speech of Christ in his cradle, his living birds of clay. (Sike, c. l. p. 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 178, 179, 184, 203, 204, Codere, c. 2, p. 161—164.)

a domestic chest in the custody of one of his wives. Two years after the death of Mahomet, the sacred volume was collected and published by his friend and successor Abubeker, and it is said that the caliph Ottoman, in the thirteenth year of the Hegira; and the various editions of the Koran assert the same miraculous privilege of a uniform and incorruptible text. In the spirit of enthusiasm or vanity, the prophet rests the truth of his mission on the merit of his book, authorizes and challenges both men and angels to imitate the beauties of a single page, and presumes to assert that God alone could dictate this incomparable performance. This argument is most powerfully addressed to a devout Arabian, whose mind is attuned to faith and rapture, whose ear is delighted by the music of the Koran, and whose ignorance is incapable of comparing the productions of human genius. The harmony and copiousness of style will not reach, in a version, the European infidel: he will persevere with impatience the endless incoherent rhapsody of fable, and precept, and declamation, which seldom excites a sentiment or an idea, which sometimes crawls in the dust, and is sometimes lost in the clouds. The divine attributes exalt the fancy of the Arabian missionary; but his loftiest strains must yield to the sublime simplicity of the book of Job, composed in a remote age, in the same country, and in the same language, and yet which exceed the faculties of a man, to what superior intelligence should we ascribe the liad of Homer, or the Prophecies of Demosthenes? In all religions, the life of the founder supplies the silence of his written revelation; the sayings of Mahomet were so many lessons of truth; his actions so many examples of virtue; and the public and private memorials were preserved by his wives and companions. At the end of two hundred years, the Sottina, or oral law, was fixed and consenrated by the labours of Abi Bachir, who discriminated seven thousand two hundred and seventy-five genuine traditions, from a mass of three hundred thousand reports, of a more doubtful or spurious character. Each day the pious author prayed in the temple of Mecca, and performed his ablutions with the water of Zemzem; the pages were successively deposited on the pulpit, and the scription of the apostle; and this work has been approved by the four orthodox sects of the Somonites.

The mission of the ancient prophets, of Moses and of Jesus, had been confirmed by many splendid prodigies; and Mahomet was repeatedly urged, by the inhabitants of Mecca and Medina, to manifest similar evidences of his mission, and the public and private memorials were preserved by his wives and companions. At the end of two hundred years, the Sottina, or oral law, was fixed and consenrated by the labours of Abi Bachir, who discriminated seven thousand two hundred and seventy-five genuine traditions, from a mass of three hundred thousand reports, of a more doubtful or spurious character. Each day the pious author prayed in the temple of Mecca, and performed his ablutions with the water of Zemzem; the pages were successively deposited on the pulpit, and the scription of the apostle; and this work has been approved by the four orthodox sects of the Somonites.

The corruptions of the Koran may be regarded as a parallel to the corruptions of the O. T. 

The rectories of the Koran are more assure than himself of his miraculous gifts, and their confidence and credulity increase as they are more imbibed. The Koran further records many extraordinary exploits. They believe or affirm that trees went forth to meet him; that he was saluted by stones; that water gushed from his fingers; that he fed the hungry, cured the sick, and raised the dead; that a beam groaned to him; that a censer complained to him; that a shoulder of mutton informed him of its being poisoned; and that both animate and inanimate nature were equally subject to the apostle of God. His dream of a nocturnal journey is seriously described as a real and corporeal transaction. A mysterious animal, the Borak, conveyed him from the temple of Mecca to the Mount of Jerusalem, returned the Borak, returned to Mecca, and performed in the tenth part of a night the journey so marvellous that many theologians have been surprised by the magnitude of the event. This ancient legend, the apostle confounded in a national assembly the malicious challenge of the Korish. His resistless word split asunder the orb of the moon; the chasitable planet stopt from her station in the sky, accomplished the seven revolutions round the Caaba, saluted the Mahometan in the temple, and thence returning her dimensions, entered at the collar, and issued forth through the sleeve, of his shirt. The vulgar are amused with the marvellous tales; but the grave part of the Mussulman doctors imitate the modesty of their master, and indulge a latitude of faith or interpretation. They might speciously allege, that in presenting the religion, it was needless to violate the harmony, of nature; that a creed declined with mystery may be excused from miracles; and that the word of Mahomet was not less potent than the rod of Moses.

The polytheist is oppressed and dissatisfied by the variety of superstition: a hundred thousand rites of Egyptian origin were interwoven with the essence of the Messian law; and

Precepts of Mahomet, fasting, alms, charity, the efficacy of prayer, etc., are immediately invented to put down Mahometanism, which is deemed equivalent to Christianity, or at least as a deformed, and degraded sect of Christianity.


x Yet a sect of Arabsians was persuaded, that it might be equalled or surpassed by the Mahometan poetry. The prophet himself has commended the abilities of a poet named Matarri (the poem is too hard for the translator) derives the rhyme-strings of the most applauded passage, (tom. i. part ii. p. 152.)

x Colloquia (whether real or fabulous) in media Arabia stitu atque Arabibus antiquis (Lusch, de Poeti Hebraicum Praefis. xxvii. xxviii. with his German editor Michaelis, Epistulae, iv.) Yet Michaelis has detected many genuine Arabic inscriptions, the clephistines, papyri; and he has produced a stanzically styled, Arabica Hebraica. The resemblance of the sister dialects was much more visible in their childhood than in their mature age. (Michaelis, p. 662. Schultens, in Præfis. Job.)


c See more remarkably, Koran, c. 2. 6. 12. 15. 17. Prideaux (Life of Mahomet, p. 13, 153) has confounded the imposter. Maracci, with more learned apparatus, has shewn that the passages which deny his miracles are clear and positive. Alcoran, i. part ii. p. 167, and those which seem to assert them, are ambiguous and insufficient. (p. 12—22.)

x See the Specimen Hist. Arabia, the text of Abulfarach, p. 17. the notes of Pococke, p. 127—130. D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 76, 77. Chardin, tom. ii. p. 209—212. Maracci (Alcoran, tom. i. p. 22—64,) has most laboriously collected and compared the miracles and prophecies of Mahomet, which, according to some writers, amount to three thousand.

x The nocturnal journey is substantially related by Abulfeda, (in Tom. Mohammed, c. 19, v. 23,) who says that the Arabian, by preaching, etc., to this journey, is to disbelieve the Koran. Yet the learned, without exception, the Arabic and Persian language, have only dropt a mysterious thing: Iaus illi qui tristissime sermones suum ab oratorio Haram ad orationem fantasticum, (Korani, c. 17, v. 1.) in Maracci, tom. ii. p. 697; for Salibi's version is more identic.) A slender basis for the aerial structure of tradition. 

x In the prophet's life, which scarce contains a year or two for the future, Mahomet had said: Ambrogiovanni: Arabic: tab. c. 1. in Maracci, tom. iii. p. 688.) This figure of rhetoric has been conveyed to every government, which is the most respectful eye-witnesses (Maracci, tom. ii. p. 650.) The festivity is still celebrated at Paris, and the legend is assiduously spun out by Gagnier, (Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. p. 69—134.) on the fact, as it should seem, of the credulous Al lance; yet a Mahometan doctor has ascribed the doctrine of the resurrection to the prophet, as the principal witness: (apud Pococke, Specimen, p. 187.) The best interpreters are content to suppose that its weight is laid on the apod. Hottinger, Hist. Oriental. i. th. 302.) and the silence of Abd ulhassan is worthy of a prince and a philosopher.
the spirit of the gospel had evaporated in the pagane-
try of the church. The prophet of Mecca was tempted by prejudice, or policy, or patriotism, to sanctify the rites of the Arabians, and the custom of visiting the holy stone of the Caaba. But the precepts of Maho-
met himself inculcate a more simple and rational piety: prayer, fasting, and alms, are the religious duti-
es of a musulman; and he is encouraged to hope, that prayer will carry him half way to God, fasting will bring him to the door of his palace, and alms will gain him admissicnte. 1 According to the tradition of the nocturnal journey, the apostle, in his personal character, was conducted by the Spirit, was intended to impress on his disciples the daily obligation of fifty prayers. By the advice of Moses, he applied for an alleviation of this intolerable burden; the number was gradually reduced to five; without any dispensation of business or pleasure, or time or place; the devotion of the faithful is repeated at day-break, at noon, in the afternoon, and in the first watch of the night; and, in the present day of religious fervour, our travellers are edified by the profound humility and attention of the Turks and Persians. Cleanliness is the key of prayer: the frequent instigation of the hands, the ablutions, the meats, which were contrived by the Arabs, is solemnly enjoined by the Koran: and a permission is formally granted to supply with sand the scarcity of water. The words and attitudes of supplica-
tion, as it is performed either sitting, standing, or prostrate, are prescribed by custom or authority, but the prayer is poured forth in short and fervent ejaculations: the measure of zeal is not ex-
avasted by a tedious liturgy; and each musulman, for his own person, is invested with the character of a priest. Among the Jews, who reject the use of incense and music, are seen men seeking most to restrain such wanerings of the fancy, by directing the eye and the thought towards a ka'ba, or visible point of the horizon. The prophet was at first inclined to gratify the Jews by the choice of Jerusalem; but he soon returned to a more natural purity; and five times every day the eyes of the natives at Astrakan, at Ferga, at Delhi, are devoutly turned to the holy temple of Mecca. Yet every spot for the service of God is equally pure: the Mahometans indiscriminately pray in their chamber or in the street. As a distinction from the Jews and christi-
s, Friday is to each week the most happy of the se-
ful institution of public worship: the people are as-
bsembled in the mosque; and the imam, some respectable elder, ascends the pulpit, to begin the prayer and pro-
nounce the sermon. But the Mahometan religion is destitute of priesthood or sacrifice; and the independent sects of the fanatics, that break down with contempt on the ministers and slaves of superstition. II. The volun-
tary k penance of the ascetics, the torment and glory of their lives, was odious to a prophet who counselled in his companions a rash vow of abstaining from flesh, and women, and sleep; and firmly declared, that he would suffer no monks in his religion. 1 Yet he insti-
tuted, in each year, a fast of thirty days; and strenu-
ously recommended the observance, a discipline which purifies the soul and subdues the body, as a

1 The most authentic account of these precepts, pilgrimage, prayer, fasting, alms, and ablutions, is extracted from the Persian and Arab-
by the French of Sale; (Prospero, c. 5: 26—28) and of D'Herbelot, (in his excellent treatise de Rokheem Mahomedici, Utrecht, 1717, p. 57—122) and Charlier, (Voyages en Perse, tom. iv, p. 47—115: Marcelli is a partial answer: but the Jew, Charlier, had the eyes of a philosopher; and Reclus, a judicious student, had travelled over Persia, and wrote his observations at Utrecht. The fourteenth letter of Travels of the Levant, tom. ii, p. 225—300, in octavo, describes with more elegance a country, which has been changed since his time from the object of his research.)

k Mahomet (Sale's Koran, c. 9, p. 153,) reproaches the christians with taking their priests and monks for their gods, besides their own. Yet Marcelli, Prosdocimus, in part c. 69, 70, excuses the worship, especially of the popes, and quotes, from the Koran itself, the case of Elisha, who received the prophet from heaven, consigning to adorer atonement. Mahomet condemned la vie religieuse; and that the first rewards of fakers, devils, &c. do not appear till after the 500th of the Hegira. (Biblio. Orient. p. 292, 715.)

1 See the double prohibition; (Koran, c. 2, p. 25, c. 5, p. 58,) the one in the style of a legislator, the other in that of a fanatic. The
day and private motives of Mahomet are investigated by Prospero, (Leviathan, Utrecht, 1717, p. 47—115: Reclus, (in his excellent treatise de
Korkeem Mahomedici, Utrecht, 1717, p. 57—122) and Charlier, (Voyages en Perse, tom. iv, p. 47—115: Marcelli is a partial answer: but the Jew, Charlier, had the eyes of a philosopher; and Reclus, a judicious student, had travelled over Persia, and wrote his observations at Utrecht. The fourteenth letter of Travels of the Levant, tom. ii, p. 225—300, in octavo, describes with more elegance a country, which has been changed since his time from the object of his research.)

The jealousy of Maracci (Prosdocimus, part iv, p. 35,) prompts him to enumerate the more liberal usages of the catholics of Rome. Fif-
teen great hospitals are open to many thousand patients and pil-
gims. Fifteen hundred mandibles are annually purchased, fifty-five hundred churches and monasteries are annually repaired. The confraternities relieve the wants of their brethren, &c. The ben-
viction of Lombardey, which has more extensive influence, has founded about twenty more is to be ascribed to the humanity, than to the religion of the
people.

1 See Herodotus (II. c. 123,) and our learned countryman Sir John Marsham, (Canon, Chronicum, p. 46,) The Achei of the sand wrote to the philosopher, that there was no country in the world, as they were painted by the fancy of the Egyptians and Greeks, of the pair of the Græcos and the Persians, that Mahomet was more is to be ascribed to the humanity, than to the religion of the
people.

1 The Koran (c. 2, p. 29, &c., of Sale, p. 52, &c., of Marcelli, p. 57,) retains an ingenious mixture, which suited the curiosity, and con-
formed the faith, of Abraham.
most firmly believe his immaculate, nature, are at a loss to understand how she can think or act without the agency of his own will. 

The reunion of the soul and body will be followed by the final judgment of mankind; and, in his copy of the Magna picture, the prophet has too faithfully represented the forms of proceeding, and even the semblance of the dispensation of an earthly tribunal. By his intolerant adversaries he is upbraided for extending, even to themselves, the hope of salvation, for assuring the blackest heresy, that every man who believes in God, and accomplishes good works, may expect in the last day a favorable examination by his rational qualities. So distinct in this character licentious; nor is it probable that a messenger from heaven should degrade the value and necessity of his own revelation.

In the idiom of the Koran, the belief of God is inseparable from that of Mahomet: the good works are those which he had enjoined; and the two qualifications imply the proficiency of the satisfactoriness of the Christian, the Jew, the Sabian, the Magian, and the infidel, are sunk below each other in the abyss; and the lowest hell is reserved for the faithless hypocrites who have assumed the mask of religion. After the greater part of mankind has been condemned for their opinions, the true believers only will be judged by their works; the justice of each will be accurately weighed in a real or allegorical balance, and a singular mode of compensation will be allowed for the payment of injuries; the aggressor will refund an equivalent of his own good actions, for the benefit of the person whom he has injured; and if he should be unable to give moral property, the weight of his sins will be loaded with an adequate share of the demerits of the sufferer.

According as the scales of guilt or virtue shall preponderate, the sentence will be pronounced, and all, without distinction, will pass over the sharp and perilous bridge of life; but the immortal spirits in the footsteps of Mahomet, will gloriously enter the gates of paradise, while the guilty will fall into the first and mildest of the seven hells. The term of expiation will vary from nine hundred to seven thousand years; but the prophet has judiciously promised, that all his disciples, whatever may be their sins, shall be saved, by their own faith, and his intercession, from eternal damnation. It is not surprising that supersition should act most powerfully on the fears of heretics, since the human fancy can paint with more energy the misery than the bliss of a future life. With thehetto darkened, and the eyes of the heart closed, the duration of such an injury as this might be aggravated to an infinite degree by the idea of endless duration. But the same idea operates with an opposite effect on the continuity of pleasure; and too much of our present enjoyment is obtained from the relief, or the contemplation of scenes which an Arabian prophet should dwell with raptures on the

graves, the fountains, and the rivers of paradise, but instead of injurious blessings to a liberal taste for harmony and science, conversation and friendship, he idly celestes the pearls and diamonds, the robes of silk, palaces of marble, dishes of gold, rich wines, artificial daunies, numerous attendants, and the whole train of sensual and costly luxury, which he has acquired in the short period of this mortal life. Seventy-two hours, or black-eyed girls, of resplendent beauty, blooming youth, growing old, and yet preserving, in the pages of this book, his memory of self-sufficiency, and perhaps his vanity, he has created for the use of the meanest believer; a moment of pleasure will be prolonged to a thousand years, and souls and faculties will be engrossed; all that will remain will be the remembrance of the body, unless it was restored to the possession and exercise of its worthiest faculties; and the union of sexual and intellectual enjoyment is requisite to complete the happiness of the happy animal, the perfect man. Yet the joys of the Mahometan paradise will not be confined to the possession of the luxury of luxury and appetite; and the prophet has expressly declared, that all meaner happiness will be forgotten and despised by the saints and martyrs, who shall be admitted to the beatitude of the divine vision.

The first and most admirable footsteps of Mahomet, are those of his wife, his servant, his pupil, and his friend; since he presented himself as a prophet to those who were most conversant with his infirmities as a man. Yet Cadiz bathed the words, and cherished the glory of her hou-sound; the obsequious and affectionate Zobeida, was transferred by the prospect of free favours from the illustrious Ali, the son of Abu Talib, em-
braced the sentiments of his cousin with the spirit of a youthful hero; and the wealth, the moderation, the reverence of Abderahman, combined with the religion of the prophet whom he had decided to succeed. By his persuasion, ten of the most respectable citizens of Mecca were introduced to the private lessons of Islam; they yielded to the voice of reason and enthusiasm; they repeated the fundamental creed: "there is but one God, and Mahomet is the Apostle of God," and their faith, even in this life, was rewarded with riches and honours, with the command of armies and the government of kingdoms. Three years were silently employed in the conversion of fourteen proselytes, the first-fruits of his mission; but in the fourth year, he had established his father with his family and the world to come. God has commanded me to call you to his service. Who among you will support my brethren? Who among you will be my companion and my vizir?" No answer was returned, till the father of the party, strongly importuned the prophet, to accost his son, and consent to the import to his family the light of divine truth, he prepared a banquet, a lamb, as it is said, and a bowl of milk, for the entertainment of forty guests of the race of Hashem. "Friends and kinsmen," said Mahomet to the assembly, "I offer you, and I alone can offer, the most precious of gifts, the treasures of this world and of the world to come. He who accepts my offer shall have his reward in this world, and of the hereafter."

The people of Mecca were hardened in opposition by their unbelief in the Koran, and as a proof of their unbelief, they repeated the presumption of an orphan, the reformer of his country: the pious orations of Mahomet in the Caaba were answered by the clamours of Abul Taleb. "Citizens and pilgrims, listen not to the tempter, hearken not to his call; he is a rebellious prophet, a spot to the pure, a Lata and Al Uzah." Yet the son of Abdallah was ever dear to the aged chief; and he protected the name and person of his nephew against the assaults of the Koreishites, who had long been jealous of the preeminence of the family of Hashem. Their malice was, that they should be saved from the salutary influence of Job; the crime of impurity was punished by the Arabian magistracy; and Mahomet was guilty of deserting and denying the national duties. But so loose was the policy of Mecca, that the leaders of the Koreish, instead of accusering a criminal, were compelled to employ the need of their water, and inflamed by the repeated addresses of Abul Taleb in the style of reproach and menace, 'Thy nephew reviles our religion; he alleges our wise forefathers of ignorance and folly; silence him quickly, lest he kindle tumult and disorder in the land.' If he would retain his rank, he must consent to let his sword against him, and his adherents, and then will be responsible for the blood of thy fellow-citizens." The weight and moderation of Abul Taleb ended the violence of religious faction; the most helpless and timid of the disciples retired to Ethiopia, and none of the prophet's companions would assist them to the world's strength in the town and country. As he was still supported by his family, the rest of the tribe of Koreish engaged themselves to renounce all intercourse with the children of Hashem, neither to buy nor sell, neither to marry nor to give in marriage, but to pursue the need of their water, and inflamed by the person of Mahomet to the justice of the gods. The decree was suspended in the Caaba before the eyes of the nation: the messages of the Koreish pursued the Mussulman exiles in the heart of Africa: they besieged the prophet and his most faithful followers,145 and filled the breasts of his people with anxiety by the retaliation of injuries and insults. A doubtful truce restored the appearances of concord; till the death of Abul Taleb abandoned Mahomet to the power of his enemies, at the moment when he was deprived of his only resource, and exposed to the indignation and vengeance of the Hashimites. Anger of a spy revealed their conspiracy; and flight was the only resource of Mahomet. At the death of night, accompanied by his friend Abubeker, he secretly escaped from his house: the assassins and their spies watched at the door; but they were deceived by the figure of Ali, who reposed on the bed, and was covered with the green vestment of the apostle. The Khutbat of the primitive world, Oloehar, ad Locah de Petri Nebenca, p. 131-135. Recherches sur les Egyptiens, tom. i. p. 48, &c. In the time of Job, the crime of impurity was punished by the Arabian magistracy, (c. 13, § 22-23.) I blame for a respectable persecute, 622. The Arians, (c. 30, § 61, edit. 2.) The presbyterian in the university of Oxford, c. 13-35,) who justifies and applauds this patriarchal impiety. 145 'D'Herbein, Biblia, Graec., p. 415. He quotes a particular history of the flight of Mahomet.
reish respected the pious of the heroic youth; but some
venerable of Arabia, which are still extant, exhibit an inter-
esting picture of his anxiety, his tenderness, and his
religious confidence. Three days Mahomet and his
companion were concealed in the cave of Thor, at the
distance of a league from Mecca; and in the close of
each evening, they received, from the son and daugh-
ter of the wealth, food and drink. The delicacy of the Korish exceeded every hunt in the neighbourhood of the city; they arrived at the entrance of the cavern; but the providential de-
ceit of a spider's web and a pigeon's nest, is supposed to
convince them that the place was solitary and invio-
lable. They were obliged to undergo a perilous and rapid
journey along the sea-coast, he halted at Koba, two miles from the city, and made his
public entry into Medina, sixteen days after his flight
from Mecca. Five hundred citizens advanced to meet him; he was hailed with acclamations of joy
and devotion; Mahomet was bearded, an umbrella shielded his head, and a turban was
unfurled before him to supply the deficiency of a stan-
dard. His bravest disciples, who had been scattered
by the storm, assembled round his person; and the
equal though various merit of the Moslems was dis-
business by the names of Mahometa and Ansars, the fugitives of Mecca, and the auxiliaries of Medina.

To eradicate the seeds of jealousy, Mahomet judici-
ciously coupled his principal followers with the rights
and obligations of brethren, and when Ali found him-
self without a peer, the prophet tenderly declared, that he would be the companion and brother of the noble
youth. The effect of gold with promising excitement the holy fraternity was respected in peace and war, and
the two parties vied with each other in a genocide
en acted on by the apostle's feet the head of his
father.

From his establishment at Medina, Harapal dignity, Mahomet assumed the exercise of the A.D. 622.
provincial and sacerdotal office; and it was impious
to appeal from a judge whose decrees were inspired by the
divine wisdom. A small portion of ground, the
patronage of two orphans, was acquired by gift or
purson; on that chosen spot, he built a house and
a mosque, more venerable in their rude simplicity
than the palaces and temples of the Assyrian emperors. His
seed of gold, cut silver, was inscribed with the
title; when he prayed and preached in the weekly
assembly, he leaned against the trunk of a palm-tree;
and it was long before he indulged himself in the use
of a chair or pulpit of rough timber. After a reign
of six years, fifteen hundred Moslems, in arms and in
the field, renewed their oath of allegiance; and his
chief repeated the assurance of protection till the
death of the last member, or the final dissolution of the
party. It was in the same camp that the deity of
Mecca was astonished by the attention of the faithful
to the words and looks of the prophet, by the gai-
ness with which they collected his spittle, a hair that
dropped on the ground, the refuse water of his instruc-
tions, as if they participated in some degree of the
prophetic virtue. “I have seen,” said he, “the Chos-
fores of Persia and the Caesars of Rome, but never did
I behold a king among his subjects like Mahomet among his compatriots.” The diviner fervour of en-
thusiasm acts with more energy and truth than the
cold and formal servility of courts.

2 The Hejira was instituted by Omar, the second caliph, in insti-
tution of the era of the martyrs of the Christians; (D'Herbelot, p. 414) and properly commenced sixty-eight days after the flight of Mahomet, with the first of Moharram, according to the Moslem year, which coincides with Friday, July 10th, A.D. 622. (Abulfeda, VII. 34, Moeham, c. 22, p. 40—41, and Green's edition of Elgin Bisco's Epochs Arab., &c. c. p. 8, 10, &c.)

3 From his mission to the Hejira, may be found in Abulfeda, c. 14—41, and Amur. Hen, p. 282—283, &c.)

From his mission to the Hejira, may be found in Abulfeda, c. 14—41, and Amur. Hen, p. 282—283, &c.)

The hejira from p. 17—237 is vouched by Al Jannabi, and disclaimed by Abufeda.

4 The trade invasion of Mahomet is described by Abulfeda (c. 30, 32, 40, 56) and Gagnier. (Com. l. p. 151, &c. 395, &c. Com. l. p. 228, &c.)

5 Prideaux (Life of Mahomet, p. 42) reviles the wickedness of the
scum who defiled the Korish, and the Moslem who spits on the Korish: a reproach which he drew from the Daghistan contra Saracenum (p. 525), but he has not proved that the Korish were as "Najjar", which signifies, in this place, not an obscene trade, but a native tribe of Arabia. The descriptive state of the ground is described by Abufeda; and his worthy interpreter has proved, from Al Ba-
chari, the opus of a price; from Al Jannabi, the fair purchase; and from Al soda, the Amur. Hen, p. 282—283, &c.)

6 Al Jannabi (proud Gagnier, tom. ii, p. 216, 217), describes the seal
and pulpit, as two venerable relics of the apostle of God; and the portrait of his court is taken from Abufeda. (c. 41, p. 48. &c.)
He declares war against the infidels. In the state of nature every man has a right to defend, by force of arms, his person and his property; to resist, or even to prevent, the violence of his enemies, and to extend his hostilities to a reasonable measure of satisfaction and retaliation. In the free society of the Arabs, the duties of subject and citizen imposed a feeble restraint; and Mahomet, in the exercise of a power almost divinely inspired, had been despotic, tyrannical, and banished by the injustice of his countrymen. The choice of an independent people had exalted the fugitive of Mecca to the rank of a sovereign; and he was invested with the just prerogatives of forming alliances, and of waging offensive or defensive war. The usurpation of human rights was supplied and armed by the plenitude of divine power: the prophet of Medina assumed, in his new revelations, a fierce and more sanguinary tone, which proves that his former moderation was the effect of weakness: the means of persuasion had been tried, the season of forbearance was elapsed, and he was now resolved to propagate his religion by the sword, to destroy the monuments of idolatry, and, without regarding the sanctity of days or months, to pursue the unbelieving nations of the earth. The same bloody precepts, so repeated and impressed in the Koran, were inscribed by the author to the Pentateuch and the Gospel. The mild tenor of the evangelic style may explain an ambiguous text, that Jesus did not bring peace on the earth, but a sword: his patient and humble virtues should not be confounded with the intolerable zeal of princes and bishops, who have traced the murder of his disciples. In the prosecution of religious war, Mahomet might appeal with more propriety to the example of Moses, of the judges and the kings of Israel. The military laws of the Hebrews are still more severe than those of the Arabian legislator. 1 The Levites, armed in person or in companies, were a city resisting its summons, the males, without distinction, were put to the sword: the seven nations of Canaan were devoted to destruction; and neither repentance nor conversion could shield them from the inevitable doom, that no creature within their provinces should be left alive. The fear of friendship, or submission, or battle, was proposed to the enemies of Mahomet. If they professed the creed of Islam, they were admitted to all the temporal and spiritual benefits of his primitive disciples, and marched under the same banner to extend the religion which they had professed. The choice was left to each, decided by his interest, yet he seldom trampled on a prostrate enemy; and he seems to promise, that, on the payment of a tribute, the least guilty of his unbelieving subjects might be indulged in their worship, or at least in their imperfect faith. In the first months of his reign, he practised the lessons of holy warfare, and displayed his white banner before the gates of Medina: the martial apostle fought in person at nine battles or sieges; 2 and fifty enterprises of war were achieved in ten years by himself or his Lieutenants. The Arab continued to unite the professions of a merchant and a robber: and his petty excursions for the defence or the attack of a caravan impressed sufficiently his troopers for the conquest of Arabia. The distribution of the spoil was regulated by a divine law: 3 the whole was faithfully collected in one common mass: a fifth of the gold and silver, the prisoners and cattle, the movable and immovable, was assigned as a due to the prophet for pious and charitable uses; the remainder was shared in adequate portions by the soldiers who had obtained the victory or guarded the camp: the rewards of the slain devoted to their widows and children. The sword of Mahomet was encouraged by the allotment of a double share to the horse and to the man. From all sides the roving Arabs were allured to the standard of religion and plunder: the apostle sanctified the Eunice of embracing the female captives as their wives or concubines; and the enjoy- ment of wealth and beauty was a feebler type of the joys of paradise prepared for the valiant martyrs of the faith. "The sword," says Mahomet, "is the key of heaven and of hell; a drop of blood shed in the cause of God, a night spent in arms, is of more value than two months of fasting or prayer: whoever fails in battle, his sins are forgiven; at the day of judg- ment his wounds shall be resplendent as vermilion, and odorous as musk; and the loss of his limbs shall be supplied by the wings of angels and cheru- bim." The interred souls of the Arabs were fired with enthusiasm: the picture of the invisible world was so strikingly represented on their tombs, that death which they had always despised became an object of hope and desire. The Koran inculcates, in the most absolute sense, the tenets of fate and predestination, which would extinguish both industry and virtuous action; but the prophet inculcates speculative belief. Yet their influence in every age has exalted the courage of the Saracens and Turks. The first companions of Mahomet advanced to battle with a fearless confidence: there is no danger where there is no chance: they were ordained to perish in the world and to triumph in the fields of the war. In the fertile and famous vale of Beder, 

1 The whole subject de habe belli (Mohammedanorum, is examined in a separate dissertation by the learned Reland. (Observationes Missarum, tom. iii. Dissert. x., p. 3-33.)

2 The doctrine of absolute predetermination, on which few resources can repose each other, is sterile exposed in the Koran, (c. x. p. 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, and 64,) and of Mahomet: (Orations of Mahomet and Muhammad, the kings of the Arabian kingdom, and the religious philosophers of the time.)

3 The personal and private concerns of the prophet and his followers, the various occupations of the Arabian camel-driver, the camel are his principal means of subsistence, and the life of the camel is divided into two[323] periods (Bede, in the life of Mahomet, tom. ii. p. 106.)

4 Beder or Bedore was a city between Mecca and Medina, situated on the high road of the caravan of Egypt, and the pilgrimage annually commemorates the prophet's victory by illuminations, (See above, 35.) Shave's Travels, p. 147.)
three stations from Medina, he was informed by his scouts of the caravan that approached on one side; of the Korish, one hundred horse, eight hundred and fifty foot, who advanced on the other. After a short debate, he sacrificed the prospect of wealth to the pursuit of glory and revenge; and a slight intransigence was the only obstacle to the success of his plan. He embarked, in the face of fresh water that glided through the valley. "O God," he exclaimed, as the numbers of the Korish were descended from the hills, "O God, if these are destroyed, by whom will thou be worshiped?"

A. D. 625. Two miles from the scene of the battle, a Korish, whose name was Abu Sophian, was slain. His enemy leaped from his camel, and shouted, "Discharge your arrows, and the day is your own." At these words he placed himself, with Abu Beker, on a throne or pulpit, and instantly demanded the succour of Gabriel and three thousand angels. His eye was fixed on the field of battle; the musulmans fainted and were pressed: in that decisive moment the prophet started from his throne, mounted his horse, and cast a handful of sand into the air: "Let their faces be covered with confusion." Both armies heard the thunder of his voice: their fancy beheld the angelic warriors; the Korish trembled and fled: some were slain and cut off in the field. The musulmans admired the first victory of the faithful. The dead bodies of the Korish were despoiled and insulted: two of the most ominous prisoners were punished with death; and the ransom of the others, four thousand drams of silver, compensated in some degree the calamities of the faithful. It was the moment that the camels of Abu Sophian explored a new road through the desert and along the Euphrates: they were overtaken by the diligence of the musulmans; and wealth must have been the prize, if twenty thousand drams could be set apart for the fifth of the advantage of the musulmans, and the fourth for the Korish. The battle of Ohud was the second of the Korish; and their presumption of victory prevailed against the divine and human sense of the apostle. The second battle was fought on mount Ohud, six miles to the north of Medina; the Korish advanced in the form of a crescent; and the right wing of cavalry was led by Calid, the fairest and most successful of the Arabian warriors. The troops of Mahomet were skilfully posted on the declivity of a hill, and their rear was guarded by a detachment of fifty archers. The weight of their charge impelled and broke the centre of the idolaters; but in the pursuit they lost the advantage of their ground: the archers deserted their station: the musulmans were tempted by the spoil, disobeyed their general, and disobeyed their ranks.

The intrepid Calid, wheeling his cavalry on their flank and rear, exclaimed, with a loud voice, that Mahomet was slain. He was indeed wounded in the face with a javelin: two of his teeth were shattered with a stone; yet, in the midst of tumult and dismay, he reproached the infidels with the murder of the prophet, and blessed the friendly hand that stanched his wound, and conducted him to an inn. Twenty martyrs died for the sins of the people: they fell, said the apostle, in pairs, each brother embracing his lifeless companion; their bodies were mangled by the inhuman females of Mecca; and the wife of Mahomet, Zainab, the uncle of Mahomet. They might appeal to the Korish, and satiate their fury; but the musulmans soon rallied in the field, and the Korish wanted strength or courage to undertake the siege of Medina. They sent troops, and this third expedition is variously named from the nations, which marched under the banner of Abu Sophian, from the ditch which was drawn before the city, and a camp of three thousand musulmans. The prudence of Mahomet declined a general engagement; he summoned the Korish to a single combat; but the war was protracted twenty days, till the final separation of the confederates. A tempest of wind, rain, and hail, overthrew their tents: their private quarrels were fomented by an insidious adversary; and the Korish, deserted by their allies, no longer hoped to subvert the throne, or to check the conquests of their invincible exiles.

The choice of Jerusalem for the first kebla of prayer discovers the early prophecies of Mahomet in favour of the Jews; and happy would it have been for the Korish and Jews to be in that case converted, in the Arabian prophet, the hope of Israel and the promised Messiah. Their obstinacy converted his friendship into implacable hatred, with which he pursued that unfortunate people to the last moment of his life; and in the double character of an apostle and a conqueror, his persecution was extended to both worlds.

The Korish dwelt at Medina under the protection of the city: he seized the occasion of an accidental tumult, and summoned them to embrace his religion, or contend with him in battle. "Alas," replied the trembling Korish, "were we not ignorant of the use of crosses; and we persevere in the faith and worship of our fathers; why wilt thou reduce us to the necessity of a just defence?" The unequal contest was terminated in fifteen days; and it was with extreme reluctance that Mahomet yielded to the importance of his allies, and by his conduct of the captives. But their riches were confiscated, their arms became more effectual in the hands of the musulmans; and a wretched colony of seven hundred exiles was driven with their wives and children to implore a refuge on the confines of Syria. The Nadharites were more guilty, since they conspired in a friendly interview to assassinate the prophet. He besieged their castle three miles from Medina, but their resolute defence obtained an honourable capitulation; and the garrison, sounding their trumpets and beating their drums, was permitted to depart with the riches of their city. They left behind them the nations retired from the ditch, than Mahomet, without laying aside his armour, marched on the same day to extirpate the hostile race of the children of Koraidha.

9. The place to which Mahomet retired during the action is noted by Gamsér, in Abüilda, ii. p. 58. Vie de Mahomet, tom. ii. p. 243. Note p. 455. The Arabic word is rendered by Reiske, (Annates Moslem. Abdul-Ass. p. 247.) by Socinus Med. p. 168; and the difference is of the utmost moment for the honour of the Korish. "Ohud," says Mr. Hume, "is the winter; and my researches have convinced me that the Korish word was at one time endowed with a fuller signification, and was used in what relates to the departure of Judas Iscariot after the last supper, and as a term of reproach and abuse.

10. The Korish were noted for their number of Idols, their attempts (Ann. Moslem. p. 226. as colinum Abdulfian Syria Tabula, Lepisc. in loc. in loc. 390, or 396 angels; and the smallest of those might suffice for the prosecution of their battle. Mr. Hume, in his note, p. 141.) Yet the same scholiast confesses, that this angelic band was not invisible to any mortal: (Maracci, p. 292.) They refute on the words, C. 14, "ne quis tuin God," &c. (Or Herberard, Hist. Orig. p. 604. 606.)

11. The Korish, and joined the war of the Korish; no sooner had the nations retired from the ditch, than Mahomet, without laying aside his armour, marched on the same day to extirpate the hostile race of the children of Koraidha. In the third chapter of the Koran, (p. 30—33,) with Sale's notes) the prophet allows some poor excuses for the defeat of Ohud.

For the detail of the three Korish wars, of which, and the ditch, periodical, and the exploits of the Korish, Mahomet, and the abridgments of Elcinac, (Hist. Saracen. p. 67, 87, &c.) with the proper articles of the Koran, of the Korish, and of Abdurrahman, (Byram, p. 102.)

The wars of Mahomet against the Jewish tribes, of Kainbe, the Nadrines, Korahshah, and Chabban, are related by Abdulfian. (p. 61. 71. 77. 87. &c.) and Gamsér. (tom. ii. p. 61—65, 102—125, 139—148, 253, 254.)
After a resistance of twenty-five days, they surrendered at discretion. They trusted to the intercession of their old allies of Medina: they could not be ignorant that fanaticism obliterates the feelings of humanity. A venerable elder, to whose judgment they appealed, pronounced the sentence of death; seven hundred Jewish captives were dragged in chains to the market-place of the city: they descended alive into the grave prepared for their execution and burial; and the apostle beheld with an indescribable eye the slaughter of his helpless enemies. Their sheep and camels were inherited by the musulmans; three hundred carriages, five hundred pikes, a thousand lances, composed the most useful portion of the spoil. Six days' journey to the north-east of Medina, the ancient and wealthy town of Chaibar was the seat of the Jewish power in Arabia; the territory, a fertile spot in the desert, was covered with plantations and castle, and protected by eight castles, some of which were esteemed of impregnable strength. The forces of Mahomet consisted of two hundred horse and fourteen hundred foot: in the succession of eight regular and painful sieges they were opposed to dangers and fatigue, and hunger; and these were the most undaunted chiefs despairs of the event. The apostle revived their faith and courage by the example of Ali, on whom he bestowed the surname of the Li-\(\text{a}\)n of God: perhaps we may believe that a Hebrew champion of gigantic stature was cloven to the chest by his true faith, but we cannot discern in it a particle of romance, which represents him as tearing from its hinges the gate of a fortress, and wielding the ponderous buckler in his left hand.\(^4\) After the reduction of the castles, the town of Chaibar submitted to the yoke. The chief of the tribe was tortured, in the presence of Mahomet, to force a confession of his hidden treasure: the industry of the shepherds and husbandmen was rewarded with a precarious toleration: they were permitted, so long as it should please the conqueror, to improve their patrimony, in equal shares, for his emolument and their own. Under the reign of Omar, the Jews of Chaibar were transplanted to Syria; and the caliph alleged the injunction of his dying master, that one and the true religion should be professed in his native land of Arabia.\(^5\)

Submission of Mecca, A.D. 629. Five times each day the eyes of Mahomet were turned towards Mecca,\(^6\) and he was urged by the most sacred and powerful motives to revisit, as a conqueror, the city and temple from whence he had been driven as an exile. The Caaba was seen to his waking and asleep, the object of his idle dreams and waking vision and prophecy; he unfurled the holy banner; and a rash promise of success too hastily dropped from the lips of the apostle. His march from Medina to Mecca displayed the peaceful and solemn pomp of a pilgrimage; seventy camels chosen and bedecked for sacrifice, preceded the van; the sacred territory was respected; and the captives were dismissed without ransom to proclaim his clemency and devotion. But no sooner did Mahomet descend into the plain, within a day's journey of the city, than he exclaimed, "they have treated the captives with the eyes of tigers." The numbers and resolution of the Koreish opposed his progress; and the roving Arabs of the desert might desert or betray a leader whom they had followed for the hopes of spoil. The intrepid fanatic sunk into a cool and cautious politician; he worked in the treaty his title of apostle of God, concluded with the Koreish and their allies a truce of ten years, engaged to restore the fugitives of Mecca who should embrace his religion, and stipulated only, for the ensuing year, "the faithful observance of the old religion as a friend, and of remaining three days to accomplish the rites of the pilgrimage. A cloud of shame and sorrow hung on the retreat of the musulmans, and their disappointment might justly accuse the failure of a prophet who had so often appealed to the evidence of success, by the faithful observance of the old religion as a friend, and of the prospect of Mecca: their swords were sheathed: seven times in the footsteps of the apostle they encompassed the Caaba: the Koreish had retired to the hills, and Mahomet, after the customary sacrifice, evacuated the city on the fourth day. The people was exalted for his devotion: the hostile chiefs were awed, or divided, or seduced; and both Caled and Amrou, the future conquerors of Syria and Egypt, most seasonably deserted the sinking cause of idolatry. The power of Mahomet was increased by the submission of the powerful confederates of Chaibar, whose names are so many for the conquest of Mecca; and the idolaters, the weaker party, were easily conviced of violating the truce. Enthusiasm and discipline impelled the march, and preserved the secret, till the blaze of ten thousand fires proclaimed to the astonished Koreish the design. True to the resolution of the apostle, Mahomet put to death the populace, the priests, and their temple. The haughty Abu Sophian presented the keys of the city, admired the variety of arts and ensigns that passed before him in review; observed that the son of Abdallah had acquired a mighty kingdom, and confessed, under the sygmatar of Omar, that he was the apostle of the true God. The return of Marius and Sylla was stained with the blood of the Romans: the revenge of Mahomet was stimulated by religious zeal, and his injured followers were eager to execute or to prevent the order of a massacre. Instead of indulging their passions and his own, the apostle enjoined them to forgive the guilt, and united the factions, of Mecca. His troops, in three divisions, marched into the city: eight and twenty of the inhabitants were slain by the sword of Caled; eleven men and six women were proscribed by the order of Mahomet; but he bestowed the city upon his lieutenant; and several of the most obnoxious victims were indebted for their lives to his clemency or contempt. The chiefs of the Koreish were prostrate at his feet. "What mercy can you expect from the man whom you have wronged?" "We confess our guilt," was their reply, "and we shall not confine in vain: begone! you are safe, you are free." The people of Mecca deserved their pardon by the profession of Islam; and after an exile of seven years, the fugitive missionary was enshrined as the prince and prophet of his native country.\(^7\) But the three hundred and sixty idols of the Caaba were ignominiously broken: the house of God was purified and adorned; as an example to future times, the apostle again fulfilled the duties of a pilgrim; and a perpetual law was enacted that no unbeliever should dare to set his foot on the territory of the holy city.\(^8\)

\(^{4}\) Abu Rafe, the servant of Mahomet, is said to affirm that he himself, and seven other men, afterwards tried, without success, to move the stone. A fourth report, (Al-\(\text{H}\)afid, (Hist. Sarac., p. 397)) of Abu Rafe was an eye witness, but who will be witness for Abu Rafe?\(^5\)

\(^{5}\) The retribution of the Jews is attested by Elmascli (Hist. Sarac., p. 398), and A. de Zadie, (Tableau historique de la juderie de la Palestine, p. 255); Niebuhr (Description de l'Arabe, p. 321), believes that the Jewish religion is a direct current, and some reverences of kings and of nations. I am informed that a Turkish ambassador at Paris was much scandalized at the representation of this tragedy.

\(^{6}\) The Mohammedan doctors still dispute, whether Mecca was re-

\(^{7}\) placed by force or consent, (Al-\(\text{H}\)afid, (Hist. Sarac., p. 397), and Niebuhr) and this verbal controversy is as much moment as our own about the Canaanite or the tribe of Chaibar.\(^8\)

\(^{8}\) In excluding the christians from the peninsula of Arabia, the apostle was not actuated by any of the feelings which the navigation of the Lycian authors (navigation of Gesner, p. 312, and Gagner ad loc.) and this verbal controversy is as much moment as our own about the Canaanite or the tribe of Chaibar.\(^9\)

\(^{9}\) Abulpharagius. (Dynast. p. 163.)
The conquest of Mecca determined the faith and obedience of the Arabian tribes; who, according to the vicissitudes of fortune, either rejoiced at the acceptance of the truth, as the settled and established religion of the people, or deplored the change which this great convert to the truth had brought. The seven tribes of Mecca, the first to embrace Islam, were the most powerful in the land, and the Seven Apostles were the most influential leaders. The seventh and last of these Seven Apostles was the Prophet's uncle, Ali, who, like the Prophet himself, was a descendant of the Prophet's grandfather, the Prophet's father's father.


The siege of Mecca, division of the spoils, &c. are related by Abulfeda (p. 172–123) and Gagnier, (tom. iii. p. 88–111). It is Al Jami al Mustakbar, Art. Mecca, tom. iv. p. 378. The fertile spot of Tayef was supposed to be a piece of the land of Syria detached and dropped in the general deluge.

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The Decline and Fall

Chapter XI

dence: either victory or paradise is our own." The
lance of a Roman decided the alternative; but the fal-
ing standard was rescued by Caelus, the proslavet of
Mecce, who, with a composure which hid his wounds but
redeemed his valour without-odd and repulsed the superior num-
bers of the Christians. In the nocturnal council of the
Camp he was chosen to command: his skilful evolu-
tions of the ensuing day secured either the victory or
the retreat of the Saracens; and Caelus is renowned
among his brethren and his enemies by the glorious
appellation of the Sword of God. In the pulpit, Ma-
homet described, with prophetic rapture, the crowns of
the blessed martyrs; but in private he betrayed the
feelings of human nature; he was surprised as he was
when the Light of Zeid was taken, said the astonished voyary. "You see," replied the
apostle, "a friend who is deploring the loss of his
most faithful friend." After the conquest of Mecce, the sovereign of Arabia ailed to prevent the hostile
preparations of Herodius; and solemnly proclaimed
war against the Romans, without attempting to dis-
guide the hardships and dangers of the enterprise.1 The
Moslems were discouraged: they alleged the want of
money, or horses, or provi-sions; the season of harvest,
and the intolerable heat of the summer; "He is much
more than a man," said Mahomet, "to compel their service; but on his return he admonished the
destroying, by an excommunication of fifty days.
Their desertion enhanced the merit of Abubeker, Oth-
man, and the faithful companions who devoted their lives and fortunes; and Mahomet displayed the banner
at the head of ten thousand horse and twenty thousand
foot. Painful indeed was the distress of the march:
latitude and thirst were aggravated by the scorching
and pestilential winds of the desert; ten men rode
by turns on the same camel; and they were reduced to
the necessity of drinking the water from the belly of that useful animal. In the middle-way, ten days'
journey from Medina and Damascus, they reposed
near the grove and fountain of Tahe, Beyond that
place Mahomet declined the prosecution of the war:
he declared himself satisfied with the peaceful inten-
tions, he was more probably dissuaded by the martial
array, of the emperor of the east. But the active and
intrepid Caelus spread around the terror of his name;
and the prophet received the submission of the tribes
and cities, from the Euphrates to Ailah, at the head of
20,000 of his Christian subjects. Mahomet readily granted the security of their freedom, their trade, the property of their goods, and the toleration of their worship.2 The weakness of their Arabian brethren had restrained them from op-
posing his ambition; the disciples of Jesus were en-
deared to the enemy of the Jews; and it was the in-
terest of a conqueror to propose a fair capitulation to
the most powerful religion of the earth.

Death of Ma-

1 The expedition of Tahe is recorded by our ordinary historians, Abu-Bida (Vit. Mahom., p. 123—127.), and Gagnier (Vie de Mahomet, tom. ii. p. 147—152.) but we have the advantage of appealing to the original evidence of the Koran, (p. 29, p. 154—155.) with Sale's learned and rational notes.

2 The Diplomata consociationis Jerusalem, is attested by Ahmed Ben
Joseph, and the author Ethele Sophronianus (Gagnier, Note, ad Abbu-
Bida, p. 273.) Mahomet himself, was of opinion, (Hist. Auchen-
corn, p. 11.) though he owns Mahomet's regard for the Christians, (p. 13.) only mingled peace and tribute. In the year 689, Soukai pub-
lished at Paris the text and version of Mahomet's sermon in favour of the
Christians: which was admitted and read-bout by the opposite
state of Salameh and Damascus: (Raso, Vit. Mahom., p. 223.) and his
fingerimbs of its authenticity, (Hist. Orient, p. 229.) Remanunt
in favor of Mahomet in the same letter, (Vit. Mahom., p. 150.) but Msbomeh (Hist. Eccle., p. 244.) disposes of the fealty of their opinion,
and inclines to believe it genuine. Yet Multabzamias assur-
me the imputation of causing the pro-
liferation of the Christian race. (Vit. Mahom., p. 190.) but Abu-Bida generally grants the imputa-
tion. (Hist. Auchencorn, p. 22.) and Msbomeh was prince of the Jacobites.

The epilogy, or fallen-sickness of Mahomet, is ascertained by

Theophylact's Zonaris, and the rest of the Greeks, and is prevail-
ingly swallowed by the gross bigotry of Histéirin (Hist. Orient, p. 10.) Fuli-
bertus, (Life of Mahomet, p. 12.) and Marcari. (tom. i. Alcoran, 276, 278.) The title and distressed soul of two Chris-
tians of the Koran (75, 74.) can hardly be explained thus an interpreta-
tion of the Koran, (Receuil.) an absurdity which I am more
weary of than the most pernicious denial; and the charia-
 offered him by the Prophet. (Hist. Mohom., tom. i. 325.) But Gagnier, (Add. Abu-Bida, p. 9. Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. p. 130.) and
Sale. (Koran, p. 459—471.)

1 This statement is not very confirmed: since it was offered as a test of
his prophetic knowledge: it is frankly confessed by his zealous vates, Abu-
Bida (p. 98.) and Al Tannaha. (Acd. Gagnier, tom. ii. p. 296—298.)

he was poisoned at Chibbar by the revenge of a Jew-
ish female.2 During four years, the health of the pro-
het declined; his infirmities increased; but his moral
brave and invincible; he was rewarded by intervals of re-
covered by the humility of his virtue or patience. "If
there be any man," said the apostle from the pulpit,
"whom I have unjustly scourged, I submit my own
head to the lash of retaliation. Have I expected the
reputation of a muslinman? let him proclaim my faults
in the face of the congregation. Has any one been
depoiled of his goods? the little that I possess shall
compensate the principal and the interest of the debt."3
"You are a creditor," replied Zeid, "who do I send
to three drams of silver," Mahomet heard the com-
plaint, satisfied the demand, and thanked his creditor for
acquising him in this world rather than at the day of
judgment. He beheld with temperate firmness the
approach of death; enfranchised his slaves; (seven-
teen men, as they are named, and eleven women) min-
uted directed the order of his funeral, and moderate-
rated the lamentations of his weeping friends, on
when he bestowed the benediction of peace. Till
the third day before his death, he regularly performed the
daily devotions of his religion; but the next day, sup-
ply his place, appeared to mark that ancient and
faithful friend as his successor in the sacred and regal
office; but he prudently defined the risk and envy of a
more explicit nomination. At a moment when his faculties were visibly impaired, he called for
pen and ink to write, or, more properly, to dictate a
devine book, the sum and accomplishment of all his
revelations: a dispute arose in the chamber, whether
he should be allowed to supersede the authority of the
Koran; and the prophet was forced to reprove the
indecent vehemence of his disciples. If the highest
credit may be afforded to the traditions of his wives
and companions, he maintained, in the bosom of his
family, and to the last moments of his life, the digni
of an apostle, and the faith of an enthusiast; described
the visits of Gabriel, who had an everlasting farewell
to the earth, and expressed his lively confidence, not
only of the mercy, but of the favour, of the Supreme
Being. In a familiar discourse he had mentioned his
special prerogative, that the angel of death was not
allowed to take his soul till he had respectfully asked
the permission of the prophet. The request was grant
ed; and the Prophet imputes that of his dissolution: his
head was reclined on the lap of Ayesha, the best beloved of all his wives; he fainted with the violence of pain; recovering his spirits, he raised
his eyes towards the roof of the house, and, with a
steady look, though a faltering voice, repeated the
last broken, though articulate, words: "O God!.. .
pardon my sins... Yes, ... I come, among my fellow-citizens on high!" and thus peace-
ably expired on a carpet spread upon the floor. An
expected fact for the conquest of Syria was stopped by
this mournful event: the army halted at the gates of
Medina: the chiefs were assembled round their dying
master. The city, more especially the house, of the
prophet, was a scene of chamber sorrow or silent de-
spair: fanaticism alone could suggest a ray of hope
and consolation. "How can he be dead, we witness,
our intressor, our mediator with God? By God he is
defeated: like Moses and Jesus he is wrapt in a
holy trance, and speedily will he return to his faithful people." The evidence of sense was disregarded; and Omar, unshackling his semitist, threatened to strike off the heads of the infidels, who should dare to affirm that the prophet was no more. He was urged to with some moderation of Abu Bekr. "It is Mahomet," said he to Omar and the multitude, "or the God of Mahomet, whom you worship! The God of Mahomet lived for ever, but the apostle was a mortal like ourselves, and according to his decree the Hebrew and their descendants would fall heir to the sacred possession of all the nations and the fate of mortality." He was piously interred by the hands of his nearest kinman, on the same spot on which he expired; Medina has been sanctified by the death and burial of Mahomet; and the innumerable pigeons of Mecca often turn aside from the way, to bow in this holy devotion, before the simple tomb of the prophet.

At the conclusion of the life of Mahomet, it may perhaps be expected, that I should balance his faults and virtues, that I should decide whether the title of enthusiast or imposter more properly belongs to that extraordinary man. He had been intimately conversant with the son of Abdallah, the task would still be difficult, and the success uncertain; at the distance of twelve centuries, I darkly contemplate his shade through a cloud of religious influence; and could I truly delineate the portrait of an hour, how much would it resemble theSolitary of Mount Hore, to the preacher of Mecca, and to the conqueror of Arabia. The author of a mighty revolution appears to have been endowed with a pious and contemplative disposition; so soon as man was made to rise above the pressure of want, he availed himself of them, and, in the age of forty, he lived with innocence, and would have died without a name. The unity of God is an idea most congenial to nature and reason; and a slight conversion with the Jews and christians would teach him to despise and detest the idolatry of Mecca. It was the duty of a man and a citizen to impart the doctrine of salvation, to rescue his country from the dominion of sin and error. The energy of a mind incessantly bent on the same object, would convert a general obligation into a particular call; the warm suggestion urges the most moral laws as the inspirations of heaven; the labour of thought would expire in rapture and vision; and the inward sensation, the invisible monitor, would be described with the form and attributes of an angel of God.

From enthusiasm to imposture, the step is pernicious and slippery; the daemon of Socrates affords a memorable instance, how a wise man may deceive himself, how a good man may deceive others, how the conscience may slumber in a mixed and middle state between self-loathing and voluntary fraud. Charity may be employed to prove that the motives of pure and genuine benevolence, but a human missionary is incapable of cherishing the obstinate unbelievers who reject his claims, despise his arguments, and persecute his life; he might forgive his personal adversaries, he may lawfully hate the enemies of God; he might forgive the sectarians, but the sect-passions would not be kindled in the bosom of Mahomet, and he sighed, like the prophet of Nineveh, for the destruction of the rebellions whom he had condemned. The injustice of Mecca, and the choice of Medina, transformed the citizen into a prince, the humble preacher into the leader of armies; but his sword was consecrated by the example of the saints; and the same God who afflicts a sinful world with pestilence and earthquakes, might inspire for their conversion or chastisement the valour of his servants. In the exercise of political government, he was compelled to abuse of the stern rigour of fanaticism, and to employ in some measure with the persecution and passions of his followers, and to employ even the vices of mankind as the instruments of their salvation.

The use of fraud and perfidy, of cruelty and injustice, were often subservient to the propagation of faith; and Mahomet commanded or approved the assassination of a faction; but these things were more fitting for the field of battle. By the repetition of such acts, the character of Mahomet must have been gradually stained; and the influence of such pernicious habits would be poorly compensated by the practice of the personal and social virtues which are necessary to maintain and preserve the reputation of a great spirit. Of his last years, ambition was the ruling passion; and a politician will suspect, that he secretly smiled (the victorious impostor)! at the enthusiasm of his youth, and the credulity of his proscytes. A philosopher will observe, that their credulity and his success would tend more strongly to fortify the assurance of his divine mission, that his interest and religion were inseparably connected, and that his conscience would be soothing to the persuasion, that he alone was absolved by the Deity from the obligation of personal peril. For their fatherly innocence, the sins of Mahomet may be allowed as an evidence of his sincerity. In the support of truth, the arts of fraud and fiction may be deemed less criminal; and he would have started at the foulness of the means, had he not been satisfied of the importance and justice of his cause. Even the most pious priest, I can surprise a word or action of unfeigned humanity; and the decree of Mahomet, that, in the sale of captives, the mothers should never be separated from their children, may suspend, or moderate, the censure of the historian.

The good sense of Mahomet's despaired Private life of the pomp of royalty; the apostle of God, submitted to the menial offices of the family; he kin-

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a The Greeks and Latins have invented and propagated the vulgar and ridiculous story, that Mahomet's iron tomb is suspended in the air at Mecca. (See Appendix, p. 63.)---Laudanum Chocolosolys de Rebus Turcicis, lib. i. p. 63, by the action of equal and potent lead stones, (Gloisonnaire de Bayle, Malevire, Ren. EE. IV.) Without any philosophical inquiries, it may suffice, that, 1. The prophet was not interred at Mecca; and, 2. That his tomb at Mount Hore, which has been visited by millions, is placed on the ground, (Reland, de Religione Mahometana, lib. i. p. 289—291.) Gagner, (Vie de Mahomet, tom. ii. p. 269—260.)

b At Jamasul pazariates (Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 372—391) the miracles which we attribute to the prophet and his companions; and the learned cannot decide, that this act of divinity is an act of theocracy and magic. The doctors are divided which, of Mecca and Medina, is the excentric.

c The last sickness, death, and burial of Mahomet, are described by Abulfeda and Gagner. (Vie de Mahomet, p. 133—142.) Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 254—257.) The most private and intimate passages which theTurks originally received from Ayerve, the son of Abbas, are, and the learned have survived the prophet many years, as they may repeat the tale from the nearest enemies of the infidels.

d Christians, rashly enough, have assigned to Mahomet a transcendent, that seemed to descend from heaven and whisper in his ear. This would be a rare act, used by (fictitious Religious Christian.) His Arabic translator, the learned Pocock, (quoted in the text) has shown his name by the authority of the man's family of his authors; and Gagner confuted that it is unknown. This angel, his identity, Pretorian legions, and the sick compassionate penitence, the pious is supposed in the Arabic version, but it is not contained in the Roman editions of the Latin text. (Pocock, Specimen Hist. Arabum, p. 196, 197.) Reland, de Religione Mahometana, lib. i. p. 293—294.)

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Islam:

Philip de Mornay, ed. (Leiden, 1968).
died the fire, swept the floor, milked the ewes, and mended with his own hands his shoes and his woollen garment. Dismissing the penance and merit of a hermit, he observed, without effort or vanity, the abstinenent diet of an Arab and a soldier. On solemn occasion he conferred on his companions the profit of his plentiful, but in his domestic life, many weeks would elapse without a fire being kindled on the hearth of the prophet. The interdiction of wine was confirmed by his example: his hunger was appeased with the presence of barley bread; he delighted in the taste of milk and honey; but his ordinary food consisted of dates and water. Perfumes and women were the two sensual enjoyments which his nature required, and his religion did not forbid; and Mahomet affirmed, that the fervour of his devotion was increased by these innocent pleasures. The heat of the climate inflames the blood of the Arabs; and their libidinous complex has been noticed by the writers of antiquity. Their inconstancy was regulated by the civil and religious laws of the Koran: their incestuous alliances were blamed; the boundless licence of polygamy was required, to free concubines; their rights both of bed and of dowry were equally determined; the freedom of divorce was discouraged, adultery was condemned as a capital offence; and fornication, in either sex, was punished with severe penalties. Such were the calm and rational precepts of the legislator; but in his private conduct, Mahomet indulged the appetites of a man, and abused the claims of a prophet. A special revelation dispensed him from the laws which he had imposed on his nation; the female sex, without reservation, was abandoned to his desires; and this singular pre-rogative excited the envy rather than the scandal, the veneration rather than the envy, of the devout musalmans. If we remember the seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines of the Prophet Solomon, we shall applaud the modesty of the Arabian, who espoused no more than seventeen or fifteen wives; eleven are enumerated who occupied at Medina their separate apartments round the house of the apostle, and enjoyed in their turns the favour of his conjugal society. What is singular enough, they were all widows, excepting his own wife, the daughter of Abubeker. She was doubtless a virgin, since Mahomet consummated his nuptials (such is the premature ripeness of the climate) when she was only nine years of age. The youth, the beauty, the spirit of Ayesha, gave her a superior ascendant: she was the true companion of her husband; and, after his death, the daughter of Abubeker was long revered as the mother of the faithful. Her behaviour had been ambiguous and inconstant: in a nocturnal march she was accidentally left behind; and in the morning Ayesha returned to the camp with a man. The temper of Mahomet was inclined to jealousy; but a divine revelation assured him of her innocence: he chastised her accusers, and published a law of domestic peace, that no woman should be condemned unless four male witnesses had seen her in the act of adultery. In his age of forty, Zaid, the companion of the Prophet, and wife, Mary, an Egyptian captive, the amorous prophet forgot the interest of his reputation. At the house of Zaid, his freedman and adopted son, he beheld, in a loose underdress, the beauty of Zeinah, and burst forth in an ejaculation of devotion and desire. The service, or grateful, freedman understood the hint, and Afschah, part iv, p. 49—51), have maliciously exaggerated the frailty of the prophet. The multitude of his women has been reduced to three hun-

24 Incroyable, en arabe apon apud in Venenous moraque salutare auctor, (Ammian. Marcellin l. xiv. c. 4.)

25 Le livre de l'interdiction de Mahomet (1327) has recapitulated the laws of marriage, divorce, etc.; and the curious reader of Selden's China (p. 144) may recognize many Iowa words in the sentence. But Aristotle, in his treatises, has observed, that of all men who have actually seen women in pyra, (Abulfeda, Ammara Moslem, p. 71. vers. Reiske.)
the mother of an illustrious progeny. The merit and misfortunes of Ali and his descendants will lead me to anticipate, in this place, the series of the Saracen caliphs, a title which describes the commanders of the faithful as the vicars and successors of the apostle of God.

Character of Ali.

The birth, the alliance, the character and the conduct of Ali, which exalted him above the rest of his countrymen, might justify his claim to the vacant throne of Arabia. The son of Abu Taleb was, in his own right, the chief of the family of Hashem, and the hereditary chieftains of the guardianship of the sacred temple of Mecca. The light of prophecy was extinct; but the husband of Fatima might expect the inheritance and blessing of her father; the Arabs had sometimes been patient of a female reign; and the two grandsons of the prophet had often been founded in his lap, and shown in his pulpit, as the hope of his age, and the chief of the youth of paradise. The first of the true believers might aspire to march before them in this world and in the next; and if some were of a graver and more rigid cast, the zeal and virtue of Ali were never outstripped by any recent proscylic. He understood the essence of the religious and moral law; he lived and died as a true saint: his wisdom still breathes in a collection of moral and religious sayings; and every antagonist, in the combats of the tongue or of the sword, was subdued by his eloquence and power. From the first hour of his mission to the last rites of his funeral, the apostle of the sword was venerated in the twelfty years of his reign, by whom he delighted to name his brother, his vicegerent, and the faithful Aaron of a second Moses. The son of Abu Taleb was afterwards reproached for neglecting to secure his interest by a solemn declaration of his right, which would have silenced all complaint of his succession by the decrees of heaven. But the unsuspecting hero confided in himself; the jealousy of empire, and perhaps the fear of opposition, might suspend the resolutions of Mahomet; and the bed of sickness was besieged by the artful Ayesha, the daughter of Omar.

The silence and death of the prophet restored the liberty of the people; and his companions convened an assembly to deliberate on the choice of his successor. The hereditary claim and lofty spirit of Ali, were not sufficient to invest the prophet, that Ali was the successor of the Prophet, and that the author of the Soveriegn Resolving and Resuming the Sceptre by a free and frequent election: the Korish could never be reconciled to the proud pre-eminence of the line of Hashem; the ancient discord of the tribes was rekindled; the fugitives of Mecca and the auxiliaries of Medina asserted their respective merits; and the rival pretensions of the two independent caliphs would have crushed in their infancy the religion and empire of the Saracens. The tumult was appeased by the disgraced resolution of Omar, who, suddenly renouncing his own pretensions, stretched forth his hand, and declared himself the first subject of the mild and venerable Ali, the urgence of the mystery, and the arquebusiers of the people, might excuse this illegal and precipitate measure; but Omar himself confessed from the pulpit, that if any massalman should hereafter presume to anticipate the suffrage of his brethren, both

The elector and the elected would be worthy of death. After the simple inauguration of Abu Bekar, he was obeyed in Medina, Mecca, and the provinces of Arabia; the Hashimites alone declined the oath of fidelity; and their chief, in his own house, maintained, above the passage of a year and a half, an independent state and an independence; listening to the threats of Omar, who attempted to consume with fire the habitation of the daughter of the apostle. The death of Fatima, and the decline of his party, subdued the indigenous spirit of Ali; he condescended to salute the commander of the faithful, and accept the excuse of the necessity of subjugating his convenient foes, and wisely rejected his courteous offer of abdicating the government of the Arabs. After a reign of two years, the aged caliph was summoned by the angel of death. In his testament, with the tacit approbation of his companions, he bequeathed the sceptre to the firm and intrepid virtue of Omar. "I have no occasion," said the modest candidate, "for the place." "But the place has occasion for you," replied Abu Bekar; Of Omar, who expired with a fervent prayer, that the God of Mahomet would ratify his seal upon his choice, and direct his clay in the way of concord and obedience. The prayer was not ineffectual, since Ali himself, in a life of privacy and prayer, persevered to reverence the superior worth and dignity of his rival; who comforted him for the loss of empire, by the most flattering marks of confidence. In the twelfth year of his reign Omar received a mortal wound from the hand of an assassin; he rejected with equal impartiality the names of his son and of Ali, refused to load his conscience with the sins of his successor, and devoted on six of the most respectable of his predecessors the anxious task of electing a composer of the faithful. On this occasion, Ali was again blamed by his friends for submitting his right to the judgment of men, for recognizing their jurisdiction by accepting a place among the six electors. He might have obtained their suffrage, had he designed to preside in a strict and servile capacity, only to the Koran and tradition, but likewise to the determinations of two seniors. With these limitations, Othman, the secretary of Mahomet, accepted the government; nor was it till after the third caliph, twenty-four years after the death of the prophet, that Ali was invested, by the popular choice, with the regal and sacerdotal office. The manners of the Arabs retained their primitive simplicity, and the son of Abu Bekar despaired the pomp and vanity of this world. At the hour of prayer, he repaired to the mosque of Medina, clothed in a thick cotton gown, a mule at his head, his slippers on one hand, and his bow in the other, instead of a walking-staff. The companions of the prophet and the chiefs of the tribes saluted their new sovereign, and gave him their right hands as a sign of fealty and allegiance. The mischiefs that flow from the contest of ambition are usually confided to the Turks and Persians. The times and countries in which they have been agitated. But the religious discord of the friends and enemies of Ali has been renewed in every age of the Hegira, and is still maintained in the immoral hatred of the Persians and Turks.4

4. Ockley (Hist. of the Saracens, vol. I. p. 5, 6.) from an Arabian MS. represents Lylyanah as adverse to the substitution of her father in the place of the apostle. This fact, as it is recorded by Ockley, is mentioned by Abulfed, 4 Al Jazari, and 4 Abokari, the last of whom (27) preserves the tradition, that the heir of Mahomet was elected by a council of the most conspicuous and venerable men of Medina, and that his son Ali was chosen, with the regal and sacerdotal office. The manner of the Arabs retained their primitive simplicity, and the son of Abu Bekar despaired the pomp and vanity of this world. At the hour of prayer, he repaired to the mosque of Medina, clothed in a thick cotton gown, a mule at his head, his slippers on one hand, and his bow in the other, instead of a walking-staff. The companions of the prophet and the chiefs of the tribes saluted their new sovereign, and gave him their right hands as a sign of fealty and allegiance. The mischiefs that flow from the contest of ambition are usually confided to the Turks and Persians. The times and countries in which they have been agitated. But the religious discord of the friends and enemies of Ali has been renewed in every age of the Hegira, and is still maintained in the immoral hatred of the Persians and Turks.4
mer, who are branded with the appellation of Skiltes or sectaries, have enriched the Mahometan creed with a new article of faith; and if Mahomet be the apostle, his companion Ali is the vicar, of God. In their private converse, in their public worship, they bitterly execrate the three usurpers who intercepted his indestructible right to the dignity of prophet and caliph: and the name of Omar expresses in their tongue the perfect accomplishment of wickedness and impiety. The Sonnites, who are supported by the general consent and orthodox traditions of the musulmans, entertain a more impartial, or at least a more decent, opinion of the caliphs. They accept the memory of Abubeker, Omar, Othman, and Ali, the holy and legitimate successors of the prophet. But they assign the last and most humble place to the husband of Fatima, in the persuasion that the order of succession was determined by the degrees of sanctity. An historian who balances the four caliphs with a hand unshaken by superstition, will calmly pronounce, that their manners were alike pure and exemplary; that their zeal was fervent and probably sincere; and that, in the midst of riches and power, their lives were devoted to the practice of moral duties. But the sanctity of Abubeker and Omar, the prudence of the first, the severity of the second, maintained the peace and prosperity of their reigns. The feeble temper and declining age of Othman were incapable of sustaining the weight of conquest and empire. He chose, and he was deceived; he trusted, and he was betrayed: and most deserving of the faithful became useless or hostile to his government, and his lax bounty was productive only of ingratitude and discontent. The spirit of discord went forth in the provinces, their deputies assembled at Medina, and the Chaliphs, the desperate fanatics who disclaimed the yoke of subordination and reason, were confounded among the free-born Arabs, who demanded the redress of their wrongs and the punishment of their oppressors. From Cufa, from Bassora, from Egypt, from the tribes of the desert, they roared in an encampment about a name from Medina, and despatched a haughty mandate to their sovereign, requiring him to execute justice, or to desecrate from the throne. His repentance began to disarray and disperse the insurgents; but their fury was rekindled by the arts of his enemies; and the Energy of a professed advocate was continued to blast his reputation and precipitate his fall. The caliph had lost the only guard of his predecessors, the esteem and confidence of the Moslems; during a siege of six weeks his water and provisions were intercepted, and the feeble garrison there were consigned to the mercy of the more timorously rebels. Forsaken by those who had abused his simplicity, the helpless and venerable caliph expected the approach of death; the brother of Ayesh a marched at the head of the assassins; and Othman, with the Koran in his lap, was pierced with a multitude of wounds. A tumultuous ancestry of five days was oppressed by the inauguration of Ali; his refusal would have provoked a general massacre. In this painful situation he supported the becoming pride of his son Hasan, the eldest of the three, and the caliph yielded to his repeated importunities, and bestowed on him the office of caliph. The murder of the eldest heir was therefore a signal. When the Persians shout with the bow, they frequently cry, "May this arrow go to the heart of Omar!" (Voyage de Chardin, tom. i. p. 239. 579. a.)

a This gradation of merit is distinctly marked in a creed illustrated by a picture in an old manuscript of the Koran, in the library at the assembly of the Caliphs (Ottolengh, p. 656.) and there are few among the Turks who presume to revive him as an idolat. (Voyage de Chardin, tom. i. p. 45.)
coast of the enemy, to spare their flying brethren, and to respect the bodies of the dead, and the chastity of the female captives. He generously proposed to save the blood of the Moslems by a single combat; but his trembling rival declined the challenge as a sentence of inevitable death. The ranks of the Syrians were broken by the charge of a hero who was mounted on a camel, with a long lance in his hand, and fielded his ponderous and two-edged sword. As often as he smote a rebel, he shouted the Allah Abar, "God is victorious!" and in the tumult of a nocturnal battle, he was heard to repeat four hundred times that tremendous curse. "The name of Damascus is meditated his light, but the certain victory was snatched from the grasp of Ali by the disobedience and enthusiasm of his troops. Their conscience was awed by the solemn appeal to the books of the Koran which Mowiyah exposed on the foremost lances; and Ali was compelled to yield to a disagreeable truce and an ignominious peace. He retreated with sorrow and indignation to Cufa; his party was discouraged; the distant provinces of Persia, of Yemen, and of Egypt, were subdued or seduced by his crafty rival; and the stroke of fanaticism, which was aimed against the thrones of the world, fell on the fatherland of Mahomet. In the temple of Mecca, three Christs or enthusiasts discoursed of the disorders of the church and state: they soon agreed, that the deaths of Ali, of Mowiyah, and of his friend Amr, the viceroy of Egypt, would restore the peace and unity of the Moslem empire. In theгоряк of his victim, poisoned his dagger, devoted his life, and secretly re- paired to the scene of action. Their resolution was equally desperate: but the first mistook the person of Amr, and stabbed the deputy who occupied his seat; the children of Damascus was dangerously hurried by the second; the lawful caliph, in the hour of Cufa, received a mortal wound from the hand of the third. He expired in the sixty-third year of his age, and mercifully recommended to his children, that they would discharge the murderer by a single stroke. The sepoys of the house of Abou Sophian had been fierce and obstinate; his conversion was tardy and reluctant; his new faith was fortified by necessity and interest; he served, he fought, perhaps he believed; and the sins of the time of ignorance were expiated by the recent merits of the family of Ommiyah. Mowiyah, the son of Abou Sophian, and of the cruel Henda, was dignified in his early youth with the office or title of secretary of the prophet: the judgment of Omar intrusted him with the government of Syria; and he administered that important province above forty years, either in a subordinate or supreme rank. Without renouncing the fame of valor and liberality, he affected the reputation of humanity and moderation: a grateful people were attached to his benefactor; and the victorious Moslems were enriched with the spoils of Cyprus and Rhodes. The sacred duty of pursuing the assassins of Othman was the engine and pretense of his ambition. The bloody shirt of the martyr was exposed in the mosque of Damascus: the emir declared the fate of his injured friend; and sixty thousand Moslems were engaged in his service by an oath of fidelity and revenge. Amr, the conqueror of Egypt, himself an army, was the first who saluted the new monarch, and divulged the dangerous secret, that the Arabian caliphs might be erected elsewhere than in the city of the prophet. The policy of Mordecai, which ended the value of his rival, and, after the death of Ali, he negotiated the abdication of his son Hassan, whose mind was either above or below the government of the world, and who retired without a sigh from the palace of Cufa to an humble cell near the tomb of his grandfather. The aspiring wishes of the caliph were finally crowned by the im- portant change of an elective to an hereditary kingdom. Some murmurs of freedom or fanaticism attested the reluctance of the Arabs, and four citizens of Medina refused the oath of fidelity; but the designs of Mowiyah were aided by the influence of Ali, and his son Yezid, a feeble and dissolute youth, was proclaimed as the commander of the faithful and the successor of the apostle of God.

A familiar story is related of the benevolent son of Ali. He was sitting at a table, a slave had insincerely dropped a dish of scalding broth on his master: the heedless wretch fell prostrate, to depurate his punishment, and repeated a verse of the Koran: "Paradise is for those who command their anger"—"I am not angry:"—"and for those who pardon offenses:"—"I pardon your offense:"—"and for those who return good for evil:"—"I give you your liberty, and four hundred pieces of silver." With an equal measure of piety, Hosein, the younger brother of Hassan, inherited a rament of his father's spirit, and served with honour against the christians in the siege of Constantinople. The primogeniture of the line of Hashem, and the holy character of grandson of the apostle, had centred in his person, and he was at liberty to prosecute his claim against Yezid, the tyrant of Damascus, whose vices he despised, and whose title he had never desired. A list was secretly transacted from Cufa to Medina, of one hundred and forty thousand Moslems, who professed their attachment to his cause, and who were eager to draw their swords so soon as he should appear on the banks of the Euphrates. Against the advice of his wisest friends, he resolved to trust his person and family in the bands of a perilous people. He traversed the desert of Arabia with a temerous retinue of women and children; but as he approached the confines of Iraq, he was alarmed by the solitary or hostile face of the country, and suspected either the defection or ruin of his party. His fears were just: Obeidollah, the governor of Cufa, had extinguished the first sparks of an insurrection; and Hosein, in the plain of Kh-bela, was encompassed by a body of five thousand horse, who interrupted his communication with the city and the river. He might still have escaped to a fortress in the desert, that had defied the power of Caesar and Chosroes, and confided in the fidelity of Tis, which would have armed ten thousand warriors in his defence. In a conference with the chief of the enemy, he proposed the option of three honourable conditions; that he should be allowed to return to Medina, or be stationed in a frontier garrison against the Turks, or safely conducted to the presence of Yezid. But the commands of the caliph, or his lieutenant, were stern and absolute; and Hosein

0 Abofida, a modern Sonnita, relates the different opinions concerning the burial of Ali, but adopts the sepulture of Cufa, hostile faction. J. Bagster, in his Nefhrum, as reckoned by Nefhrum to amount annually to 3000 of the dead, p. 283, 289.

1 All the tyrants of Persia, from Ashdral d' Bowsal (A. D. 977, D'Her- bert, i. p. 483), to the last Ommiyah, (A. D. 1747, Epenh. tom. ii, p. 135,) have enriched the tomb of Ali with the spoils of the people. The dome is copper, with a bright and inasty gilding, which gives to the spot the appearance of many a sacred shrine.

2 The city of Meshed Alich, five or six miles from the ruins of Cufa, and one hundred and twenty to the south of Baghdad, is of the size and form of the modern Jerusalem. Meshed Hosein, larger and more populous, is at the distance of thirty miles.

CHAP. XI.

OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

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was informed that he must either submit as a captive and a criminal to the commander of the faithful, or expect the consequences of his rebellion. "Do you think," replied he, "to terrify me with death!" And, during the short respite of a night, he prepared with calm and solemn resignation to encounter his fate. He checked the lamentations of his weeping wife, who deplored the impending ruin of his house. "Our trust," said Hosein, "is in God alone. All things, both in heaven and earth, must perish and return to their Creator. My brother, my father, my mother, who are better than me, and every man that has an example in the prophet." He pressed his friends to consult th'ir safety by a timely flight: they unanimously refused to desert or survive their beloved master; and their courage was fortified by a fervent prayer and the assurance of paradise. On the morning of the final day, he mounted on his horseback, with his sword in one hand and the Koran in the other: his generous band of martyrs consisted only of thirty-two horse and forty foot; but their flanks and rear were secured by the tent-ropes, and by a deep trench which they had hewed before their face in the ruins of the castle of the Arabs. The enemy advanced with reluctance; and one of their chiefs deserted, with thirty followers, to claim the partnership of inevitable death. In every close onset, or single combat, the despair of the Fatimites was contended by the indomitable valor of the . . .

...next...
The talents of Mahomet are entitled to our applause, but his success has perhaps too strongly attracted our admiration. Are we surprised that a multitude of proselytes should embrace the doctrine and the passions of an eloquent fanatic! In the heresies of the church, the same seductions have been tried and the same arts to which the apostles of the reformation. Does it seem incredible that a private citizen should grasp the sword and the sceptre, subdue his native country, and erect a monarchy by his victorious arms! In the moving picture of the dynasties of the east, a hundred fortunates have been smitten, and it is often asserted that he mounted more formidable obstacles, and filled a large scope of empire and conquest. Mahomet was alike instructed to preach and to fight, and the union of these opposite qualities, while it enhanced his merit, contributed to his success. The operation of force and persuasion, of enthusiasm and fear, continually acted on each other, till every barrier yielded to their irresistible power. His voice invited the Arabs to freedom and victory, to arms and rapine, to the indulgence of their daring passions in this world and the other; the devotion to a level with the senses and imagination, the apostles to that of the reformers. Does it seem incredible that a private citizen should grasp the sword and the sceptre, subdue his native country, and erect a monarchy by his victorious arms? In the moving picture of the dynasties of the east, a hundred fortunates have been smitten, and it is often asserted that he mounted more formidable obstacles, and filled a large scope of empire and conquest. Mahomet was alike instructed to preach and to fight, and the union of these opposite qualities, while it enhanced his merit, contributed to his success. The operation of force and persuasion, of enthusiasm and fear, continually acted on each other, till every barrier yielded to their irresistible power. His voice invited the Arabs to freedom and victory, to arms and rapine, to the indulgence of their daring passions in this world and the other; the devotion to a level with the senses and imagination, the apostles to that of the reformers. Does it seem incredible that a private citizen should grasp the sword and the sceptre, subdue his native country, and erect a monarchy by his victorious arms?

Permanency of his religion. But the permanency of his religion that deserves our wonder is not the progress which he engrafted at Mecca and Medina, preserved after the revolutions of twelve centuries, by the Indian, the African, and the Turkish proselytes of the Koran. If the Christian apostles, St. Peter or St. Paul, had returned to the Arabian, they might possibly inquire the name of the Deity who is worshipped with such mysterious rites in that magnificent temple; at Oxford or Geneva, they would experience less surprise; but it might still be incumbent on them to perceive the catechism of the church, and to study the orthodox commentaries on their own writings and the words of their Master. But the Turkish dome of St. Sophia, with an increase of splendour and size, represents the humble tabernacle erected at Medina by the hands of Mahomet. The Mahometans have uniformly withstood the temptation of reducing the objects of their faith and reverence to a level with the senses and imagination, the apostles to that of the reformers. Does it seem incredible that a private citizen should grasp the sword and the sceptre, subdue his native country, and erect a monarchy by his victorious arms?

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CHAPTER XII.

The conquest of Persia, Syria, Egypt, Africa, and Spain, by the Arabs or Saracens. — Empire of the caliphs, or successors of Mahomet. — State of the Christians, &c. under their government.

The revolution of Arabia had not changed the character of the Arabs: the death of Mahomet was the signal of independence; and the hasty structure of his power and religion tottered to its foundations. A small and faithful band of his primitive disciples had listened to his eloquence, and shared his distress; had fled with the apostle from the persecution of Mecca, or had received

success of Mahomet.

as the fundamental code, not only of theology but of civil and criminal jurisprudence; and the laws which regulate the actions and the property of mankind, are guarded by the infallible and immutable sanction of the will of God. This religious servitude is attended with some practical disadvantage; the illiterate legislator has been driven into the paths of injustice; the blood of those of his country; and the institutions of the Arabian desert may be ill adapted to the wealth and numbers of Ispanan and Constantinople. On these occasions, the Cadi respectfully places his head on the holy volume, and substitutes a dexterous interpretation of the provisions of equity, and the manners and policy of the times.

His beneficial or pernicious influence. His merciful views towards the public happiness is the last consideration in the character of Mahomet. The most bitter or most bigoted of his Christian or Jewish foes, will surely allow that he assumed a false commission to inculcate a salutary doctrine, less perfect only than their own. He piously supposed, as the basis of his religion, the truth and sanctity of their prior revelations, the miracles and miracles of their founders. The beds of Arabia were broken before the throne of God; the blood of human victims was expiated by prayer, and fasting, and alms, the laudable or innocent acts of devotion; and his rewards and punishments of a future life were painted by the images most congenial to an ignorant and ears generation. Mahomet was perhaps incapable of dictating a moral and political system for the use of his countrymen; but he breathed among the faithful a spirit of charity and friendship, recommended the practice of the social virtues, and checked, by his laws and precepts, the thirst of revenge and the oppression of widows and orphans. The hostile tribes were united in faith and obedience, and the valour which had been idle spent in domestic quarrels, was vigorously directed against a foreign enemy. Had the impulse been less powerful, Arabia, free at home, and formidable abroad, might have flourished under a succession of her native monarchs. Her sovereignty was lost by the extent and rapidity of conquest. The colonies of the nation were scattered over the east and west, and their blood was mingled with the blood of their converts and captives. After the reign of three caliphs, the throne was transported from Medina to Damascus by the death of the Tigris; the holy cities were violated by impious war; Arabia was ruled by the rod of a subject, perhaps of a stranger; and the Bedouins of the desert, awakening from their dream of dominion, resumed their old and solitary independence.
The fugitive in the walls of Medina. The increasing myths, which acknowledged Mahomet as their king and prophet, had been compelled by his arms, or ad-

duced by his prosperity. The polytheists were con-

founded by the simple idea of a solitary and invisible 

God; the pride of the christians and Jews discarded 

the idea of a triune Deity, and, in the spirit of contm-

buttery legislation and anathema. Their habits of faith and obedience were not sufficiently 

confirmed; and many of the new converts regretted the venerable antiquity of the law of Moses, or the rites and mysteries of the catholic church, or the idols, 

the sacrifices, the joyous festivals of their pagan an-

cestors. The jarring interests and hereditary feuds of 

the Arabian tribes had not yet coalesced in a system of 

union and subordination; and the barbarians were 

impatient of the mildest and most salutary laws that 

curbed their passions, or violated their customs. They 

submitted with reluctance to the religious precepts 

of the Koran, the abstinence from wine, the fast of the 

Ramadan, and the daily repetition of five prayers; and 

the alms and tithe, which were collected for the trea-

sury of Medina, could be distinguished only by a name 

from that payment of a perpetual and immovable 

tax. The example of Mahomet had excited a spirit of 

fanaticism or imposture, and several of his rivals 

presumed to imitate the conduct, and defy the author-

ty, of the living prophet. At the head of the fugitives 

and mutineers was the first caliph, the immediate 

caret of Mecca, Medina, and Tayef; and perhaps the 

Koinish would have restored the idols of the Caaba, 

if their levity had not been check'd by a seasonable 

reproof. 1 Ye men of Mecca, will ye be the last to 

embrace, and the first to abandon, the religion of 

Islam? 2 After exhorting the Moslems to confide in 

the aid of God and his apostle, Abubeker resolved, by 

a vigorous attack, to prevent the junction of the 

rebels. The women and children were safely lodged in 

cavities of the mountains; the warriors, marching un-

der the crows of banners, diffused the terror of their arms 

and the appearance of a military force reinvigora 

and confirmed the loyalty of the faithful. The inconstant 

tribes accepted, with humble repentance, the duties of 

prayer, and fasting, and alms; and, after some exam-

ples of success and severity, the most daring apost-

tates fled prostrate before the sword of the Lord and 

of Caled. In the fertile province of Yemenah, 3 between 

the Red sea and the gulf of Persia, in a city not infe-

rior to Medina itself, a powerful chief, his name was 

Moselaimum, had assumed the character of a prophet, 

and a sort of mania listened to his voice. A female prophetess was attracted by his reputation: the 

decencies of words and actions were spurned by these 

favourites of heaven; 4 and they employed several days in 

mystic and amorous converse. An obscure sentence 

of his Koran, or book, is yet extant; and, in the pride 

of his mission, Misselaima descended to offer a part-

tion of the earth. The proposal was answered by 

Mahomet with contempt; but the rapid progress of 

the impostor awakened the fears of his successor: 

forty thousand Moslems were assembled under the 

standard of Caled; and the existence of their faith 

was resigned to the event of a decisive battle. In the first 

action they were repulsed with the loss of twelve hun-

dred men; but the skill and perserverance of their 

general prevailed: their defeat was avenged by the 

slaughter of ten thousand infidels; and Moselaima 

was assassinated. The same javelin which had mortally wounded the uncle of Mahomet. The various rebels of Arabia, without a 

chief or cause, were speedily suppressed by the 

power and discipline of the rising monarchy; and the whole nation again professed, and more stedfastly 

held, the religion of the Koran. The ambition of the 

caliphs provided an immediate exercise for the restless 

spirit of the Saracens: their valour was united in the 

preservation of a holy war; and their enthusiasm was 

equally confirmed by opposition and victory. 

From the rapid conquest of the Sarracen 

260 THE DECLINE AND FALL CHAP. XII. 

Character of their caliphs. that the first caliphs commanded in person the armies of the faithful, and sought the crown of martyrdom in 

the most arduous struggles. The courage of 

Abubeker and the sternness of Othman were revealed in the persecution and wars of the prophet; and the 

personal assurance of paradise must have taught them 

to desire the pleasures and dangers of the present 

world. But they ascended the throne in a venerable 

age or maturity, and were the object of the domestic 

cults of religion and justice the most important duties of 

sovereign. Except the presence of Omar at the siege 

of Jerusalem, their longest expeditions were the frequent 

pilgrimages from Medina to Mecca; and they calmly 

received the tidings of victory as they prayed or preach-

ed before the sepulchre of the prophet. The austere 

and frugal measure of their lives was the effect of virtu-

ity or habit, and the pride of their simplicity insured 

the vain magnificence of the kings of the earth. When 

Abubeker assumed the office of caliph, he enjoined 

his daughter Ayeshah to take a strict account of his private 

patrimony, that it might be evident whether he were 

enriched or impoverished by the service of the state. 

He thought himself entitled to a stipend of three pieces of 

gold, with the sufficient maintenance of a single 

camel and a black slave; but on the Friday of each 

week he distributed the residue of his own and the 

public money, first to the most worthy, and then to 

the most indigent, of the Moslems. The remains of 

his wealth, a coarse garment, and five pieces of gold, 

were delivered to his successor, who lamented with a 

modern taste that the caliphate had not become an im-

terable model. Yet the abstinence and humility of Omar 

were not inferior to the virtues of Abubeker; his food 

consisted of barley-bread or dates; his drink was wa-

ter; he preached in a gown that was torn or tattered 

in twelve places; and a Persian satrap, who paid his 

homage to the conqueror, found him asleep among 

the beggars on the steps of the mosch of Medina. 

Economy is the source of liberality, and the increase of the revenue enabled Omar to establish a just and per-

petual reward for the past and present services of the faithful. He assumed the just title of his own accomplishment, and not merely that of his 

kinsman to Abbas, the uncle of the prophet, the first and most ample allowance of twenty-five thousand drams or 

to pieces of silver. Five thousand were allotted to each of the aged warriors, the reliets of the field of Beder, and the last remnant of the companions of Maho-

net was distinguished by the annual reward of three 

thousand pieces. One thousand was the stipend of the 

veterans who had fought in the first battles against 

the Greeks and Persians, and the decreasing pay, as 

low as twelve pieces of silver, was adapted to the re-

spectable merit and seniority of his soldiers. 

1 See the description of the city and country of Al Yemenah, in Abulfeda, p. 60. 4 It is well known that in the thirteenth century, there were some ruins, and a very few palms; but in the present century, the same ground is occupied by the vasonas and arms of a modern grove. 

2 In the thirteenth century, there were imperfectly known by Almorh, Descript. de Tl Arabie, p. 296—300. 5 See this text, which demonstrates a gregariousness in the works of genera-

In the Anjou, and died at Basra. (Abulfeda, p. 76. vide Reuske, p. 63.) 

3 See this text, which demonstrates a gregariousness in the works of genera-

In Alphonzius (Specimen Hist. Arabum, p. 13 and Dymast, c. 103.) and Abulfeda. (Manuz, p. 59.)
Under his reign, and that of his predecessor, the conquerors of the east were the trusty servants of God and the people; the mass of the public treasure was conscripted to the expenses of peace and war: a prudent policy, and the genius of historians, has conserved for us the details of the discipline of the Saracens, and they unite, by a rare felicity, the despatch and execution of despotism, with the equal and frugal maxims of a republican government.

The heroic courage of Ali,6 the consummate prudence of Musawiyah,7 excited the emulation of their successors; and the eastern and the central provinces of the empire, which had been the school of civil discord, were more usefully applied to propagate the faith and dominion of the prophet. In the sloth and vanity of the palace of Damascus, the succeeding princes of the house of Omneyah were alike destitute of the qualifications of statesmen and of saints.1 Yet the spoils of unknown nations were continually lost at the foot of their throne, and the uniform ascent of the Arabian greatness must be ascribed to the spirit of the nation rather than the abilities of their chiefs. A large deduction must be allowed for the want of their enemies. The birth of Mahomet was fortunately placed in the most degenerate and disorderly period of the Persians, the Romans, and the barbarians, of Europe: the empires of Tiran, or even of Constantine or Charlemagne, would have repelled the assault of the naked Saracens, and the terror of their exploits might have been obscur'd lost in the sands of Arabia.

Their conquests.

In the victorious days of the Roman republic, it had been the aim of the senate to confine their consuls and legions to a single war, and to suppress a first enemy before they proceeded to the conquest of their enemies. Those timid maxims of policy were disdained by the magnanimity or enthusiasm of the Arabian caliphs. With the same vigour and success they invaded the succors of Augustus and those of Artaxerxes; and the rival monarchies at the same instant became the prey of an enemy whom they had been so long accustomed to despise. In the ten years of the administration of Omar, the Saracen reduced to his obeisance thirty six thousand cities or castles, destroyed four thousand churches or temples of the unbelievers, and edified fourteen hundred mosques for the use of the religion of Mahomet. One hundred years after his flight from Mecca, the arms and the reign of his successors extended from India to the Atlantic ocean, over the various and distant provinces, which may be comprised under the names of I. Persia, II. Syria, III. Egypt; IV. Africa; and, V. Spain. Under this government events were more or less of those memorable transactions; despatching with brevity the remote and less interesting conquests of the east, and reserving a fuller narrative for those domestic countries, which had been included within the pale of the Roman empire. Yet I must excuse my own defects by a just complaint of the blindness and insufficiency of my guides. The Greeks, so loquacious in controversy, have not been anxious to celebrate the triumphs of their enemies.8 After a century of ignorance, the first annals of the Mussulmans were col-

1 The conquerors, and even their historians, were astonished by the dawn of their future greatness: "In the same year," says Elmasin, "Caled fought many sig-
ificant naval battles; and a large number of Arabian vessels were cut to pieces or slain by the capture of their first ships." 9

2 A.D. 623.

3 The original Arab is known only by the Persian and Turkish versi-
ons. The Saracenic history of Ibn Abul, or Elmasin, is said to be an abridgment of the great Tabari. (Ockley's History of the Sarac-
en, vol. ii. prep.; xxxvii. and list of authors, D'Herbelot, p. 265. 170.)

4 Besides the list of authors prefixed by Flavienus, (Life of Maho-
met, p. 172—175.) the Arab historian, Abu-Melchile, has included in his text of the De Pece de la Croix, (Hist. de Gesangeien, p. 325—350.) we find in the Bibliotheque Orientale Turckh, a catalogue of two or three hundred histories or chronicles, which are inserted as part of the East, of which not four are older than Tabari. A sketchy oriental literature is given by Reiche (Or. et Traditions des Arabes, 1705.) and by the an-
palatium ad calculation Abulbidae synis Lijade, 1705) but his project and the French version of Petit de la Croix, (Hist. de Timor et Pacis, tom. i. pref.) has been undertaken by another hand.

5 The particular historians and geographers will be occasionally introduced. The following list of works of every kind, which they have guided me in this general narrative. 1. Anales Elmasin, Patriarchelli Alexandrin, tom. i. 2. Abdabs Alhabbristan, in Oxon., 1695. In ita. A copious edition of an indifferent author, translated by Pocock to gratify the prudential prejudices of his friend Selden. 3. Historia Sarracenic Georgii Elmasini, opera et studio Thomas Repinini, in Lugd. Batavorum, 1652. It is said to have been translated a corrupt. Abs, and his version is often deficient in style and sense. 3. Historiae commendatae Dianusarnari, a Gregorio Abulpharagius, interprete Edardus Pococke, in Oxon., 1693. More useful for the history than the civil history of the east. 4. Abulfeda Anales Moslemici ad Ann. Hebrat. eccesi. a Jo. Jau. Reiche, in 2. Lippomani, 1677.) the original and yet, how far below the name of Abulfeda. We know that he wrote as Hamadh, in the fourteenth century. The three former were divided into the ten preceding centuries; the two first, native of Egypt; a Melchite patriarch, and Jacobite scribe.

6 M. de Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. i. pref. xiv. xx.) has charac-
terized, with truth, the historians of the eastern empires as histo-
rians, the dry annalists, and the tunnel and soul weary. 8. Bibliotheque Orientale, par M. P. Bazard, in folio, Paris, 1717. 7. For the character of the Geographer he will consult the third volume of his work. (Voyages du Levant, part i. chap. 1.) His work is a agreeably unceasing, with the variety, the gravity even, from which he has digested the alphabetical order; and find him more satisfactory in the general history of the Persian than the Arabian chronology. The recent supplement from the papers of M. M. Visconti and Belardinelli (in folio, Turin, 1765—70.) is of a different cast, a medley of tales, proverbs, and Chinese antiquities. 8. Pocock will consult the late Thomas Repinini, in Lugd. Batav., 1652. 9. The French geographer is equally at home in every age and every climate of the world. 10. Pocock and Chated plurima in hoc ann. quaestis, praps vivant...
cible Caled was soon transferred to the Syrian war: the invasion of the Persian frontier was conducted by less active or less prudent commanders: the Saracens were repulsed with loss in the passage of the Eu-
phrates. Though the Persians were the insolent pur-
suit of the Magians, their remaining forces still hovered in the desert of Babylon.

Battle of Ca-
desia, D. B. 1002. The Persians were disposed, and in the pursuit of the Saracens, formed their
troops in three bodies and the inferior part of the army was thrown and captured in the field—a leathern apron of a blacksmith, who, in ancient times, had added the deliverer of Persia but this badge of heroic poverty was disguised, and almost concealed, by a profusion of precious gems. After this victory, the wealthy and ambitious faith took possession of the throne of Persia, and his conquests were firmly established by the speedy foundation of the Abbasides, a place which ever commands the trade and navigation of the Persians. At the dis-
tance of fourscore miles from the gulf, the Euphrates and Tigris unite in a broad and direct current, which is aptly styled the river of the Arabs. In the interval, between the junction and the mouth of these famous streams, the new settlement was placed on the west-
ern bank: the first colony was composed of eight hun-
dred Moslems; but the influence of the situation on the banks of the river made it a populous and well-guarded place.

The youth and inexperience of the prince were many years of age, declining a perilous encounter: the royal standard was delivered into the hands of his general Rustam; and a remnant of thirty
thousand regular troops was swelled in truth, or in opinion, to one hundred and twenty thousand subjects, or allies, of the great king. The Moslems, whose numbers were reinforced from twelve to thirty thou-
sand, had pitched their camp in the plains of Cadesia; and though it consisted of several foreign men, collected to produce more soldiers, than the unwieldy host of the infidels. I shall here observe what I must often re-
peat, that the charge of the Arabs was not like that of the Greeks and Romans, the effort of a firm and compact infantry: their military force was chiefly formed of cavalry and archers; and the engagement, which was often interrupted and often renewed by single combats and flying skirmishes, might be pro-
ected without any decisive event to the continuance of several days. The periods of the battle of Cadesia were distinguished by their peculiar apppellations. The first, from the well-timed appearance of six thousand of the Syrian horsemen, was denominated the day of succor. The day of concession might express the disorder of one, or perhaps of both, of the contending armies. The third, a nocturnal tumult, received the whimsical name of the night of darkness. From the discordant elements which were compared to the inarticulate sounds of the fiercest animals. The morning of the succeding day determined the fate of Persia; and a seasonable whirl-
wind drove a cloud of dust against the faces of the un-
beaten Persians, and the glare of arms concealed the pres-
tent of Rustam, who, far unlike the ancient hero of his name, was gently reclining in a cool and tranquil shade, amidst the baggage of his camp, and the train of mules that were laden with gold and silver. On the sound of danger he started from his couch; but his flight was overaken by a valiant Arab, who caught him by the foot, struck off his head, hoisted it on a lance, and instantly returning to the field of battle,
been imported, which is employed with a mixture of wax to illuminate the palaces of the east. Strangers to the name and properties of that odoriferous gum, the Saracen, mistaking it for salt, mingled the camphor and their salt and spread the sweet fragrance of the".  

This page contains a narrative about the architecture and history of Persia, specifically focusing on the city of Cufa and its habitation. It describes how the city was occupied and describes its structures and the life of its inhabitants. The text also notes the presence of shrubs and vegetation around the city, and mentions the mythological figure Zoroaster. It concludes with a reference to the city of Arbela in ancient times. The page also contains a mention of the Tigris and the Persian Empire, highlighting the importance of these geographical features in the region. The text is rich in historical and cultural references, providing insights into the daily life and architectural practices of the time. The narrative is interspersed with references to other ancient cities and empires, such as Nineveh and the Persian Empire, to provide a broader context for the story being told. This page is a key reference for understanding the historical development of Persia and its impact on the surrounding regions. The narrative is concise yet detailed, providing a comprehensive overview of the region's history and cultural significance. The text is written in a clear and logical manner, making it easy to follow and understand. It is a valuable resource for anyone interested in the history and culture of Persia and its role in the broader context of ancient history.
After the fall of the Persian kingdom, the river Oxus divided the territories of the Sacarnes and of the Turks. This narrow boundary was soon over-raped by the spirit of the Arabs: the governors of Chorasun extended their successive inroads; and one of their triumphs was the capture of a camel-driver, whom, on the instant of his capture, she dropped in her precipitate flight beyond the hills of Bochera. But the final conquest of Transoxiana, as well as of Spain, was reserved for the glorious reign of the inactive Walid; and the name of Catibah, the camel driver, declares the origin and merit of his conquerors.

This assumed title was first exhibited on the banks of the Indus, the spacious regions between the Oxus, the Jaxartes, and the Caspian sea, were reduced by the arms of Catibah to the obedience of the prophet and his successors. The Mahometan banner was displayed on the banks of the Indus, the spacious regions between the Oxus, the Jaxartes, and the Caspian sea, were reduced by the arms of Catibah to the obedience of the prophet and his successors.

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...
hands of the infidels. And I would have you know, that the fighting for religion is an act of obedience to God." His messengers returned with the tidings of pious and martial ardour which they had kindled in every part of the land. As you have seen, they resolutely filled with the intrepid bands of the Saracens, who panted for action, complained of the heat of the season and the scarcity of provisions, and accused with impatient murmurs the delays of the caliph. As soon as their numbers were complete, Abubeker ascended to the head of them and invited them to war. As you have seen, far and near, and in the distant parts of the empire, that call was heeded with enthusiasm; and forthwith the whole army was at rest, and there was no more question of the undertaking. In person, and on foot, he accompanied the first day's march; and when the blushing leaders attempted to dismount, the caliph removed their burden from their shoulders, and the ranks of the leaders, or those who walked, in the service of religion, were equally meritorious. His instructions to the chiefs of the Syrian army were inspired by the warlike fanaticism which advances to seizure, and affects to despise, the objects of earthly ambition. "Remember," said the same chief of the prophet, "that you are always in the presence of God, on the verge of death, in the assurance of judgment, and the hope of paradise. Avoid injustice and oppression; consult with your brethren, and study to preserve the love and confidence of your troops. When you fight the battles of the Lord, accept your own land and that of the enemy. As assassins you thought, but let not your victory be stained with the blood of women or children. Destroy no palm-trees, nor burn any fields of corn. Cut down no fruit-trees, nor do any mischief to cattle, only such as you kill to eat. When you make any covenant or article, stand to it, and be as good as your word. If you are called upon to find some religious persons who live retired in monasteries, and propose to themselves to serve God that way: let them alone, and neither kill them nor destroy their monasteries; 
And you will find another sort of people, that belong to the synagoge of Satan, who have been crowned; be sure you cleave their skulls, and give them no quarter till they either turn Mahomets or pay tribute." All profane or frivolous conversation, all dangerous recollection of ancient quarrels, was severely prohibited among the Arabs: in the tumult of battle, the exclamation of religion was limited to the word of prayer, and the intervals of action were employed in prayer, meditation, and the study of the Koran. The abuse, or even the use, of wine was chastised by four-score strokes on the soles of the feet, and in the fervour of their primitive zeal many secret sinners revenged their own convictions, or vindicated the cause of God by the unexampled sacrifice of their lives. Under some hesitation, the command of the Syrian army was delegated to Abu Ob-idah, one of the fugitives of Mecca and companions of Mahomet; whose zeal and devotion were assuaged, without being abated, by the singular mildness and benevolence of his temper. But in all the emergencies of war, the soldiers demanded the superior genius of Caled; and whoever might be the choice of the prince, the sword of God was both in feet and fame the foremost leader of the Saracens. He obeyed without reluctance; he was consulted without jealousy; and he was the spirit and the soul of the troops, that Caled professed his readiness to serve under the banner of the faith, though it were in the hands of a child or an enemy. Glory, and riches, and dominion, were indeed promised to the victorious Mussulman; but he was carefully instructed, that if the goods of this life were his only incitement, they like brass would be melted away. 
One of the fifteen provinces of Syria, the cultivated lands to the eastward of Siege of Bosra.
The Jordan, had been decorated by Roman vanity, with the name of Arabia, 1 and the first arms of the Saracens were justified by the semblance of a national right. The call to arms was carried by the mahometan messengers, by the vigilance of the caliph, and by the solid structure of their walls. The last of these cities was the eighteenth station of Medina: the road was familiar to the caravans of Hejaz and Irak, who annually visited this plentiful market of the province and the desert; the perpetual jealousy of the Arabs had trained the inhabitants to arms; and twelve thousand horse could easily fall from the gates of Bosra, an appellation which signifies, in the Syriac language, a strong tower of defence. Encouraged by their first success against the open towns and flying parties of the borders, a detachment of four thousand Moslems pre-empted to summon and attack the fort of Bosra. They were oppressed by the unexampled number of the foe, who, by the presence of Caled, with fifteen hundred horse; who blamed the enterprise, restored the battle, and received his friend, the venerable Serjiah, who had vainly invoked the unity of God and the promise of the apostle. After a short repose, the Moslems performed their ablations, and with the same ardour of spirit, the morning prayer was recited by Calb d Hệr, they mounted on horse-back. Confident in their strength, the people of Bosra threw open their gates, drew their forces into the plain, and swore to die in the defence of their religion. But a religion of peace was incurable of withstand-}
ple his meritorious treason; "I renounce your socie-
ty," said Romanus, "both in this world, and the world
to come. And I deny him that was crucified, and
whosever worshipes him. And I choose God for my
Lord, Islam for my faith, Mecca for my temple, the
Mohametan, and Mahomet for my pro-
phet; who was sent to lead us into the right way, and
to exalt the true religion in spite of those who join
partners with God."1

Seige of Damascus.

The conquest of Bosnia, four days' jour-
ney from Damascus, encouraged the
Arabs to besiege the ancient capital of
Syria. 2 At some distance from the walls, they en-
camped among the groves and fountains of that deli-
cious territory, and the usual option of the Mahometan
faith, of tribute or of war, was proposed to the reso-
lute citizens, who had been lately strengthened by a re-
forcement of five thousand Greeks. In the decline as in
the infancy of the military art, an hostile defence
was frequently offered and accepted by the generals
themselves; 3 but a lance was shivered in the plain
of Damascus, and the personal presence of Calec was
signalized in the first sally of the besieged. After
an obstinate combat, he had overthrown and made prisoner
one of the Christian leaders, a stout and worthy anta-
gonist. He instantly mounted a fresh horse, the gift of
the governor of Palmyra, and pushed forward to the front.
"Repulse you," he said to his friends, "of a moment sa-
said his friend Derar, "and permit me to supply your
place: you are fatigued with fighting with this dog."
"O Derar!" replied the indefatigable Saracen, "we
shall rest in the world to come. He that labours to-day
shall rest to-morrow." With the same manly ar-
dour, Calec answered, encountered, and vanquished a
second champion; and the heads of his two captives
who refused to abandon their religion were indignantly
hurled into the midst of the city. The event of some
general and partial sieges reduced the Damascenes to
a closer defence; but a messenger whom they sent from the
walls, returned with the promise of speedy and
powerful succour, and their tumultuous joy con-
voyed the intelligence to the camp of the Arabs.
After some debate it was resolved by the generals, to
raise, or rather to suspend, the siege of Damascus, till
they had given battle to the forces of the emperor. In
the retreat, Calec would have chosen the more peril-
ous station of the rear-guard; he modestly yielded to
the wishes of Abu Obeidah. But in the hour of dan-
gers his courage of his birth, who was rude and
pressed by a sally of six thousand horse and ten
thousand foot, and few among the Christians could
relate the circumstances of their defeat. The importance of the contest required the junction of
the Saracens, who were dispersed on the frontiers
of Syria and Palestine; and I shall transcribe one of
the circular mandates which was addressed to Amron, the
future conqueror of Egypt. "In the name of the most
merciful God: from Calec to Amron, health and hap-

1 Damascus is simply described by the Sheriff al Edrisi; (Geograph. Nau, 1535. p. 124.) It was inhabited by ten thousand people in 1056.
Abu Feidas; (Tabula Syriam, p. 160.) Schulten; (Index Geograph. ad V. Subi. 3. 37, ed. Cursore Hefele. 114.) Yvon du Levant, part i. p. 583-600.) Maundrell; (Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, p. 123-153.) and Pococke; (Description of the East, vol. ii. p. 117-127.)
2 Nobilissima civitas, says Justin. According to the oriental tra-
3 The notion, however, is founded in the passage of the New Testament, in which the disciples of Jesus Christ are said, (Acts x. 49.) to have
beaten the Turks to Damascus, (Ptef. de Gail, IV. 10. 20-50.) and afterwards to have been expelled from Europe. (Hist. Generale, tom. i. p. 1. 154.)
4 These words are a text of the Koran, ch. ix. 211. See, like cut
fanatics of the last century, the Moslems, on every familiar or im-
mortal subject, in the same fashion. (Hist. Generale, tom. i. p. 1. 154.)
5 The name of Warden is unknown to Toparchian, and, though it
might belong to an Armenian chief, has very little of a Greek aspect or substance. It seems to be more natural in their mouths, than the Hebrew "bom ane,
which they have borrowed from the Christians to forward the name of Julian. (Hist. Generale, tom. i. p. 1. 154.)
6 Victor, who casts a keen and lively glance over the surface of
history, and has recourse with the restlessness, and the heroism of the Ills; the siege of Troy and that of Damascus. (Hist. Generale, tom. i. p. 1. 154.)

Battle of Aiznadin.

the caliph. A smile of indignation expressed the refus-
al of Caled. "Ye Christian dogs, you know your
option; the Koran, the tribute, or the sword. We are
a people whose delight is in war, rather than in peace;
and we bend your pious aim. Damascus we shall be-
speedily masters of your wealth, your families, and
your persons." Notwithstanding this apparent dis-
dain, he was deeply conscious of the public danger;
those who had been in Persia, and had seen the armies of
the infidel, conversely to the effect of an inestimable
force. From the superiority of the enemy, the mighty Saracen derived a fresh incentive of courage:
"You see before you," said he, "the united force of
the Romans: you cannot hope to escape, but you may
conquer Syria in a single day. The event depends on
your discipline and patience. Reserve yourselves till
the evening. It was in the evening that the prophet
was accustomed to vanquish." During two success-
ive engagements, his temperate firmness sustained
the darts of the enemy, and the murmurs of his troops.
At length, when the spirits and quivers of the adverse
army were almost exhausted, Caled gave the signal of
onset and victory. The remains of the imperial army
fell to Antioch, or Cessarea, or Damascus; and the
death of four hundred and seventy Moslems was
compensated by the opinion that they had sent to hell
abounding with all the rewards of the life to come.
Inestimable numbers of silver, gold, and jewels per-
ished. Inestimable numbers of horses, arms, and
immeasurable suits of the richest armour and apparel.
The general distribution was postponed till Damascu-
us should be taken; but the reasonable supply of arms
became the instrument of new victories. The glorious
intelligence was transmitted to the throne of the cal-
iph, and the Arabian tribes, the coldest or most hes-
tile to the prophet's mission, were eager and importun-
te to share the harvest of Syria.

The Arabs return. The sad tidings were carried to Da-
mascus; were lamented by the land of grief and terror;
and the inhabitants beheld from their walls the return
of the heroes of Azzadin. Anrou led the van at the
head of nine thousand horse: the hands of the Sar-
acens succeeded each other in formidable review; and
the rear was closed by Caled in person, with the stan-
dard of the black eagle. To the activity of Derar he
intrusted the commission of patrolling round the city
with two thousand horse, of scouring the plain, and
of intercepting all succour and intelligence. The rest
of the Arabian chiefs were fixed in their respective
standing or gaites of Damascus; and the negotiation
of the siege was renewed with fresh vigour and confi-
dence. The art, the labour, the military engines, of the
Greeks and Romans are seldom to be found in the simple,
though successful operations of the Saracens: it was
sufficient for them to invest a city with arms, rather
than with trenched; to repel the valiant of the bi-
sieged; to attempt a stratagem or an assault; or to
expect the progress of famine and discontent. Damas-
cus would have acquiesced in the trial of Azzadin, as
a final and peremptory sentence between the emperor
and the caliph. The lombard and the prelacy of Damas-
cus were an example and author of Thomas, a noble Greek, illus-
trious in a private condition by the alliance of Heracli-
ius. The tumult and illumination of the night pre-
cluded the design of the morning sally; and the
christian hero, who affected to despise the enthusiasm
of the Arabs, employed the resource of a similar su-
perstition. At the principal gate, in the sight of both
armies, a lofty crucifix was erected; the bishop, with
his clergy, accompanied the march, and led the vo-
ume of the New Testament before the image of Jesus;
and the contending parties were scandalized or edified
by a prayer, that the Son of God would defend his
servants and vindicate his truth. The battle raged
with insensate fury; and the dexterity of Thomas, an
incomparable archer, was fatal to the boldest Saracen,
in their attempt toINGTON the enemy by a powerful shot. The wife of Aban, who had followed him to the holy war,
embraced her expiring husband. "Happy," she said,
"happy art thou, my dear: thou art gone to thy Lord
who first joined us together, and then parted us as-
under. I will rely on the terror that still remains in the
utmost of my power to come to the place where thou
art, because I love thee. Henceforth shall no man
ever touch me more, for I have dedicated myself to the
service of God." Without a groan, without a tear,
she washed the corpse of her husband, and buried him
with the usual rites. The men grasping the media
pons, which in her native land she was accustomed to
wield, the intrepid widow of Aban sought the place
where his murderer fought in the thickest of the bat-
tle. Her first arrow pierced the hand of his standard-
bearer; her second wounded Thomas in the eye; and
the fainting Christians no longer beheld their com-
mand upon their leader. Yet the generous champion of Dama-
cus refused to withdraw to his palace: his wound was
dressed on the rampart; the fight was continued till
the evening; and the Syrians rested on their arms. In
the morning, the siege was renewed. On the right,
the stroke on the great bell; the gates were thrown open,
and each gate discharged an impetuous column on the
sleeping camp of the Saracens. Caled was the first
in arms; at the head of four hundred horse he flew to
the post of danger, and the tears trickled down his iron
cheeks, as he uttered a fervent ejaculation: "O God,
who never sleepest, look upon thy servants, and do
not deliver them into the hands of their enemies." The
valour and victory of Thomas were arrested by the
presence of the sword of God; with the knowledge of
the peril, the Moslems recovered their ranks, and
the fabric of the flanery was not brought to the
loss of thousands, the christian general retreated with
a sigh of despair, and the pursuit of the Saracens was
checked by the military engines of the rampart.

After a siege of seventy days, the pa-
sience, and perhaps the provisions, of the enemy were
exhausted; and the bravest of their chiefs submitted to
the hard dictates of necessity. In the occurrences of peace
and war, they had been taught to dread the fierceness of
Caled, and to respect the mark of his valiant hand.
At the hour of midnight, one hundred chosen deputies
of the clergy and people were introduced to the tent of
that venerable commander. He received and dismiss-
ed them with courtesy. They returned with a written
agreement, on the faith of a companion of Mahomet,
that all hostilities should cease; that the voluntary
enemies might depart in safety, with as much as they
could carry away of their effects; and that the tributa-
ry subjects of the caliph should enjoy their lands and
houses, with the use and possession of seven churches.
On these terms, the most resistless hostagies, and the
fear of a capture, reduced the Saracens. The bold
his soldiers imitated the moderation of their chief; and
he enjoyed the submissive gratitude of a people whom
he had rescued from destruction. But the success of
the treaty had relaxed their vigilance, and in the same
moment the opposite quarter of the city was betrayed

\footnote{At Wakah (Ocklev, p. 191) says, "with poisoned arrows," but
this savage invention is improper in the case of Greeks and Romans, that I
must suspect, on this occasion, the malevolent
creed of the Saracens.}

\footnote{Abdelsab allows only seventy days for the siege of Damascu-
s. (Annal. Moslem, D. 1024, fol. 133.) The same author,
prolongs the term to six months, and notices the use of the
sallet by the Saracens. (Hist. Saracen, p. 23, 22.) Even this longer
period is insufficient to the genius of the time, which
made the most disastrous (Joly, A. D. 632) to whose rescue
was hurried the exarch (45) was speedily delivered. (Abel,
Wakah, apud Ocklev, vol. ii., p. 115.) Abdalhannaf (Dymat, p. 112, vers. Pocock.) Perhaps, as in the
operations were interrupted by excursions and detachments, till
the last seventy days of the siege.

\footnote{Vanity prompted the Arabs to believe, that Thomas was the
son of a god, resembling Allah in all his good actions; and that he
had two wives: and his auger daughter would not have married in
 exile at Damascus. (See Ducange, Fam. Byzantin. p. 115, 119.) Had
the books of his religion, I might only suspect the legitimacy of
the damsel.}
and taken by assault. A party of a hundred Arabs had opened the eastern gate to a more inexcusable foe. "No quarter," cried the rapacious and sanguinary Caled, "no quarter to the enemies of the Lord!"; his troops rushed in, and a torrent of Christian blood poured down the streets of Damascus. When he reached the church of St. Mary, he was astonished and provoked by the peaceful aspect of his companions; their swords were in the sheath, and they were surrounded by a multitude of priests and monks. Abu Obeidah saluted the general: "God," said he, "has delivered the city into my hands by way of surrender, and has saved the believers the trouble of fighting." "And am I not," replied the indignant Caled, "am I not the lieutenant of the commander of the believers? Have I not taken the city by storm? The unbelievers shall perish by the sword. Fall on!" The hungry and cruel Arabs would have obeyed the welcome command; and Damascus was lost, if the benevolence of Abu Obeidah had not been supported by a decent and dignified firmness. Throwing himself between the trembling citizens and the most eager of the barbarians, he adjured them by the holy name of God, to respect his promise, to suspend their fury, and to wait the determination of their chiefs. The chill silence of the church, of the market; and of a vehement debate, Caled submitted in some measure to the reason and authority of his colleague; who urged the sanctity of a covenant, the advantage as well as the honour which the Muslims would derive from the punctual performance of their word, and the obstinate resistance which they must encounter from the distrust and despair of the rest of the Syrian cities. It was agreed that the sword should be sheathed, that the part of Damascus which had surrendered to Abu Obeidah, should be immediately entitled to the benefit of his capitulation, and that the final decision should be referred to the justice and wisdom of the caliph. A large majority of the people accepted the terms of tolera-
tion and truce; and Damascus is still peopled by twenty thousand Christians. But the valiant Thomas, and the free-born patriots who had fought under his banner, embraced the alternative of poverty and exile. In the adjacent meadow, a numerous encampment was formed of priests and laymen, of soldiers and citizens, of men and women: they collected, with haste and terror, their most precious movables; and abandoned, with despair, grief, or silence, their native homes, and the pleasant banks of the Phaphar. The inflexible soul of Caled was not touched by the spectacle of their distress: he disputed with the Damascenes the property of a magazine of corn; endeavored to exclude them from the city, on the pretext of the treaty; contended with reluctance, that each of the fugitives should arm himself with a sword, or a lance, or a bow; and sternly declared, that, after a respite of three days, they might be pursued and treated as the enemies of the Moslems.

Peril of the Saffahin. The passion of a Syrian youth completed the ruin of the exiles of Damascus. A nobleman of the city, of the name of Jonas, was betrothed to a wealthy maiden; but her parents delayed the consummation of his nuptials, and their daughter was persuaded to escape with the man whom she had chosen. They corrupted the nightly watchmen of the gate Krisan: the lover, who led the way, was encompassed by a squadron of Arabs; but his exclamation in the Greek tongue, "the bird is taken," admonished his mistress to lose no time. In the presence of Caled, and of death, she professed her belif in one God and his apostle Mahomet; and continued, till the season of his martyrdom, to discharge the duties of a brave and sincere Mussulman. When the city was taken, he flew to the monas-
tary, where Eudocia had taken refuge; but the lover was forgotten; the apostate was scourged; she preferred her religion to her country; and the justice of Cal-
ed, though deaf to mercy, refused to detain by force a male or female inhabitant of Damascus. Four days was the general confined to the city by the obligation of the treaty; the Christians were supported by the usual new conquest. His appetite for blood and rapine would have been extinguished by the hopeless computation of time and distance; but he listened to the importunities of Jonas, who assured him that the weary fugitives might yet be overtaken. At the head of four thousand horse, in the disguise of Christian Arabs, Caled undertook the pursuit. They halted only for the moments of prayer; and the guide had a perfect knowledge of the country. For a long way the foot-steps of the Damascenes roused the Arabs to anxiety: they vanished on a sudden; but the Saracens were reassured by the assurance that the caravan had turned aside into the mountains, and must speedily fall into their hands. In traversing the ridges of the Libanins, they endured intolerable hardships, and the skinking spirits of the vete-
nan enemies were supported and cheered by the uncom-
querable ardor of a lover. From a peasant of the country, they were informed that the emperor had sent orders to the colony of exiles, to pursue without delay the road of the sea-coast and of Constantinople, appr-
henesive, perhaps, that the soldiers and people of Antioch might be discouraged by the sight and story of their sufferings. The Saracens were conduc-
ted through the territories of Gabala and Laodicea, at a cautious distance from the walls of the cities; the rain was incessant, the night was dark, a single moun-
tain separated them from the Roman army; and Caled, ever anxious for the safety of his brethren, whispered an ominous dream in the ear of his companion. With the dawn of day the prospect again cleared, and they saw before them, in a pleasant valley, the tents of Damas-
cus. After a short interval of repose and prayer, Caled divided his cavalry into four squadrons, committing the first to his faithful Derar, and reserving the last for himself. They successively rushed on the promiscuous multitude, insensibly provided with arms, and already vanquished by sorrow and fatigue. Except a captive who was pardoned and dismissed, the Arabs enjoyed the satisfaction of believing that not a Christian of either sex escaped the edge of their scimitars. The gold and silver of Damascus was scattered over the camp, and a royal wardrobe of three hundred ells of silk might clothe an army of barbarians. In the tumult of the battle, Jonas sought and found the object of his pursuit; but her resentment was inflamed by the last act of his perfidy; and as Eudocia struggled in his hateful embrace, she struck a dagger to her heart. Another female, the widow of Thomas, and the real or supposed daughter of Heraclius, was spared and released without a ransom: but the generosity of Caled was the effect of his contempt; and the haughty Saracen insulted, by a message of defiance, the throne of the Caesars. Caled had perhaps been a prisoner in the mind of the heart of the Roman province; he returned to Da-

¶ It appears from Al-Balidi (p. 135) and El-Maqriz (p. 22) that this distinction of the two parts of Damascus was long remembered, though not accepted, by the Moslem sovereigns. Likewise Eucub. (Annal. tom. ii. p. 379, 390, 581.)

§ It is somewhat surprising that Phocas and Eudocia, Mr. Huxley has built the siege of Damascus, one of our most popular traditions, and which possesses the rare merit of blending nature and history, the manners of the times and the feelings of the heart. The Indian delicacy of the players compelled him to a fire then the most surprising and the most romantic. Instead of a long siege, Phocas serves the Arabs as an honorable ally; in-

stantly seizes the city, and after the victory of his son, the emperor, he dies in the same place, and the sea, and might have rejoined the high road of Constantinople at Alexandria. The itinerary will represent the directions and distance, (p. 146, 147, 543, 542. ed. Weisew.)
masues with the same secrecy and speed. On the accession of Omar, the sword of God was removed from the command; but the caliph, who blamed the rashness, was compelled to applaud the vigour and conduct, of the enterprise.

Another expedition of the conquerors of Damascus will equally display their ability and their contempt for the riches of the present world. They were informed that the produce and manufactures of the country were annually collected in the four days of the festival of Abyla; and as the rapacious taste of the city; that the cell of a devout hermit was visited at this time by a multitude of pilgrims; and that the festival of trade and superstition would be enabled by the nuptials of the daughter of the governor of Tripoli. Abdallah, the son of Jaafer, a glorious and holy martyr, undertook, with a banner of five hundred horse, the pious and profitable commission of despising the infidels. As he approached the fair of Abyla, he was astonished by the report of a mighty concourse of Jews and Christians, Greeks and Armenians, of natives of Syria and of strangers of Egypt, to the number of ten thousand, besides a thousand horse that attended the person of the bride. The Saracens passed: "For no one part," said Abdallah, "I dare not go back: our foes are many, our danger great, but our reward is splendid and secure, either in this life or in the life to come. Let every man try his fortune in his way," and they were left alone.

Not a Mussulman deserted his standard. "Lead the way," said Abdallah to his Christian guide, and you shall see what the companions of the prophet can perform." They charged in five squadrons; but after the first advantage of the surprise they were encompassed and subdued by the superior numbers of the Christians; and their valiant band was fancifully compared to a white spot in the skin of a black camel. About the hour of sunset, when their weapons dropped from their hands, when they prayed on the verge of eternity, they discovered an approaching cloud of dust, they heard the welcome sound of the tebrie, and they soon perceived the standard of Caled, who flew to their relief with the utmost speed of his cavalry. The Christians were broken by his attack, and slaughtered in their flight, as far as the river of Tripoli. They left behind them the bodies of their women and children, and an army reduced to a few horse were exposed for sale, the money that was brought for purchase, the gay decorations of the nuptials, and the governor's daughter, with forty of her female attendants. The fruits, provisions, and furniture, the money, plate, and jewels, were diligently laden on the backs of mules and pack animals, and the modern traders returned in triumph to Damascus. The hermit, after a short and angry controversy with Caled, declined the crown of martyrdom, and was left alive in the solitary scene of blood and devastation.

Syria, one of the countries that have been improved by the most early cultivation, is not unworthy of the preference. The heat of the climate is tempered by the vicinity of the sea and mountains, by the plenty of water and air; and the produce of a fertile soil is affords the subsistence, and encourages the propagation, of man and beast. From the time of the death of Heraclius, the country was overspread with ancient and flourishing cities: the inhabitants were numerous and wealthy; and, after the slow ravage of despotism and superstition, after the recent calamities of the Persian war, Syria could still attract and reward the industrious and the pious. Fifteen days' journey, from Damascus to Aleppo and Antioch, is watered on the western side by the winding course of the Orontes. The hills of Libanus and Anti-Libanus are planted from north to south, between the Orontes and the Mediterrenean; and the epiphon of hollow (Caelus Syria) was applied to a long and fruitful valley, which is confined in the same direction by the two ridges of snowy mountains. Among the cities, which are enumerated by Greek and oriental names in the geography and conquest of Syria, we may distinguish Emesa or Bosra, Heliopolis and Baalbeke, the former as the metropolis of the country, the latter as the capital of the valley. Under the last of the Caesars, they were strong and populous: the turrets glittered from afar: an ample space was covered with public and private buildings; and the citizens were illustrious by their spirit, or at least by their pride; by their riches, or at least by their opulence. In the reign of both Emesa and Heliopolis, they were addicted to the worship of Baal, or the sun; but the decline of their superstition and splendour has been marked by a singular variety of fortune. Not a vestige remains of the temple of Emesa, which was equalled in poetical description by the summits of Mount Libanus, while the ruins of Baalbeke, invisible to the writers of antiquity, excite the curiosity and wonder of the European traveller.

The measure of the temple is two hundred feet in length, and one hundred in breadth: the front is adorned with a double portico of eight columns; fourteen may be counted on either side; and each column, forty-five feet in height, is composed of three massive blocks of stone or marble. The proportions and ornaments of the Cenithian order express the architecture of the Greeks; but as Baalbeke has never been the seat of a march, we are at a loss to conceive how the expense of these magnificent structures was supplied by private or municipal liberality. From...
THE DECLINE AND FALL

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the conquest of Damascus the Saracens proceeded to
but I shall decline the repetiHeliopolis and Emesa
tion of the sallies and combats which have been already shown on a large scale. In the prosecution of
the war, their policy was not less effectual than their
sword.
By short and separate truces they dissolved
the union of the enemy ; accustomed the Syrians to
compare their friendship with their enmity ; familiarized the idea of their language, religion, and manners;
and exhausted, by clandestine purchase, the magazines
and arsenals of the cities which they returned to besiege. They aggravated the ransom of the more wealthy, or the more obstinate ; and Chalets alone was taxed
it five thousand ounces of gold, five thousand ounces
of silver, two thousand robes of silk, and as many figs
and olives as would load five thousand asses.
But
the t"rms of truce or capitulation were faithfully observed ; and the lieutenant of the caliph, who had promised not to enter the walls of the captive Biialbeo,
:

remained tranquil and immovable

in his tent till the
jarring factions solicited the interposition of a foreign
master. The conquest of the plain and valley of Syria was achieved in less than two years.
Yet the commander of the faithful reproved the slowness of their
progress ; and the Saracens, bewailing their fault with
tears of rage and repentance, called aloud on their
chiefs to lead them forth to fight the battles of the
Lord. In a recent action, under the walls of Emesa,
an Arabian youth, the cousin of Caled, was heard
aloud to exclaim, "Methinks I see the black-eyed
girls looking upon me; one of whom, should she appear in this world, all mankind would die for love of
her.
And I see in the hand of one of them, a handkerchief of green silk, and a cap of precious stones,
and she beckons me, and calls out, Come hither quickly, foT I love thee."
With these words, charging the
christians, he made havoc wherever he went, till, observed at length by the governor of Hems, he was
struck through with a javelin.
It was incumbent on the Saracens to
Battle of Yermuk
A. D 636.
exert the full powers of their valour and
November.
enthusiasm against the forces of the emperor, who was taught by repeated losses, that the
rovers of the desert had undertaken, and would speedily achieve, a regular and permanent conquest. From
the provinces of Europe and Asia, fourscore thousand
soldiers were transported by sea and land to Antioch
and Caesarea: the light troops of the army consisted
of sixty thousand christian Arabs of the tribe of Gassan.
Under the banner of Jabalah, the last of their
princes, they marched in the van ; and it was a maxim
of the Greeks, that, for the purpose of cutting diamond,
a diamond was the most effectual.
Heraclius withheld his person from the dangers of the field ; but his
presumption, or perhaps his despondency, suggested a
peremptory order, that the fate of the province and the
war should be decided by a sii gle battle. The Syrians were attached to the Standard of Rome and of
the cross; but the noble, the citizen, the peasant, were
exasperated by the injustice and cruelty of a licentious
host, who oppressed them as sjihjects, and despised
them as strangers and aliens.*
report of these
mighty preparations was conveyed to the Saracens in
thfir camp of Emesa; and the chiefs, though resolved
to fight, assembled a council : the faith of Abu Obeidah would have expected on the same spot the.glrry
of martyrdom ; the wisdom of Caled advised an honourable retreat to the skirts of Palestine and Arabia,
where they might await the succours of their friends,
and the attack of the unbelievers. A speedy messenger soon returned from the throne of Medina, with the
blessings of Omar and Ali, the prayers of the widows
of the prophet, and a reinforcement of eight thousand
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d I

have read somewhere in Tacitus, orGrotius. Subj."Clos habent
su-s. vil**s lamquain al'ipn-is. S *me Greek officers ravished
and Ma-

lamquam

Ihe wife, and murdered the child, nf iheir Syrian landlord
nuel smiled at jiis unduiiful compliment.

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Chap. XII.

In their way they overturned a detachment
of Greeks, and when they joined at Yermuk the camp
of their brethren, they found the pleasing intelligence,
that Caled had already defeated and scattered the
christian Arabs of the tribe of Gassan.
In the neighbourhood of Bosra, the springs of mount Hermon descend in a torrent to the plain of Decapolis, or ten
cities ; and the Hieromax, a name which has been
corrupted to Yermuk, is lost after a short course in the
lake of Tiberias. e The banks of this obscure stream
were illustrated by a long and bloody encounter. On
this momentous occasion, the public voice, and the
modesty of Abu Obeidah, restored the command to the
most deserving of the Moslems. Caled assumed his
station in the front, his colleague was posted in the
rear, that the disorder of the fugitives might he checked by his venerable aspect, and the sight of the yellow
banner which Mahomet had displayed before the walls
of Chaibar.
The last line was occupied by the sister
of Derar, with the Arabian women who had enlisted
in this holy war, who were accustomed to wield the
bow and the lance, and who in a moment of captivity
had defended, against the unmcumcised ravishers,
their chastity and religion.'
The exhortation of the
" Paradise is before
general was brief and forcible
you, the devil and hell-fire in your rear." Yet such
was the weight of the Roman cavalry, that the right
wing of the Ar:bs was broken and separated from the
main body. Thrice did they retreat in disorder, and
thrice were they driven back to the charge by the reproaches and blows of the women. In the intervals
of action, Abu Obeidah visited the tents of his brethren, prolonged their repose by repeating at once the
prayers of two different hours ; bound up their wounds
with his own hands, and administered the comfortable
reflection, that the infidels partook of their sufferings
without partaking of their reward. Four thousand
and thirty of the Moslems were buried in the field of
battle ; and the skill of the Armenian archers enabled
seven hundred to boast that they had lost an eye in
that meritorious service.
The veterans of the Syrian
war acknowledged that it was the hardest and most
doubtful of the days which they had seen. But it was
likewise the most decisive : many thousands of the
Greeks and Syrians fell by the swords of the Arabs;
many were slaughtered, after the defeat, in the woods
and mountains; many, by mistaking the ford, were
drowned in the waters of the Yermuk ; and however
the loss may bo magnified,e the christian writers confess and bewail the bloody punishment of their sins. b
Manuel, the Roman general, was either killed at Damascus, or took refuge in the monastery of mount
Sinai.
An exile in the Byzantine court, Jahalah lamented the manners of Arabia, and his unlucky preference of the christian cause."
He had once inclined

Moslems.

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c See Reland, Palesiin. torn, i.p.272.2S3. lorn, ii.p.773. 775. This
Earned professor was equal to the task of describing ihe Holy Land,
since he was alike conversant with Greek and Latin, with Hebrew
and Arabian literature. The Yermuk, or Hieromax. is noticed by
Celarius (Geograph. Actiq. torn. ii. p. 392 ) and P'Anville. (Geographic Ancienne, torn. ii. p. 135 ) The Arabs, and even Abulfeda himself, do not seem to recognize the scene of their victory.
f These women were of the tribe of the Hamyarites, who derived
their on°in from the ancient Amalekites. Their females were accustomed to ride on horseback, and to fight like the Amazons of old.
(Ockley, vol. i. p. 67.)
killed of them, says Abu Obeidah to the caliph, one hundred'
5
and fifty thousand, and made prisoners forty thousand. (Ockley, vol.
i. p. 241 )
As I cannot doubt his veracity, nor b°lifve his compute
tion, I must suspect that the Arabic historians indulged themselves
in the practice of composing speeches and letters fr their heroes.
h After deplorinz the siiis of the christians. Theophanes add*
(Chronograph, p. 276.) »r«?« i £fu.u.«c- Ayx«.* »m»T«» iuc; rzr >sh
TSO Xtl?^,*** ^i>Kl' iTf-H CSfZ 5-TrCi; »5W 'P. Jf*,*CV ff*TOV
<iti tj F>c(is> tlij.1- (does he mean Aiznadin ?) «» l??»s»«»»,
r»r x-.yrit'-.r *'« iri^.c-i -r. His account is brief and obscure, but ha
accuses the numbers of the enemy, the adverse wind, and the cloud'
->-*• sxJe=>;
Ttm
of dust : .*"! t» turns (the Romans) *•
,1.- f:. .-tr^t-VC tcu Iff*.
l-.re.fTBr, JrT^rrxi, XX* IX->T!U," ,i >./.o- ^
uzyii'v riTi^-s txn a^*iiE»rs *f 5^* (Chronograph, p*. 280 )
See Abulfeda. (Annal. Moslem, p. 70. 71.) who transcribes ihs
i
poetical complaint of Jabalah himself, and some panegyrical strains
of an Arabian poeu to whom the chief of Gass in sent from Constantinople a gift of five hundred pieces of gold by the hands of the am
bassador of Omar.

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to the profession of Islam; but in the pilgrimage of Mecca, Jabalah was provoked to strike one of his brethren, and fled with amazement from the stern and equal justice of the caliph. The victorious Saracens enjoyed at Damascus the same pleasures as at Jerusalem; but the city was divided by the discretion of Abu Obaidah: an equal share was allowed to a soldier and to his horse, and a double portion was reserved for the noble coursers of the Arabian breed.

Conquest of Jerusalem.

A.D. 637.

After the battle of Yermuk, the Roman army no longer appeared invincible, and the Saracens might securely choose among the fortified towns of Syria, the first object of their attack. They consulted the caliph whether they should march to Cæsarea or Jerusalem; and the advice of Ali determined the immediate siege of the latter. To a profane eye, Jerusalem was the first or second capital of Palestine; but after Mecca and Medina, it was revered and visited by the devout Moslems, as the temple of the Holy Land which had been sanctified by the revelation of Moses, of Jesus, and of Mahomet himself. The son of Abu Sophian, the Homs, sent to Damascus to try the first experiment of surprise or treachery; but on the morrow, the town was invested by the whole force of Abu Obaidah. He addressed the customary summons to the chief commanders and people of the city.

- Health and happiness to every one that follows the right way; peace and love to those who behave well; God be with you; and that Mahomet is his apostle. If you refuse this, consent to pay tribute, and be under us forthwith. Otherwise I shall bring men against you who love death better than you do the drinking of wine or eating hog's flesh. Nor will I ever stir from you, if it pleases God, till I have destroyed those that fight for you, and made slaves of your children.”

But the city was defended on every side by deep valleys and steep ascents; since the invasion of Syria, the walls and towers had been anxiously restred; the bravest of the fugitives of Yermuk had stopped in the nearest places; and the inhabitants of Christ, the natives and stragglers might feel some sparks of the enthusiasm which so freely glowed in the bosoms of the Saracens. The siege of Jerusalem lasted four months; not a day was lost without some action of sally or assault; the military engines incessantly played on the ramparts; and the inclemency of the winter was still more painful and destructive to the Arabs. The Christians yielded length to the perseverance of the besiegers. The patriarch Sophronius appeared on the walls, and by the voice of an interpreter demanded a conference. After a vain attempt to persuade the leaders of the sonorous enterprise, he proposed, in the name of the people, a fair capitulation, with this extraordinary clause, that the articles of security should be ratified by the authority and presence of Omar himself. The question was discussed in the council of Medina; the sanctity of the place, and the advice of Ali persuaded the caliph to gratify the wishes of his soldiers and enemies; and the simplicity of his journey is more illustrous than the royal pageants of vanity and oppression. The conqueror of Persia and Syria was mounted on a red camel, which carried, besides his personal baggage, a corn, a bag of dates, a wooden dish, and a leather bottle of water. Wherever he halted, the company, without distinction, was invited to partake of his homely fare, and the repast was consecrated by the prayer and exhortation of the commander of the faithful.

But in this expedition or pilgrimage, his power was exercised in the administration of justice: he reformed the licentiousness of the Arab polity, relented the tributaries from extortion and cruelty, and chastised the luxury of the Saracens, by despoiling them of their riches and properties, and dragging them in the dirt. When he came within sight of Jerusalem, the caliph cried with a loud voice, “God is victorious. O Lord, give us an easy conquest;” and, pitching his tent of coarse hair, calmly seated himself on the ground. After signing the capitulation, he entered the city without force, and, surrounded with sabers, disconsol'd with the patriach concerning its religious antiquities. Sophronius bowed before his new master, and secretly muttered in the words of Daniel, “The abomination of desolation is in the holy place.” At the hour of prayer they stood together in the church of the resurrection; but the caliph refused to perform his devotions, and contented himself with praying on the steps of the church of Constantinian. To the patriarch he disclosed his prudent and honourable motive. “Had I yielded,” said Omar, “to your request, the Moslems of a future age would have infringed the treaty under which I entered the city. You see the caliph the command the ground of the temple of Solomon was prepared for the foundation of a mosque; and, during a residence of ten days, he regulated the present and future state of his Syrian conquests. Medina might be jealous, lest the caliph should be detained by these views of clemency or the building of mosques; but his apprehensions were dispelled by his prompt and voluntary return to the tomb of the apostle.”

To achieve what yet remained of the of Aleppo and Syrian war, the caliph had formed two armies, separate detachments, under Amr Ibn Al-As and Yazid, was left in the camp of Palestine; while the larger division, under the standard of Abu Obaidah and Caed, marched north to the against Antioch and Aleppo. The latter of these, the Bercen of the Greeks, was not yet illustrious as the capital of a province or a kingdom; and the inhabitants, by anticipating their submission and pleading their poverty, obtained a moderate composition for their lives and religion. But the castle of Aleppo, distinct from the city, stood erect on a lofty artificial mound; the sides were sharpened to a precipice, and faced with five-stone; and the breadth of the ditch which was filled with the rivers which supplied it. After the loss of three thousand men, the garrison was still equal to the defence; and Youkinnan, their valiant and hereditary chief, had murdered his brother, a holy monk, for daring to pronounce the name of peace. In a siege of four or five months, the hardest of the Syrian war, great numbers of the Saracens were killed. Again the caliph, desirous of consolidating his conquests, by the army of Antioch and Aleppo, was possessed of a great force. He made the city his seat, and the caliph thus enlarged his dominions. The latter of these, the Bercen of the Greeks, was not yet illustrious as the capital of a province or a kingdom; and the inhabitants, by anticipating their submission and pleading their poverty, obtained a moderate composition for their lives and religion. But the castle of Aleppo, distinct from the city, stood erect on a lofty artificial mound; the sides were sharpened to a precipice, and faced with five-stone; and the breadth of the ditch which was filled with the rivers which supplied it. After the loss of three thousand men, the garrison was still equal to the defence; and Youkinnan, their valiant and hereditary chief, had murdered his brother, a holy monk, for daring to pronounce the name of peace. In a siege of four or five months, the hardest of the Syrian war, great numbers of the Saracens were killed.  

A.D. 637.

The Arabs boast of an old prophecy preserved at Jerusalem, and describing the name, the religion, and the person of Omar, the future conqueror. By such arts the Jews are said to have subdued the pride of their foreign masters, Cyrus and Alexander. (Joseph. Antiq. l. vi. c. 18. p. 254. 255.)

The image of Al Cadis, the Holy, is used as the proper name of Jerusalem.

The singular journey and equiptage of Omar are described. (First in the name of the city, the profane prevailed over the sacred; Jerusalem was known to the devout christians; (Euseb. de Mart. Penn. p. 104.)Jerusalem (the Holy City, or the Holy City of Allah Holman) has passed from the Romans to the Arabs. (Gisland, Palestine tom. i. p. 247. tom. ii. p. 335. D’Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, t. ii. p. 329. Hanx. p. 456.) The epitaph of Al Cadis, the Holy, is used as the proper name of Jerusalem.

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and wounded: their removal to the distance of a mile could not succede the vigilance of Youkinn; nor could the christians be terried by the execution of three hundred captives, whom they beheaded before the castle wall. The silence, and at length the complaints, of Abu Obeidah informed the caliph that their hope and purpose were discovered at the siege of this impregnable fortress. "I am variously affected," replied Omar, "by the difference of your success; but I charge you by no means to raise the siege of the castle. Your retreat would diminish the reputation of our arms, and encourage the infidels to fall upon you on all sides. But if the siege continues, I shall at once ascend the dull and mean walls of the castle, and fight for your presence and forage with your horse round the adjacent country." The exhortation of the commander of the faithful was fortiited by a supply of volunteers from all the tribes of Arabia, who arrived in the camp on horses or camels. Among these was Dames, of a servile birth, but of gigantic size, and intrepid resolution. The forty-seventh day of his service he proposed, with only thirty men, to make an attempt on the castle. The experience and testimony of Caides recommended his offer; and Abu Obeidah admonished his brethren not to cast the last of the captors of Damascus. Could he relinquish the public care, would cheerfully serve under the banner of the slave. His design was covered by the appearance of a retreat; and the camp of the Saracens was pitched about a league from Aleppo. With the same servile treachery Dames lay at the foot of the hill; and Dames at length succeeded in his inquiries, though he was provoked by the ignorance of his Greek captives. "God curse these dogs," said the illiterate Arab, "what a strange barbarous language they speak!" At the darkest hour of the night, he scaled the most accessible height, which he had diligently surveyed, a place where the stones were less entire, or the slope less perpendicular, or the guard less vigilant. Seven of the stoutest Saracens mounted on each other's shoulders, and the weight of the column was sustained on the broad and sinewy back of the gigantic slave. The foremost in this painful ascent could grasp and climb the lowest part of the battlements; they silently stabb'd and cast down the sentinels; and the thirty brethren, repeating a pious ejaculation, "O apostle of God, help and deliver us!" were seen flying up in chains to the god of their oppressors. With bold and cautious footsteps, Dames explored the palace of the governor, who celebrated, in riotous merriment, the festival of his deliverance. From thence, returning to his companions, he assaulted the inside the entrance of the castle. They overpowered, until the Saracens, to the number of two thousand provincials, and of the victorious squadrons of Caleb himself. From the north and south the troops of Antioch and Jerusalem advanced along the sea-shore, till their banners were joined under the walls of the Phenician city. "Tripoli and Tyre were betrayed; the hills of Lebanon were covered without to distract the captive harbours, brought a seasonable supply of arms and provisions to the camp of the Saracens. Their labours were terminated by the unexpected surrender of Caesarea; the Roman prince had embarked in the night; and the defenceless exiles solicited their pardon with an offering of two hundred thousand pieces of gold. The remainder of the provincials, Ramilah, Ptolemais or Acre, Sichem or Neapolis, Gaza, Ascalon, Berytus, Sidon, Gabala, Laodicea, Amanus, Hierapolis, no longer presumed to dispute the conquest of Caleb.

His boastful edict, which tempted the grateful city to assume the victory of Pharsalia for a perpetual arm, is given in Ost. p. 529, ed. Wadd. O. Kley (vol. i. p. 281) and mentions the event to Tuesday, August 21st, an incumbent date; since Easter fell that year in April 29th, the 26th of August must have been a Friday. (See the Tables of the Act de Verifier les Dates.)

1 The date of the conquest of Antioch by the Arabs is of some importance. By comparing the years of the world in the chronography of Hiernicus with the years of the Hegira, we shall determine, that it was taken between January 25th and September 1st in the year of Christ 638. (Faci, Crit. in Baron. Anno- tationes, vol. i. p. 259.) O. Kley (vol. i. p. 291) assigns the event to Tuesday, August 21st; but the year 639, as we have seen, is not altogether decided.

2 See O. Kley, (vol. i. p. 285, 312), who lauds the creativeness of his author, when Heraclius "towards Jerusalem, from Antioch, in the winter of 637, and John Malula, in Chron. p. 91, ed. Venet., may distinguish his authentic information of domestic facts from his foreign history or general history.
The will of the conqueror; and Syria bowed under the sceptre of the caliphs seven hundred years after Pompéy" had despoiled the last of the Macedonian king. *A*

**THE CONQUERORS.**

The sieges and battles of six campaigns paved the way for the harassment of the Moslems. They died with the reputation and cheerfulness of martyrs; and the simplicity of their faith may be expressed in the words of an Arabian youth, when he embraced, for the last time, his sister: "It is not," said he, "the deficiencies of Syria that worry me; it is the thought of the world, that have prompt'd me to devote my life in the cause of religion. But I seek the favour of God and his apostle; and I have heard from one of the companions of the prophet, that the spirits of the martyrs, when he died, were lighted in the crops of green brier, which shall take the fruits, and drink of the rivers of paradise. Farew-well, we shall meet again among the groves and fountains which God has provided for his elect." The faithful captives might execute a passive and more arduous resolution; and a cousin of Mahomet celebrated for releasing, after an absence of three days, the wine and poek, the only nourishment that was allowed by the malice of the infidels. The frailty of some weaker brethren exasperated the implacable spirit of fanaticism; and the father of Amr-deployed, in pathetic strains, the apostacy and destruction of his son. The insurrection of the poet, the interpolation of the prophet, to occupy, with the priests and deacons, the lowest mansions of hell. The more fortunate Arabs, who survived the war, and persevered in the faith, were restrained by their abominable leader from the abuse of prosperity. After a freshment of twelve years, and a revulsion of the first vigour, they drew his troops from the pernicious contagion of the luxury of Antie ch, and assured the caliph that their religion and virtue could only be preserved by the hard discipline of poverty and labour. But the virtue of their former resolutions, and the pressure of necessity, was kind and lenient to his brethren. After a just tribute of praise and thanksgiving, he dropped a tear of compassion; and sitting down on the ground, wrote an answer, in which he mildly censured the severity of his lieutenant: "He," said the successor of the prophet, "and forbidden the use of those good things of this world to faithful men, and such as have performed good works. Therefore you ought to have given them leave to rest themselves, and partake freely of those good things which the country affordeth. If any of the Saracens have no family in Arabia, or have become Christian, or have committed any female slaves, he may purchase as many as he hath occasion for." The conquerors prepared to use, or to abuse, this gracious permission; but the year of their triumph was marked by a mortality of men and cattle; and twenty-five thousand Saracens were expelled away from the possession of Syria. The death of Abu Obeidah might he lamented by the christians; but his brethren recollected that he was one of the ten elect whom the prophet had named as the heirs of paradise. Called survived his brethren about three years; and the town of the Saracen, which is shown in the neighbourhood of Emesa. His valour, which founded in Arabia and Syria the empire of the caliphs, was fortified by the opinion of a special providence; and as long as he wore a cap, which had been blessed by Mahomet, he deemed himself invisible amongst the darts of the infidels. The place of the first conquerors was supplied by a new generation of their Syrian confrères and countrymen: Syria became A. D. 629—655, the seat and support of the house of Ommiyah; and as the greatness of that powerful kingdom, were consecrated to enlarge on every side the empire of the caliphs. But the Saracens despise a superfluity of fame; and their historians so sedulously condescend to mention the subordinate conquests which are lost in the splendour of rapidity and success of their victorious expeditions. To the south of Syria, the ships of that powerful kingdom, were consecrated to enlarge on every side the empire of the caliphs. But the Saracens despise a superfluity of fame; and their historians so sedulously condescend to mention the subordinate conquests which are lost in the splendour of rapidity and success of their victorious expeditions. To the south of Syria, the ships of that powerful kingdom, were consecrated to enlarge on every side the empire of the caliphs.

**II. The conquest of Egypt may be explained by the character of the victorious Saracens, one of the first of his nation.**

**EGYPT. Character and Life of Amurru.**

60 Sixty-five years before Christ, Syria Pontique monuments exist. On Pompej, s. in 18; C. Fr. Paris, ii. 28) rather of his fortune and power; he adjusted Syria to be a Roman province, and the last of the Scythes were incapable of drawing a sword in the defence of their country. (See the original texts collected by Ussher, Abn. ii. 429.)

57 Ockley, Arab., p. 73. Mahomet could affably vary the praises of his disciples. Of Omair he said, that if a prophet could arose after him, it would be Omair; and that in a general calumny, Omair would be excepted by the divine justice. (Ockley, vol. i. p. 242.)

Vol. II. 2 E.
ion, in an age when the meanest of the brethren was exalted above his nature by the spirit of enthusiasm. The birth of Amrou was at once base and illustrious; his mother, a notorious prostitute, was unable to decide among five of the Kedeshi; but the proof of re semblance demonstrated the child to be the eldest of all his lovers.4 The youth of Amrou was impelled by the passions and prejudices of his kindred; his poetic genius was exercised in satirical verses against the person and doctrine of Mahomet; his dexterity was employed by the reigning faction to pursue the religious enemies of the prophet and to take revenge on the eldest of all his lovers.5 Yet he returned from this embassy, a secret proselyte; his reason or interest determined him to renounce the worship of idols; he escaped from Mecca with his friend Caled, and the prophet of Medina enjoyed at the same moment the satisfaction of embracing the two finest champions of his cause. The impatience of Amrou to lead the armies of the faithful was checked by the reproach of Omar, who advised him not to seek power and dominion, since he who is a subject to-day, may be a prince to-morrow. He had founded on the backs of the first two successors of Mahomet; they were indited to his arms for the conquest of Palestine; and in all these sieges of Syria, he united with the temper of a chief, the valour of an adventurous soldier, and the wisdom of a prudent Mediator, the wish to survey the sword which had cut down so many christian warriors: the son of Ansi unshrank a short and ordinary scep ter; and as he perceived the surprise of Omar, "Abas," said the modest Sarem, "the sword itself, without the arm of its master, is neither sharper nor more weighty than the sword of Pharaoh the poet."6 After the conquest of Egypt, he was recalled by the jealousy of the caliph Othman; but in the subsequent troubles the ambition of a soldier, a statesman, and an orator, emerged from a private station. His powerful support, both in council and in the field, established the throne of the Omicrakes; the administration and revenue of Egypt were restored by the gratitude of Musawi to a faithful friend who had raised himself above the rank of a subject; and Amrou endued his days in the palace and city where he had founded the first seat of his honours. In this dying speech to his children is celebrated by the Arabs as a model of eloquence and wisdom: he deplored the errors of his youth; but if the penitent was still infected by the vanity of a poet, he might ex aggerate the venom and mischief of his impious compositions.7

8 From his camp, in Palestine, Amrou had surprised or anticipated the caliph's leave for the invasion of Egypt.8 The magnanimous Omar trusted in his God and his sword, which had shaken the thrones of Chos roes and Cæsar: but when he compared the slender force of the Moslems with the greatness of the enterprise, he condemned his own rashness, and listened to his timid companions. The pride and the greatness of Pharaoh were familiar to the readers of the Koran; and a tenfold repetition of prodigies had been scarcely sufficient to effect, not the victory, but the flight, of six hundred thousand of the children of Israel; the cities of Egypt were many and populous; their architecture, supported by numerous brac hes, was alone an insuperable barrier; and the grandeur of the imperial city would be obstinately defended by the Roman powers. In this perplexity, the commander of the faithful resigned himself to the decision of chance, or, in his opinion, of Providence. At the break of day four lid; thus Amrou and his great officers, broke the seal, perused the epistle, gravely inquired the name and situation of the place, and declared his ready obedience to the commands of the caliph. After a siege of thirty days, he took possession of Fustat; and expressing exultation at the customs of Egypt, as it has been justly named, unveiled the entrance of the country, as far as the ruins of Helipolis and the neighbourhood of the modern Cairo.

On the western side of the Nile, at the cities of small distance to the east of the Pyram, Memphis, Babylon, and Dender, are a small distance to the south of the Delta, Memphis, one hundred and fifty furlongs in circumference, displayed the magnificence of ancient kings. Under the reign of the Ptolemies and Cæsars, the seat of government was removed to the sea-coast; the ancient capital was eclipsed by the arts and intelligence of Alexandria; the palaces, and at length the temples, were reduced to a desolate and ruinous condition: yet, in the age of Augustus, and even in that of Constantine, Memphis was still numbered among the greatest and most populous of the provincial cities.9 The habitations of the Nile, on the banks of the Nile, a thousand feet, were united by two bridges of sixty and of thirty boats, connected in the middle stream by the small island of Roda, which was covered with gardens and habitations.10 The eastern extremity of the camp of the caliph was guarded by the town of Babylon and the camp of a Roman legion, which protected the passage of the river, and the second capital of Egypt. This important fortress, which might fairly be described as a part of Memphis or Meroë, was invested by the arms of the lieutenant of Omar; a reinforcement of four thousand Saracens soon arrived in his camp; and the military engines, which battered the walls, may be imputed to the art and labour of his Syrian allies. Yet the siege was protracted to seven months; and the rash inv aders and threatened by the destruction of their last assault was bold and successful: they passed the ditch, which had been fortified with iron spikes, applied

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4 We learn this anecdote from a spirited old woman, who reviled to the camera and his friend the innocence of his amours, denounced by silence of Amrou and the libelous of Musawi (Abouféd, Annales, p. 111.).

5 Gaufer, Vie de Mahomet, tom. ii. p. 46, &c. who quotes the Abyssinian history, or romance of Abdel Baldet. Yet the fact of the embassy and ambassador may be allowed.

6 This saying is preserved by Posco, (N., de Carmen Torgeli, p. 184.) and partly applauded by Mr. Harris (Philosophical Arrangements, p. 503.).

7 For the life and character of Amrou, see Ockley (Hist. of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 34, 35, 322, 332, 335, etc.) and Atnie, vol. ii. p. 33, 37, 74, 110—112, 162, etc. (Mem. de l'Academie des inscriptions, tom. xxx.) Tacticus may apply compare Vezamian and Munchian, with Musawi and Amrou. Yet the language is still in the situation, than in the characters, of the men.

8 At Wukfi had likewise composed a separate history of the con quering monarch, which Ockley could not procure; and his own inquiries (vol. i. p. 314—322) have added very little to the original text. The following facts, which are given by a Melchite patriarch of Alexandria, who lived three hundred years after the revolution.

9 Strabo, an accurate and attentive spectator, observes of Helipolis, that in the time of the Ptolemies, "(Geograph. i. xvii. p. 1125.) the 10 of Memphis he declares, &c. "&c. in the time of the Ptolemies, (ibid.) he notices, however, the mixture of the habitations, and the ruins of the palaces. In the proper Egypt, Amenian enumerates Memphis among the four cities, maximus urbium absoluta, montibus et acquis urbem hanc, "(ibid.) with distinction in the Roman Itinerary and episcopal lists.

10 A Thesaurum, (ibid.) the breaches in the breaches of the bridge of the Nile, are only to be found in the Danish traveller and the Cahan geographer (p. 126.).

11 From the month of April, the Nile begins imperceptibly to rise: the swell becomes strong and visible in the moon after the summer solstice, (ibid.) a little after the celebration of St. Peter's day, (June 29.) A register of thirty successive years, prepared by the Mameluke of the province of Rous, (ibid.)
their scaling-ladders, entered the fortress with the shout of “God is victorious!” and drove the remnant of the Greeks to their boats and the isle of Rodua. The spot was afterwards recommended to the conqueror by the easy communication with the gulf and the peninsula of Arabia; the remains of Memphis were passed over; the prospect of a new Edinburg; they were gradually turned into permanent habitations; and the first mosch was blessed by the presence of fourscore companions of Mahomet." A new city arose in their camp on the eastward bank of the Nile; and the contiguous quarters of Babylon and Fostat are confounded in their proper localities, the Nile and the Cynosur, or Cairo, of which they form an extensive suburb. But the name of Cairo, the city of victory, more strictly belongs to the modern capital, which was founded in the tenth century by the Fatimite caliphs. It has gradually revolved from the river, but a rich and nobly built city may be traced by an attentive eye from the monuments of Sesostris to those of Saladin.

Yet the Arabs, after a glorious and profitable enterprise, must have retreated to the desert, had they not found a powerful ally in the person of a new religion. The same revolution was renewed by a similar cause; and in the support of an incomprehensible creed, the zeal of the Copitic worshippers was equally ardent. We have already explained the origin and progress of the Monophysite controversy, and the persecution of the emperor Justinian was supported by the alienated Egypt from their religion and government. The Saracens were received as the deliverers of the Copitic church; and a secret and effectual treaty was opened during the siege of Memphis between a victorious army and a people of slaves. A rich and noble Egyptian, of the name of Mokawas, had assembled his faith to obtain the administration of his province: in the disorders of the Persian war he aspired to independence; the embassy of Mahomet ranked him among princes; but he declined, with rich gifts and ambiguous promises, the offer which was made him. The abuse of his trust exposed him to the resentment of Heraclius; his submission was delayed by arrogance and fear; and his conscience was prompted by interest to throw himself on the favour of the nation and the support of the Saracens. In his first conference with Amrou, he professed without indignation the usual opinion of the Koran, the tribute, or the sword. "The Greeks," replied Mokawas, "are determined to abide the determination of the sword; but with the Greeks I desire no communion, either in this world or in the next; and I adjure for ever the Byzantine tyrant, his synod of Chalcedon, and his Melchite slaves. For myself and my brethren, we are resolved to live and die in the profession of the gospel and unity of Christ. It is impossible for us to embrace the revelations of your despotism. Therefore, we submit to pay tribute and obedience to his temporal successors." The tribute was ascertained at two pieces of gold for the head of every Christian; but old men, monks, women, and children, of both sexes, under sixteen years of age, were exempted from this personal assessment. The caliph, however, had established a new capital at Memphis, which was agreeable to the calliph, and promised a hospitable entertainment of three days to every Mussulman who should travel through their country. By this charter of security, the ecclesiastical and civil tyranny of the Melechites were destroyed; the amongst the St. Cyril were thundered from every pulpit; and the sacred edifices, with the patrimony of the church, were restored to the national communion of the Jacobites, who enjoyed without moderation the moment of triumph and revenge. At the pressing desires of their patriarchs, after a short interview, Amrou was permitted to remove from his desert; and, after the first interview, the courteous Arab affected to declare, that he had never conversed with a Christian priest of more innocent manners and a more venerable aspect. In the march from Memphis to Alexandria the lieutenant of Omar intrusted the safety to his best trusted friend. The roads and bridges were diligently repaired; and in every step of his progress, he proceeded on a constant supply of provisions and intelligence. The Greeks of Egypt, whose numbers could scarcely equal a tenth of the natives, were over-helmed by the universal dejection; they had ever been hated, they are now feared no longer; the magistrate fled from his tribunal, the bishop from his altar; and the distant garrisons were surprised or starved by the surrounding multitudes. Had not the Nile afforded a safe and ready conveyance to the sea, not an individual could have escaped, who by birth, or language, or office, or religion, was connected with their odious name.

By the retreat of the Greeks from the siege and conquest of Upper Egypt, a considerable part of their power was collected in the island of Delos; the native population of the Nile afforded a succession of strong and defensible spots; and the road to Alexandria was labiously cleared by the victory of the Saracens in two and twenty days of general and partial combat. In their annals of conquest, the siege of Alexandria is a grandeur of enterprise. The first trading city in the world was abundantly replenished with the means of subsistence and defence. Her numerous inhabitants fought for the deepest of hard-earned rights, religion and property; and the eminence of the natives seemed to exclude them from the common benefit of peace and toleration. The sea was continually open; and if Heraclius had been awake to the public distress, fresh armies of Romans and Barbarians might have been poured into the harbour to save the second capital of the empire. A circumference of ten miles

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a Mortal, Merleur de l'Egypte, 247—253. He expatiates on the subject with the zeal and minuteness of a citizen and a bigot, and the local traditions have a strange air of truth and accuracy.


c The position of New and Old Cairo is well known, and has been explained by all the better writers, who were familiar with ancient and modern Egypt, have fixed, after a learned inquiry, the seat of Memphians at Gizeh, directly opposite the Old Cairo. (Sicard, Nouveau Memoire des Missions du Levant, tom. vi. p. 5, in Shaw's Observations and Travels, p. 296—304.) Yet we may not desplore the authors of the arguments of Pocock. (Vol. i. p. 37—41.) Niebuhr, (Voyage, tom. i. p. 77—80.) and above all, of D'Anville, Description de l'Egypte, p. 132, 133—135) who have removed Memphians towards the village of Mohammaha, some miles further to the south of the moderns, to avoid the obscurity of the controversy.

d Mortal, M. de l'Egypte, tom. iv. c. 9, et suiv., tom. v. c. 27, 28, 29. (Elisias, Hist. 272, 273, tom. i. xvi. p. 157. ed. of Alphonse.) See also the Historia de Hieroglyphica, in loc. beds. They doubt the age of these monuments.

f Mokawas sent the prophet two Copitic diamonds, with two infant, and a chalice of three ounces, one of gold, one of honey, and the fine white linen of Egypt, with a horse, a mule, and an ass. The chalice contains the juice of the palm, and the honey of Memphis was dispatched from Medina in the seventh year of the Hegira. (Voyage de Magdalen, tom. ii. p. 255, 256, 301.) From Al-Jonnabi.
would have scattered the forces of the Greeks, and favoured the stratagems of an active enemy; but the two sides of an oblong square were covered by the sea and the lake Maroneia, and each of the narrow ends exposed a front of no more than ten furlongs. The efforts of the Arabs were not inadequate to the difficulty of the attack nor the number of the enemy. From the throne of Medina, the eyes of Omar were fixed on the camp and city: his voice excited to arms the Arabian tribes and the veterans of Syria; and the merit of a holy war was recommended by the peculiar fame and fertility of Egypt. Anxious for the ruin of their tyrants, the faithful vassals, devoted their labours to the service of Amron; some sparks of martial spirit were perhaps rekindled by the example of their allies; and the sauguncie hopes of Mokawas had fixed his sepulchre in the church of St. John of Alexandria. Eutychius the patriarch serves that the Saracen fought with the courage of lions; they repulsed the frequent and almost daily sallies of the besieged, and soon assaulted in their turn the walls and towers of the city. In every attack, the sword, the banner of Amron, glittered in the air; "Atnius, a memorable day, he was betrayed by his imprudent valor: his followers who had entered the citadel were driven back; and the general, with a friend and a slave, remained a prisoner in the hands of the Christians. When Amron was conducted before the praetor, he repulsed his dignity, and forgot his situation; a lofty demeanour, and resolute language, revealed the lieutenant of the caliph, and the battle-axe of a soldier was already raised to strike off the head of the ambitious captive. His life was saved by the readiness of his slave, who instantly gave his master a blow on the face, and commanded him, with an angry tone, to be silent in the presence of his superiors. The credulous Greek was deceived; he listened to the offer of a treaty, and his prisoners were dismissed in the hope of a more respectable embassy, till the joyful acclamations of the camp announced the return of the conqueror. At length, after a siege of fourteen months, and the loss of three and twenty thousand men, the Saracen prevailed: the Greeks embellished their dispirited and diminished number, and the void was supplied by a fresh army planted in the walls of the capital of Egypt. "I have taken," said Amron to the caliph, "the greatest city of the west. It is impossible for me to enumerate the variety of its riches and beauty; and I shall content myself with observing that there are four thousand palaces, four thousand baths, four hundred temples, and places of amusement, twelve thousand shops for the sale of vegetable food, and forty thousand tribuary Jews. The town has been subdued by force of arms, without treaty or capitulation, and the Moslems are impatient to seize the fruits of their victory." The commander of the faithful rejected with firmness the idea of pillage, and directed his lieutenant to reserve the wealth and revenue of Alexandria for the public service and the propagation of the faith: the inhabitants were numbered, and the city was improved; the zeal and resolution of the Jacobites were curbed, and the Melchites who submitted to the Arabian yoke were indulged in the ob-cure but tranquil exercise of their worship. The intelligence of this disgraceful and calamitous event allured the declining health of the emperor; and Heraclius died of a dropsy about seven weeks after the loss of Alexandria.1 Under the minority of his grandson, the clamours of a people, deprived of their daily sustenance, compelled the Byzantine court to undertake the recovery of the capital of Egypt. In the space of four years, the harbour and fortifications of Alexandria were renovated and strengthened again by the Romans. They were twice expelled by the valour of Amron, who was recalled by the domestic peril from the distant wars of Tripoli and Nubia. But the facility of the attempt, the repulsion of the insult, and the obstinacy of the resistance, provoked him to swear, that, if he recovered the ground he had lost, he would render Alexandria as accessible on all sides as the house of a prostitute. Faithful to his promise, he dismantled several parts of the walls and towers, but the people were spared in the chastisement of the city, and the mosque of Mercy was erected on the spot where the victorious general had stopped the fury of his troops.

I should deceive the expectation of The Alexandrian reader, if I passed in silence the fate of the Alexandrian library, as it is described by the ancient historians. The Christians were more curious and liberal than that of his brethren, and in his leisure hours, the Arabian chief was pleased with the conversation of John, the last disciple of Amonus, and who derived the surname of Philoponous, from the profound studies of grammar and philology.2 Imboddened by this familiarity, Philoponous presumed to solicit a gift, inestimable in his opinion, contemptible in that of the barbarians; the royal library, which alone, among the spoils of Alexandria, had not been appropriated by the visit and the capture of the conqueror. Amron was inclined to gratify the wish of the grammarian, but his rigid integrity refused to alienate the minutest object with the consent of the caliph; and the well-known answer of Omar was inspired by the ignorance of a fanatic. "If these writings of the Greeks agree with the book of God, they are useless and need not be preserved; if they disagree, they are pernicious and ought to be destroyed." The sentence was executed with blind obedience: the volumes of paper or parchment were distributed to the four thousand baths of the city; and they were so placed that the walls were barely sufficient for the consumption of this precious fuel. Since the Dynasties of Abulpharagius3 have been given to the world in a Latin version, the tale has been repeatedly transcribed; and every scholar, with pious indignation, has deplored the irreparable loss of those objects of antiquity. For my part, I am strongly tempted to deny both the fact and the consequences. The fact is indeed marvellous: "Read and wonder!" says the historian himself; and the solitary report of a stranger who wrote at the end of six hundred years on the confines of Media, is overbalanced by the silence of two annalists of a more early date, both Christians, both natives of Egypt, and the most ancient of whom, the patriarch Eutychius, has admirably described the conquest of Alexandria. The rigid sentence of Omar is repugnant.

1 Both Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 319.) and Elmacin (Hist. Sarac. p. 262) concur in fixing the taking of Alexandria to Friday of the new moon of Muharram of the twentieth year of the Hejira. (December 22, A. D. 693.) In reckoning the seat of the conquest by Elmacin, as it is by some moderns, at the beginning of the eleventh month, that is, eight years before Alexandria, seven months before Babylon, &c. Amurra was in his sixtieth year about the end of July, and was assured, that he entered the country the 12th of Bayan, 6th of June, (Marchadi, Musul. de l'Egypte, p. 164. Sever. Excid. Renaud, p. 162.) The Saracen, and afterwards Lewin 15. of France, sailed at Calais, or Dunkerque, during the season of the inundation of the Nile.

2 Notwithstanding some inconsistencies of Theophanes and Ce-drens, the following extract from Par. Hist. is taken from the Chronicon Pseudo Nicephorous and the Chronicon Orientale. The date of the death of Heraclius, February 11th, A. D. 641, fifty days after the loss of Alexandria: A fourth of the time was sufficient to convey the intelligence.

4 This curious anecdote will be vainly sought in the annals of
nent to the sound and orthodox precept of the Mahome-
tan casuists: they expressly declare, that the religious
book, or sword of the law, which was a kind of
brutal, by the right of war, should never be committed to
the flames; and that the works of profane science, historians
or poets, physicians or philosophers, may be lawfully
applied to the use of the faithful.4 A more destructive
seal may perhaps be attributed to the first successors
of the Church and a crowd of Mus.5 But if we gradually
descend from the age of the Antonines to that of The-
odosius, we shall learn from a chain of contemporary
witnesses, that the royal palace and the temple of
Serapis no longer contained the four, or the seven,
hundred thousand volumes, which had been assembled
by the curiosity and magnanimity of the Emperor
Pompeius. Perhaps the church and seat of the patriarchs
might be enriched with a repository of books; but if the
ponderous mass of Arian and Monophysite controversy
were indeed consumed in the public baths,6 a philoso-
pher may allow, with a smile, that it was ultimately
developed and brought forth on the provision of the
more valuable libraries which have been involved
in the ruin of the Roman empire; but when I seri-
ously compute the lapse of ages, the waste of ignorance,
and the calamities of war, our treasures, rather than our
losses, are the object of my surprise. Many curi-
ous and useful facts are buried in oblivion; the
three great historians of Rome have been transmit-
ted to our hands, in a mutilated state, and we are de-
prived of many pleasing compositions of the lyric,
tumular, and dramatic poetry of the Greeks. Yet we
should gratefully remember, that the mischieves of
ignorance are by no means equal to the advantages to
which the suffrage of antiquity7 had adjudged the first
place of genius and glory: the teachers of ancient
knowledge, who are still extant, had perished, and
compared the writings of their predecessors; 8 nor can it
falsely be presumed that any important truth, any use-
ful disc. of philosophy has been snatched away from
the curiosity of modern ages.

Administration
In the administration of Egypt,9 Am-
ron balanced the demands of justice and
policy; the interest of the people of the law, who were
defiled by God; and of the people of the alliance.

Enthusiasm, and the Saracen history of Elmacin. The silence
of Abasciano, Archbishop of Monreale, is less conclusive
from their ignorance of Christian literature.

2 On these obscure canals the reader may try to satisfy himself
from D'Anville, Mem. sur l'Euphr. p. 15–18, 124, 125; and a sur-
veyed thesis may be found in Durocher, Navigations du Tems de
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try is adorned with a silver wave, a verdant emerald, and the deep yellow of a golden harvest.  

Yet this beneficial order is sometimes interrupted; and the long delay and sudden swell of the river in the first year of the conquest might afford some colour to an edifying fable. In the summer of the year after the victory of a vanguard had been interdicted by the piety of Omar; and that the Nile lay sullen and inactive in his shallow bed, till the mandate of the caliph was cast into the obedient stream, which rose in a single night to the height of six feet, finely adapted to the command.  

The Arabs who then saw the new conquest encouraged the licence of their romantic spirit. We may read, in the gravest authors, that Egypt was crowded with twenty thousand cities or villages: that, exclusive of the Greeks and Arabs, the Copts alone were found, on the assessment, six million and eighty thousand. 

This vast number of either sex, and of every age: that three hundred millions of gold or silver were annually paid to the treasury of the caliph.  

Our reason must be startled by these extravagant assertions: and they will become more palatable, if we assume the compass and measure the estimated revenue of a brilliant army from the camp to Memphis, seldom broader than twelve miles, and the triangle of the Delta, a flat surface of two thousand one hundred square leagues, compose a twelfth part of the magnitude of France.  

A more accurate research would certainly be the more reasonable than this. The three hundred millions, created by the error of a scribe, are reduced to the decent revenue of four millions three hundred thousand pieces of gold, of which nine hundred thousand were consumed by the pay of the soldiers.  

Two authentic lists, of the present and of the two preceding centuries, the circumference is rendered possible number of two thousand seven hundred villages and towns.  

After a long residence at Cairo, a French consul has ventured to assign about four millions of Mahometans, Christians, and Jews, for the napoleonic, though not incredible, scope of the population of Egypt.  

IV. The conquest of Africa, from the Nile to the Atlantic ocean, was first attempted by the arms of the caliph Othman.  

After a success of such a magnitude, the popes and the pontiffs, by the companions of Mahomet and the chiefs of the tribes; and twenty thousand Arabs marched from Medina, with the gifts and the blessing of the commander of the faithful. They were joined in the camp of Memphis, and, after seven years of captivity, the conduct of the war was intrusted to Abdallah, the son of Said and the foster-brother of the caliph, who had lately supplanted the conqueror and lieutenant of Egypt. Yet the favour of the prince, and the merit of his father’s, could not oblige the guile of his success.  

The early conversion of Abdallah, and his skilful pen, had recommended him to the important office of transcribing the sheets of the Koran: he betrayed his trust, corrupted the text, derided the errors which he had made, and fled to Mecca to escape the justice, and expose the ignorance of the apostle.  

After the conquest of Mecca, the Moslem chief returned from his tears, and the entreaties of Othman, extirp a reluctant pardon; but the prophet declared that he had so long hesitated, to allow time for a zealous disciple to avenge his injury in the blood of the apostate.  

With this consideration of the history of the tribe of Tri- poli, a maritime city in which the name, the wealth, and the inhabitants, of the province had gradually centred, and which now maintains the third rank among the states of Barbary. A reinforcement of Greeks was surprised and cut in pieces on the seacoast; but the fortifications of Tripoli resisted the first assaults; and the Saracens were tempted by the approach of the prefect Gregory, to re- 

rivage the labours of the siege for the perfidious and the hopes of a decisive action. Gregory and his standard was followed by one hundred-
of the Roman Empire.

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2dred and twenty thousand men, the regular bands of the empire must have been lost in the naked and disorderly flight of the Africans. The column, or the strength, or rather the numbers, of his host. He rejected with indignation the notion of the Koran or the tribute; and during several days, the two armies were fiercely engaged from the dawn of light to the hour of noon, when their fatigue and the excessive heat compelled them to seek shelter and refreshment in their respective camps. The daughter of Gregory, a maid of incomparable beauty and spirit, is said to have fought by his side: from her earliest youth she was trained to mount on horseback, to draw the bow, and to wield the scimitar; and the richness of her arms and apparel was considerable. Her left hand, with a hundred thousand pieces of gold, was offered for the head of the Arabian general, and the youths of Africa were excited by the prospect of the glorious prize. At the pressing solicitation of his brethren, Abdullah withdrew his person from the field; but the Saracens were discouraged by the retreat of their leader, and the repetition of these equal or unsuccessful conflicts. 

Victory A noble Arabian, who afterwards became the adversary of Ali, and the father of a caliph, had signalized his valor in Egypt, and Zobeir, a king of the Jundishapur people, was summoned to scale the ladder against the walls of Babylon. In the African war he was detached from the standard of Abdullah. On the news of the battle, Zobeir, with twelve companions, cut his way through the camp of the Greeks, and pressed forwards, without tasting either food or repose, to partake of the dangers of his brethren. He cast his eyes round the field: " Where?" said he, "is our general?" "Is the tent a station for the general of the Moslems?" Abdullah represented with a blunness the importance of his own life, and the temptation that was held forth by the Roman prefect. "Return," said Zobeir, "let him infidelity their unquestionable attempt. Proclaim through the ranks, that the head of Gregory shall be repaid with his captive daughter, and the equal sum of one hundred thousand pieces of gold." To the courage and discretion of Zobeir the lieutenant of the caliph intrusted the execution of his own stratagem, which involved the long-disputed balance in favour of the Saracens. Supplying by activity and artifice the deficiency of numbers, a part of their forces lay concealed in their tents, while the remainder prolonged an irregular skirmish with the enemy, till the sun was high in the heavens. On both sides the adventurers of the Christians were bridled, their armour was laid aside, and the hostile nations prepared, or seemed to prepare, for the refreshment of the evening, and the encounter of the ensuing day. On a sudden the charge was sounded: the Arabian camp poured forth a swarm of fresh and intrepid warriors; and the long line of the Greeks and Africans was surprised, assaulted, overthrown, by new squadrons of the faithful, who, to the eye of fanaticism, might appear as a band of angels descending from the sky. The prefect himself was slain by the hand of Zobeir; his body was taken by the infidels unconscious of his death, was surrounded and made prisoner; and the fugitives involved in their disaster the town of Sufetula, to which they escaped from the sabres and lances of the Arabs. Sufetula was built one hundred and fifty miles to the south of Carthage: a gentle declivity is watered by a series of fine streams, and possesses extensive pasturage. (Annal. Moslem, p. 78.) El margin (in his cloudy version, p. 250) seems to report the same fact. When the Arabs besieged the palaces of Othman, great were their distresses and grievances.

Chap. XII. OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

victory or his zeal might be blunted by offers of tribute or professions of faith; but his losses, his fatigues, and his reverses, were accompanied by the final establishment; and the Saracens, after a campaign of fifteen months, retreated to the confines of Egypt, with the captives and the wealth of their African expedition. The caliph's fifth was granted to a favorite, on the nominal payment of five hundred thousand pieces of gold; but the state was doubly injured by this fallacious transaction, if each soldier had shared one thousand, and each hero man three thousand, pieces, in the real division of the plunder. The author of the death of Gregory was expected to have claimed the most precious reward of the victory: from his silence it might be inferred that he had been so far misled till the tears and exclamations of the prefect's daughter at the sight of Zobeir revealed the valour and modesty of that gallant soldier. The unfortunate virgin was offered, and almost rejected as a slave, by her father's murderer, who cooly declared that his sword was consecrated to the service of religion; and that he laboured for a recompense far above the charms of mortal beauty, or the riches of this transitory life. A reward congeial to his temper, was the honourable commission of announcing to the caliph Othman the success of his arms. The companions, the eunuchs, and the populace, who had been engaged to hear the interesting narrative of Zobeir; and, as the order forgot nothing except the merit of his own counsels and actions, the name of Abdullah was joined by the Saracens with the heroic names of Caled and Amru. 

The western conquests of the Saracens 
were suspended nearly twenty years, till their dissensions were composed by the establishment of the house of Omniyah; and the caliph Mouayyid was invited by the eunuchs of the Africans themselves. The successors of Heraclius had been informed of the news by which they had been compelled to stipulate with the Arabs; but instead of being moved to pity and relieve their distresses, they imposed, as an equivalent or a fine, a second tribute of a similar amount. The ears of the Byzantine ministers were shut against the complaints of their poverty and ruin; their despair was reduced to the formation of a single master; and the extortions of the patriarch of Carthage, who was invested with civil and military power, prostrated the sectaries, and even the catholics, of the Roman province to abjure the religion as well as the authority of their tyrants. The first lieutenant of Mouayyid acquired a just renown, subdued an important city, defeated an army of thirty thousand Greeks, swept away fourscore thousand captives, and enriched with their spoils the bold adventurers of Syria and Egypt. But the title of conqueror of Africa is more justly due to his successor Aghlab. He marched from Damascas at the head of ten thousand of the bravest Arabs; and the genuine force of the Moslems was enlarged by the doubtful aid and conversion of many thousand barbarians. It would be difficult, nor is it necessary, to trace the accurate line of the progress of Aghlab, or to industrialize the relative position of the Abdalmen, who were assisted by the Orientals with fictitious armies and imaginary citadels. In the warlike province of Zab, or Numidia, fourscore thousand of the natives might assem-
The decline and fall

of the Abbasid caliphate, for instance, in the reign of Harun at-Rashid, may be considered as the beginning of the end of the Muslim world. The internal decay of the caliphate had been hastened by the rise of the slave-traders and the slave-states, and by the decline of the arts and sciences. The foreign wars of the caliphate had also been a cause of its decline, for they had drained its resources and weakened its military power.

The fall of the caliphate was followed by the rise of the Ottoman empire, which was able to profit by the mistakes of its predecessor. The Ottomans were able to take advantage of the weakness of the caliphate, and to establish a strong and flourishing empire in the East.

1 See Novici, pp. 42, 58-52.

2 From the time of the Ottoman empire, the caliphate was no longer a political entity, but a religious one. The caliphs were no longer the rulers of the Moslem world, but the spiritual leaders of the community.

3 The rise of the Ottoman empire was due to the weakness of the caliphate, and to the need for a strong and powerful government in the East. The Ottomans were able to take advantage of this situation, and to establish a strong and flourishing empire in the East.
The return of domestic peace allowed the caliph Abdalmalek to resume the conquest of Africa: the standard was delivered to Hassan governor of Egypt, and the revenue of that kingdom, with an army of forty thousand men, was assigned to the successor of Бе⁄аeг or Бе⁄аeг of Carthage, and Cæsarea. The army of Hassan was in the meantime won and lost by the Saracens. But the seacoast remained in the hands of the Greeks; the predecessors of Hassan had respected the name and fortifications of Carthage; and the number of its defences was increased in their new capital of Carthage and Tripoli. The army of Hassan was bolder and more fortunate; he reduced and pillaged the metropolis of Africa; and the mention of scaling-ladders may justify the suspicion that he anticipated, by a sudden assault, the more tedious operation of a regular siege. But the "Tenth of the Caliph" and Cæsarea lay desolate above twenty years after the short and precipitate advance of the Christian succours. The prefect and patrician John, a general of experience and renown, embarked at Constantinople the forces of the eastern empire; they were joined by the ships and soldiers of Sicily, and a powerful reinforcement of Goths was ordered to be sent from these remote and barbarous regions. The weight of the confederate navy broke the chain that guarded the entrance of the harbour; the Arabs retired to Carthage, or Tripoli; the Christians landed; the city walls halted the ensign of the cross, and the winter was髭e wasted in the design of victory or defence. The city was finally lost; the zeal and resentment of the commander of the faithful prepared in the ensuing spring a more numerous armament by sea and land; and the patrician in his turn was compelled to evacuate the post and fortifications of Carthage. A second battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Carthage; the site was fortified and the date of the battle was probably 200; the city of Carthage and the fortress of the Spaniards was finally acquired by the Moslems; the site was converted into a military station; and the ruins of the ancient Carthage, though recently reduced in size by the assault of fire and the devastations of their ancestors. Such is the tale of the modern Carthage. Yet I strongly suspect that the memory of their antiquity, the love of the marvellous, and the fashion of extolling the philosophy of barbarians, has induced them to magnify, and extend, the fame of the ancient Carthage. In the progress of the revolt Carthage had most probably contributed its share of destruction; and the alarm of universal ruin might terrify and alienate the cities that had relied on the relative safety of their position. It was not in vain that the people of Carthage, with the Senegalese and Mamelukes, were recruited by the Prophet; and the policy of the viceroy was wisely pursued by the patrician. If the Carthaginians had not been sufficiently manly to defend their city, the worst that could happen to them was the ceasing to be the richest and most populous of the African cities. Their independence was inevitably lost; the triumphs of the Arab invaders were celebrated with the simple productions of the earth. Let us destroy these cities; let us hairy in our mails those precious treasures; and when the avarice of our foes shall be destitute of temptation, perhaps they will cease to distress the tranquillity of a warlike population. This is the ironical sentiment of the historian. From Tangier to Tripoli the buildings, or at least the fortifications, were demolished, the fruit-trees were cut down, the means of subsistence were exterminated, a fertile and populous garden was changed into a desert, and the historians of a more recent period are not the most ready to disbelieve the facts of the history of the conquest of Africa. From Tangier to Tripoli, or the frontier of the desert, the inhabitants were dispossessed of their property, and the policy of the conquerors was perfected. The activity of Musa and his successors was greatly increased by the activity of the Moslem viceroy. The general of the Saracens was again revived as the saviour of the province; the friends of civil society conspired against the savages of the land; and the royal proclamations were shewn in the first battle which overthrew the baseless fabric of their superstition and empire. The same spirit revived under the successor of Hassan; it was finally quelled by the activity of Murad and his successors; but the number of the rebels may be presumed from that of three hundred thousand captives; sixty thousand of whom, the

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The decline of the Moors, adopted with the language, name, and origin of Arabs: the blood of the strangers and natives was insensibly mingled; and from the Euphrates to the Atlantic Ocean, and from the nation's infancy he diffused over the sandy plains of Asia and Africa. Yet I will not deny that fifty thousand tents of pure Arabs might be transported over the Nile, and scattered through the Libyan desert: and I am not ignorant that fire of the Moorish tribes still retain their barbarous idiom with the appellation and character of white Africans.

SPAIN. First temporary and decisive battles of the Arabs. B. 726.

V. In the progress of conquest from the north and south, the Goths and the Saracens encountered each other on the battlefields of Europe and Africa. In the opinion of the historian, the difference in the two races was a real and sensible ground of enmity and warfare. As early as the time of Othman, his piratical squadrons had ravaged the coasts of Andalusia; nor had they forgotten the relief of Carthage by the Gothic succours. In that age, as we have seen, the Saracens, or those of Spain who were received into the fortress of Ceuta; one of the columns of Hercules, which is divided by a narrow strait from the opposite pillar or point of Europe. A small portion of Moriniana was still wanting to the African conquest; but Musa, in the pride of victory, was repulsed by the Goths of Ceuta, by a sortie from that place; but the courage of count Julian, the general of the Goths. From his disappointment and perplexity, Musa was relieved, by an unexpected message of the Christian chief, who offered his help, his person, and his sword, to the successors of Mahomet, and solicited the degradation of Mahomet and the restoration of the Gothic kings. If we inquire into the cause of his treachery, the Spaniards will repeat the popular story of his daughter Caia; of a virgin who was seduced, or ravished by her sovereign; of a father who sacrificed his religion and country for the interest of his daughters; whose exploits have often been licentious and destructive; but this well-known tale, romantic in itself, is indifferent.

The first book of the African journeys and the observations of De Swar, (c. 209. 212. 227. 228.) will throw some light on the events before the invasion of Barbary, of Arabian or Moorish descent. But Swar has seen these events in Arabian letters and the authenticated history of the Moorish nation has been concealed by the burden of garrisons. In the first period of the Mahometan history. In a conference with a prince of the Greeks, Amurath observed, that their religion was different: upon which sense it was lawful for brothers to quarrel. (Kitier's History of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 325.

The name of Andalusia is applied by the Arabs not only to the region where they settled, but to the whole peninsula of Spain and Portugal (Grotius, vol. i. p. 154. O'Herstein, Biblis Orientis, p. 141.) But the name of Andalusia is most improperly derived from Andalusia, country of the Vandals in Spain. The Arabic word Al Qustari, signifies in Arabic, the region of the sea, the coast, the kingdom of the Goths, in the country of the Goths. In perfectly opposite, Biblis, Arabico-Hispanica, (l. m. p. 327. &c.)

The fall and restoration of the Gothic monarchy are related by the Indians of Murianna. (l. m. p. 239-241.) (l. m. p. 239-241.) (l. m. p. 239-241.) (l. m. p. 239-241.)

The campaigns of Amurath have infused into his noble work. (Histoire de l'Empire Islamique, libri xxx.) Hugues Comte 1755. In four volumes in folio, with the Continuation of Minisci.) the style and spirit of a Roman classic; and in the history of the Gothic nations, his knowledge, his powers of research, his powers of judgment, may be safely trusted. But the Jesuit is not exempt from the prejudices of his sect and order, as he has had the advantage of the manuscripts of criticism and chronology, and a lively fancy, the chassis of historical and metaphysical, and the style of historians are large and frequent. Robert, archbishop of Toledo, the father of the Spanish history, lived five hundred years after the fall of Carthage. The most exact and trustworthy accounts are composed in some measure times of the Ern-chronicles, and some of the decrees of Byblos (Pacienza) and Alphonso. 3. King of Leon, which he has collected.

Le vie (casa Valier) est aussi difficile a faire que son prouve. De la vie de M. le Comte de Provence, pour la premiere fois (Hist. Generale c. xxvi.) His argument is an implicitly credible.

ly supported by external evidence; and the history of Spain will suggest some motives of interest and policy more congenial to the breast of a veteran state-man. After the decease or deposition of Witiza, his two sons were supplanted by the ambition of Roderic, a noble Goth, whose father, the duke or governor of a province, had fallen a victim to the preceding tyranny. The monarchy was still elective; but the sons of Witiza, educated on the steps of the throne, were impatient of a private station. Their resentment was the more dangerous, as it was vanished with the dissimilation of courts: their following suit the increase of the simplicity and the promise of a revolution; and their uncle Oppas, archbishop of Toledo and Seville, was the first person in the church, and the second in the state. It is probable that Julian was involved in the disgrace of the unsuccessful faction; that he had little hope and must fear to exchange in a field battle for the first assault of the invaders. The ambitious Sarracen was fired by the ease and importance of the attempt; but the execution was delayed till he had consulted the commander of the faithful; and his messenger returned with the news that the Saracen army was divided into two parts, the one in the king of the West and the region of the caliph. In his residence of Tangier, Musa, with secrecy and caution, continued his correspondence and hastened his preparations. But the remorse of his commanders was soothed by the fallacious assurance that he should content himself with the glory and spoil, without aspiring to establish the Moslems beyond the sea that separates Africa from Europe.

Before Musa would trust an army of the first descent to the faiths and insulins of the Arabs, of a foreign land, he made a less dear. A.D. 718 July. A serious trial of their strength and capacity. One hundred Arabs, and four hundred Africans, passed over in four vessels, from Tangier, or Ceuta; the place of their descent on the opposite shore of the strait, is
marked by the name of Tarik their chief: and the date of this memorable event is fixed to the month of Ramadan, of the ninety-first year of the Hegira, to the month of July, seven hundred and forty-eight years from the departure of the Prophet; and seven years after the birth of Christ.

From their first station, they marched eighteen miles through a hilly country to the castle and town of Julian; on which (it is still called Algezir) they bestowed the name of the Green Island, from a verdant cape that advances into the sea, on the high promontory of Tarik; and the intrenchments of their camp were the first outline of those fortifications, which, in the hands of our countrymen, have resisted the art and power of the house of Bourbon. The adjacent governor informed the court of Toledo of the descent and presence of the Saracens; and the wisdom of the Christian emperors, who had been commanded to seize and bind the presumptuous strangers, admired Roderic of the magnitude of the danger. At the royal summons, the drakes, and counts, the bishops and nobles of the Gothic monarchy, assembled at the head of their followers; and the son of the king of the Romans, which is employed by an Arabic historian, may be excused by the allusion of that of the nations of Spain. His army consisted of ninety or a hundred thousand men; a formidable power.

If their fidelity or discipline had been adequate to their numbers. The troops of Tarik had been augmented to twelve thousand Saracens; but the christian multitudes were attracted by the influence of Julian, and a crowd of African most greedily tasted the temporal blessings of the Koran. In the neighbourhood of Julian, the first pitched battle was fought, the encounter which determined the fate of the kingdom; the stream of the Guadalete, which falls into the bay, divided the two camps, and marked the advancing and retreating skirmishes of three successive and bloody days. On the fourth day the Army of the Moors was driven into the country, and the issue, by order of the General, was left to his unworthy successor, sustaining on his head a diadem of pearls, encumbered with a flowing robe of gold and silk embroidered, and reclining on a litter or car of ivory drawn by two white mules. Notwithstanding the valor of the Saracens, they fainted under the weight of multitudes, and the plain of Xeres was overcharged with white and black dead bodies.

"My brethren," said Tarik to his soldiers, and captains, "the enemy is before you, the sea is behind: whether will ye fly? Follow your general: I am resolved either to lose my life, or to trample on the prostrate king of the Romans." Besides the resource of despair, he escaped from a soldier's death to perish more ignobly in the waters of the Bentor or Goodshinquies, his diadem, his robes, and his courier, were found on the bank; but as the body of the Gothic prince was lost in the waves, the pride and ignorance of the caliph must have been gratified with some manner head, which was exposed in triumph before the palace of Dasmara. And so, by the sagacity of the Arabs, "is the fate of those kings who withdraw themselves from a field of battle?"

Count Julian had plunged so deep into the ruin of the Galli and infamy, that his only hope was his monarchy, (Dion. in invasion 55.) In the ruin of his country, after the battle of Xeres he recommended the most effectual measures to the victorious Saracens. "The king of the Goths is slain; their princes are fled before you, the army is routed, the nation is astonished. Secure with sufficient detachments the cities of Boceta; but invest in person, and with the whole army of Toledo, and allow not the distracted christians either time or tranquillity for the election of a new monarch." Tarik listened to his advice. A Roman captive and proselyte, who had been enfranchised by the caliph himself, assaulted Cordova with seven hundred men; he joined the river; he persuaded the Moors to give the christians into the great church, where they defended themselves above three months. Another detachment reduced the sea-coast of Boceta, which in the last period of the Moorish power has comprised in a narrow space the populous kingdom of Grenada.

The march of Tarik was directed through the Sierra Morena, that separates Andalusia and Castille, till he appeared in arms under the walls of Toledo. The most zealous of the catholics had escaped with the relics of their saints; and if the gates were shut, it was only till the victor had subdued a fair and reasonable capitulation. The voluntary exiles were allowed to depart with their effects; seven churches were appropriated to the christian worship; the archbishop and his clergy were at liberty to exercise their functions, the monks to practise or neglect their penance; and the Goths and Romans were left in all civil and criminal cases to the subordinate

A.D. 714.

April.

The second industry of their too faithful ally, the Spanish Saracens landed at the pillar, or point of Europe; the corrupt and familiar appellative is given to that part of Africa which intervenes the mountain of Tarik; and the intrenchments of their camp were the first outline of those fortifications, which, in the hands of our countrymen, have resisted the art and power of the house of Bourbon. The adjacent governor informed the court of Toledo of the descent and presence of the Saracens; and the wisdom of the Christian emperors, who had been commanded to seize and bind the presumptuous strangers, admired Roderic of the magnitude of the danger. At the royal summons, the drakes, and counts, the bishops and nobles of the Gothic monarchy, assembled at the head of their followers; and the son of the king of the Romans, which is employed by an Arabic historian, may be excused by the allusion of that of the nations of Spain. His army consisted of ninety or a hundred thousand men; a formidable power.

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jurisdiction of their own laws and magistrates. But if the justice of Tarik protected the christians, his gratitude and policy rewarded the Jews, to whose secret or open aid he was indebted for his most important possessions. Persia was taken and the guarded synagogues of Spain, who had often pressed the alternative of hani-fment or baptism, that outset nation embraced the moment of revenge; the comparison of their past and present state was the pledge of their fidelity; and the manifest between the disciples of Moses and of Mahomet, was maintained till the final era of their common expulsion. From the royal seat of Toledo, the Arabian leader spread his conquests to the north, over the modern realms of Castille and Leon; but it is needless to enumerate the cities that yielded on his approach or access, the applause of Musa degenerated transported from the east by the Romans, acquired by the Goths among the spoils of Rome, and presented by the Arabs to the throne of Damascus. Beyond the Asturian mountains, the maritime town of Gij was the term of the lieutenant of Musa, who had performed, with the speed of a traveller, his victorious march, of seven hundred miles, from the rock of Gibraltar to the Bay of Biscay. The failure of land compelled him to retreat: and he was recalled to Toledo, to excise his presumption of subduing a kingdom in the absence of the emperor. Spain, which, in a month, was in a state of age and disorderly state, had resisted, two hundred years, the arms of the Romans, was overrun in a few months by those of the Saracens; and such was the eagerness of submission and treaty, that the governor of Cordova is recorded as the only chief who fell, without condition, a prisoner into their hands. The cause of the Goths had been irrevocably judged in the field of Xeres; and, in the national dismay, each part of the monarchy declined a contest with the antagonist who had vanquished the united strength of the whole. That strength had been wasted by two successive sessions of famine and pestilence; and the governors, who were impatient to surrender, might exaggerate the difficulty of collecting the provisions of a siege. To disarm the Christians, supposition likewise contributed her terrors; and the subtle Arab encouraged the report of dreams, omens, and prophecies, and of the portraits of the destined conquerors of Spain, that were discovered on breaking open an apartment of the royal palace. Yet a spark of the vital flame was still alive: some invincible fugitives preferred a life of poverty and exile to the Asturian valiant taintór repulsed the slaves of the caliph; and the sword of Pelagius has been transformed into the sceptre of the catholic kings. 1

Conquest of Spain

A.D. 717, 733.

On the intelligence of this rapid success, the Moslem hordes, inflamed by envy: and he began, not to complain, but to fear, that Tarik would leave him nothing to subdue. At the head of ten thousand Arabs and eight thousand Africans, he passed over in person from Murcia into Spain: the first of his companions was the noblest of the K-reish; his eldest son was left in command of Africa; the three younger brethren were of an age and spirit to second the boldest enterprises of their father. At his landing in Algezir, he was resplendently entertained by count Julian, who stifled his inward remorse, and testified, both in words and actions, his attachment to their cause. Some enemies yet remained for the sword of Musa. The tardy repeatance of the Goths had compared their own numbers and those of the invaders; the cities from which the march of Tarik had declined, considered themselves as impregnable; and the bravest patriots defended the fortifications of Seville and Merida. They were successively besieged and reduced by the labour of Musa, who transported his camp from the Betis to the Aliva, from the Guadalquivir to the Guadiana. When he returned to Cordova, the palace, the aqueducts, the triumphal arches, and the theatre, of the ancient metropolitan of Lusitania. "I should imagine," said he to his four companions, "that the human race must have united their art and power in the foundation of this city; happy is the man who shall become its master." He aspired to that happiness, but the Emeritan sustained on this occasion the honour of their descent from the veteran legions of Augustus. 2 Dismissing the confinement of their walls, they gave battle to the Arabs on the plain; but an ambuscade, in which the mounted Moslems had fallen in the sieve, or retired to Gallicia, was consislered as the reward of the faithful. In the midway between Merida and Toledo, the lieutenant of Musa saluted the vanguard of the caliph, and conducted him to the palaces of the Gothic kings. Their first interview was cold and formal: a rigid account was exacted of the treasures of Spain: the character of Tarik was exposed to suspicion and obloquy; and the hero was imprisoned, reviled, and ignominiously scourged by the hand, or the command, of Musa. Yet so strict might a code of justice be. The hardly under- terred the spirit, of the primitive Moslems, that, after this public indignity, Tarik could serve and he trusted in the reduction of the Tarraconense province. A moch was erected at Saragossa, by the liberality of the K-rosh; the port of Carcassone was opened to the vessels of Syria; and the Goths were pursured beyond the Pyrenean mountains into their Gallic province of Sep tinimania or Languedoc. 3 In the church of St. Mary at Carcassonne, Musa laid found, but it is imppossible that he left, seven equestrian statues of massy silver; and from his tomb or column of Narbonne, he returned on his feet to the Gallician and Lusitanian shores of the ocean. During the absence of the father, his son Abdelniz chastised the insurgents of Seville, and reduced, from Malaga to Valencia, the sea-coast of the Mediterranean: his original treaty with the discreet

1 In the Historia Araucana (c. 9. p. 17, ad callem Elmasia) Roderic of Toledo describes the emerald table, and invests the name of Mes- din Abyeida, in Arabic words and letters. He appears to be con- versant with the Mohammedan writers: but I cannot agree with M. de Caspar, noti, de l'histoire des Huns, tom. 1, p. 35, who has transcribed Nusairi: because he was dead a hundred years before the history was composed. This error is Cauded on a Forserer of a grosser error. M. de Guemes confines the historian Roderic to Toledo in the thirteenth century, when the ancient Ximenes who governed Spain, in the beginning of the sixteenth, and was the subject, not the author, of his oflicial and important. He is himself a historian of the Moslem chronicles: he is the last of Ren- ard and his companions in their Lapland journey. "Hic tandem manus effigies et circulis orbat." 2 Such was the alabais of the traitor Oppas, and every chief to whom in Spain had not consented to the flur of Pelagius: Ormon Hispania dudum sub uno reginio Gothorum, omnium exercitus Hispania in uno congregatus Lusitaniis et non valentissime impetum ferebatur, "quod non caput principum potest praeclare capitum etiam extremum," A.D. 722. Pagi, Critical, tom. III. l. 175. 3 Historia de rebus hisp., I. 1 would much quote whether Musa ever passed the Pyrenees. 4 The lordship of the Ximenes, De Guenez, Hist. des Huns, tom. I, p. 233, and Carbonne, (Hist. de l'Espagne et de l'Espagne, tom. I, p. 53, 54, 104, 105.) 5 This manuscript copy, in the possession of Mr. Caspar, noti, de l'histoire des Huns, tom. I, p. 35,§ 154, 155, is in the original style, in the hand of Roderic of Toledo, or the Miss. of the Escorial, and the invasion of the Saracens is espoused by a Frater of Guemes: De rebus hisp., I. 175. Pagi, Critical, tom. III. l. 175. Historia de rebus hisp., I. 1 would much quote whether Musa ever passed the Pyrenees.
and valiant Theodemir will represent the manners and policy of the times. "The conditions of peace agreed and sworn between Abdazziz, the son of Musa, king of the Moors, and the prince of the Goths. In the name of the most merciful God, Abdazziz makes peace on these conditions: that Theodemir shall not be disturbed in his principality; nor any injury be offered to the life or property, the wives and children, the religion and temples of the Christians. The term of peace shall be forty days, after which the second city, Othiban, Valentia, Alicut, Mola, Vacasora, Bigorra, (now Bejar,) Ora, (or Opta,) and Lorea: that he shall not assist or entertain the enemies of the caliph, but shall faithfully communicate his knowledge of their hostile designs: that each himself, and each of the Gothic nobles shall annually pay one piece of gold, four measures of barley, and as many of harley, with a certain proportion of honey, oil, and vinegar; and that each of their vassals shall be taxed at one moiety of the said imposition. Given the fourth of Regob, in the year of the Hegira ninety-four, and subscribed with the names of four Carthaginians. The precautions thus taken were treated with uncommon lenity; but the rate of tribute appears to have fluctuated from a tenth to a fifth, according to the submission or obstinacy of the christians.4 In this revolution, many partial calamities were inflicted by the carnal or religious passions of the enemies and oppressors of each other; by the new worship: some relics or images were confounded with idols: the rebels were put to the sword; and one town (an obscure place between Cordova and Seville) was razed to its foundations. Yet if we compare the inva- sions of Spain above the Gothic, or its recovery, by the kings of Castile and Aragon, we must applaud the moderation and discipline of the Arabian conquerors.

Degree of Musa. The exploits of Musa were performed A.D. 714 in the evening of life, though he affected to disguise his age by colouring with a red powder the white hair which adorned the crown of his glory, his breast was still fired with the ardour of youth; and the possession of Spain was considered only as the first step to the monarchy of Europe. With a powerful arma- ment by sea and land, he was preparing to repass the Pyrenees, to extirpate in Gaul and Italy the memory of his name, and to impose his law over the Grecian cities, and to preach the unity of God on the altar of the Vaticen. From Thebes, subduing the barbarians of Germany, he proposed to follow the course of the Danube from its source to the Euxine sea, to over- throw the Greek or Roman empire of Constantinople, and divide the empire of the Goths in pieces: but his igno- rance of the arts or commerce, his want of money and supplies, obliged him to return; and to acquire antiquity of the province of Syria. But his vast enterprise, perhaps of easy execution, must have seemed extravagant to vulgar minds; and the visionary conqueror was soon reminded of his de- pendency and servitude. The friends of Tarik had effusively stated his services and wrongs; at the court of Damascus, the proceedings of Musa were blamed, his intentions were suspected, and his delay in supplying the army of traitors was excused by a harsher and more peremptory summons. An intrepid messenger of the caliph entered his camp at Lugo in Galicia, and in the presence of the Saracens and christians arrested the bridle of his horse. His own loyalty, or that of his troops, incensed the duty of obedience and the disgrace was acknowledged by the recall of his rival, and the permission of investing with his two governments his two sons, Abdallah and Abdazliz. His long triumph from Centa to Damascus, displayed the spoils of Africa and the treasures of Spain: four hundred Gothic nobles, with gold cover- ings and girdles, was the gift of victory. But the number of the male and female captives, selected for their birtts or beauty, was computed at eighteen, or even at thirty, thousand persons. As soon as he reached Thetarias in Palestine, he was apprised of the sickness and danger of the caliph, by a private message from Soliman, his brother and pre-umpitive heir; who wished to reserve for his own reign the spectacle of victory. Had Walid recovered, the delay of Musa would have been criminal: he pursued his march, and found an enemy on the throne. In his trial before a partial judge, against a popular antagonist, he was accused of having insulted and plundered the hundred thousand Quantas of gold either exhausted his poverty or proved his rapaciousness. The unworthy treatment of Tarik was revenged by a similar indignity; and the veteran commander, after a public whipping, stood a whole day in the sun before the palace gate, till he obtained a decent burial, under the proud name of a pilgrim to Mezec. The resentment of the caliph might have been satiated with the ruin of Musa; but his fears demanded the extirpation of a point and injured family. A sentence of death was inti- mated with secrecy and speed to the trusty servants of Musa in Africa and in Spain, in forms; if not the substance, of justice was preserved. The bloody execution. In the mosque or palace of Corde- va, Abdazliz was slain by the swords of the com- bators; they accused their governor of obtaining the honours of royalty; and his scandalous marriage with his daughter-in-law, according to the sensuality of the times of the Moors, distinguished both of the christians and Musleims. By a re- pneumonia of cruelty, the head of the son was presented to the father, with an insinuating question, whether he acknowledged the features of the rebel! "I know his features," he exclaimed with indignation: "I as- sured him of the infamy of his name, of the destruction of his family; his death, and the fate, against the authors of his death." The age and despair of Musa raised him above the power of kings; and he expired at Meeca of the anguish of a broken heart. His rival was more favourably treated: his services were forgiven; and Tarik was permitted to mingle with the crowd of slaves.6 I am ignorant whether count Julian was rewarded with the death which he deserved indeed, though not from the hands of the Saracens; but the tale of their ingratitude to the sons of Witiza is disproved by the most unequivocal evidence. The two royal youths were in- ducted in the innumerable captivity of their father; on the decease of Elza, the elder, his daughter was unjustly despoiled of her portion by the violence of her uncle Sig but. The Gothic maid pleaded her cause before the caliph Hasheim, and obtained the restitution of her inheritance; but she was given in marriage to a Gallus Arabian, whose beauty was of such a nature as to be received in Spain with the consideration that was due to their origin and riches.

a Four hundred years after Theodemir, his territories of Murcia and Carthage were taken in the Notion seconde Edris by another name of Talmir, (D'Anville, Atlas de l'Europe, p. 166. Paris, tom. iii. p. 151). In the present day of Spanish agriculture, Mr. Swainson (Bibliotheca Hispanica, i. 39) has observed with wonder, that the valley from Murcia to Orihuela, four leagues in length, is one of the most fertile country in Spain. This part of the province of Murcia, with Barbastro, and S. Flevy (Murcia Exc. ii. 75) b Now the treaty in Arabic and Latin, in the Bibliotheca Arabico- Hispanic (9). p. 109, 116. It is said the 6th of the mouth of Regob, A. H. 94, the 24th of April, A.D. 713, a date which seems to produce the resistance of Theodemir, and the government of Musa. c From the history of Swainson, S. Flevy (Murcia Exc. ii. 75) the above mentioned partnership was made. d The treaty was given the substance of another treaty concluded A.D. 726. 2. 773, by an Arabian chief and the Goths and Romans of the territory of Carthage. The agreement between the church and the believers was fixed at twenty-five pounds of gold; of the money; for ten thousand francs; the number was selected by the condition of their wealth, but in capital cases they must consult the alcaide. The chief must see them also, and they must respect the name of honor. I have not the original before me; it would confirm or de- ny a dark suspicion, that the piece has been forged to introduce the discovery of 'the eighteenth century. Life of Musa, and a copy on the back of it is Tarik. Of these authentic pieces, the latter was composed by a grandson of Musa, who had escaped from the massacre of his kindred; the latter, by the vicar of the first Abdonian caliph of Spain, who might have conversed with some of the veterans of the conquerors. (Bibliotheca Arabico Hispanic, tom. i. p. 81) 759.)

4 I must regret our loss, or my ignorance, of two Arabic works of the eighth century. A Life of Musa, and a copy on the back of it is Tarik. Of these authentic pieces, the latter was composed by a grandson of Musa, who had escaped from the massacre of his kindred; the latter, by the vicar of the first Abdonian caliph of Spain, who might have conversed with some of the veterans of the conquerors. (Bibliotheca Arabico Hispanic, tom. i. p. 81) 759.)
The decline and fall

Chap. XII.

Prosperity of Spain under the Arabs

A province is assimilated to the victorious state by the introduction of strangers and the imitative spirit of the natives; and Spain, which had been successively incised with Arabic, and Roman, and Gothic blood, imbued, in a few generations, the same name and manners of the Arabians. As the twenty-six chief lieutenants of the caliphs, who were attended by a numerous train of civil and military followers, who preferred a distant fortune to a narrow home; the private and public inter it was promoted by the establishment of faithful colonies; and the cities of Spain were principally adorned by the victories and exploits of eastern predecessors. The victorious troops modelled bands of Tarik and Musa asserted, by the name of Spaniards, their original claim of conquest; yet they allowed their brethren of Egypt to share the establishments of Mecca and Medina. The Roman legions of Spain were planted at Cordova; that of Venice at Seville; that of Kinsirin or Chelles at Jaen; that of Palestine at Alg-azar and Medina Sidonia. The natives of Yemen and Persia were scattered round Toledo and the inland country, and the fertile seats of Gaul were adorned on two thousand horsemen by Syrian and Iraq, the children of the purest and most noble of the Arabian tribes. A spirit of emulation, sometimes beneficial, more frequently dangerous, was nourished by these hereditary factions. Ten years after the conquest, a map of the province was preserved by the sea, the sand banks, and the barren shores, the inhabitants and cities, the climate, the soil, and the mineral productions of the earth. In the space of two centuries, the arts of nature were improved by the agriculturists, the manufactures, and the commerce of an industrious people; and the effects of the vast expeditions were magnified by the historians of their fancy. The first of the Omamades, who reigned in Spain solicited the support of the Christians; and in his edict of peace and protection, he contented himself with a modest imposition of ten thousand ounces of gold, ten thousand pounds of silver, ten thousand horses, as many mules, one thousand enuiras, with an equal number of helmets and lances. The most powerful of his successors derived from the same kingdom the annual tribute of twelve millions and forty-five thousand dinars of pieces of gold, about six millions of florins, which, on the tenth tributary, most probably surpassed the united revenues of the Christian monarchs. His royal seat of Cordova contained six hundred mosques, nine hundred baths, and two hundred thousand houses; he gave laws to eighty cities of the first, to three hundred of the second, and thirty; and the fertile banks of the Guadalquivir were adorned with twelve thousand villages and

1 Biblioth. Arab.-Hispan., tom. ii. p. 32. 322. The former of these quotations is taken from a Biographia Hispanica, by an Abbot of Valencia; (see the copy in Excerpta ex Commentariis, tom. ii. p. 93--121) and the latter from a general Chronology of the Caliphate, and of the African and Spanish Provinces, with a particular History of the Kingdom of Granada, which Castor has given at an entire version, (Aenol, Acadiva, Historia Christiana i. 6, 249). The author of this, a native of Granada, and a contemporary of Nascir, some time resident in the seventy eight. In 1230, did not a great historian, geographer, poet, etc., (tom. ii. p. 74, 75)


3 A curious composition of the chronology of Spain in the twelfth century, is in the Escurial library; and Castor had some title to the authorship of it; but the Christians contended that the authors quoted among the Arabs, as well as Comela, Latino, etc.; but it is much the Arabician who saw these strangers through the medium of his countryman Castor. (Biblioth. Arab. Hispan., tom. ii. p. 331--339.)

4 Biblioth. Arab.-Hispan., tom. ii. p. 121. Castor translates the elucidation of the difficulty by the statement, that a scattered settlement is well founded in the literal meaning of the phrase a Chosen people. And I must exceedingly prefer the identification of the Christian nations in Spain with castile Castor Castellana. The name of Castor in panel was chosen in the eighth century, the kingdom was not erected till the year 1025, a hundred years after his death. And the identical division was at times express'd, not of a tributary province, but on a line of consequence independent of the Moorish yoke. (Patrologia, Editorial e Parisi, p. 185--174.) Castor himself says, it would have shoule been in the year 1075.

5 A curious computation at 100000 d'Or French livres. The entire picture of peace and prosperity belongs to the civil and military glory of the Monarch.
of the mountains and deserts, an obstinate race of unbe
beverages adhered to the superstition of their fathers; and
a saint tradition of the Magian theology is kept alive in
the province of Kirman, along the banks of the
Indus, among the exiles of Surath, and in the colony
which, in the last century, was planted by Shah Ab-
bas at the gates of Isphahan. The chief pontiff has
meted out to them the pot-palloon (if it continue to burn)
inaccessible to the profane; but his residence is the
school, the oracle, and the pilgrimage, of the
Ghobers, whose hard and uniform features attest the un-
guilty purity of their blood. Under the jurisdiction
of their elders, the faithful, united in an innocent and industrious life; their subsistence is de-
ferred from some curious manufactures and mechanic
trades; and they cultivate the earth with the fervour
of a religious duty. Their ignorance without the
despoticism of Shah Abbass, who demanded with threats
and tortures the prophetic books of Zorʾaster; and this
obscene remnant of the Magians is spared by the
moderation or castration of their present sovereigns,?

The northern coast of Africa is the
Decline and fall
only hand in which the light of the age of christi-
ity perished. Yet, after a long and perfect establish-
ment, the Church, in many places, has been wholly torn to
pieces, and the arms, which had been taught by Carthage and Rome, were involved in
a cloud of ignorance; the doctrine of Cyprian and
Augustin was no longer studied. Five hundred epis-
copal churches were overturned by the hostile fury of the
Donatsis, the Vandals, and the Moors. The zeal
and numbers of the clergy declined; and the people,
without discipline or knowledge, or hope, submissively
yielded the dying embers of Christianity; but the intro-
duction of a foreign prelate, a stranger to the Latin,
and an enemy to the catholics, suppose the decay and dis-
solution of the African hierarchy. It was no longer
the time when the successor of St. Cyprian, at the
head of the church, maintained an equal contest with the ambition of the Roman
pontiff. In the eleventh century, the
unfortunate priest who was seated on the ruins of Car-
thage, implored the arms and the protection of the
Vatican; and he bitterly complains that his sacred
body had been scourged by the Saracens, and that his
authority was disputed by the four suffragans, the fol-
teering pillars of his throne. Two epistles of Gregory
the seventh are destined to soothe the distress of the
catholics, and the pride of a Moorish prince. The
pope assures the sultan that they both worship the
same God, and may hope to meet in the bosom of
Islam, either professed or embraced the Mahometan faith; and under their dynasty (A. D. 953–1030) should place the fall of the
republic (A. D. 418–965, 955.)

Yet the present state of the Ghebers in Persia is taken from Sir
John Chardin, not indeed the most learned, but the most judicious, honest and impartial historian. (A. D. 1677–1772.)
His brother, Pietro della Valle, Olearius, Fauclier, Tavernier, De Bry, Terni, and several others, who visited Persia, reached, had neither ears nor attention for this interesting people,

A.D. 1050–1076. The letter of a Saracen to the grand viceroy of Africa, to the caliph Abd Albas, the first of the Abbasid dynasty, in A. D. 423. (Baron H. de la Fosque et de l’Asgarde, tom. ii. p. 156.)


We have seen, however, (p. 22.) that the Ghebers in the
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circular, called Illumination, or the Mahometan
compendium, is still the same. The Mahometan code;

The last Magian of name and power appears to be Mardavij
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The last Magian of name and power appears to be Mardavij
the Bitarist, who, beginning the tenth century, reigned in the
northern provinces of Persia, under the title of Mirchond, or Mirchond, of

Abraham; but the complaint, that three bishops could no longer be found to consecrate a brother, announces the speedy, and inevitable ruin of the episcopal order, and Spain. The Christians of Africa and Spain had a long struggle to maintain the purity of circumcision, and the legal abstinence from wine and pork; and the name of Mozarabes (adoptive Arabs) was applied to their civil or religious conformity.4 About the middle of the twelfth century the worship of Christ and the succession of pastors were abolished absolutely in the bishops of Barbary, and the kingdom of Cordova and Seville, of Valencia and Grenada.5 The throne of the Almohads, or Urmrians, was founded on the mildest fanaticism, and their extraordinary rigour might be provoked or justified by the recent victories and tolerant zeal of the princes of Sicily and Castille, of Aragon and Provence. The faith of the Mozarabes was occasionally revived by the papal missionaries; and, on the landing of Charles the fifth, some families of Latin Christians were encouraged to rear their heads at Tunis and the African coast. The gospel was quickly re-quickly, and the long province from Tripoli to the Atlantic has lost all memory of the language and religion of Rome.6

Tolerance and persecution. The Christians, the Jews and Christians of the Turkish empire eked out the liberty of their religion granted by the Arab caliphs. During the first age of the conquest, they suspected the loyalty of the catholics, whose name of Melchites betrayed their secret attachment to the Greek emperor, while the Nestorians and Jacobites, their inveterate enemies, approved themselves to the save and voluntary friends of the Mahometan government. Yet this partial jealousy was healed by time and submission; the churches of Egypt were shared with the catholics; but all the oriental sects were included in the common benefits of the realm, the patronage of the jurisdiction of the patriarchs, the bishops, and the clergy, were protected by the civil magistrature; the learning of individuals recommended them to the employment of secretaries and physicians; they were enriched by the lucrative collection of the revenues; and they were the sole authorities to the crown of the religions of cities and provinces. A caliph of the house of Abbas was heard to declare that the Christians were most worthy of trust in the administration of Persia.7

The rapid growth of Mohammedanism in the ninth century, the conveyance of the Arabic language to Spain, and the transplantation of the Arabic government of the caliphate of Cordova provoked the sentence of the caliph, by the public confession of their inconstancy, or their passionate invectives against the person and religion of the prophet. The empire of Hergina, the caliphs were the most potent and absolute monarchs of the globe, A.D. 715.

Their prerogative was not inscribed, either in right or in fact, by the power of the nibles, the freedom of the subjects of the east was in the hands of a senate, or the memory of a free constitution. The authority of the companions of Mahomet execrated with their lives; and the chiefs or emirs of the Arabian tribes left behold, in the desert, the spirit of equality and independence. The royal and sacerdotal character was transferred to the caliphs, who from the sacred names of the first century of the emperors of the east, to whom the name of liberty was unknown, and who were accustomed to applaud in their writings, the cruelty and servitude of Mahomet; and if the Koran was the rule of their actions, they were the supreme judges and interpreters of that divine book. They reigned by the right of conquest over the nations of the east, to whom the name of liberty was unknown, and who were accustomed to applaud in their writings, the cruelty and servitude of Mahomet; and if the Koran was the rule of their actions, they were the supreme judges and interpreters of that divine book. They reigned by the right of conquest over the nations of the east, to whom the name of liberty was unknown, and who were accustomed to applaud in their writings, the cruelty and servitude of Mahomet; and if the Koran was the rule of their actions, they were the supreme judges and interpreters of that divine book. They reigned by the right of conquest over the nations of the east, to whom the name of liberty was unknown, and who were accustomed to applaud in their writings, the cruelty and servitude of Mahomet; and if the Koran was the rule of their actions, they were the supreme judges and interpreters of that divine book. They reigned by the right of conquest over the nations of the east, to whom the name of liberty was unknown, and who were accustomed to applaud in their writings, the cruelty and servitude of Mahomet; and if the Koran was the rule of their actions, they were the supreme judges and interpreters of that divine book. They reigned by the right of conquest over the nations of the east, to whom the name of liberty was unknown, and who were accustomed to applaud in their writings, the cruelty and servitude of Mahomet; and if the Koran was the rule of their actions, they were the supreme judges and interpreters of that divine book. They reigned by the right of conquest over the nations of the east, to whom the name of liberty was unknown, and who were accustomed to applaud in their writings, the cruelty and servitude of Mahomet; and if the Koran was the rule of their actions, they were the supreme judges and interpreters of that divine book. They reigned by the right of conquest over the nations of the east, to whom the name of liberty was unknown, and who were accustomed to applaud in their writings, the cruelty and servitude of Mahomet; and if the Koran was the rule of their actions, they were the supreme judges and interpreters of that divine book.

The empire of the early days of the Arabians, the crown and absolute monarchs of the globe, A.D. 715.

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indissoluble union and easy obedience that pervaded the government of Augustus and the Antonines; but the progress of the Mahometan religion diffused over this ample space a general resemblance of manners and opinions. The language and laws of the Koran were studied in the two empires of Constantinople and Seville: the Moor and the Indian embraced as countrymen and brothers in the pilgrimage of Mecca; and the Arabian language was adopted as the popular idiom in all the provinces to the westward of the Ti- 

gris. 9

CHAPTER XIII.

The two sieges of Constantinople by the Arabs.—Their invasion of France, and defeat by Charles Martel.—Civil war of the Ommiades and Abbasides.—Learning of the Arabs.—Luxury of the caliphs.—Naval enterprises on Crete, Sicily, Spoleto, Venice, and the empire of the caliphs. Defeats and victories of the Greek emperors.

The limits of the Arabian conquests.

When the Arabs first issued from the desert, they must have been surprised at the ease and rapidity of their own suc- 

cess. But when they advanced in the career of victory to the banks of the Indus and the summit of the Pyrenees; when they had repeatedly struck the terror of their seymitars and the energy of their faith, they might be equally astonished that any nation could resist their invincible arms, that any boundary should confine the dominion of the successor of the prophet. The confidence of soldiers and fanatics may indeed be excused, since the calm historian of the present hour, who strives to follow the rapid course of the Saracens, must study to explain by what means the church and state were saved from this impending, and, as it should seem, from this inevitable danger. The deserts of Scythia and Sarmatia might be guarded by their extent, their climate, their poverty, and the course of the northern sheep; China was remote and inaccessible: but the greatest part of the temperate zone was subject to the Mahometan conquerors, the Greeks were exhausted by the calamities of war and the chances of their latest provinces, and the barbarians of Europe might justly tremble at the precipitate fall of the Gothic monarchy. In this inquiry I shall un- 

fold the events that rescued our ancestors of Britain, and our neighbours of Gaul, from the civil and reli-

gious yoke of the Koran; that protected the majesty of Rome, and the existence of the Christian church; and that invigorated the defence of the christians, and scattered among their enemies the seeds of division and decay.

Forty-six years after the flight of Mah-

homet from Mecca, his disciples appear-

ed in arms under the walls of Consta-

tinople. They were animated by a genuine or ficti-

tions saying of the prophet, that, to the first army which besieged the city of the Caesars, their sins were forgiven: the long series of Roman triumphs would be meritoriously transferred to the conquerors of New 


(A. D. 995.) Since that time, the houses in Spain have been over- 

balanced by the conquists in India, Tartary, and the European Territories.

4 The Arabic of the Koran is taught as a dead language in the col-

degs of the Dutch tern, and the scientific interest is com- 

cared to the Latin; the vulgar version of Heyzaj and Yemen to the Italian; and the Arabic dialects of Syria, Egypt, Africa, &c. to the 

Provenca, Spanish and Portuguese. (Niebuhr, Description de l'Arcin, p. 74, &c.)

1 Theophanes places the seven years of the siege of Constantinople in the year 667, (of the Alexandrian 665, Sept. 1) and the place of the Saracens four years afterwards; a glaring inconsistency! which Petavius, Gaur, and Pazi, (Critica, tom. i, p. 83, 6d.) have strenuously to remove. Of the Arabians, the Heyzaj 52, (A. D. 672, January 3) is assigned by Elmasi, the year 48, (A. D. 665, Feb. 28) by Abufoha, whose testimony I esteem the most convenient and credible.

6 For this first siee of Constantinople, see Niccophor, (Breviar, p. 253, &c. Thoaplis, (Ann. Danil, p. 323, &c.) Theophanes, ( Chronogr., p. 432) Zonaras; (Hist. tom. ii. l. 19, p. 99) Elmasi; (Hist. Nara-

p. 56, 37) Aboabula; (Anian, Moslem, p. 107, 149, vers. Reiske.)

7 See also the summary of the Procopius, (De Avar. etc. 9) and Constantine, vol. ii. p. 127, 129.

8 The state and movements of the Dardanells is exposed in the Memoirs of the Baron de Tott, (com. ill. p. 39-97) who was sent to

reconstruct them against the Romans. From a principal action it may be expected much more matter of satire: a style that is not the act for the amusement, rather than the instruction, of his reader. Perhaps, on the approach of the enemy, the minister of Constantinople was occu- 

pied, like that of Mustapha, in finding two Canary birds, who should sing precisely the same note.
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Chap. XIII.

realized the holy spot at the foot of the walls and the bottom of the harbour; and the mosque of Ayub has been deservedly chosen for the simple and martial inauguration of the Turkish sulmans. The event of the siege revivified, both in the east and west, the reputation of the Roman arms, and for a moment shed a ray over the glories of the Saracens. The Greek ambassador was favourably received at Damascus, in a general council of the emirs or Koresiah: a peace, or truce, of thirty years was ratified between the two empires; and the stipulation of an annual tribute, fifty hundred thousand francs, and three thousand pieces of gold, degraded the majesty of the commander of the faithful. The aged caliph was desirous of possessing his dominions, and ending his days in tranquility and repose: while the Moors and Indians trembled at his name, his palace and city of Damascus was insulted by the Mardaites, or Maronites, of Mount Libanus, the firmest barrier of the empire, till they were disarmed and transplanted by the suspicious policy of the Greeks. After the revolt of Arabia and Persia, the house of Omnyiah was reduced to the confines of Syria and Beyond, and fear enforced their compliance with the pressing demands of the Christians; and the tribute was increased to a slave, a horse, and a thousand pieces of gold, for each of the three hundred and sixty-five days of the solar year. But as soon as the empire was again united, the policy and system of Abdalmalek, he exclaimed a badge of servitude not less injurious to his conscience than to his pride; he discontinued the payment of the tribute; and the resentment of the Greeks was discharged from action by the mad tyranny of the second caliph, the just rebellion of his subjects, and the frequent change of his antagonists and successors. Till the reign of Abdalmalek, the Saracens had been content with the free possession of the Persian and Roman treasures, in the coin of Chosreces and Cazars. By the command of that caliph, a national mint was established, both for silver and gold; and the inscription of the diuar, though it might be censured by some timorous casuists, proclaimed the unity of the God of Mahomet. Under the reign of the caliph Walid, the Greek language and characters were exchanged in the accounts of the public revenue. This change was productive of the invention or discovery of the use of our present numerals, the Arabic or Indian cyphers, as they are commonly styled, a regulation of office has promoted the most important discoveries of arithmetic, algebra, and the mathematical sciences. Whilst the caliph Walid sat idle on the Second siege of the throne of Damascus, while his lieutenants, Constantinople, An-dian and Spain, a third army of Saracens overspread the Vayad, the Urg, and Asia Minor, and approached the embers of the Byzantine capital. But the attempt and disgrace of the second siege was reserved for his brother Soliman, whose ambition appears to have been quenched by a more active and martial spirit. In the revolutions of the Greek empire, after the type of Justinian, the caliph continued in power by a general edict, which the humble secretary, Anastasius or Artemius, was promoted by chance or merit to the vacant purple. He was alarmed by the sound of war; and his ambassador returned from Damascus with the tremendous news that the Rhodians, dispersed themselves an army by sea and land, such as would transcend the experience of the past, or the belief of the present age. The precautions of An-
istasius were not unworthy of his station, or of the impending danger. He issued a peremptory mandate, that all persons who were not provided with the means of self-defence should desert their cities, and evacuate the city; the public granaries and arsenals were abundantly replenished; the walls were restored and strengthened; and the engines for casting stones, or darts, or fire, were stationed along the ramparts, or in the higginates of war, of which an additional number was constructed. But the gentry of Byzantium acted as more honourable, than to repel an attack; and a design was meditated, above the usual spirit of the Greeks, of burning the naval stores of the enemy, the ephyras timber that had been heaped in Mount Libanus, and was piled along the sea-shore of Phocis, for the service of the Egyptian fleet. This generous enter-
prise was defeated by the cowardice or treachery of the troops, who, in the new language of the empire were styled of the obsequious theme. They murdered their chief, deserted their standard in the isle of Mytilene, and went to the isles of Thasos and Thasos, and the isle of Thrace, and the same rule was observed of the Saracens, Moslemah, the brother of the caliph, was advancing at the head of one hundred and twenty thousand Arabs and Persians, the greater part mounted on horses or camels; and the sudden attack of the Saracen army of Tyana, Amida, and the isle of Ypsos, was of sufficient duration to exercise their skill and to elevate their hopes. At the well-known passage of Abydus, on the Hellespont, the Mahometan army was transported, for the first time, from Asia to Europe. From thence, wheeling round the Thracian cities of the Propontis, Moslemah invested Constantinople on the land side, surrounded his camp with a ditch and rampart, prepared and planted his engines of assault, and declared, by words and actions, a patient resolution of expecting the return of seed-time and harvest, should the obstinacy of the besieged prove equal to his own. The Greeks would gladly have ransomed their religion and empire, by a fine or assessment of a piece of gold on the head of each inhabitant of the

4 Demetrius Canethios's Histor. of the Othman empire, p. 106, 106, Rycaut's State of the Ottoman empire, p. 10, 11, Voyages de Tha-
venc, part, i.p. 199. The Christians, who suppose that the martyr Aby-
d, is really confounded with the patriarch Job, betray their own ignorance rather than of that of the Tur-
k. Theophanes, though a Greek, deserves credit for these tribunes,
(Chronogr., p. 255, 296, 300, 301.) which are conformed, with some variations, by the Arabic History of Abulpharagius. (Dyonis. p. 125, vors. Pisc.)

The censure of Theophanes is just and pointed, (τοις Φοιτητοις)
κατακτημενοι... τος κοινωνης Πτωχους... τον Αθηναν τον 6ου της θρησκευσης,
έλεγχος της χριστιανικης Εκκλησίας... τους Ρώμας του της Αιγυπτιας οικησεως. (Chronogr., p. 302, 303.) The series of these events may be traced in the Annals of Theophanes, and in the Abriber of the Patriarch, Nicephorus, p. 22—24.

These domestic revolutions are related in a clear and natural state, by the account of Ockinger on the Saracen, 253—350. Besides our printed authors, he draws his materials from the Arabic MSS. of Oxford, which he would have more deeply searched, had he been confined to the Bodleian library instead of the civil library of the University of his country.

Elmones, who dates the first coinage A. H. 76, A. D. 655, five or six years later than the Greek historians, has compared the weight of the best or common gold dinar, to the dinar of the Saracens, (p. 77,) which may be equal to two pennies (45 grains) of our Troy weight. The standard of value is, of twenty or thirty. (p. 24—35.) The parity of the two systems is the same Elmones and Arabic physicians, some dinars as high as two din-
ars, as low as three or four. It appears, however, that the weight of money, and the weight of the dinar, is nearly in the same proportion. (Ibid.)

The extinction of science in the west, they were adopted by the Arabic world. According to a letter of Michael IV. and referred to the Latins about the eleventh century.

1 In the division of the empire, or provinces described by Con-
stantine Porphyrogynegus, (De Thesmatibus, 1. i. p. 9, 10,) the obse-
quent, a Latin appellation of the army and palace, was the fourth in the list, but it is supposed to have been transferred from the Pala-
tem from the Hellas after the usual parts of Byzantium and Paphlagon, (See the two maps prefixed by Delius to the Imperium Orientale of Bandel.)
chap. xiii. of the roman empire

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city; but the liberal offer was rejected with disdain, and the presumption of Moslemah was exalted by the speedy approach and invincible force of the navies of Egypt and Syria. They are said to have amounted to eighteen hundred ships: the number betrays their inconsiderable national force, the ephemeral character of their vessels, whose magnitude impeded their progress, each was manned with no more than one hundred heavy-armed soldiers. This huge armada proceeded on a smooth sea, and with a gentle gale, towards the mouth of the Bosphorus; the surface of the strait was overlaid thereby, in the language of that day, with a moving forest, and the same fatal night had been fixed by the Saracen chief for a general assault by sea and land. To allure the confidence of the enemy, the conqueror had thrown aside the chain that usually guarded the entrance of the harbour; but while they hesitated whether they should seize the opportunity, or apprehend the snare, the ministers of destruction were at hand. The fireships of the Greeks were launched against them, the Arabs, their arms, and vessels, were involved in the same flames, the disorderly fugitives were dashed against each other or overwhelmed in the waves, and the enemy's fleet, so long as it had threatened to extirpate the Roman name. A still more fatal and irreparable loss was that of the caliph Soliman, who died of an indigestion in his camp near Kinnisir or Chaleis in Syria, as he was preparing to lead against Constantineopolis the remaining forces of the empire. This discovery was made by a kinsman and an enemy; and the throne of an active and able prince was degraded by the useless and pernicious virtues of a bigot. While he started and satisfied thescruples of a blind conscience, the siege was continued through the winter by the negligent, rather than by the valor of the former, the winter proved uncommon rigorous; above a hundred days the ground was covered with deep snow, and the natives of the sultry climes of Egypt and Arabia lay torpid and almost lifeless in their frozen camp. They revolved on the return of spring; a second effort had been made in their favour; and their distress was relieved by the arrival of two numerous fleets, laden with corn, and arms, and soldiers; the first from Alexandria, of four hundred transports and galleys; the second of three hundred and sixty vessels from the ports of Africa. But the Greek fires were again kindled, and it is hard to determine, in the absence of any authentic account, the experience which had taught the Moslems to remain at a safe distance, or to the perfidy of the Egyptian mariners, who deserted with their ships to the emperor of the Christians. The trade and navigation of the capital were restored; and the produce of the fisheries supplied the wants, and even the luxury of the inhabitants. But the calamities of famine and disease were soon felt by the troops of Moslemah, and as the former was miserably assuaged, so the latter was dreadfully propagated, by the pernicious nutriment which hunger compelled them to extract from the most unwholesome food, of the ships of war. This winter, and even of enthusiasm, was extinct: the Saracens could no longer struggle beyond their lines, either single or in small parties, without exposing themselves to the merciless retaliation of the Thracian peasants. An army of Bulgarians was attracted from the Danubian

A beautiful by the gifts and promises of Leo; and these savagely auxiliaries made some atonement for the evils which they had inflicted on the empire, by the defeat and slaughter of twenty-two thousand Asiatics. A report was dexterously scattered, that the Franks, the Saracen, and all those Latin nations which had landed in the sea and land in the defence of the Christian cause, and their formidable aid was expected with far different sensations in camp and city. At length after a siege of thirteen months, the hopeless Moslem failure and re

me came received from the caliph the well-wished of the Sar

crain, and the capture of the Arabian cavalry over the Hellespont and through the provinces of Asia, was executed without delay or molestation; but an army of their brethren had been cut in pieces on the side of Bithynia, and the remains of the fleet were so repeatedly damaged by the tempest and fire, that only five galleys entered the port of Alexandria to relate the tale of their various and almost incredible disasters.

In the two sieges, the deliverance of invention and Constantinople may be chiefly ascribed to the Greek

The most important secret of compounding and directing this artificial flame was imparted by Callinicus, a native of Heliopolis in Syria, who deserted from the service of the caliph to that of the emperor. The skill of a chemist and engineer was equivalent to the succour of fleets and armies; the Saracen galleys were destroyed or dispersed, and was fortunately reserved for the distressful period, when the degenerate Romans of the east were incapable of contending with the warlike enthusiasm and youthful vigour of the Saracens. The historian who presumes to analyze this extraordinary composition, should suspect his ignorance, and refer to the chemical guides, so prone to the marvellous, so careless and, in this instance, so jealous of the truth. From their obscure, and perhaps fallacious, hints, it should seem that the principal ingredient of the Greek fire was the naptha; or liquid bitumen, a light, tenacious, and inflammable oil, which springs from the earth, and catches the fire as soon as it comes in contact with the air, and catches the fire as soon as it comes in contact with the air, and catches the fire as soon as it comes in contact with the air.
this mixture, which produced a thick smoke and a loud explosion, proceeded a fierce and obstinate flame, which not only rose in perpendicular ascent, but like a hurricane with equal vehemence in descent or lateral progress; instead of being extinguished, it was nourished and quickened, by the element of water; and sand, ashes, or other refuse matter, whether thrown down or driven before it by the wind, would supply the necessary nutriment. The Greeks, therefore, could despise the fury of this powerful agent, which was justly denominated by the Gauls, the liquid, or the maritime fire. For the annoyance of the enemy, it was employed with equal effect, by sea and land; in battles or in sieges. It was either poured from the ramps of large machines, or launched in red-hot globes of stone and iron, or darted in arrows and javelins, twisted round with flax and tow, which had deeply imbibed the inflammable oil; sometimes it was deposited in fireships, the victuals and instruments of a more ample revenge, and was most commonly blown through long tubes of copper, which were planted on the prow of a galley, and most fancifully shaped into the mouths of savage monsters, that seemed to vomit a stream of liquid and consuming fire. This important art was preserved at Constantinople, as the palace of the emperors; the galleys of the fleet occasionally lent to the allies of Rome; but the composition of the Greek fire was concealed with the most jealous scruple, and the terror of the enemies was increased and prolonged by their ignorance and surprise. In the treaty of the administration of the empire, the emperor and his successor invited a great many savants and savants, and invented contrivances and devices that might best elude the indiscreet curiosity and importunate demands of the barbarians. They should be told that the mystery of the Greek fire had been revealed by an angel to the first and greatest of the emperors, with a sacred injunction, that this gift of Heaven, this peculiar blessing of the Almighty, should never be communicated to any foreign nation; that the prince and subjects were alike bound to religious silence under the temporal and spiritual penalties of treason and sacrilege; and that the impious attempt would provoke the sudden and supernatural vengeance of the God of the Christians. By these precautions, the secret was confined, above four hundred years, to the Romans of the east; and, at the end of the eleventh century, the Pisans, to whom every sea and every art were familiar, suffered the effects which attended using the composition of the Greek fire. It was at length either discovered or stolen by the Mahometans; and, in the holy wars of Syria and Egypt, they retorted an invention, contrived against themselves, on the heads of the Christians. A knight, who witnessed and heard of the Saracen threatened vassals, with heartfelt sincerity, his own fears, and those of his companions, at the sight and sound of the mischief-producing engine that discharged a torrent of the Greek fire, the feu Gregoires, as it is styled by the more early of the French writers. It came flying through the air, says Joinville, 'like a winged long-haired dragon, about the thickness of a hogshead, with the report of thunder and the velocity of lightning; and the darkness of the night was dispelled by this deadly illumination. The use of the Greek, or, as it might now be called, of the Saracen fire, was continued to the middle of the fourteenth century, when the

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of the scientific or casual compound of nitre, sulphur, and charcoal, effected a new revolution in the art of war and the history of mankind. Constantiopolis and the Greek fire might exclude the Arabs from the eastern entrance of Europe; but in the west, the Saracen progress and the triumphs of Gaul were threatened and invaded by the conquerors of Spain. The decline of the French monarchy invited the attack of these innate fanatics. The descendants of Clovis had lost the inheritance of his martial and ferocious spirit; and their misfortune or demerit might possibly be the cause of the progress of the Goths, the Gascous, and the Franks, assembled under the standard of this Christian hero: he repelled the first invasion of the Saracen; and Zama, lieutenant of the caliph, lost his army and his life under the walls of Thoulouse. The ambition of his successors was stimulated by revenge: they repassed the Pyrenees with the means and the resolution of conquest. The advantageous situation which had recommended Narbonne as the first Roman colony, was again chosen.

This extraordinary man, Friar Bacon, reveals two of the ingredients, sulphur and sulphur, and conceals the third in a sentence of mysterious gibberish, as if he dreaded the consequences of his own discovery. (Beg. Brit., vol. i. p. 430, new edition.)

For the invasion of France, and the defeat of the Arabs by Charles Martel, see the Historia Arabum (c. 114) of Roderic Jimenez, archbishop of Toledo, who had before him the Christian Chronicle of Isidore Passarino, and the Mahometan history of Nicosia; and their anonymous authors were silent or concise; but the account of their losses, but M. Cardinali (tom. i. p. 129—131) has given a pure and simple account of all that he could collect from Ibn Hakan, Hizai, and other Mahometan writers. The text is doubtless, and the lives of saints, are inserted in the collection of Bouquet, (tom. ii.) and the Annals of Pagi, who (tom. iii. under the proper years) has rendered the chronicle, which is anticipated six years in the Annals of Barcinus. The Dictionary of Boyle (Medicino and Musciano) was engaged for lively editions.

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3. Eginhart, de Vita Caroli Magni, c. i. p. 15, 16. Edit. Schmick, Strasbourg, 1711. Some modern critics accuse the master of Charlemagne of exaggerating the weaknesses of the Merovingians: but the general outline is just, and the French reader will for ever repeat the sentence of Charles the Simple.

4. Manuscrit, on the Osne, between Compiègne and Noyon, which Echard and Etienne Baluze, and also Rodin, William, a member of the Académie of France for Dean, Bouquet's Collection.) Compendium, or Compiègne, the palace of modern France. (Hist. tuta Galliarm, p. 132.) and that laughing philosophic, the Abbé Galliau, (Dialogues sur le Commerce des Étrangers, p. 25,) may truly affirm, that a most prudent and circumspect writer, that a feu Gregoires was shot with a pile or javelin, from an engine that acted with fire, so that the flame was blown about, the vixen, or envoy, of shaking the established property of France, has tempted some modern to carry gunpowder above the fourteenth century, (seer Sir William Temple, Dextras, &c.) and the Greek fire above the

5. The DECLINE and FALL of the scientific or casual compound of nitre, sulphur, and charcoal, effected a new revolution in the art of war and the history of mankind. Constantiopolis and the Greek fire might exclude the Arabs from the eastern entrance of Europe; but in the west, the Saracen progress and the triumphs of Gaul were threatened and invaded by the conquerors of Spain. The decline of the French monarchy invited the attack of these innate fanatics. The descendants of Clovis had lost the inheritance of his martial and ferocious spirit; and their misfortune or demerit might possibly be the cause of the progress of the Goths, the Gascous, and the Franks, assembled under the standard of this Christian hero: he repelled the first invasion of the Saracen; and Zama, lieutenant of the caliph, lost his army and his life under the walls of Thoulouse. The ambition of his successors was stimulated by revenge: they repassed the Pyrenees with the means and the resolution of conquest. The advantageous situation which had recommended Narbonne as the first Roman colony, was again chosen.
by the Moslems; they claimed the province of Sep-tember, or Longueau, as a just dependence of the Spanish monarchy: the vineyards of Gascony and the city of Bordeaux were possessed by the sovereigns of Damascus and Sunnaec, and the south of France, from the mouth of the Garonne to that of the Rhone, assumed the manners and religion of Arabia. These narrow limits were secured to him by the spirit of Abdalhman, or Aderman, who had been restored by the caliph Hashim to the wishes of the soldiers and people of Spain. That veteran and daring commander adjudged to the obedience of the prophet whatever yet remained of the kingdom of the Moors; he would display his glory, and execute the sentence, at the head of a formidable host, in the full confidence of surmounting all opposition either of nature or of man. His first care was to suppress a domestic rebel, who controlled the most important passes of the Pyrenees; Munaza, a Moorish chief, had accepted the alliance of the duke of Aquitain, and Eudes, from a motive of private or public interest, devoted his beauteous daughter to the embraces of the African misbeliever. But the strongest fortresses of Cerdagne were invested by a superior force; the rebel was overtaken and slain in the mountains; and his wide extent, and the mingled policy and desires, or more probably the vanity, of the commander of the faithful. From the Pyrenees, Abderane proceeded without delay to the passage of the Rhone and the siege of Arles. An array of Christians attempted the relief of the city; the bombs of their leaders were yet visible in the thirteenth century; and many thousands of their dead bodies were carried down the rapid stream into the Mediterranean sea. The arms of Abderane were not less successful on the side of the ocean. He passed without opposition the Garonne and Dordogne, which unite their waters in the gulf of Bordeaux; but he overran the wild and isolated Eudes, who had formed a second army, and sustained a second defeat, so fatal to the Christians, that, according to their sad confession, God alone could reckon the number of the slain. The victorious Saracen overran the provinces of Aquitain, whose Gallic nature and domestic situation, and the many splendid cities of Poitou and Poitou; his standards were planted on the walls, or at least before the gates, of Tours and of Sens; and his detachments overspread the kingdom of Burgundy as far as the well-known cities of Lyons and Besancon. The monarch of the Franks, however, did not want spirit to spare the country or the people, was long preserved by virtue; and the invasion of France by the Moors or Mahometans, affords the ground-work of these fables, which have been so wildly disfigured in the romances of chivalry, and so elegantly adorned by the Italian muse. In the decline of society and art, the deserted cities could supply a slender booty to the Saracens; their richest spoil was found in the churches and monasteries, which they stripped of their ornaments and delivered to the flames; and the tutelar saints, held in so high veneration by the Muslims, were not forgotten their miraculous powers in the defence of their own sepulchers. A victorious line of march had been prolonged above a thousand miles from the rock of Gibraltar to the banks of the Loire; the repetition of an equal space would have carried the Saracens to the mouth of the Rhine, but the distance by which the Rhine is not more impassable than the Nile or the Euphrates, and the Arabian fleet might have sailed without a naval combat into the mouth of the Thames. Perhaps the interpretation of the Koran would now be taught in the schools of Oxford, and her pulpits might demonstrate to a circumcised people the sanctity and truth of the revelation of Mahomet. From such calamities was Christen-edom delivered by the genius and fortune of one man, Charles, the illegitimate son of the elder Pepin, was content with the title of mayor or duke of the Franks; but he desired to become the father of a line of kings. In a laborious administration of twenty-four years, he restored and supported the dignity of the throne, and the rebels of Germany and Gaul were successively crushed by the activity of a warrior, who, in the same campaign, would have been the first conqueror of the shores of the ocean. In the public danger, he was summoned by the voice of his country; and his rival, the duke of Aquitain, was reduced to appear among the fugitives and suppliants. "Alas!" exclaimed the Franks, "what a misfortune! what an indignity! We have long heard of the name and conquests of the Arabs: we were apprehensive of their attack from the east; they have now conquered Spain, and invade our country on the side of the west. Yet their numbers, and (since they have no buckler) their arms, are inferior to ours. If you follow my advice," replied Charles, "you will not break their march, nor precipitate your attack. They are like a torrent, which it is dangerous to stem in its career. The thirst of riches and the consciousness of success, redouble their valour, and valour is of more avail than arms or numbers. Be patient till they have thrown themselves with the encumbrance of wealth. The possession of wealth will divide their counsels and assure your victory." This subtle policy is perhaps a refinement of the Arabian writers; and the situation of Charles will suggest a more narrow and selfish motive of procrastination; the secret desire of the prince, without compromising the pride, and wasting the provinces, of the rebel duke of Aquitain. It is yet more probable, that the delays of Charles were inevitable and reluctant. A standing army was unknown under the first and second race; more than half the kingdom was now in the hands of the Saracens; according to their respective condition, the Franks had grown in numbers, and were too conscious or too careless of the impending danger; and the voluntary aids of the Gepidae and Germans were separated by a long interval from the standard of the Christian general. No sooner had he collected his forces, than he sought and found the place of victory in the heart of France; it was the country of Poitiers. His well-conducted march was covered by a range of hills, and Abderane appears to have been surprised by his unexpected presence. The nations of Asia, Africa, and Europe, advanced with equal ardour to an encounter which would change the history of the world. In the six first days of desultory com- bat, the horsemen and archers of the east maintained their advantage; but in the closer onset of the seventh day, the orientals were oppressed by the strength and stature of the Germans, who, with stout hearts and whole hands, advanced in the sacred and inviolate name of their posterity. The epithet of Martellus, the Hero, which has been added to the name of Charles, is expressive of his weighty and irresistible strokes; the valour of Eudes was excited by resentment and emulation; and their companions, in the eye of history, are true proofs of the proverb, that "after the fire, the smith." After a bloody field, in which Abderane was slain,
The Decline and Fall

Chapter XIII.

The Saracens, in the close of the evening, retired to their camp. In the disorder and despair of the night, the various tribes of Yemen and Damascus, of Africa and Spain, were provoked to turn their arms against each other; the remains of their host were suddenly divided; some were captured, and the conquest was a fruitful, hasty and separate retreat. At the dawn of day, the stillness of an hostile camp was suspected by the victorious Christians: on the report of their spies, they ventured to explore the riches of the vacant tents; but, if we except some celebrated relics, a small portion of the spoil was restored to the less fortunate, and laid at the owners' disposal. The joyful tidings were soon diffused over the catholic world, and the monks of Italy could affirm and believe that three hundred and fifty, or three hundred and seventy-five, thousand of the Mahometans had been crushed by the hammer of Charles; while, no more than fifteen hundred Christians were slain in the field of Tours. But this incredible tale is sufficiently disproved by the caution of the French general, who apprehended the snares and accidents of a pursuit, and dismissed his German allies to their native freedom. The inactivity of a conqueror betrays the loss of strength and blood, and the most cruel execution is inflicted, not in the ranks of battle, but on the backs of a flying enemy. Yet the victory of the Franks was complete and final; Aquitain was for the Franks. The Franks were recovered by the arms of Eudes; the Franks and the Franks were soon driven beyond the Pyrenees by Charles Martel and his valiant night. It might have been expected that the saviour of Christendom would have been canonized, or at least appalled, by the gratitude of the conquered; but they were indebted to his sword for their present existence. But in the public distress, the mayor of the palace had been compelled to apply the riches, or at least the revenues, of the bishops and abbots, to the relief of the state and the reward of the soldiers. His merits were forgotten, his sacrifice alone was remembered, and, in an epistle to a Carlingvian prince, a Gallic synod presumes to declare that his ancestor was damned; that on the opening of his tomb, the spectators were afflicted by a smell of fire and the aspect of a horrid dragon; and that a saint of the times was indulged with a pleasant vision of the soul and the body of Charles Martel, burning, to all eternity, in the abyss of hell. The loss of an army, or a province in the western world, was less painful to the court of Damascus, than the rise and progress of a rival competitor. Egypt, invaded by the Persians, the caliph of the house of Omnia had never been the objects of the public favour. The life of Mahomet recorded their perseverance in idolatry and rebellion: their conversion had been reluctant, their elevation irregular and fictitious, and their throne was cemented with the most holy and nole blood of Arabia. The best of their race, the pious Omar, was dissatisfied with his own title; their personal virtues were insufficient to justify a departure from the order of succession; and the eyes and wishes of the faithful were turned towards the line of Hashem and the kin

1 These numbers are stated by Paul Warneford, the deacon of Aquitain, (See Gesta Langobard. I. vi. p. 262, ed. Gen.) and Abase

2 anis, the librarian of the Roman church, (to Viti. Gregori II.) who tells a miraculous story of three consecrated spores, which render ed invulnerable the French soldiers among whom they had been shared. It should appear, that in his letters to the Pope, Eudes usur ped the right of succession, and that the Franks were obliged to take French annalist, who, with equal falsehood, accuse him of inviting the Saracens.

3 Nahrone, and the rest of Septimania, was recovered by Pepin, the son of Charles Martel, A.D. 753, (Pagi. Critica, tom. iii. p. 304.) The passage is considered by most historians to be a genuine history; it was pitted by the French historians into the Arabs, who employed the captives in the construction of the mosques of Fez and Mekke. (Hist. des Arabes, p. 351.)

4 This pastoral letter, addressed to Lewis the Germanic, the grand son of Charlemagne, and to Louis the Bavarian, is dated in the year 758, and signed by the bishops of the provinces of Noyon, and Rouen. (Baronius, Annal. Eccles. A.D. 754. Fiey. Hist. Eccles. tom. ii. p. 434—436.) Yet Baroniun himself, and the French critics, reject with contempt this episopal fiction, of the apostle of God. Of these the Fatimites were either rash or pusillanimous; but the descend ants of Abbas cherished, with courage and discretion, the hopes of their rising fortunes. From an obscure residence in Syria, they secretly despatched their emissaries, and the next year, 876, the province of Apamea was annexed to their dominions, and their influence was immediately manifest. (Abulpharagius, Hist. Dynast. p. 140.)

5 The seed and the saddle which had carried any of his wives away, was considered a treasure of so much value that priests were paid for guarding them. By the pen of the same writer, we are informed, that his horse, a handsome black stallion, was killed in the course of a hunting party, conducted by a male. Twelve hundred mules or camels were required for his kitchen furniture; and the daily consumption amounted to three thousand cakes, a hundred sheep, besides oxen, poultry, &c. (Abulpharagius, Hist. Dynast. p. 140.)
Fall of the Ommiades.

His speed was urged by the incessant diligence of Abdallah, who in every step of the pursuit acquired strength and reputation: the military valour of the white faction was finally vanquished in Egypt; and the lance, which terminated the life and anxiety of Mervan, was not less welcome perhaps to the unfortunate than to the victorious chief. The merciless inquisition of the conqueror eradicated the most distant branches of the hostile race. The chief of Mahomet was now accused, and the martyrdom of Hossein was abundantly revenged on the posterity of his tyrants. Four-score of the Ommiades, who had yielded to the faith or clemency of their foes, were invited to a banquet at Damascus. The laws of hospitality were violated by a promiscuous massacre: the board was spread over their fallen bodies; and the festivity of the guests was enlivened by the music of their dying groans. By the event of the civil war, the dynasty of the Abbassides was firmly established; but the Christians only could triumph in the mutual hatred and common loss of the directors of Mahomet.

Yet the thousands who were swept away by the sword of war might have been speedily retrieved in the succeeding generation, if the consequences of the revolution had not tended to dissolve the power and unity of the empire of the Saracen. The central government of a people in which the name of Abdallah alone escaped the rage of his enemies, who hunted the wandering exile from the banks of the Euphrates to the valleys of mount Atlas. His presence in the neighbourhood of Spain revived the zeal of the white faction. The name and emblem of kiaf were now in the hands of the Persians; the west had been pure from civil arms; and the servants of the abdicated family still held, by a precarious tenure, the inheritance of their lands, and the offices of government. Strongly prompted by gratitude, indignation, and fear, they invited the grandson of the caliph Hashem to ascend the throne of his ancestors.

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years by the vices or virtues of his children. His son Mahadi, in a single pilgrimage to Mecca, expended six millions of dinars of gold. A pious and charitable motive may sanctify the foundation of cisterns, and caravanserais, which he distributed along a measured road of seven hundred miles; but his train of camels laden with snow, could serve only to sostenish the natives of Arabia. The fruits and flowers of the royal banquet. The couriers would surely praise the liberality of his grandson Almamin, who gave away four-fifths of the income of a province, a sum of two millions four hundred thousand gold dinars, before he drew his foot from the stirrup. At the nuptials of the sultan, he presented to the great and smallest of the court ladies, and the persons of the court, with the head of the bride, and a lottery of lands and houses displayed the capricious bounty of fortune. The glories of the court were heightened, rather than impaired, in the decline of the empire, and a Greek ambassador might naturalize, or deny, the magnificence of the feebler Moezder. "The caliph's whole army," says the historian Abulfeda, "both horse and foot, was under arms, which together made a body of one hundred and sixty thousand men. His state-officers, the favourite slaves, stood near him in splendid array, the courtiers glittering in gold and gems. Near them were seven thousand eunuchs, four thousand of them white, the remainder black. The porters or door-keepers were in number seven hundred. Bar- res and boats, with the most superb decorations, were seen swimming upon the Tigris. Nor was the palace itself less splendid; it was a tree of gold and silver spreading into eighteen large branches, on which, and on the lesser boughs, sat a variety of birds made of the same precious metals, as well as the leaves of the tree. While the machinery affected spontaneous motions, the several birds wandered at their natural harmony. Through this scene of magnificence, the Greek ambassador was led by the vizir to the foot of the caliph's throne."

In the west, the Ommandes of Spain supported, with equal pomp, the title of commander of the faithful. Three miles from Cordova, in honour of his favourite sulhna, the third and greatest of the Almamians, he con- structed the city, palace, and gardens of Zehra. Twenty-five years, and above three millions sterling, were employed by the founder: his liberal taste invited the artists of Constantinople, the most skilful sculptors and painters of the age; and the buildings were sustained or adorned by twelve hundred columns of Spanish and African, and Greek and Italian, marble. The hall of audience was inrusted with gold and pearls, and a great bason in the centre was surrounded with the curious and costly figures of birds and quadrupeds. In a lofty pavilion of the gardens, one of these basons and fountains, so delightful in a salutary climate, was replenished not with water, but with the purest quick- silver. The seraglio of Abbudrahm, his wives, concubines, and black eunuchs, amounted to six thousand three hundred persons; and he was attended to the field by a guard of twelve thousand horses, whose belts and scyimeters were studded with gold.

In a private condition, our desires are in consequence perpetually satisfied. Our private happiness, the bliss of life, the social virtues of domestic subordination; but the lives and labours of public happiness, of millions are devoted to the service of a despotic prince, whose laws are blindly obeyed, and whose wishes are instantly gratified. Our imagination is dazzled by the splendid picture; and whatever may be the calculation of the revenue of the empire, he who would obstinately refuse a trial of the comforts and the cares of royalty. It may therefore be of some use to borrow the experience of the same Abbudrahm, whose magnificence has perhaps excited our admiration and envy, and to transcribe an authentic document, which was found in the closet of the deceased caliph, "I have now reigned above fifty years in victory or peace; beloved by my subjects, dreaded by my ene- mies; and respected by my allies. Riches and hon- ours, power and pleasure, have waited on my call, nor have I ever wished for the wealth of a nation, which is a stain to my felicity. In this situation, I have diligently numbered the days of pure and genuine happiness which have fallen to my lot: they amount to four-teen: —O man! place not thy confidence in this pres- ent world!"

The luxury of the caliphs, so useless to the private happiness, relaxed the nerves of domestic life, retarded the progress of the, Arabian empire. Temporal and spiritual conquest had been the sole occupation of the first successors of Mahomet; and after supplying themselves with the necessaries of life, the whole revenue was scrupulously devoted to the luxu- ries of the court. The Arabian emperors were overcome by the multitude of their wants and their contempt of economy. Instead of pursuing the great object of ambition, their leisure, their affections, the powers of their mind, were diverted by pomp and pleasure; the rewards of valour were emasculated by women and eunuchs, and the royal camp was encumbered by the luxury of the palace. A similar temper was diffused among the subjects of the caliph. Their stern enthusiasm was softened by time and prosperity; they sought riches in the occupations of industry, fame in the pursuits of literature; and happiness in the tranquility of domestic life. War was no longer the passion of the Saracens; and the increase of pay, the repetition of donations, were insufficient to allure the posterity of those voluntary champions who had crowded to the standard of Abbudaker and Omar for the hopes of spoil and of para- disis.

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subjects of the Abbassides, awakening from this mental lethargy, found leisure and felt curiosity for the acquisition of profane science. This spirit was first encouraged by the caliph Almanbar, who, besides his knowledge of the Mahometan law, had applied himself with success to the study of astronomy. But when the sceptre devolved to Almanbar, the seventh of the Abbassides, he selected those of his grandfather, and invited the monks from their ancient seats. His ambassador at Constantinople, his agents in Armenia, Syria, and Egypt, collected the volumes of Grecian science; at his command they were translated by the most skilful interpreters into the Arabic language: his subjects were induced to adopt the new works; wealthy men and people of letters, with general and partial histories, which each revolving generation supplied with a new harvest of persons and events; with codes and commentaries of jurisprudence, which derived their authority from the law of the prophet; with the interpreters of the Koran, and orthodox tradition; and with the whole theological polynomials, mystics, scholastics, and moralists, the first or the last of writers, according to the different estimate of sceptics or believers. The works of speculation or science may be reduced to the four classes of philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, and physic. The first class, translated and written in the Arabic language, and some treatises, now lost in the original, have been recovered in the versions of the east, which possessed and studied the writings of Aristotle and Plato, of Euclid and Apollonius, of Ptolemy, Hippocrates, and Galen. Among the ideal systems, which have varied with the fashion of the times, the Abbassids adopted the philosophy of the Stagirite, alike intelligible or alike obscure for the readers of every age. Plato wrote for the Athenians, and his allegorical genius is too closely blended with the language and religion of Greece. After the fall of that religion, the peripatetics, emerging from their chryseity, prevailed in the controversies of the oriental sects, and their founder was long afterwards restored by the Mahometans of Spain to the Latin schools. The physics, both of the Academy and the Lyceum, as they are built, not on observation, but on argument, have been retarded by caliphs, whose grandfathers, whose predecessors, whose predecessors, were the more sage, the less vehement, the less retarding, and the more moderate, have been the more tardy, the more obstinate, the more impartial, or the more obstreperous, and the more combative of the metaphysics of infinite, or finite, spirit, have too often been enlisted in the service of superstition. But the human faculties are fortified by the art and practice of dialectics; the ten predicaments of Aristotle collect and methodize the dialectics, and compel the most ignorant to wield the nearest weapon of disputition. It was dexterously wielded in the schools of the Saracens, but as it is more effectual for the detection of error than for the investigation of truth, it is not surprising that new generations

writers, and above seventy public libraries were opened in the cities of the Abassidian kingdom. The age of Arabian learning continued about five hundred years, till the great eruption of the Moguls, and was coeval with the darkest and most slothful period of European annals; but since the sun of science has arisen in the west, it should seem that the oriental studies have languished.

In the libraries of the Abbassids, as in those of Europe, the far greater part of the innumerable volumes were possessed of only local value or imaginary merit. The shelves were crowded with orators and poets, whose style was refined, their ideas were vulgar, and whose writings and their successor Mahomet assisted with pleasure and modesty at the assemblies and disputations of the learned. "He was not ignorant," says Abulpharagius, "that they are the elect of God, his best and most useful servants, whose lives are devoted to the improvement of their rational faculties. The mean ambition of the Chinese or the Turks may glory in the industry of their hands or the indulgence of their brutal appetites. Yet these dexterous artists most view, with hopeless emulation, the hexagons and pyramids of the cells of a bee-hive: these formidable heroes are the conquerors of Great Britain, and destroyed the tigers; and in their amorous enjoyment, they are much inferior to the vigour of the grossest and most sordid quadrupeds. The teachers of wisdom are the true luminaries and legislators of a world, which, without their aid, would again sink in ignorance and barbarism, and curiosity of Abbassids were imitated by succeeding princes of the line of Abbas: their rivals the Fatimides of Africa and the Omicides of Spain, were the patrons of the learned, as well as the commanders of the faithful: the same royal prerogative was claimed by their independent emirs of the provinces; and their emulation diffused the taste and the rewards of science from Samarcand and Bochara to Fez and Cordova. The vizir of a sultan consecrated a sum of two hundred thousand pieces of gold to the foundation of a college at Bagdad, which he endowed with an annual revenue of fifteen thousand dinars. This royal instruction was commenced, perhaps at different times, to six thousand disciples of every degree, from the son of the noble to that of the mechanic: a sufficient allowance was provided for the indigent scholars; and the merit or industry of the professors was repaid with adequate stipends. In every college of 7 or 8 colleges of the Abbassids, the productions were copied and collected by the curiosity of the studious and the vanity of the rich. A private doctor refused the invitation of the sultan of Bochara, because the carriage of his books would have required four hundred camels. The royal library of the Fatimides consisted of one hundred thousand manuscripts, elegantly transcribed and splendidly bound, which were lent, without jealousy or avarice, to the students of Cairo. Yet this collection must appear moderate, if we can believe that the Omicides of Spain had formed a library of such prodigious size, that the students in the schools were employed in the mere catalogue. Their capital Cordova, with the adjacent towns of Malaga, Almeria, and Murcia, had given birth to more than three hundred

Garnier (Vie de Mahomet, tom. III, p. 294—403) has given an extract of the whorfs which are extant under his name.

1 See their curious architecture in Remanier, (Hist. des Insectes, tom. II, p. 59—296, particularly p. 271.) and Renaudot. (Hist. Patriarch, Alex. p. 574, 575, 527) besides the chronological remarks of Abulpharagius.

2 The Arabic catalogue of the Eusebii will give a just idea of the proportion of the classes. In the library of Cairo, the MSS. of astronomy and medical works amount to 600, of commentaries on the texts of brass, the other of silver. (Biblioth. Arab. Hist. tom. i. p. 317.)

3 The Arabic catalogue is of Euclid and Apollonius, which were printed from the Florence MSS. 1613. (Fabric. Bibl. i. p. 555.) Yet the fifth book had been previously restored by the mathematical division of Viviani. (See in Elgin in Fontenelle, tom. ii. p. 29.)

4 The merit of these Arabic versions is freely discussed by Renaudot. (Fabri. Biblioth. tom. ii. p. 103.) and Suidas. (Biblioth. tom. ii. p. 225—230.) by Caubet. (Biblioth. Arab. Hispana, tom. i. p. 239—250.) Most of the versions of Plato, Aristotle, Hippocrates, Galen, &c. are ascribed to the Abbassid Caliph Arsac. (Suidas. B. E. 687.) The works of most of the Greek historians were preserved in the text of the caliphs, and died A.D. 876. He was at the head of the education of school or monastery at Bagdad, and the copies or the manuscripts, and discipled were published under his name. See Abulpharagius, (Dynam. p. 88.) 113—174.) and apud Asseman. (Biblioth. Orient. tom. ii. p. 430.) Ephrem. (Bibl. Orient. tom. iii. p. 152.) Alamanus. (Bibl. Orient. tom. ii. p. 164.) and Caubet. (Bibl. Arab. Hispana, tom. i. p. 278.)


7 The most elegant commentary on the Categories or Predicaments of Aristotle may be found in the Philosophical Argomenta of Mr. James Harris, (London, 1774, in octavo) who laboured to revive the studies of Grecian literature and philosophy.
of masters and disciples should still revive in the same circle of logical argument. The mathematicians are distinguished by a peculiar privilege, that, in the course of ages, they may always advance, and can never recede. But the ancient geometry, if I am not misinformed, was resumed in the same state by the Italians of the fifteenth century; and whatever may be the original mistake, the system of the Persians, which is ascribed to the Grecian Diophantus by the modest testimony of the Arabs themselves. They cultivated with more success the sublime science of astronomy, which elevates the mind of man to disdain his diminutive planet and momentary existence. The costly instruments, with which it was supplied by the time of the Emperor Almonam, and the land of the Chaldavans still afforded the same spacious level, the same unclouded horizon. In the plains of Sanaa, and a second time in those of Cufh, his mathematicians accurately measured a degree of the great circle of the earth, and determined at twenty-four thousand miles the entire circumference of the globe. From the reign of the Abbassides to that of the grand-children of Tamerlane, the stars, without the aid of glasses, were diligently observed; and the astronomical tables of Baghdad, Spain, and Samarqand, contain several errors, without endeavor to renounce the hypothesis of Polonny, without advancing a step towards the discovery of the solar system. In the eastern courts, the truths of science could be recommended only by ignorance and filly, and the astronomers would have been disregarded, had he not based his wisdom or honesty by the vain predictions of astrology. But in the science of medicine, the Arabs have been deservedly applauded. The names of Mesna and Geber, of Raziz and Avicenna, are ranked with the Grecian masters; in the city of Baghdad, eight hundred physicians were accustomed to exercise their lucrative profession. In Spain, the life of the catholic princes was intrusted to the skill of the Saracens, and the school of Salerno, their legitimate offspring, revived in Italy and Europe the precepts of the healing art. The success of each professed must have been influenced by personal and accidental causes; but we may form a less fanciful estimate of their general knowledge of anatomy, botany, and chemistry, the threefold basis of their theory and practice. A superstitious reverence for the dead confined both the Greeks and the Arabs to the dissection of apes and quadrupeds: the more solid and visible parts were known in the time of Galen, and the finer scrutiny of the human frame was reserved for the microscope and the injections of modern artists. Botany is an active science, and the Arabians, with much pleasure, Sir William Jones's Lays of the herbal of Dioscorides with two thousand plants. Some traditioad knowledge might be secured in the temples and monasteries of Egypt; much useful experience had been acquired in the practice of arts and manufactures; but the science of chemistry owes its origin in much less degree to the Arabs. They first invented and named the alembic for purposes of distillation, analyzed the substances of the three kingdoms of nature, tried the distinction and affinities of alcalis and acids, and converted the poisonous minerals into soft and salutary medicines. But the most eager search of Arabian chemistry was the transmutation of metals, and the elixir of immortal health: the reason and the fortunes of thousands were evaporated in the crucibles of alchemists, and the consummation of the great work was promised by the worthy aid of mystery, faith, and copious alms. But the Moslems deprived themselves of credit of the principal benefits of a familiar taste, and intercourse with Greece and Rome, the knowledge of antiquity, the purity of taste, and the freedom of thought. Confident in the riches of their native sciences, the Arabians despised the moderns and all foreign idiom. The Greek interpreters were chosen among their christian subjects; they formed their translations, sometimes on the original text, more frequently perhaps on a Syriac version; and in the crowd of their treatises, the sages of Alexandria, the heroes of Heliopolis and Livy were buried in oblivion; and the history of the world beforeMahomet was reduced to a short legend of the patriarchs, the prophets, and the Persian kings. Our education in the Greek and Latin schools may have been improved by a few oriental phrases. No, we are not forward to condemn the literature and judgment of nations, of whose language I am ignorant. Yet I know that the classics have much to teach, and I believe that the orientals have much to learn; the temperate dignity of style, the graceful proportions of art, the forms of visible and intellectual beauty, the just lineation of character and passion, the rhetoric of narrative, and argument, the regular fabric of epic and dramatic poetry. The influence of truth and reason is of a less ambiguous complexion. The philosophers of Athens and Rome enjoyed the blessings, and asserted the rights, of civil and religious freedom. Their moral and political writings might have gradually unlocked the fetters of eastern despotism, diffused a liberal spirit of inquiry and toleration, and encouraged the Arabic sages to suspect that their coloph was a tyrant, and their prophet an impostor. The instinct of superstition

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Dr. Watson (Elements of Chemistry, vol. i. p. 17, Sec.) allows the difference of the colour of the sun. Yet, among the most modern and the most industrious of the famous Gobe of the ninth century, (D'Herbelot, p. 374.) that he had drawn most of his science, perhaps by the invention of metals, from the ancient sages. Whatever might be the origin of each, the art of chemistry has been known to have been in Egypt at least three hundred years before Mahomet, (Watson's Reflections, p. 143.) Paut, Recherches sur les EPythiennes et les Chinois, to. i. p. 276-279.)
was alarmed by the introduction even of the abstract sciences; and the more rigid doctors of the law condemned the rash and pernicious curiosity of Almamon. 4 To the thirst of martyrdom, the vision of paradise, and the belief of predestination, we must ascribe the invincible enthusiasm of the prince and people. And the sword of the Saracens became less formidable, when they saw the Roman legions on the alert, when the army of the faithful presumed to read and reflect. Yet the foolish vanity of the Greeks was jealous of their studies, and reluctantly impared the sacred fire to the barbarians of the east. 5

In the bloody conflict of the Omnianides with the Romans, there was the opportunity of avenging their wrongs and enlarging their limits. But a severe retribution was exacted by Mohadi, the third caliph of the new dynasty, who seized, in his turn, the favourable opportunity, while a woman and a child, Irene and Constantine, were seated on the Byzantine throne. An army of ninety-five thousand Persians and Arabs was sent from the Tigris to the Thracian Bosphorus, under the command of Harun, 6 or Aaron, the second son of the commander of the faithful. His encampment on the opposite heights of Chrysopolis, or Scutari, informed the emperor of the construction of a bridge against the loss of his troops and provinces. With the consent or connivance of their sovereigns, his ministers subscribed an ignominious peace; and the exchange of some royal gifts could not disguise the annual tribute of seventy thousand dinars of gold, which was imposed on the Roman Empire. The Saracens had too rashly advanced into the midst of a distant and hostile land; their retreat was solicited by the promise of faithful guides and plentiful markets; and not a Greek had courage to whisper, that their weary forces might be surrounded and destroyed in their necessary passage between a slippery mountain and the river Sana-garius. Five years after this expedition, Harun ascended the throne of his father and his elder brother; the most powerful and vigorous monarch of his race, illustrious in the west, as the ally of Charlemagne, and familiar to the most childish readers, as the perpetual hero of the Arabian tales. His triumphs over the barbarians were adorned with luxury and science; but, in a reign of three and twenty years, Harun repeatedly visited his provinces from Chorasan to Egypt; nine times he performed the pilgrimage of Mecca; eight times he invaded the territories of the Romans; and as often as they declined the payment of the tribute, they were taught to feel that a month of depredation was more costly than a year of submission. But when the unnatural mother of Constantine was deposed and banished, her successor, Nicephorus, resolved to obliterate this badge of servitude and disgrace. The epistle of the heathen philosophers to the successor of the Arabian, join to the game of chess, which had already spread from Persia to Greece. "The queen (he spoke of Irene) considered you as a rook, and herself as a pawn. That pusilanimous female submitted to pay a tribute, the double of which she ought to have exacted from the barbarians. Restore therefore the fruits of your injustice, or abide the determination of the sword." At these words the ambassadors cast a bundle of swords before the foot of the throne. The caliph smiled at the menace, and drawing his scimitar, sananmredd, a weapon of historic or fabulous renown, he cut asunder the feeble arms of the Greeks, without turning the edge, to the astonishment of his blad, He then dictated an epistle of tremendous brvity: "In the name of the most merciful God, Harun at Rashid, commander of the faithful, to Nicephorus, the Roman dog. I have read thy letter, O thou son of an unbelieving mother. Thou shalt not hear, thou shalt behold, my reply." It was written in characters of blood and fire on the plains of Phrygia; and the warlike celerity of the Arabs could only be checked by the arts of deceit and the show of repentance. The triumphant caliph retired, after the fatigue of the campaign, to his favourite palace of Racca on the Euphrates; 8 but the distance of five hundred miles, and the inclemency of the season, encouraged his adversary to violate the peace. Nicephorus was astonished by the bold and rapid march of the commander of the faithful, who repassed in the depth of winter the snows of mount Taurus; his stratagems of policy and war were exploded against the impetuous government of the new marcher. When the news came to the people of Trapezund, it was like a wound from a field of battle overspread with forty thousand of his subjects. Yet the emperor was ashamed of submission, and the caliph was resolved on victory. One hundred and thirty-five thousand regular soldiers received pay, and were inscribed in the military roll; and above three hundred thousand persons of every denomination marched under the black standard of the Abbassides. They swept the surface of Asia Minor far beyond Tyana and Ankyra, and invested the Pontic Heraclea, once a flouris-hing state, now a pauper town; at that time capable of sustaining, to her antique walls, a month's siege against the forces of the east. The ruin was complete, the spoil was ample; but if Harun had been conversant with Grecian story, he would have regretted the statue of Hercules, whose attributes, the club, the bow, the quiver, and the lion's hide, were sculptured in massy gold. The caliph moved his camp to the line of the Aegean Sea. When he arrived on the island of Cyprus, compelled the emperor Nicephorus to retract his haughty defiance. In the new treaty, the ruins of Heraclea were left for ever as a lesson and a trophy; and the coin of the tribute was marked with the image and superscription of Harun. Let this small contribution remove the dishonour of the Roman name. After the death of their fathers, the heirs of the caliph were involved in civil discord, and the conqueror, the liberal Almamon, was sufficiently engaged in the restoration of domestic peace and the introduction of foreign science.

Under the reign of Almamon at Bagdad, Michael the Stammerer at Constantinople, the islands of Crete and The Arabs subdue the isle of Crete (p. 623.)

4 D'Herboult, Bibliotheca Orientalis, p. 516.

5 For the situation of Racca, the old Nicopolium, consult D'Anvers, (Jouvenel de Saint-Pont, p. 313.)

6 M. de Turennefort, in his coasting voyage from Constantinople to Trapezund, passed, on the 12th of October, 1653, before the capital of the present state, his reading collected the antiquities, of the city, (Voyage du Lomvi, tom. ii. lettre xvi. p. 23—25.) We have a separate history of Heraclea ad Phrygiam in a fragment of the same time, preserved by Photios.

7 The wars of Harun al Rashid against the Roman Empire are related by Theophanes, (p. 364, 355, 294, 296, 466.) Zonaras, (tom. i. xvi, p. 131—141.) DTC, (p. 67, 87.) Estyouchas, (Annal. com. 86.) Eusebius, (Hist. Sacra, tom. ii. p. 24.) and Chalcharis (Dynamis, p. 17, 153.) and Aboufelsa, (p. 155—166.)

8 The authors from antiquity to the present time, of the ancient and modern state of Crete, are Belon, (Observations, &c. c. 3 — 20.) Paris, (1553.) Tournefort, (Description des Iles de Crete et de Mauricie.) Crete, (in his works, tom. ii. p. 381—424.) Although Crete is styled by Homer, Laspyris, by Herodotus, Karkhara, by Strabo, it cannot conceivethat mountains island to survive, or even to equal, in fertility the greater part of Spain.
were subdued by the Arabs. The former of these conquests is disowned by their own writers, who were ignorant of the fame of Jupiter and Minos, but it has not been overlooked by the Byzantine historians, who have most a clear eye to the affair, and even their own times. 1 A band of Andalusian volunteers, discontented with the climate or government of Spain, explored the adventures of the sea; but as they sailed in no more than ten or twenty galleys, their warfare must be branded with the name of piracy. As the subjects and citizens of the unhappy people, they might lawfully invade the dominions of the black caliphs. A rehellious faction introduced them into Alexandria; 2 they cut in pieces both friends and foes, pillaged the churches and the mosques, sold above six thousand chrismatic captives, and maintained their station in the capital of Egypt till they were oppressed by the forces and the presence of Almamun himself. From the mouth of the Nile to the Hellespont, the islands and sea-coasts both of the Greeks and Moslems were exposed to their depredations; they saw, they envied, they hated, the fertility of Crete, and soon returned with forty galleys to a more serious attack. The Andalusians wandered over the land fearless and unmolested; but when they descended with their plunder to the sea-shore, their vessels were in flames, and their chief, Abu Cass, confessed himself the author of the mischief. The Algebraic, this famours nephew of the treachery "Of what do you complain" replied the wily emir. "I have brought you to a land flowing with milk and honey. Here is your true country: repose from your toils, and forget the barren place of your birth." And our wars and children. "Your benauteous captives will supply the place of your wives, and in their embraces you will soon become the fathers of a new progeny." The first habitation was their camp, with a ditch and rampart, in the bay of Sida; but an apostate monk led them to a more desirable position in the eastern parts; and the city of Candax, their fortress and colony, has been extended to the whole island, under the corrupt and modern appellation of Candia. The hundred cities of the age of Minos were diminished to thirty; and of these, only one, most probably Cydonia, had courage to remain the standard of freedom and the profession of Christianity. The Saracens of Crete soon repaired the loss of their navy: and the timbers of mount Ida were launched into the main. During a hostile period, of one hundred and thirty-eight years, the princes of Constantinople were in the latters of these licentious corsairs with fruitless curses and ineffectual arms.

and of Sicily. The loss of Sicily 3 was occasioned by A.D. 527—578. an act of superstitious rigour. An amorous youth, who had stolen a nun from her cloister, was sentenced by the emperor to the amputation of his tongue. Euphemius appealed to the reason and policy of the Saracens of Africa; and soon returned with the imperial purple, a fleet of one hundred ships, and an army of seven hundred horse and ten thousand foot. They landed at Mazara near the ruins of the ancient Selinus; but after some partial victories, Syracuse 4 was delivered by the Greeks, the apostate was slain before her walls, and his African friends were induced to the necessity of feeding on the flesh of their own horses. In their turn they were relieved by a powerful fleet, and the Saracens prepared to destroy the largest and western part of the island was gradually reduced, and the commodious harbour of Palermo was chosen for the seat of the naval and military power of the Saracens. Syracuse preserved about fifty years the faith which she had sworn to Christ and to Caesar. For the last and fatal siege, her citizens displayed the remnant of the spirit which had formerly resisted the powers of Athens and Carthage. They stood above twenty days against the battering-rams and catapultes, the mines and tortoises of the besiegers; and the place might have been relieved, if the barbarians of Carthage naval fleet had not been detained at Constantinople in building a church to the Virgin Mary. The deacon Theodosius, with the bishop and clergy, was dragged in chains from the altar to Palermo, cast into a subterraneous dungeon, and exposed to the hourly peril of death or captivity. His pathetic, and not unmerited complaint, may be read as the epistle of his country. 5 From the Roman conquest to this final calamity, Syracuse, now dwindled to the primitive isle of Ortigya, had insensibly declined. Yet the relics were still precious: the plate of the cathedral weighed five thousand pounds; the surrounding walls of the church, the walls of one at one million of pieces of gold, (about four hundred thousand pounds sterling,) and the captives must number the seventeen thousand christians, who were transported from the sack of Taorminum into African servitude. In Sicily, the religion and language of the Greeks were eradicated; and such was the docility of the rising generation, that fifteen thousand boys were circumcised and clothed on the same day with the son of the Fatimite caliph. The Arabian squadrons issued from the harbours of Palermo, Biscia, and Tunis; a hundred and fifty ships of Calabria and Caputhia were attacked and pillaged, nor could the suburbs of Rome be defended by the name of the Caesars and apostles. Had the Mahometans been united, Italy must have fallen an easy and glorious accession to the empire of the Prophet. But the caliphs of Bagdad had lost their former glory in their own dominions; and the Algibebs and Fatimites usurped the provinces of Africa; their emirs of Sicily aspired to independence; and the design of conquest and dominion was degraded to a repetition of predatory inroads. In the midst of prostrate Italy, the name of Rome awakens a solemn and mournful recollection. A fleet of Saracens from the African coast presumed to enter the mouth of the Tiber, and to approach a city which even yet, in her fallen state, was revered as the metropolis of the christian world. The gates and ramparts were guarded by a trembling people; but the tombs and temples of St. Peter and St. Paul were left exposed in the suburbs of the Vatican and of the Ostanian way. Their invincible sanctity had protected them against the Grecian and Latin Vandals; and the exactions of the Arabs disbandt both the gospel and the legend: and their rapacious spirit was approved and animated by the precepts of the Koran. The christian idols were stripped of their costly offerings; a silver altar was torn away from the shrine of St. Peter; and if the bodies or the buildings were left entire, their deliverance must be imputed to the haste, rather than the scruples, Voltaire himself has chosen. But I must gently reproach the poet and historian Constantine Phycrgenus, who, as a Greek subject of ancient republicanism, 6

1 The most authentic and circumstantial intelligence is obtained from the four books of the Continuation of Theophanes, compiled by the pen or command of Constantine Porphyrogennetus, who was the biographer of his master, Basil the Macedonian, (Scriptores rhetor. Theophan. p. 1—162,) a Franciscus, Combes, Paris, 1665.) The loss of Crete and Sicily is related, i. e. p. 49—52. To these we may add the second evidence of Joseph Genetii (Lap. p. 21, Vent.) 1722. Hiero Credimus. (Compend. 509—508) and John Scaligers Cretaeis, (Com. B. 847. No. 24.) But the modern Greek historians give their accounts of this period, and the only quarto published are, 560 & 578.) the title of the latter being The wreck of the Euphrates, and the Authenticity of the Genealogies of the houses of the Emperies. The extracts from the Arabic histories of Sicily are given in Muratori's Scriptores Rerum Italicorum. M. de Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. i. p. 263, 364.) has added some important facts. 6 The extracts from the Arabic histories of Sicily are given in Muratori's Scriptores Rerum Italicorum. M. de Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. i. p. 263, 364.) has added some important facts.
of the Saracens. In their course along the Appian way, they pillaged Fuudi and besieged Gayena; but they had turned aside from the walls of Rome, and, by their divisions, the capitol was saved from the yoke of the prophet of Meeco. The same danger still impended on the heads of the Roman people; and this danger was less gloriously decided in their favour by sudden tempest, which confounded the skill and courage of the stoutest mariners. The christians were sheltered in a friendly harbour, while the africans were scattered and dashed in pieces among the rocks and islands of a hostile shore. Those who escaped from the rock were naufraged, and thus found mercy at the hands of their implacable pursuers. The sword and the gibel did reduce the dangerous multitude of captives; and the remainder was more usefully employed, to restore the sacred edifices which they had attempted to subvert. The pontiff, at the head of the cittizens and allies, paid his grateful devotion at the shrines of the apostles; and, among the spoils of this naval victory, thirteen African bows of pure and massy silver were suspended round the altar of the fisherman of Galilee. The reign of Leo the fourth was employed in the defence and ornament of the Roman churches. In ten years, the walls and fabric were completed, and the ancient walls were repaired by the command of Leo; fifteen towers, in the most accessible stations, were built or renewed; two of these commanded on either side the river: and an iron chain was drawn across the stream to impede the ascent of a hostile navy. The emperor, of self-possession and generality, a circumstance highly desirable, was pleased to receive the welcome news, that the siege of Gayeta had been raised, and that a part of the enemy, with their sacrilegious plunder had perished in the waves.

But the storm which had been delayed, soon burst upon them with redoubled violence. The Agilulph, who reigned in Africa, had inherited from his father a treasure and an army: a fleet of Arabs and Moors, after a short refreshment in the harbours of Sardinia, cast anchor before the mouth of the Tyber, sixteen miles from the city; and their discipline and numbers appeared like the portents of the most adventurous design of conquest and dominion. But the vigilance of Leo had formed an alliance with the vassals of the Greek empire, the free and maritime states of Gayeta, Naples, and Amalfi; and in the hour of danger, their galleys appeared in the port of Ostia under the command of Cassarius the son of the nobleman of the pope, a noble and valiant youth, who had already vanquished the fleets of the Saracens. With his principal companions, Cassarius was invited to the Lateran palace, and the dexterous pontiff affected to inquire their design, and to accept with joy and surprise their providential appearance. They swore to their father of Ostia, where he reviewed and blessed his generous deliverers. They kissed his feet, received the communion with marial devotion, and listened to the prayer of Leo, that the same god who had supported St. Peter and St. Paul on the waves of the sea, would strengthen the hands of his champions against the adversaries of his holy name. After a similar prayer, and with equal resolution, the Moslems advanced to the attack of the christian galleys, which preserved their advantageous station along the coast. The victory induced to the side of the latter was less gloriously decided in their favor by sudden tempest, which confounded the skill and courage of the stoutest mariners. The christians were sheltered in a friendly harbour, while the africans were scattered and dashed in pieces among the rocks and islands of a hostile shore. Those who escaped from the rock were naufraged, and thus found mercy at the hands of their implacable pursuers. The sword and the gibel did reduce the dangerous multitude of captives; and the remainder was more usefully employed, to restore the sacred edifices which they had attempted to subvert. The pontiff, at the head of the cittizens and allies, paid his grateful devotion at the shrines of the apostles; and, among the spoils of this naval victory, thirteen African bows of pure and massy silver were suspended round the altar of the fisherman of Galilee. The reign of Leo the fourth was employed in the defence and ornament of the Roman churches. In ten years, the walls and fabric were completed, and the ancient walls were repaired by the command of Leo; fifteen towers, in the most accessible stations, were built or renewed; two of these commanded on either side the river: and an iron chain was drawn across the stream to impede the ascent of a hostile navy. The emperor, of self-possession and generality, a circumstance highly desirable, was pleased to receive the welcome news, that the siege of Gayeta had been raised, and that a part of the enemy, with their sacrilegious plunder had perished in the waves.

Victory and reign of Leo IV. A. D. 919. 

The victory was celebrated in Africa, where a notable and an army: a fleet of Arabs and Moors, after a short refreshment in the harbours of Sardinia, cast anchor before the mouth of the Tyber, sixteen miles from the city; and their discipline and numbers appeared like the portents of the most adventurous design of conquest and dominion. But the vigilance of Leo had formed an alliance with the vassals of the Greek empire, the free and maritime states of Gayeta, Naples, and Amalfi; and in the hour of danger, their galleys appeared in the port of Ostia under the command of Cassarius the son of the nobleman of the pope, a noble and valiant youth, who had already vanquished the fleets of the Saracens. With his principal companions, Cassarius was invited to the Lateran palace, and the dexterous pontiff affected to inquire their design, and to accept with joy and surprise their providential appearance. They swore to their father of Ostia, where he reviewed and blessed his generous deliverers. They kissed his feet, received the communion with marial devotion, and listened to the prayer of Leo, that the same god who had supported St. Peter and St. Paul on the waves of the sea.
The emperor Theophilus, son of Michael the Stammerer, was one of the most active and high-spirited princes who reigned at Constantinople during the middle age. In offensive or defensive war, he marched in person five times against the Saracens, and was known as an invincible in his losses and defeats. In the last of these expeditions he penetrated into Syria, and besieged the obscure town of Solzetra; the casual birth-place of the ca- kib were balanced by the efforts of the Saracen, for peace or war by the most favourite of his wives and concubines. The revolt of a Persian imposer employed at that moment the arms of the Saracen, and he could only intercede in favour of a place for which he felt, and acknowledged some degree of filial affection. These solicitations demurned the emperor to wound his pride in so sensible a part. Solzetra was levelled with the ground, the Syrian prisoners were marked or mutilated with ignominious cruelty, and a thousand female captives were forced away from the adjacent territory. Among these a matron of the house of Ishak was involv'd in an agony of despair; the negociator Motassem; and the insults of the Greeks engaged the honour of her kinsman to avenge his indignity, and to answer her appeal. Under the reign of the two elder brothers, the inheritance of the youngest had been confined to Anatolia, Armenia, Georgia, and Circassia: this was the cause of the enmity of Abulpharag's son, and among his accidental claims to the name of Octo- mury, the most meritorious are the eight battles which he gained or fought against the enemies of the Koran. In this personal quarrel, the troops of Irak, Syria, and Egypt, were disunited by the intrigues of Abulpharag and the Turkish horsemen; his military might be greater, though we should deduct some myriads from the hundred and thirty thousand horses of the royal stables; and the expense of the armament was computed at four million sterlings, or one hundred thousand pounds of gold. From this time the place of assembly, the Saracens advanced in three divisions along the high road of Constantinople: Motassem himself commanded the centre, and the vanguard was given to his son Abbas, who, in the trial of the first adventures, might succeed with the more glory, or fall with the least reproach of his house. He was prepared to retaliate a similar affront. The father of Theophilus was a native of Amurio; in Phrygia: the original seat of the imperial house had been adorned with privileges and monuments; and whatever might be the indifference of the people, Constantinople itself was more honourable in solitude than in the possession of the reign and his court. The name of Amurio was inscribed on the shields of the Saracens; and their three armies were again united under the walls of the devoted city. It had been proposed by the wisest counsellors, to evacuate Amurio, to remove the inhabitants, and to abandon the empty structures to the vain resentment of the barbarians. The emperor embraced the more generous resolution of defending, in a siege and battle, the country of his ancestors. When the armies drew near, the front of the Mahometan line appeared as if it was composed of the large trees, and of the spears and javelins; but the event of the action was not glorious on either side to the national troops. The Arabs were broken, but it was by the swords of thirty thousand Persians, who had obtained service and settlement in the Byzantine empire. The Greeks were repulsed and vanquished, but it was by the arrows of the Turkish cavalry; and had not their bow-strings been damp and relaxed by the evening rain, very few of the christians could have escaped with the emperor from the field of battle. They breathed at Dorylaea, at the distance of three days; and Theophilus, with his trembling squadrons, forgave the common flight both of the prince and people. After this discovery of his weakness, he vainly hoped to deprive the fate of Amurio: the in-exorable caliph rejected with contumacy his prayers and promises; and indeed those who excelled the natal day of his great revenge. They nearly had been the witnesses of his shame. The vigorous assaults of fifty-five days were encountered by a faithful garrison, a veteran garrison, and a desperate people; and the Saracens must have raised the siege, if a domestic traitor had not pointed to the weakest part of the place, which was decorated with the statues of a lion and a bull. The vow of Motassem was accomplished with unrelenting vigour: tired, rather than satiated, with destruction, he returned to his new palace of Samar, in the neighbourhood of Bagdad, while the unhappy Bedouins were made to drink the bitter cup of the useful aid of his western rival the emperor of the Franks. Yet in the siege of Amurio above seventy thousand Moslems had perished: their loss had been revered by the slaughter of thirty thousand christians, and the sufferings of an equal number of captives, who were treated with the utmost severity; but the necessity could sometimes extinguish the exchange or ransom of prisoners; but in the national and religious conflict of the two empires, peace was without confidence, and war without mercy. Quarter was seldom given in the field, and the capture of a thousand slaves by the sword were condemned to hopeless servitude, or exquisite torture; and a catholic emperor relates, with visible satisfaction, the execution of the Saracens of Crete, who were flayed alive, or plunged into caldrons of boiling oil. To a point of honour Motassem had sacrificed a florishing city, two hundred thousand lives, and the property of millions. The same caliph descended from his horse, and dieted his robe, to relieve the distress of a decrepit old man, who, with his laden ass, had tumbled into a ditch. On which of these actions did he reflect with the most pleasure, when he was summoned by the prophet of the caliph to decide the fate of the Abundance, and the Turkish guards, A. D. 914—956.

With Motassem, the eighth of the Abbassides, the glory of his family and empire expired. When the Arabian con- querors had spread themselves over the east, and were mingled with the servile crowds of Persia, Syria, and Egypt, they were no more able to maintain their throne, or to arrogate the virtues of the desert. The courage of the south is the artificial fruit of discipline and prejudice; the active power of enthusiasm had decayed, and the mercenary forces of the caliphs were recruited in those climates of the north, of which valour is the hardly and spontaneous production. Of the Turks, who dwell beyond

1 In the east he was styled Amurioi (Continuator Theophras. 1, 1. 439). Some scholars think that the ignorance of the west, of the Avars, of their portraits, of public discourses, might equally narrate, of victors, at least adverse externa bellandi gentes celius fuerat ascesseret. (Ahmad, De Proconsulis.)

2 Abdulfathr (Inazmat, p. 167, 165.) relates one of these singular transactions on the bridge of the river Lamius in Cilicia, the limit of the two empires, and one day's journey westward of Tarsus. (D'An-ville, Geographie Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 31.) Four thousand two hundred and sixty Moslems, eight hundred women and children, one hundred and forty, were exchanged for an equal number of Greeks. In the course of a year the Turks in the middle of Asia, when they reached their respective friends, they shouted Alla, Allah, and Kyrie Eleison. They were the favourite princes of a nation, who were accustomed to favour them, but in the same year, (A. H. 223.) the most illustrious of them, the forty-two martyrs, were beheaded by the caliph's order. (See a letter to Dr. Burnet.) These Saracens were indeed treated with peculiar severity as pirates and enemies of religion. (D. 166.)


4 M. de Guignes, who sometimes leaps, and sometimes stumble

The Amorian war between Théophylact and Motassém. A. D. 933.
the Oxus and Jaxartes, the robust youths, either taken in war, or purchased in trade, were educated in the exercises of the field, and the profession of the Mahometan faith. The Turkish guards stood in arms round the receptacle of retire from Bagdad, all three placed in their own residence and the camp of his barbarian favourites at Samara on the Tigris, about twelve leagues above the city of Peace. His son Motawakkel was a jealous and cruel tyrant: odious to his subjects, he cut himself on the fidelity of the strangers, and these strangers, ambitious and apprehensive, were tempted by the rich promise of a revolution. At the instigation, or at least in the cause of his son, they burst into his apartment at the hour of supper, and the caliph was cut into seven pieces by the same swords which he had recently distributed among the guards of his life and throne. To this throne, yet streaming with a father’s blood, Mostanser was triumphantly led; but in a reign of six months, he found only the pangs of a guilty conscience. If he wept at the sight of an old tapestry which represented the crime and punishment of the son of Chosroes; if his days were abridged by grief at the dismemberment of a traitor, he excused the act of homicide, who explained in the bitterness of death, that he had lost both this world and the world to come. After this act of treason, the ensigns of royalty, the garment and walking-staff of Mahomet, were given and torn away by the foreign mercenaries, who in four years’ residence, were seduced and murdered by the invaders of the faithful. As often as the Turks were inflamed by fear, or rage, or avarice, these caliphs were dragged by the feet, exposed naked to the scorching sun, beaten with iron clubs, and compelled to purchase by the abdication of their dignity, a short reprieve of inevitable fate. At length, however, the fury of the tempest was spent or diverted: the Abbassides returned to the less turbulent residence of Bagdad; the insolence of the Turks was curbed with a firmer and more skilful hand, and their numbers were divided and destroyed in foreign warfare. But the nations of the east had learned, by the hard experience of the Mahometan prophet; and the blessings of domestic peace were obtained by the relaxation of strength and discipline. So uniform are the mischiefs of military despotism, that I seem to repeat the story of the praetorians of Rome.

While the flame of enthusiasm was damped by the business, the pleasure, and the knowledge of the age, it burnt with concentrated heat in the breasts of the chosen few, the congenial spirits who were ambitious of reigning either in this world or in the next. How carefully the book of prophecy had been studied by the apostle of Mecca, the wishes, and (if we may pronounce the word) even the reason, of fanaticism, might believe that, after the successive missions of Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Mahomet, the same God, in the fulness of time, would reveal a still more perfect form of his dispensation to the first in the seventh year of the Hegira, and in the neighbourhood of Cufa, an Arabian preacher, of the name of Carmath, assumed the lofty and incomprehensible style of the guide, the director, the demonstration, the word, the holy ghost, the camel, the herald of the Messiah, who would be conversed with him in a human shape, and represented the representative of Mohammed the son of Ali, of St John the Baptist, and of the angel Gabriel. In his mystic volume, the precepts of the Koran were to be refined to a more spiritual sense: he relaxed the duties of abstinence, fasting, and pilgrimage; allowed the indiscriminate use of wine and forbidden food; and nourished the fervour of his disciples by the daily repetition of fifty prayers. The idli-ness and ferment of the rustic crowd awakened the attention of the magistrates of Cufa; a timid persecution assisted the progress of the new sect; and the name of the prophet became more revered after he had been torn in pieces from the breast of the holder of the apostles dispersed themselves among the Bedouweens, “a race of men,” says Abulfeda, “equally devoid of reason and of religion;” and the success of their preaching seemed to threaten Arabia with a new revolution. The Carmathians were ripe for revolution, since they abhorred the worldly pomp of the caliphs of Bagdad. They were susceptible of discipline, since they vowed a blind and absolute submission to their imam, who was called to the prophetic office by the voice of God and the people. Instead of the legal tithes, he claimed the fifth of their substance and spoil; the most flagitious sins were no more than the type of disobedience; and the brethren were united and concealed by an oath of secrecy. After a bloody conflict, they prevailed in the province of Bahrain, the island along the Persian gulf: far and wide, the tribes of the desert were subject to the sceptor, or rather to the sword, of Abu Said and his son Abu Taher; and these rebellious imams could muster in the field a hundred and seven thousand fanatics. The mercenaries of the caliph were dismayed at the approach of an enemy who neither asked nor accepted quarter; and the Turks, after the first taste of blood and patience, is expressive of the change which three centuries of prosperity had affected in the character of the Arabs. Such troops were disconcerted in every action; the cities of Raccia and Basboc, of Cufa and Bassora, were taken and pillaged; Bagdad was filled with consternation; and the caliph trembled behind the veil of his palace. In a daring inroad beyond the Tigris, Abu Taher advanced to the gates of the capital with no more than five hundred horse. By the special order of Moetader, the bridges had been broken down, and the person or head of the rebel was expected every hour by the commander of the faithful. His lieutenant, from a motive of fear or pity, apprized Abu Taher of his danger, and recommended a speedy escape. “Your master,” said the interdict Carmathian to the messenger, “is at the head of thirty thousand soldiers: three such men as these are wanting in his host;” at the same instant, turning to three of his companions, he commanded the first to plunge a dagger into his breast, the second to leap into the Tigris, and the third to cast himself headlong down a precipice. They obeyed without murmur. “Relate,” continued the imam, “what you have seen: before the evening hour your general shall see the head of this dog.” Before the evening, the camp was surprised, and the menace was executed. The rapine of the Carmathians was sanctified by their aversion to the worship of Mecca: they robbed a caravan of pilgrims, and twenty thousand devout Moslems were abandoned on the burning sands to a death of hunger and thirst.
Another year they suffered the pilgrims to proceed without interruption; but in the festival of devotion, Abu Taher stormed the holy city, and rampaged on the most sacred places. It was a day of savage faith. Thousands of citizens and strangers were put to the sword; the sacred precincts were polluted by the burial of three thousand dead bodies; the well of Zamzam overflowed with blood; the golden spout was forced from his place; the vault of the Caaba was divested among theseorious sectaries; and the black stone, the first monument of the nation, was borne away in triumph to their capital. After this deed of sacrilege and cruelty, they continued to invest the confines of Irak, Syria, and Egypt; but the vital principle of enthusiasm had withered away. Their ravages, or their aversion, again opened the pilgrimage of Mecca, and restored the black stone of the Caaba; and it is needless to inquire into what factions they were broken, or by whose swords they were finally extirpated. The sect of the Carmathians may be considered as the second vital cause of the decline and fall of the empire of the caliphs.

The third and most obvious cause was the weight and magnitude of the empire itself. The caliph Almamon might have ruled the east and the west, and managed a chess-board of two feet square; but I suspect that in both those games he was guilty of many fatal mistakes; and I perceive, that in the distant provinces the authority of the first and most powerful of the Abbasides was already impaired. It was the doctrine of despotism invested the representative with the full majesty of the prince; the division and balance of powers might relax the habits of obedience, might encourage the passive subject to inquire into the origin and administration of civil government. He who is born in the purple is seldom wont to reign; but the elevation of the private man to the capacity of a peasant perhaps; or a slave, affords a strong presumption of his courage and capacity. The viceroy of a remote kingdom aspires to secure the property and inheritance of his precarious trust; the nations must rejoice in the presence of their sovereign; and the command of armies and treasures are at once the object and the instrument of his ambition. A change was scarcely visible as long as the lieutenants of the caliph were content with their vicarious title; while they solicited for themselves or their sons a renewal of the authority and gift of all manners. But when the tenor of the public prayers, the name and prerogative of the commander of the faithful. But in the long and hereditary exercise of power, they assumed the pride and attributes of royalty; the alternative of peace or war, of reward or punishment, depended solely on their will; and the revenues of the government were reserved for local services or private magnificence. Instead of a regular supply of men and money, the successors of the prophet were flattered with the extensiveness gift of an elephant, or a cast of hawks, a suit of silk hangings, or some pounds of musk and amber. The vastness the revolt again, from the dynastic temporal and spiritual supremacy of the Abbasides, the first symptoms of disorganization broke forth in the province of Africa. Ibrahim, the son of Aglab, the lieutenants of the vigilant and rigid Harun.

— 1 For the sect of the Carmathians, consult Elmakin, (Hist. Sarac. p. 210, 254, 259, 281, 284, 241, 244, 245) Aboul-Harries, (D'Outre, p. 174, 176, 178, 179, 181, 184, 187, 188, 189) and D'Herbeth (Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 253—264.) I find some mention of them; but the elbow of private men, in which it would not be easy to find so much importance to recognize.

— 2 Hyde, or Syntagm. damat. tom. ii p. 27 in Hist, Shafiildi.

— 3 The dynasties of the Arabian empire may be ascertained in the Annals of Elmakin, Aboul-Harries, and Aboul-Maoula, under the proper reigns of the Edrisites, and of their successors, without the proper names. The M'Guious of M. de Guignes, (Hist. des Hosp. tom. i. p. 61—93) and M. d'Herbelot, (Dictionnaire Universel, tom. v. p. 364) and D'Herbeth. (Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 253—263.) I find some mention of them; but the elbow of private men, in which it would not be easy to find so much importance to recognize.

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potent dynasties confessed, either in words or actions, the vanity of ambition. The first on his death-bed implored the mercy of God to a sinner, ignorant of the limits of his own power: the second, in the midst of four hundred burnings, promised to sacrifice the Bosphorus ship by ship, concealed from every human eye the chamber where he attempted to sleep. Their sons were educated in the vices of kings; and both Egypt and Syria were recovered and possessed by the Abbasides during an interval of thirty years. In the decline of their empire, Mesopotamia, with the important cities of Basor and Mosul, and Aleppo, was occupied by the Arabian princes of the tribe of Hamadan. The poets of their court could repeat, without a blush, that nature had formed their countrypenances for beauty, their tongues for eloquence, and their hands for liberality and valour: but the genial tale of the elevation and reign of the Hamadaneses, exhibits a scene of treachery, murder, and patricide. At the same fatal period, the Persian kingdom was again usurped by the dynasty of the Bowides, A.D. 922-953. The Bowides, A.D. 922-953, by the sword of three brothers, who, under various names, were styled the expert and columns of the state, and who, from the Caspian sea to the ocean, would suffer no tyrants but themselves. Under their reign, the language and genius of Persia revived, and the Arabs, three hundred and four years after the death of Mahomet, were deprived of the sacred edict.

Fallen state of the caliphate of Bagdad, A.D. 956, &c.

Rahid, the twentieth of the Abbasides, and the thirty-ninth of the successors of Mahomet, was the last who deserved the title of commander of the faithful;* the last (says Aludes) to hold authority of the Abbasides; and the monarch of the Nile insolled the humble pontiff on the banks of the Tigris.

In the declining age of the caliphs, in the enterprises of the Greeks, A.D. 960-963...
The decline and fall

Chap. XII.

The eastern conquests of Nicaeum. The fourth in lineal descent of Phocas. Basilic race, his widow Theophanes, his successor, successively married Nicophorus A.D. 583-593. Phocas and his assassin John Zimisces, the two heroes of the age. They reigned as the guardians of the inheritance of their infant sons; and the twelve years of their military command form the most splendid period of the Byzantine annals. The subjects and confederates, whom they led to war, appeared, at least in the eyes of an enemy, two hundred thousand strong; and of these about thirty thousand were armed with equestrians, a train of four thousand horses attended their march; and their evening camp was regularly fortified with an enclosure of iron spikes. A series of bloody and undecided combats is nothing more than an anticipation of what would have been effected in a field where the energy of nature shall brook no equivalent; and they proceeded to execute the conquests of the two emperors from the hills of Cappadocia to the desert of Bagdad.

The Conquest of Cilicia. Cilicia, first exercised the skill and perseverance of their troops, on whom, at this moment, I shall not hesitate to bestow the name of Romans. In the double city of Mopsuestia and Tarsus, in the province of Cilicia. These places had fallen to the power of the Saracens, but the Romans had recovered them. In these cities, the ruins of former greatness still remains; the houses of every size and description; the towers of the great heroes, of which are left but few; and the temple of Minerva, a great temple, with the image of Minerva seated on the top of the temple. The ancient city was not completely destroyed, though the Saracens were not entirely expelled by the Romans. The Saracens had a large body of mercenary forces; and the Roman army was not sufficiently large to expel them; but the Saracens were not able to resist the Romans for a long time. The Roman army was victorious, and the city of Mopsuestia was recovered by the Romans.

The Conquest of Syria. After they had formed the narrow passes of Mount Idaus, the two Roman princes repeatedly carried their arms into the heart of Syria. Yet, instead of assaulting the walls of Antioch, the humanity or superstition of Nicophorus appeared to respect the ancient metropolis of the east; he contented himself with drawing round the city a line of circumvallation; left a stationary army; and instructed his lieutenant to expect, without impatience, the return of spring. But in the depth of winter, in a dark and rainy night, an adventurous subaltern, with three hundred soldiers, approached the rampart, applied his scaling-ladders, occupied two adjacent towers, and stood firstrate. The Saracen general, on the other hand, bravely maintained his post till he was relieved by the tardy, though effectual, support of his reluctant chief. The first tumult of slaughter and rapine. Recovery of Antioch. After the death of the younger Roque- questas of Nicaeum, the fourth in lineal descent of Phocas. The Basilic race, his widow Theophanes, his successor, successively married Nicophorus A.D. 583-593. Phocas and his assassin John Zimisces, the two heroes of the age. They reigned as the guardians of the inheritance of their infant sons; and the twelve years of their military command form the most splendid period of the Byzantine annals. The subjects and confederates, whom they led to war, appeared, at least in the eyes of an enemy, two hundred thousand strong; and of these about thirty thousand were armed with equestrians, a train of four thousand horses attended their march; and their evening camp was regularly fortified with an enclosure of iron spikes. A series of bloody and undecided combats is nothing more than an anticipation of what would have been effected in a field where the energy of nature shall brook no equivalent; and they proceeded to execute the conquests of the two emperors from the hills of Cappadocia to the desert of Bagdad.

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revenues, and his provinces, had been torn from his hands, and that he was ready to abdicate a dignity which he was unable to support. The emir was inexcusable; the furniture of the palace was sold; and the paltry price of forty thousand pieces of gold was instantly consumed in private luxury. But the apprehensions of Bagdad were evaded by the retreat to the Greeks; thirdly, hunger guarded the desert of Mesopotamia; and the emperor, satisfying with glory, and laden with oriental spoils, returned to Constantinople, and displayed, in his triumph, the silk, the aromatics, and three hundred myriads of gold and silver. Yet the powers of the east had been bent, not broken, by this transient hurricane. After the departure of the Greeks, the captive princes returned to their capitals; the subjects disclaimed their involuntary oaths of allegiance; the Moslems again purified their temples, and overturned the idols of the saints and martyrs; the Nestorians and Jacobites proceeded a Saracen to an orthodox master; and the numbers and spirit of the Melchites were inadequate to the support of the church and state. Of these extensive conquests, Antioch, with the cities of Cilicia and the isle of Cyprus, was alone restored, a permanent and useful accession to the Roman empire.\(^6\)

\(^6\) See the Annals of Rinacin, Abelphaneus, and Ambrosilla, from A. H. 384, to A. H. 384, and the reigns of Nicolas Phocas and John Zimic, in the Chronicles of Zonaras, (tom. ii. i. v. 199, ii. x. 315, and Cedrenus, (Compil. iv. 694—698). Their manifold defects are partly supplied by the MS. history of Leo the despot, which Pasche obtained from the Benedictionals, and has inserted almost entire in Latin version. Citius, toms. ii. p. 199, to p. 270.

In the first of these works he minutely describes the pompous ceremonies of the emperor, and the church and palace of Constantinople, according to his own practice and that of his predecessors.\(^6\)

In the second, he attempts an accurate survey of the political system of the Greeks; they were then denominated, both of Europe and Asia.\(^6\) The system of Roman tactics, the discipline and order of the troops, and the military operations by land and sea, are explained in the third of these didactic collections, which may be ascribed to Constantine or his father Leo.\(^6\)

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\(^6\) The epitaph of Hagia Sophia, Porphyrogenitus, born in the purple, is eloquently defended.

\(^6\) Arcus privatus nec fortuna Penaeus.

\(^6\) Etiam sum incoerens, Cognata potestas

\(^6\) Avec, but it was published in a splendid edition by Lebouc and Reissik, (A. D. 1713, in folio) with such lavish praise as editors never fail to bestow on the worthy or worthless productions of their countrymen.

\(^6\) See, in the first volume of Banduri's Imperium Orientale, Constantinopolis, (Venetii, 1745), page 45—127, edit. Veneti. The title of the old edition of Mevius is corrected in a MS. of the royal library of Paris, which Isaac Casaubon bought in 1607. Leibniz notes the same MS. and the same MS. is illustrated by two maps of William Delisle, the prince of geographers, till the appearance of the greater D'Arville.

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\(^6\) The Tactica of Leo and Constantinopolis are published with the aid of some new MSS. in the great edition of the works of Mevius, by the learned John Loon, which was printed at Leyden, 1611—1617. Florence, 1745.) yet the text is still corrupt and mutilated, the version is still obscure and ridiculous. The Tactica of the emperor Leibniz would afford some valuable materials to a new editor. (Fabric. Biblic. Græc. tom. i. p. 323, 374.)

\(^6\) On the subject of the Basileia, Fabricianus, (Biblic. Græc. tom. xii. p. 425—514.) and Heineccius, (Hist. Juris Romani, p. 396—520.) and Giannone, (De Caro Civilis de Napioli, tom. i. p. 420—483.) as valuable historians, may be usefully consulted. Forty-one books of this Greek code have been published, with a Latin version, by Charles Anselm Fabricius, (Paris, 1678.) in seven volumes in folio; four other books have since been discovered, and are inserted in Gerard Meursius, (Novus Thesaurus Juris Civ. et Canon, tom. v. of the whole work, the sixty books, John Lancelinus has printed (Basil, 1753,) an evocation of synopses. The hundred and two hundred novels, or new laws, of Leo, may be found in the Corpus Juris Civilis.

\(^6\) I have used the last and best edition of the Geoponikos, by Nicholas, Nicius, Lipsius, published in octavo, 1702. But the same emperor restored the lost concordats of systematics and philosophy, and his two books of Hippocrate, or Horse-physic, were published at Paris, 1533, in folio, (Fabric. Biblic. Græc. tom. vi. p. 933—980.)

\(^6\) Of these fifty-three books, or titles, only two have been preserved and printed, de Logiçonos, (by Pulvinus Ursinus, Antwerp, 1682.) and Daniel Heerschelius, (Venetii, 1683.) and de Virtibus et Vitiis, (by Henry Valesius, de Valois, Paris, 1616.)

\(^6\) The life and works of the Emperor Constantine are described by Hankius, (Scriptoribus Byzantii, p. 84—100.) This biographer of the saints indulged himself in a loose paraphrase of the sense of his subjects, His Geography of Byzantium is still preserved, in a Latin version, and so scarce a text as may be now available of the greatest importance in the literature of that empire.

\(^6\) According to the first book of the Cyropedia, pre-fathers of tactics, a small part of the science of war, were already inculcated in Persia, by which Greeks, (1241—1417. Florence, 1745.) the art is still corrupt and mutilated, the version is still obscure and ridiculous. The Tactica of the emperor Leibniz would afford some valuable materials to a new editor. (Fabric. Biblic. Græc. tom. i. p. 323, 374.)

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\(^6\) Quinque libris in Graecis est.
the baser alloy of the age in which they lived. It was
destitute of original genius; they implicitly transcribe
the ancient maxims which had been confirmed by
victories. It was unskilled in the propriety of style
and method; they blindly confound the most distant
and discordant institutions, the phalanx of Sparta
and that of Macedon, the legions of Cato and Tiran,
of Augustus and of Constantine, of Greece and
of Crete, of the East and of the West. The
imprecision of these military rudiments may be
fairly questioned: their general theory is dictated by
reason; but the merit, as well as difficulty, consists in
the application. The discipline of a soldier is formed
by exercise rather than by study: the talents of a
commander are indispensable to their effect. Though rapid
minds, which nature produces to decide the fate of
armies and nations: the former is the habit of a life,
the latter the glance of a moment; and the battles won
by lessons of tactics may be numbered with the epic
peaks erected from the bases of criticism. The book
of ceremonies is a recital, tedious yet imperfect, of
the despicable pageantry which had infected the church
and state since the gradual decay of the purity of the
one and the power of the other. A review of the
themes or provinces, might promise such authentic and
useful a history as the curious notes of a government that
may obtain, instead of traditionary fables on the origin
of the cities, and malicious epigrams on the vices of
their inhabitants. Such information the historian
would have been pleased to record; nor should his
silence be condemned if the most interesting objects,
the population of the capital and provinces, the amount
of the taxes and revenues, the numbers of subjects and
strangers who served under the imperial standard, have
been unnoticed by Leo the philosopher, and his son
Constantine. His treatise of the public administration
is stained with the same blunders; yet it is discrimi-
nated by peculiar merit: the antiquities of the nations
may be doubtful or fabulous; but the geography and
manners of the barbaric world are delineated with
Embassy of Lucius Curious accuracy. Of these nations, the
grandeur.

Franks alone were qualified to observe in
their turn, and to describe the metropolis of the east.
The ambassador of the great Otho, a bishop of
Cremona, has painted the state of Constantinople about
the middle of the tenth century: his style is glowing, his
narrative lively, his observation keen; and even the
provinces beyond the boundaries of Italy are described
with an original character of freedom and genius. 1
From this scanty fund of foreign and domestic materials,
I shall investigate the form and substance of the Byzan-
tine empire: the provinces and wealth, the civil gov-
ernment and military force, the character and literature,
of the Greeks in a picture of the times, and describe the
rise, the weakness, the strength, and the fall of
the empire of Justinian, the accession of Heraclius, and the
successful invasion of the Franks or Latins.

After the final division between the
sons of Theodosius, the swarms of barbarians from Scythia and Germany over-
spread the provinces and extinguished the empire of ancient Rome. The weakness of
Constantinople was concealed by extent of dominion: her
limits were indefinite, or at least entire; and the
kings who substituted Justinian were exalted by the splendid acqui-
sition of Africa and Italy. But the possession of these
new conquests was transient and precarious; and
almost a moiety of the eastern empire was torn away

1 After observing that the demerit of the Cappadocians rose in pro-
portion to the years, he says, "et posteriores, et posteriores, et
posteriores..." (p. 149), which is ascribed to Demodocus:

Kéritat, ypuámiat, npoua Ípaíno, tov Auverliov.  

The simile is taken from the French epic poem against
Troyen: Un serpent menacé, Jean François Vaché, as Le serpent
unsera et son maître. But as the Paris was a serjeant read in the
Archology, I should not think it a misprint, unless the language
was converted for their imitation (Constantin, Byprotrephes, de Themat. c. 28, Brunk.
Ant. V., p. 19, Ch. 3). The language, in general, is borrowed from
the Latin, (p. 50.) The numbers of monks or calyves in all the islands and the
adjacent mountains of Asia, (Observations de Belon, t. 2, 252, 253.)
Asia, is Constantinople was equalled only by Bagdad, the great city of
the Ismaelites, (Voyage de Benjamine de Tudela, par Barthelet, t. 1, p. 45.)

The Decline and Fall. Chapter IV.

See Constantine of Thessalinae, in Banduri, vol. i., p. 1-30,
who owns that the word in tov Ámiat, ony, is a sorn by Maurice
Augustine, and that the author of the poem was a legen
from the Oratorio de Themat. c. 28, Brunk. Ant. V., p. 197, 897.)
Some etymologies are attempted for the Opicanian, Opti-
klaccian, Arab, and other terminations.

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the Ismaelites, (Voyage de Benjamine de Tudela, par Barthelet, t. 1, p. 45.)

The Legatio Liutprandi Episcopi Cremensani ad Nicopolin
Phocam, is inscribed in Mazarci, Scriptores Romam Italicum, tom.
ii. part. ii.
fallen; nor could the ruins of Rome, or the mud walls, wooden hovels, and narrow precincts of Paris and London, prepare the Latin stranger to contemplate the simultaneity and impress of Greek and Roman splendour and luxury, which they often renewed and often violated. The siege of Patras was formed by a singular concurrence of the Selavonians of Peloponnesus and the Saronies of Africa. In their last distress, a pious fiction of the approach of the praetor of Corinth, revived the courage of the citizens. The town was at length carried; but the stranger, having admitted, the rebels submitted, and the glory of the day was ascribed to a phantom or a stranger, who fought in the foremost ranks under the character of St. Andrew the apostle. The shrine which contained his relics was decorated with the trophies of victory, and the captive race was forever devoted to the service and vassalage of the metropolitan church of Patras. By the revolt of two Selavonian tribes in the neighbourhood of Heilos and Lacedemon, the peace of the peninsula was often disturbed. They sometimes insulted the weakness, and sometimes resisted the oppression, of the Byzantine government, till at length the approach of their hostile brethren exerted a golden ball to define the rights and obligations of the Ezzerites and Milengi, whose annual tribute was defined at twelve hundred pieces of gold. From these strangers the imperial geographer has accurately distinguished a domestic and perhaps original race, who, however, had derived their origin from the much injured helots. The liberality of the Freeman of Romans, and especially of Augustus, had enfranchised the maritime cities from the dominion of Sparta; and the continuance of the same benefit enabled them with the title of Eleeotero, or free Laccoi, and the 25. sale of their sons and daughters, or of their lands. In the time of Constantine Porphyrogenetos they had acquired the name of Minoisches, under which they dis-honour the claim of liberty by the inhuman pillage of all that is shipwrecked on their rocky shores. Their territory, barren of corn, but fruitful of olives, extended to the cape of Malea: they accepted a chief or prince from the Byzantine praetor, and a light tribute of four hundred pieces of gold was the badge of their immunity, rather than of their dependence. The freemen of Laconia assumed the character of Romans, and long adhered to the religion of the Greeks. By the zeal of the emperor Basil, they were baptized in the year of the anthropod. A council held at Laodicea had been crowned by these rustic votaries five hundred years after they were proscribed in the Roman world. In the theme of Peloponnesus, 1 forty cities and several were still numbered, and the decline of Pelo-

p. 35. The Selavonians were called by Ptolemy Maior (II. 25. 3) the Eleeotero, or free Laccoi, and by Strabo (VII. 1. 34) the Minoisches, under which they dis-honour the claim of liberty by the inhuman pillage of all that is shipwrecked on their rocky shores. Their territory, barren of corn, but fruitful of olives, extended to the cape of Malea: they accepted a chief or prince from the Byzantine praetor, and a light tribute of four hundred pieces of gold was the badge of their immunity, rather than of their dependence. The freemen of Laconia assumed the character of Romans, and long adhered to the religion of the Greeks. By the zeal of the emperor Basil, they were baptized in the year of the anthropod. A council held at Laodicea had been crowned by these rustic votaries five hundred years after they were proscribed in the Roman world. In the theme of Peloponnesus, 1 forty cities and several were still numbered, and the decline of Pelo-

1 Strabo, Geograph. I. viii. p. 562. Pausanias, Graec. Description, lib. vii. c. 21. p. 364. 365. Plut. Hist. Natur. Liv. v. c. 8. 2 Constantine, De administrando Imperio, lib. i. c. 30, 51, 52. 3 The rock of Leucadia was the southern promontory of his inland and diocese. Had he been the exclusive guardian of the Lover's Rest, as well as the principal of their diocese, as the Spectator, he might have been the richest prelate of the Greek Church: a passion for rich jewels and elegant apparel, a weary dance, (Geograph. Miner. tom. ii. desert vi. p. 170-191) 4 enumerates the inroads of the Selavonians, and to this the date (4. P. 394.) of this note corresponds.

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The Decline and Fall. Chapter XIV.

Manufactures. But the wealth of the province, and specially of silk, the trust of the revenue, were founded on the fair and plentiful produce of trade and manufactures; and some symptoms of liberal policy may be traced in which the remits from all personal taxes, the mariners of Peloponnesus, and the workmen in parchment and purple. This denomination may be fairly applied or extended to the manufactures of linen, woolen, and more especially of silk; the two former of which had been cultivated in Greece from the days of Homer; and the last was introduced perhaps as early as the reign of Justinian. These arts, which were exercised at Corinth, Thebes, and Argos, afforded food and occupation to a numerous people; the men, women, and children, were distributed according to their several powers, according to the nature of these works, and domestic slaves, their masters, who directed the work and enjoyed the profit, were of a free and honourable condition. The gifts which a rich and generous matron of Peloponnesus presented to the emperor Basil, her adopted son, were doubtless fabricated in the Greek looms. Daniella bestowed a carpet of fine wool, of a pattern which imitated the spots of peacock’s tail, of a magnitude to overspread the floor of a new church, erected in the triple name of Christ, of Michael the archangel, and of the prophet Elijah. She gave six hundred pieces of silk and linen, of various use and denomination, for the decoration of the baths of the Tyrian basilica, adorned, and adorned by the labours of the needle; and the linen was so excellently fine, that an entire piece might be rolled in the hollow of a cane. In his description of the Greek manufactures, an historian of Sicily distinguishes their price, according to the weight and quality of the silk, the closeness of the texture, the beauty of the colours, and the taste and materials of the embroidery. A single, or even a double or triple, thread was thought sufficient for ordinary sale; but the union of six threads composed a piece of stronger and more costly workmanship. Among the colours, the queen celebrates, with affection of eloquence, the fiery blaze of the scarlet, and the softer lustre of the green. The embroidery was raised either in silk or gold; the more simple ornament of stripes or circles was surpassed by the nicer imitation of flowers: the vestments that were fabricated for the palace or the altar of a god, were composed of precious stones; and the figures were delineated in strings of oriental pearls. Till the twelfth century, Greece alone, of all the countries of Christendom, was possessed of the insect which is taught by nature, and of the means of rearing; the silk is imported in such quantities, and to such splendid luxury. But the secret had been stolen by the dexterity and diligence of the Arabs: the caliphs of the east and west scorned to borrow from the unbelievers their furniture and apparel; and two cities of Spain, Almeria and Lisbon, were famous for the manufacture, the use, and the exportation of silk, transported from it was first introduced into Sicily by the Greeks to Sicily. Normans; and this emigration of trade distinguishes the victory of Roger from the uniform and fruitless hostilities of every age. After the sack of Constantinople, Athens, and Thebes, his lieutenants, Thomas and Tancredo, with a crew of weavers and artificers of both sexes, a trophy glorious to their master, and disgraceful to the Greek emperor. The king of Sicily was no


2. See the manufactures of Palermo, as they are described by Hues Falconer (Hist. Sicula in precon. in Muratori Script. sacrae, and in E. Fal- canus, tom. 4, p. 259.) in a copy of those of Greece. Without transcribing his narrative, which is long and accurate, I shall observe, that in this passage the strange word exzamnfora, is used properly charged for exzamnfora, according to the modern pronunciation, which is exzamnfora, the first writer, Falcandus lived about the year 1190.

dred thousand of silver, the fruits of her own economy and that of her deceased husband. 1 The avarice of Basil is not less renowned than his valour and fortune: his victorious armies were paid and rewarded with quantities of two hundred thousand pounds of gold, (about eight millions sterling,) which he had buried in the subterraneous vaults of the palace. 2 Such accumulation of treasure is rejected by the theory and practice of modern policy; and we are more apt to conceive a sovereign as a semicircular portion of the figure and name of the Greek sigma, was supported by fifteen columns of Phrygian marble, and the subterraneous vaults were of a similar construction. The square before the sigma was decorated with a fountain, and the margin of the basin was lined and encompassed with plates of silver. In the beginning of each season, the basin, instead of water, was replenished with the most exquisite fruits, which were abandoned to the populace for the entertainment of the prince. He enjoyed this tumultuous spectacle from a throne resplendent with gold and gems, which was raised by a marble staircase to the height of a lofty terrace. Below the throne were seated the officers of his guards, the magistrates, the chiefs of the factions of the circus; the inferior steps were occupied by the people, and the place below was covered with troops of dancers, singers, and pantomimes. The square was surrounded by the hall of justice, the arsenal, and the various offices of business and pleasure; and the purple chamber was named from the annual distribution of robes of scarlet and purple by the hand of the empress herself. The long series of the apartments was adapted to the seasons, and decorated with marble and porphyry, with painting, sculpture, and mosaics, with a profusion of gold, silver, and precious stones. His fanatical magnificence employed the skill and patience of such artists as the times could afford: but the taste of Athens would have despised their frivolous and gaudy splendour; the courtiers, with their robes of silk and embroidery, were mistaken by the children for kings. 3 A matron of Peloponnesus, who had cherished the infant fortunes of Basil the Macedonian, was excited by tenderness or vanity to visit the greatness of her adopted son. In a journey of five hundred miles from Patras to Constantinople, her age or infirmity declined the fatigue of a horse or carriage: the soft litter or bed of Danieleus was transported on the shoulders of ten robust slaves; and as they were relieved at easy distances, a band of three hundred was selected for the performance of this service. She was entertained in the Byzantine palace with filial reverence, and the honours of a queen; and whatever might be the origin of her wealth, her gifts were

1 See the anonymous continuator of Theophanes, (p. 59, 61, 65.)
2 In arte triclinii quae presenti esse putantur, formae anteriorius (the severer Romanesque) aequalis esse, vel scilicet vel semicirculari, vel (complectendis) in Decsuria, Glos. Grac. et Observationes sur Jouville, p. 240) et Octaviam (ad Constantinop. i. v., p. 204—210) this being written.
3 In quo versibus (see Boughoun of Troadis) regnum episodum peculiaris. I prefer the Latin version of Constantine L'Empereur (p. 563 to the French of Barbier, (con. i. r. 45.)
4 See the account of her journey, munificence, and testament, in the Life of Basil, by his grandson Constantine, (c. 74, 75, 76, p 195, 197.)
not unworthy of the regal dignity. I have already described the fine and curious manufactures of Peloponnesus, of linen, silk, and woollen; but the most acceptable of her presents consisted in three hundred beautiful tricorders, of which one hundred were engraved mats for her to sit on. 'She was not ignorant,' says the historian, 'that the air of the palace is more congenial to such insects, than a shepherd's dairy to the flies of the summer.' During her lifetime, she bestowed the greater part of her estates in Peloponnesus, and her testament instituted the son of Basil, her universal heir. After the payment of the legacies, fourscore villas or farms were added to the imperial domain; and three thousand slaves of Daniellis were enfranchised by their new lord, and transplanted as a colony to the Italian coast. From this example of a private matron, we may estimate the wealth and magnificence of the emperors. Yet our enjoyments are confined by a narrow circle; and, whatsoever may be its value, the luxury of life is possessed with more innocence and safety by the master of his own, than by the steward of the public, fortune.

Honours and titles to which the emperors resorted were the distinctions of noble and plebeian family, birth, the sovereign is the sole fountain of honour; and the rank, both in the palace and the empire, depends on the titles and offices which are bestowed on him by his successors a thousand years, from Vespasian to Alexis Con- nus, the Casar was the second person, or at least the second degree, after the supreme title of Augustus was more freely communicated to the sons and brothers of the reigning monarch. To elude without violating his promise to a powerful associate, the husband of his sister, and, without giving himself an equal, to reward the piety of his brother Isaac, the crafty Alexius interposed a new and supereminent dignity. The happy fl-bility of the Greek tongue allowed him to compose the names of Augustus and emperor, (sebastianus and autocrat,) and the union produced the sonorous title of sebastianator. He was exalted above the Casar on the first step of the throne: the public aclama- tions repeated his name; and he was only distin- guished from the sovereign by some peculiar ornaments of the head and feet. The emperor alone could assume the purple or red buskins, and the close diadem or tiara, which imitated the fashion of the Persian kings.

It was a high pyramidal cap of cloth or silk, almost concealed by a profusion of pearls and jewels; the crown was invested by a horned or arched crown of gold: at the summit, the point of their interaction, was placed a globe or cross, and two strings or lappets of pearl depended on each cheek. Instead of red, the buskins of the sebastianator and Casar were green; and on their open coronets or crowns, the precious gems were more sparingly distributed. Beside and below the Casar, the family of Alexius created the pror-hyarebastos and the protosebastos, whose sound and signification will satisfy a Grecian ear.

They imply a superiority and a priority above the simple sebastianator. Augustus; and this sacred and primitive title of the Roman prince was degraded to the kinsmen and servants of the Byzantine court. The daughter of Alexius applies, with fond complacency, this artful gradation of hopes and honours; but the science of words is accessible to the meanest capacity; and this vain dictionary was easily enriched by the pride of his successors. To their favourite sons or brothers, they imparted the more lofty appellation of lord or despot, by which they invested their emperors with monarchical prerogatives, and placed immediately after the person of the emperor himself. The five titles of, 1. Despot; 2. Sebas- tocrator; 3. Caesar; 4. Pan-hypereubastos; and, 5. Protosebastos; were usually confined to the princes of his blood: they were the emanations of his majesty, and the name of despot proceeded from the insecure exis- tence was useless, and their authority precarious.

But in every monarchy the substantial officers of the crown, the state and exercised by the ministers of the palace and treasure the fteky and public. The titles alone can differ; and in the revolution of ages, the counts and prelates, the pretor and questor, insensibly descended, while their servants rose above their heads to the first honours of the state. 1. In a monarchy, which refers every object to the person of the prince, the minister of the board is more frequently formed the most respectable department. The eunucopolit, so illustrious in the age of Justinian, was supplanted by the pro- tocratia, whose primitive functions were limited to the custody of the wardrobe. From thence his jurisdiction was extended over the numerous menials of pomp and state, the imperial vestments, and the attendance of the public and private audience.

2. In the ancient system of Constantine, the name of logothete, or accountant, was applied to the receivers of the finances: the principal officers were distinguished as the logothetes of the domain, of the posts, the army, the private and public treasure; and the great logothete, the supreme guardian of the laws and revenues, is compared with the chancellor of the Latin monarchies. His disering eye pervaded the civil administration; and he was assisted, in due subordination, by the eparch or prefect of the province, the generals of the army, and the keepers of the privy seal, the archives, and the red or purple ink which was reserved for the sacred signature of the emperor alone.

The procratarius, in his original functions, was the assistant of the emperor when he mounted on horse- back; he gradually became the lieutenant of the great domestics in the field; and his jurisdiction extended over the tables, the cavalry, and the royal train of hunting and hawking. The stratopedarch was the great

1. Pare exatae curis, sedi diadematque dispars, Dictionuaire d'Egypte et d'Ethiopie, (de Lalande Justinian,) i. 136, and in the same century (the sixth) Cassiodorus represents him, who, Virga ap- plique, desper, as the defender of the empire, and an interpreter of the great dominions of the palace, the army, the private and public. The Procratarius, in his original functions, was the assistant of the emperor when he mounted on horse- back; he gradually became the lieutenant of the great domestics in the field; and his jurisdiction extended over the tables, the cavalry, and the royal train of hunting and hawking. The Stratopedarch was the great

2. Cassiodorus, (de l. vi. c. 2 p. 370.) The last abomination of the abominable saltwater. Yet I am surprised to find in the tenth century, much of the commerce of commerce in Egypt.

3. See the Alexius (I. iii. p. 260;) and Anna Commena, who, except in fine poetry, may be compared to the melancholy de Montaigne. In her awful reverence for titles and forms, she styles her father Euse- voy es-ov, the inventor of this royal art, the x en aszov, and xoxvov.

4- 12. The bokhara, x n a s 5 , is the same superior to his son-in-law, of the Bokhara, and the head of 700 officers. (Rycaud's Ottoman Empire, p. 349, eccen celebrium.

7. Typhon is the Arabic name of an interpreter; (D'Herbelot, S. 53, 54. 55. 56. 57. 58.) says Codinus, (c. v. No. 797) And this name is Ba- buerias, (Epit. iv. p. 338) and Ducu, (Observations sur Velleh don, and Ulens, Grèce, et Latin.)
Adoration of the emperor.

The most lofty titles, and the most humble postures, which devotion has appropriated to the Supreme Being, have been... by flattery and fear to creatures of the same nature with ourselves. The mode of adoration, of falling prostrate on the ground, and kissing the feet of the emperor, was borrowed by Diocletian from Persian servitude; but it was continued and aggravated till the last age of the Gregorian emperors. It was a custom of the house of the Muscovy or Russia. After a long journey by the sea and land, from Venice to Constantinople, the ambassador halted at the golden gate, till he was conducted by the formal order to the hospitable palace prepared for his reception; but this palace was a prison, and his jealously kept watch over all intercourses either with strangers or natives. At his first audience, he offered the gifts of his master, slaves, and golden vases, and costly armour. The ostentations payment of the officers and troops displayed before his eyes the riches of the empire; he was entertained at a royal banquet, in which the ambassadors of the nations were marshalled by the eunuch or corrupt of the Greeks: from his own table, the emperor, as the most signal favour, invited the plate of the favourite, whose favourites were dismissed with a robe of honour. In the morning and evening of each day, his civil and military servants attended their duty in the palace; their labour was repaid by the sight, perhaps by the smile, of their lord; his commands were signified by a nod or a sign; and the face of God, about all earthly goods, was submissive in his presence. In his regular or extra-processions, public and private, the streets were cleared and purified; the pavement was strewn with flowers; the most precious furniture, the gold and silver plate, and even hangings, were displayed from the windows and balconies, and the windows restrained and silenced the tumult of the populace. The march was opened by the military officers at the head of their troops: they were followed in low order by the magistrates of the civil government: the person of the emperor was preceded by his keeper, who, as he passed, and at the church door he was solemnly received by the patriarch and his clergy. The task of applause was not abandoned to the rude and spontaneous voices of the crowd. The most convenient stations were occupied by the bands of the blue and green factions of the city; these were the throngs, which, in the city, were insensibly sunk to an eulogy of servitude. From either side they echoed in responsive melody the praises of the emperor; their poets and musicians directed the choir, and long life and victory were the burden of every song. The same acclamations were applied to every person not of every nation; and if he had risen from a private rank, he might remember, that his own voice had been the loudest and most eager in applause, at the very moment he envied the fortune, or conspired against the life of his predecessor.

Among the amusements of the feast, a boy balanced, on his forehead, a piece or polio, twenty-four feet long, with a cross bar of two cubits a little below the top. Two boys, naked, though costumed (costume) together, and singly, climbed, stood, played, descended, and raised, its stupendous redhill; utramque mirabilis nescio. (p. 483.)

Grae is not improbably derived from Cala. or Calbat, in Arabic a robe of honour. (Helwe, Not. in Ceremony.)


The compensation of the mountains to the seas, and the respect of the magnificent and splendid, the emperors of the ancient Roman Empire, for his majesty, though trifling work in (dilecto Eccles. in Antip.) has been illustrated by the notes of God, and three books of Greek translated by transl. (p. 13.)

The respectful salutation of carrying the hand to the mouth, a friend, is the root of the Latin word, adoro eterno. See our learned Sei. (Codin. B. 7.)

The first book of Herodotus, to be of Persian origin.

This sketch of honours and offices is drawn from Geese Colman, Corbitan, who survived the taking of Constantinople by the Turks; but from the same authority, though trifling work (dilecto Eccles. et Antip.) has been illustrated by the notes of God, and three books of Greek translated by transl. (p. 13.)

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The princes of the north, of the nations, says Constantine, without faith or fame, with the blood of the Caesars, by their marriage with a royal virgin, or by the nuptials of their daughters with a Roman prince. 1 The aged monarch, in his instructions to his son, reveals the secret maxims of policy and pride; and he suggests the most decent reasons for refusing these insolent and unreasonable demands. Every animal, says the discreet emperor, is prompted by nature to seek a mate among the animals of its own species; and the human species is divided into various tribes, by the distinction of language, religion, and manners. But the alliance serves the harmony of public and private life; but the mixture of foreign blood is the fruitful source of disorder and discord. Such had ever been the opinion and practice of the sage Romans: their jurisprudence prescribed the marriage of a citizen and a stranger; in the days of freedom and virtue, a senator would have scorned to match his daughter with a king: the glory of Mark Antony was sufficed by an Egyptian wife; 2 and the emperor Titus was compelled, by popular censure, to dismiss with reluctance the reluctant Berenice. 3 Then Vespasian says, the sentence was neither by the fabulous sanction of the great Constantine. The ambassadors of the nations, more especially of the unbelieving nations, were solemnly admonished, that such strange alliances had been condemned by the founder of the imaginary law of Constantius. 4 He was inscribed on the altar of St. Sophia; and the impious prince who should stain the majesty of the purple was excluded from the civil and ecclesiastical communion of the Romans. If the ambassadors were instructed by any false brethren in the Byzantine history, they might produce three memorable examples of the violation of this imaginary law: the marriage of Leo; or rather of his father Constantine the fourth, with the daughter of the king of the Chozars, the nuptials of the grand-daughter of Romanus with a Bulgarian prince, and the union of Bertha of France or Italy with young Romanus, the son of Constantine Porphyrogenitus himself. To these objections three answers were prepared which solved the difficulty and established the law. I. The deed and the guilt of Constantine Porphyrogenitus were acknowledged. The Isaurian heretic, who failed of the baptismal font, and declared war against the holy images, had indeed embraced a barbarian wife. By this impious alliance he accomplished the measure of his crimes, and was devoted to the just censure of the Sophist, and of posterity. II. Romanus could not be alleged as a legitimate emperor; he was a plebeian usurper, ignorant of the laws, and regardless of the honor, of the monarchy. His son Christopher, the father of the bride, was the third in rank in the college of princes, at once the subject and the accomplice of a rebellious parent. The Bulgarians were sincere and devout christians; and the safety of the empire, with the redemption of many thousand captives depended on this preposterous alliance. Yet no consideration could dispense from the law of Constantine: the clergy, the senate, and the people, disapproved the conduct of Romanus; and he was reproached, both in his life and death, as the author of the public disgrace. The third. III. For the marriage of his own son 5 A.D. 943, with the daughter of Hugo king of Italy, a more honourable defence is contrived by the wise Porphyrogenitus. Constantine, the great and holy, esteemed the dignity and value of the Franks; 6 and his propitious spirit beheld the vision of their future greatness. They alone were excepted from the general prohibition: Hugo king of France, was the lineal descendant of Charlemagne; 7 and his daughter Bertha inherited the prerogatives of her family and nation. The voice of truth and malice insensibly betrayed the fraud or error of the imperial court. The patrimonial estate of Hugo was reduced from the monarchy of France to the simple county of Arles; though it was not denied, that, in the confusion of the times, he had usurped the privilege of bearing a king's name in the kingdom of Italy. His father was a private noble; and if Bertha derived her female descent from the Carolingian line, every step was polluted with illegitimacy or vice. The grandmother of Hugo was the famous Valdrada, the comitissa, rather than the wife, of the second Lothair; whose adultery, divorce, and second nuptials, had provoked against him the thunders of the Vatican. His mother, as she was styled, the great Bertha, was successively the wife of the count of Arles and of the marquis of Tuscany: France and Italy were her dominions. Bertha was a thousand years of threescore, of every degree, were the zealous servants of her ambition. The example of maternal incontinence was copied by the king of Italy; and the three favourite conclaves of Hugo were denounced as a butchery of religious maxims by Senecl. 8 The daughter of Venus was granted to the solicitations of the Byzantine court: her name of Bertha was changed to that of Eudoxia; and she was wedded, or rather betrothed, to young Romanus, the future heir of the empire of the east. The consummation of this unholy alliance was suspended by the tender age of the two parties; and at the end of five years, the union was dissolved by the death of the virgin spouse. The second wife of the emperor Romanus was a maiden of plebeian, but of Roman birth; and young Romanus, Theophano and Anne, were given in marriage to the princes of the earth. The eldest was bestowed, as the pledge of peace, on the eldest son of the great Otho, who had solicited this alliance with arms and embassies. It might legally be questioned how far a claim which had entered to the privilege of the Roman nation: but every scruple was silenced by the fame and piety of a hero who had restored the empire of the west. After the death of her father-in-law and husband, Theophano governed Rome, Italy, and Germany, during the minority of her son, the third Otho; and the Latinians honored him, as a member of an illustrious house, and a descendant of Romanus, a just vassal of the emperor and a benefactor to a superior duty the remembrance of her country. 9 In the nuptials of her sister Anne, every prejudice was lost, and every consideration of dignity was superseded, by the stronger argument of necessity and fear. A pagan of the north, Wolodomir, great prince of Russia, aspired to a daughter of the Roman purple; and his claim was enforced by the threats of war, the promise of conversion, and the offer of a powerful succour against a

1 Constantine was made to praise the cæsaris and the ducumines of the Franks, with whom he claimed a private and public alliance. The French ambassador, Casimir de Béauce, was delighted with these compliments.

2 Constantine Porphyrogenitus (de Administration. Imp. c. 25), exhibits a pedigree and life of the illustrious king Hugo, (expurgatorius.) The Greeks were more correct in making the canonization of Pagi, the Annals of Moraq, and the Abriviation of St. Marc, A.D. 925-926.

3 The notion of the three goddesses, Lantiprand very naturally adds, et quantum non res adhibiit subebatur, earned nation ex imperio, et res pertinet in provinciam Romanam in Augusto, etc. (Si. de Aug., c. 69.) Yet from the second century it was not easy to impede the triumph of the images. The younger Bertha, see Hist. 1. x. c. 5, for the inconvenience of the order of public exercise. Hymenaeum i. t. t. 15, for the virtues and eyes of Hugo. It was not long before the bishop of Cremona was a lover of scandal. 4 In the marriage of the princess Graca arbati et aliis fuita subest utilis, et optima, etc., in the preamble of an inimical writer, spud Pagti, tom. iv. D. 918. 5 The marriage and principal actions may be found in Muniorti, Pagti, and St. Marc, under the proper years. 6 Constantine Porphyrogenitus, de Administration. Imp. c. 25, exhibits a pedigree and life of the illustrious king Hugo, (expurgatorius.) The Greeks were more correct in making the canonization of Pagi, the Annals of Moraq, and the Abriviation of St. Marc, A.D. 925-930. 7 For a collection of the three goddesses, Lantiprand very naturally adds, et quantum non res adhibiit subebatur, earned nation ex imperio, et res pertinet in provinciam Romanam in Augusto, etc. (Si. de Aug., c. 69.) Yet from the second century it was not easy to impede the triumph of the images. The younger Bertha, see Hist. 1. x. c. 5, for the inconvenience of the order of public exercise. Hymenaeum i. t. t. 15, for the virtues and eyes of Hugo. It was not long before the bishop of Cremona was a lover of scandal. 8 Constantine Porphyrogenitus, de Administration. Imp. c. 25, exhibits a pedigree and life of the illustrious king Hugo, (expurgatorius.) The Greeks were more correct in making the canonization of Pagi, the Annals of Moraq, and the Abriviation of St. Marc, A.D. 925-930. 9 For a collection of the three goddesses, Lantiprand very naturally adds, et quantum non res adhibiit subebatur, earned nation ex imperio, et res pertinet in provinciam Romanam in Augusto, etc. (Si. de Aug., c. 69.) Yet from the second century it was not easy to impede the triumph of the images. The younger Bertha, see Hist. 1. x. c. 5, for the inconvenience of the order of public exercise. Hymenaeum i. t. t. 15, for the virtues and eyes of Hugo. It was not long before the bishop of Cremona was a lover of scandal.
domestic rebel. A victim of her religion and country, the Grecian princess was torn from the palace of her fathers, and condemned to a savage reign and a hopeless exile on the banks of the Bosphoranes, or in the neighborhood of the town of Potamianus, where she died. Theikes, a trusted servant, took care of her son, but Anne was fortunate and fruitful: the daughter of her grandson Jeroslaus was recommended by her imperial descent; and the king of France, Henry I, sought a wife on the last borders of Europe and Christendom.¹

In the Byzantine palace, the emperor was the first, the first foreman of the domestics, and the Franks. But whatever these men may assert, it is on the Greeks, the late and most potent despotism of Christendom and the Franks.

Despotic power.

On the 21st of November, 1175, the order of the Greeks to their immediate superiors, to obey them, or be subjected to the penalties of rebellion, was solemnly pronounced by the patriarch. The Greeks: in the wildest tumults of rebellion they never aspired to the idea of a free constitution; and the private character of the prince was the only source and measure of their public happiness. Superstition riveted their chains; in the church of St. Sophia, where they were accustomed to kneel at the foot of the altar, they pledged their passive and unconditional obedience to his government and family. On his side he engaged to abstain as much as possible from the capital punishments of death and mutilation; his orthodox creed was subscribed with his own hands, and he promised to obey the decrees of the seven synods, and the canons of the holy church.² But the assurance of mercy was loose and indefinite: he swore, not to his people, but to an invisible judge, and except in the inexpiable guilt of heresy, the ministers of heaven were always prepared to precede the tyranny with his right, and to hide the venal transgressions, of their sovereign. The Greek ecclesiastics were themselves the subjects of the civil magistrate: at the nod of a tyrant the bishops were created, or transferred, or deposed, or punished with an infraction, as a warning, or an act of revenge; or influence, they could never succeed like the Latin clergy in the establishment of an independent republic; and the patriarch of Constantinople condemned, what he secretly envied, the temporal greatness of his Roman brother. Yet the exercise of boundless despotism is confined to the path of his sacred and laborious duty. In proportion to his wisdom and virtue, the master of an empire is confined to the path of his sacred and laborious duty. In proportion to his vice and folly, he drops the sceptre too weighty for his hands; and the motions of the royal image are ruled by the imperceptible thread of some minister or favorite, who undertakes for his private interest to exercise the task of the public oppression. In some fatal moment, the most absolute monarch may dread the reason or the caprice of a nation of slaves; and experience proved, that whatever is gained in the extent, is lost in the safety and solidity, of regal power.

Whatever titles a despot may assume, the military force of whatever claims he may assert, it is on the Greeks, the late and most potent despotism of Christendom and the Franks.

The wealth of the Greeks enabled the Emperor to purchase the service of the poorer Greeks, and to maintain a naval power for the protection of their coasts and the annoyance of their enemies. A commerce of mutual benefit exchanged the gold of Constantinople for the blood of the Selavonians and Turks, the Bulgarians and Russians: their value contributed to the victories of Nicephorus and Zimisces; and if a hostile people pressed too closely on the frontier, they were more easily turned to the deserts, to the sea, and the desire of peace, by the well-managed attack of a more distant tribe.³ The command of the Mediterranean, from the mouth of the Tanais to the columns of Herculius, was always claimed, and often possessed, by the successors of Constantine. Their capital was filled with naval stores and dexterous artificers; the situation of Greece and Asia, the long coasts, deep gulfs, and numerous islands, accustomed their subjects to the exercise of navigation; and the trade of Venice and Amalith supplied a nursery of seamen to the imperial fleet.⁴ Since the empire of the Peloponnesian and Muonian wars, the sphere of action had not been extended, and the science of naval architecture appears to have declined. The art of constructing those stupendous machines which displayed three, or six, or ten, ranges of oars, rising above or falling behind, each other, was almost lost in the generation of the empire. The admiral of Constantinople, as well as to the mechanics of modern day, could say, The Dromenous, or light galleys of the Byzantine empire, were content with two tiers of oars; each tier was composed of five and twenty benches; and two rowsers were seated on each bench, who plied the oars on either side of the row. To this day, in the battle of the Greek nation, which, in time of action, stood erect with his armour-bearer on the poop, two steersmen at the helm, and two officers at the prow, the one to handle the anchor, the other to point and play against the enemy the tube of liquid fire. The whole crew, as in the airship of the infant, performed the double

¹ If we listen to the threats of Nicephorus to the ambassador of the emperor, Nicer is est in mari dominio tuo classibus numeris. Navigantium fortitudine mihi solis tue, quibus classibus et magnis maritima semper et in navibus magnis et operis remittantur orares. (Liquiprad in Lexiol. ad Nicephor. Phocam, in Muratori Script., lib. 110.)

² For another place, quibus est quos reliquos non esset. Funiculium et salutis. (Ibid.)

³ The twelve, de administrando imperio, perfectly indicate the same policy.

⁴ The numerous accounts of the Battles of the Greeks, Olimnius, Opera, (v. p. 232-356) which is given more correct from a manuscript of Odeas, by the laborious Fabricius, (Bibl. Graec. tom. vi. p. 327-335) relating to the collection many years ago, is not described in the text of the book.

⁵ Even of fifteen or sixteen rows of oars, in the navy of Demetrius Nicator, and Ptolomeis.

⁶ The Decomes, and, as are so clearly described with two tiers of oars, that I must not repeat the names, Magnus and Ptolemy, who perform the scene by a blind attachment to the classic appellations of Tyrannus. The Byzantine historians are sometimes guilty of the same inaccuracy.
service of mariners and soldiers; they were provided with defensive and offensive arms, with bows and arrows, for use from the long pikes, which they pushed through the port-holes of the lower tier. Sometimes indeed the ships of war were of a larger and more solid construction; and the labours of combat and navigation were more regularly divided between the crews of warriors and two hundred and thirty men. But for the least part they were of the light and manageable size; and as the cape of Malea in Peloponnesus was still clothed with its ancient terrors, an imperial fleet was transported five miles over land across the isthmus of Corinth. 2 The principles of marine tactics were unaltered since the time of Themistocles: a squadron of galleys still advanced in a crescent, charged to the front, and strove to impel their sharp beaks against the feebler sides of their antagonists. A machine for casting stones and darts was built of strong timbers in the midst of the deck; and the operation of hoarding was effected by a crane that hoisted barrels of armed men. The language of signals, so clear and copious in the naval grammar of the moderns, was imperfectlyexpressed by the various positions and colours of a common method of the darkness; by the dark signals or orders to chase, to halt, to retreat, to break, to form, were conveyed by the lights of the leading galleys. By land, the fire-signals were repeated from one mountain to another; a chain of eight stations communicated the news by day, and seventy-five vessels of the Paphian style, was equipped in the capital, the islands of the Egean sea, and the sea-ports of Asia, Macedonia, and Greece. It carried thirty-four thousand mariners, seven thousand three hundred and forty soldiers, seven hundred Russians, and five thousand and eighty-seven Mardantes, whose fathers had been transplanted from the mountains of Libanus. Their pay, most probably of a month, was computed at thirty-four centenaries of gold, about one hundred and thirty-six thousand pounds sterling. Our fancy is heightened by the endless recitation of arms and engines, of clothes and linen, of bread for the men and forage for the horses, and of stores and utensils of every description, inadequate to the conquest of a petty island, but ample sufficient for the establishment of a flourishing naval station.

The invention of the Greek fire did not remain the property of the Athenians. The Persians, it is true, made use of it; but it is probable that the Romans also knew it; for they were skilled in the use of fire, and employed it in sieges and sea-duels with terrible effect. But they were either less improved, or less susceptible of improvements; the engines of antiquity, the catapult, balista, and battering-rams, were still of most frequent and powerful use in the attack and defence of fortifications; nor was the decision of battles reduced to the quick and heavy fire of a line of infantry, whom they could never meet with advantage, and under the shelter of a similar fire of their enemies. Steel and iron were still the common instruments of destruction and safety; and the helmets, cuirasses, and shields, of the tenth century did not, either in form or substance, essentially differ from those which had preceded the companions of Alexander or Achilles. 3 But instead of accustoming the modern Greeks, like the legionaries of old, to the constant and easy use of this salutary weight, their armour was laid aside in light chariots, which followed the march, till, on the approach of an enemy, they resumed the load. The armature of the horse, the breastplate and cap, was the same as in the ancients, but a cumbrous. Their offensive weapons consisted of swords, battle-axes, and spears; but the Macedonian pike was shortened a fourth of its length, and reduced to the more convenient measure of twelve cubits or feet. The sharpness of the Sceytian and Arabian arrows had been severely felt; and the emperors lamented the decay of archery as a cause of the public misfortunes; and recommend, as an advice, and a command, that the military youth, till the age of forty, should assiduously practise the exercise of the bow. 4 The order of battle, of course, was the same as in the ancient Greek style, and, as a medium between the extremes of four and sixteen, the foot-soldiers of Leo and Constantine were formed eight deep; but the cavalry charged in four ranks, from the reasonable consideration, that the weight of the front could not be increased by the presence of the hindmost horses. If the ranks of the infantry or cavalry were sometimes doubled, this cautious array betrayed a secret distrust of the courage of the troops, whose numbers might swell the appearance of the line, but of whom only a chosen band would dare approach the enemy. The javelin and sword were still the national arms. The order of battle must have varied according to the ground, the object, and the adversary; but their ordinary disposition, in two lines and a reserve, presented a succession of hopes and resources most agreeable to the temper as well as the judgment of the Greeks. In case of a repulse, the first line fell back into the intervals of the second; and the reserve, breaking into two divisions, wheeled round the flanks to improve the victory or cover the retreat. Whatever authority could enact was accomplished, at least in theory, by the camp and marches, the ceremonies and the national, the edicts and books, of the Byzantine monarch. 5 Whatever art could produce from the forge, the loom, or the laboratory, was abundantly supplied by the riches of the prince, and the industry of his numerous workmen. But no formality nor art could compensate for the important machine, the soldier himself; and if the ceremonies of Constantine always suppose the safe and triumphal return of the emperor, 6 his tactes seldom soar above the means of escaping a defeat, and pros-
CHAP. XIV.

OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

author of the tactics was besieged in his capital; and
the last of the barbarians, who trembled at the name of the
Saracens, or Franks, could proudly exhibit the
martial ensigns under which they had extorted
from the feeble sovereign of Constantinople. What
spirit their government and character denied, might
have been inspired in some degree by the influence of
religion; but the religion of the Greeks could only
teach them to suffer and to yield. The emperor Ne-
cephorus, who so long after which they had extorted
and glory of the Roman name, was desirous of bestowing
the honours of martyrdom on the Christians who lost
their lives in a holy war against the infidels. But this
political law was defeated by the opposition of the
patriarchs, the bishops, and the principal senators; and
they strenuously urged the causes of St. Basil, that all
who were polluted by the bloody trade of a soldier
should be separated, during three years, from the
commendation of the faithful.

Character and
These samples of the Greeks have
tactics of the
been compared with the tears of the primitive
Saracens.
Moisheus when they were held back
from battle; and this contrast of base superstition and
high-spirited enthusiasm, unfolds to a philosophic eye
the history of the rival nations. The subjects of the last caliphs 3 had undoubtedly degenerated from the
real and faith of the constitution of the empire, and a
new system of discipline and government represented the Deity as the author of war: 4 the vital though latent spark of fanatic
is now struggled in the heart of their religion, and
among the Saracens who dwelt on the christian bor-
ders, it was frequently rekindled to a lively and active
flame. Their regular force was formed of the valiant
slaves who had been educated to guard the person and
accompany the standard of their lord; but the musul-
man people of Syria and Cilicia, of Africa and Spain,
 were awakened by the trumpet which proclaimed a
holy war against the infidels. The rich were ambitious
of having some share in the fate of their country;
their wealth had been the reward of their labour;
they were allured by the hopes of plunder; and the old,
the infirm, and the women, assumed their share of merito-
rious service by sending their substitutes, with arms
and horses, into the field. These offensive and defen-
sive arms were similar in strength and temperament to those
of the Saracens; the war horse was trained to the
management of the horse and the bow; the massy silver
of their belts, their bridles, and their swords, displayed
the magnificence of a prosperous nation, and except
some black archers of the south, the Arabs disdainful
the naked bravery of their ancestors. Instead of wag-
goons, they were attended by a long train of domestic
animals, mules, and asses; the multitude of these animals,
whom they bedecked with flags and streamers, ap-
peared to swell the pomp and magnitude of their host;
and the horses of the enemy were often disordered by the
smooth face and odious smell of the camels of the east.
Inevitable by their patience of thirst and
heat, their spirits were frozen by a winter's cold, and
the consciousness of their propensity to sleep exacted
the most rigorous precautions against the surprises of
the night. Their order of battle was a long square of two
decuries, while advanced, the lower part of the
men under the protection of God, the more were
encumbered by a long train of camels. In their
engagements by sea and land, they sustained with patient firmness the fury of the attack,
and seldom advanced to the charge till they could discern
and oppress the lassitude of their foes. But if they
were reproached and broken, they knew not how to rally
or renew the combat; and their dismay was height-
tened by the superstitious prejudice, that God had
declared himself on the side of their enemies. The
decline and fall of the caliphs was but a natural opinion; not mere wanting, among the Ma-
ometans and christians, some obscure prophecies
which prognosticated their alternate defeats. The
unity of the Arabian empire was dissolved, but the
independent fragments were equal to populations and
powerful kingdoms; and in their naval and military
formations, an emir of Aleppo or Tunis might command
without speculating of skill and industry and treasure.
In their transactions of peace and war with the Sarac-
ens, the princes of Constantinople too often felt that
these barbarians had nothing barbarous in their disci-
pline; and that in opposition to the Greeks, they
were endowed with a quick spirit of curiosity and imitation.
The model was indeed more perfect than the copy; their ships, and engines, and
fortifications, were of a less skilful construction; and
they confessed, without shame, that the same God who
had given a tongue to the Arabs, had more nicely
fashioned the hands of the Chinese, and the heads of
the Greeks.

A name of some German tribes be-
The Franks or
tween the Rhine and the Weser had
Latins.
spread its victorious influence over the greatest part
of Gaul, Germany, and Italy; and the elevation of Franks 7 was applied by the Greeks and
Arabians to the christians of the Latin church, the
nations of the west, who stretched beyond their knowl-
dedge to the shores of the Atlantic ocean. The vast
body had been inspired and united by the soul of
Charlemagne; but the division and degeneracy of his
tace soon annihilated the imperial power, which would
have rivalled the Caesars of Byzantium, and regained
the indignities of the christian name. The enemies
no longer feared, nor could the subjects any longer
trust, the application of a public revenue, the labours
of trade and manufactures in the military service, the
mutual aid of provinces and armies, and the naval
squadrons which were regularly stationed from the
mouth of the Elbe to that of the Tiber. In the begin-
ing of the tenth century, the family of Charlemagne
had almost disappeared; his monarchy was broken
into many hostile and independent states; the royal
title was assumed by the most ambitious chiefs; their
revolt was imitated in a long subordination of anarchy
and discord; and the nobles of every province dis-
obeyed their sovereign, oppressed their vassals, and exer-
enced perpetual hostilities against their equals and
privilege was reduced to a state of equality. The fabric
of government, fomented the martial spirit of the
nation. In the system of modern Europe, the
power of the sword is possessed, at least in fact, by
five or six mighty potentates; their operations are con-
ducted on a distant frontier, by an order of men who
devote their lives to the study and practice of the milit-
ary art; the rest of the country and community en-
joys in the midst of war the tranquillity of peace, and
is only made sensible of the change by the aggrega-
tion or decrease of the public taxes. In the disorders
of the tenth and eleventh centuries a prince was a
soldier, and every village a fortification: each wood or
valley was a scene of murder and rapine; and the
lords of each castle were compelled to assume the
character of princes and warriors. To their own cou-

3 Zonaras (tom. ii. i. xvi. p. 292, 253) and Cedrenus, (Compend. p. 639) who write from different points of view, apply the epithet of apostate to the opposition of the patriarch.
4 The eighteenth chapter of the tactics of the different nations
of the west and east is collected by the Lihure. The manners and arms of the Saracens (Tactic, p. 829-417, and a fra-
quent comparison of their discipline with that of the Romans) the Roman emperor was too frequently called upon to
study.
5 Homer's "Iliad" and "Odyssey," the Tacticus Romanus, and Tacitus, p. 92.
6 Liutpold (p. 854, 858) relates and interprets the oracles of the
Greeks and Saracens, in which, after the fashion of prophecy, the
past is clear and bright, but the future is obscure and me-
ning. From this boundary of light and shade an impartial critic
may commonly discern the base of each age.
7 The sense of this description is explained by Ablapharanus,
(Biyatyan. p. 314, 321) but I cannot read from the passage in which it is conveyed by this author the apatih of the
name. Ex Franks, una nomine iam Latinos quot Tentorie compreh
mensurantur. (Biyatyan. p. 853, 854, 851) This extension of the name may be continued from Con-
stantin (de administrandis imperiis, i. 8, 27, 28.) and Erysichus,
(Acalli. tomo. i. p. 35, 55.) who both lived before the Crusades. The
terminals of Ablapharanus (i.e. p. 850 and Abdolfard (Tractat,
and Geograph) are more recent.
rage and policy, they boldly trusted for the safety of their family, the protection of their lands, and the re-
venge of their injuries. But the Huns, like the ancient heroes that wielded pens, and that
preferred inevitable death to the dishonour of turning their backs to an enemy. 2 It was the glory of the
nobles of France, that, in their humble dwellings, war and rapine were the only pleasure, the sole
occupation, of their lives. They affected to deride the
palaces, and, to the music of Romans, and
their national sovereign might fix his occasional or
permanent residence in any province of their com-
mon country. In the division of the cast and west,
that unique ideal was scrupulously preserved, and in
the right of conquerors, the sovereigns of the
eastern monarchies, the majesty of the purple resided
in safety from dispute. Amd and personages of the
Lom-

bards opposed his settlement in Italy: he entered
N. prostit 

Rome, not as a conqueror, but as a fugitive, and, after
a visit of twelve days, he pillaged, and for ever de-
serted, the ancient capital of the world. 4 The final
repolit and separation of Italy was accomplished about
two centuries after the conquest of Justinian, and
from his reign we may date the gradual oblivion of
the Latin tongue. That legislator had composed his
Institutes, his Code, and his Pandects, in a language
which he celebrates as the proper and public style of
the Roman government, the crucible of the thought of
the palace and of Constantineople, of the courts and
tribunals of the cast. 5 But this foreign dialect was

1 In Secunda carissimo... desiderius et bellicos pugnare quam

calumnia, et prius mortuem obire quam hostibus terrae
care. (Laurentius, p. 442)

2 Flavius Erotus sibi daturae pretiosi armis, O falsi Potum volub acuta cordis;

3 Bacilli et stomachum nitidum lacte aquinis

F. E I n E u n u s r u b o s m u i t o f u l s i c c e m e t a l i s .

Non eadem Gallia similis vel cura, rememorat;

Victimam eis spectat denique toro,

Depressuque larenus splinis hic inde coactis

Pectora.

4 Antica Carmen Panegyricum de Liberebius Berengari Augusti, I. c.

5 In Muro Script. Reorum Italic, tom. ii. pars i, p. 453.

6 Justinian, sive historiarum Agathodromion lib. iv. cap. 3.

7 Yet the specific title of emperor of the Romans has not been claimed by the French and German emperors of old Rome.

8 Litt. Constitutiones Manuarii reproduce this design in his barbarous verse:

9 The subject of ecclesiastical and beneficent discipline, Father

Thomasin (tom. iii. l. 40. 43—47) may be useful consulted.

A general law of Charlemagne exempted the bishops from personal ser-

vice: but the opposite practice, which prevailed from the ninth
to the fifteenth century, is considered by the example or silence of
data, as Justinian, by his Justicia. In the
canons, saysRuthenus of Verona; the canons likewise forbade you to

9 In the eighteenth chapter of his Tacite, the emperor Leo has
clearly stated the military virtues and virtues of the Franks (whom

Merovian barbarously translated by Gloff) and the Lombards or

Longobards. See likewise the twenty-fourth Dissertation of Murata


10 Domini tui militis (satis the good Nicophoros) equidam ignari

pedagogus pagana sum tunc: acustorum magnitudine, heresim gravi-

tudinem, religiosum atque saecularem potestatem, ac sarmata parte petit.

Eos simili, ac subridens, impedit, impet, et eva exstirpans hac est

versus Ingelis, A. C. Linopin in log. p. 409, 141.
unknown to the people and soldiers of the Asiatic provinces, it was immediately understood by the greater part of the interpreters of the laws and the ministers of the state. After a short conflict, nature and habit prevailed over the obsolete institutions of human power: for the general benefit of his subjects, Justinian promulgated his Novels in the two languages: they were afterwards enlarged and translated, and successively translated: the original was forgotten, the version was studied, and the Greek, whose intrinsic merit deserved indeed the preference, obtained a legal, as well as a popular, establishment in the Byzantine monarchy. The birth and residence of succeeding emperors was esteemed a source of strength to the language and dominion of Rome. They insinuated the names of the east who had renounced the dress and idiom of Romans; and their reasonable practice will justify the frequent appellation of Greeks. But this contemptuous appellation was indignantly rejected by the Greeks when it was applied. Whatever changes had been introduced by the lapse of ages, they alleged a lineal and unbroken succession from Augustus and Constantine; and in the lowest period of degeneracy and decay, the name of Roman was reserved by the last fragments of the empire of Constantine. 

Period of ignorance.

While the government of the east was transacted in Latin, the Greek was the language of literature and philosophy; nor could the masters of this rich and perfect idiom be tempted to envy the borrowed learning and imitated taste of their Roman disciples. After the fall of paganism, the loss of Syria and Egypt, and the extinction of the schools of Alexandria and Athens, the studies of the Greeks insensibly retired to some regular monasteries, and above all, to the royal college of Constantinople, which was burnt in the reign of Leo the Isaurian. 

In the pompous style of the age, the president of that foundation was named the Sun of Science: his twelve associates, the professors in the different arts and faculties, were the twelve signs of the zodiac; a library of thirty-six thousand five hundred volumes was open to their inquiries; and they could show an ancient manuscript. Homer, on a parchment roll, one hundred and twenty feet in length, the length of which was measured, as it was fabled, of a prodigious serpent. But the seventh and eighth centuries were a period of discord and darkness; the library was burnt, the college was abolished, the Iconoclasts are represented as the foes of antiquity; and a savage ignorance and contempt of letters has disgraced the princes of the Heraclian and Isaurian dynasties.

In the ninth century we trace the first revival of Greek dawns of the restoration of science.

After the fanaticism of the Arabs had subsided, the caliphs aspired to conquer the arts, rather than the provinci the empire; their liberal curiosity rekindled the emulation of the Greeks, brushed away the dust from their ancient libraries, and taught them to know and reward the philosophers, whose labours had been hitherto repaid by the pleasure of study and the pursuit of truth. The third, and perhaps the most illustrious of Michael the third, was the generous protector of letters, a title which alone has preserved his memory and excused his ambition. A particle of the treasures of his nephew was sometimes diverted from the indulgence of vice and folly; a school was opened in the palace of Magnaura; and the presence of Bardas I.-II. the in the library and the students of the masters and students. At their head was the philosopher Leo, archbishop of Thessalonica; his profound skill in astronomy and the mathematics was admired by the strangers of the east; and this occult science was magnified by vulgar credulity, which falsely supposes that all knowledge superior to its own must be the effect of inspiration or magic. At the pressing entreaty of the Cesar, his friend the celebrated Photius, renounced the freedom of a secular and studious life, ascended the patriarchal throne, and was alternately excommunicated and absolved by the successors of the east, and the west. By the confession even of priestly hatred, no art or science, except poetry, was foreign to this universal scholar, who was deep in thought, indigatiable in reading, and eloquent in discussion. Whilst he exercised the office of protospathaire, or captain of the guards, Photius was least accursed the caliph's chamber. The long protracted hours of exile, perhaps of confinement, were requited by the hasty composition of his Library, a living monument of erudition and criticism. Two hundred and four score writers, historians, orators, philosophers, theologians, are reviewed without any regular method; he abbreviates their narrative or doctrine, attributes their style and character, and judges even the fathers of the church with a discreet freedom, which often breaks through the superstition of the times.

The last of the Middle Ages.

The last of the Middle Ages, 873. After relating the absurd charge against the emperor, Spanheim, (Hist. Imaginum, p. 93—111) like a true adiuvator of the Cesar, proceeds to describe the contents of the library. 

According to Malchus, (Apud Zonar, l. iv. p. 53) this Homer was burnt in the time of Basiliscus. The MS. might be renewed—But on a serpent's skin! Most strange and incredible.

The library of Zonaras, the emperor Michael the Isaurian, of Cedrenus, are strong words, perhaps not ill suited to those reigns.

See Zonaras p. 94, et alii. (Hist. Imaginum, p. 59, 590.) Like Frilar Bacon, the philosopher Leo has been transformed by ignorance into a conjurer: yet not so unobservedly, if the be the author of the oracles more commonly ascribed to the emperor of this name.

The physics of Leo in MS. are in the library of Vienna. (Zonaras p. 94 et alii. (Hist. Imaginum, p. 59, 590.) 

The ecological and literary character of Photius is curiously discussed by Hensen: (De Scriptoribus Byzant. p. 820—826) and Fabricius.

Q. E. D. 

Apologies can only mean Baghdad, the seat of the caliph; and the relation of his embassy might have been without purpose. But how did he procure his books? A library so numerous could not have been supplied, neither be found at Alexandria, nor approved, or preserved in his memory. Yet the last, howver incredible, seems to be affirmed by Photius himself, (Hist. Imaginum, p. 100—101.) Cannos (Hist. Critique des Journaux, p. 87—94) gives a good account of the Mikrolithion.
The emperor Basil, who lamented the defects of his own education, instructed to the care of Photus his son and successor Leo the philosopher; and the reign of that prince and of his son Constantine Porphyrogenitus forms one of the most prosperous.erae of the Byzantine literature. By their munificence the treasures of antiquity were deposited in the imperial library; by their pen, or those of their associates, they were imparted in such extracts and abridgments as might amuse the curiosity, without oppressing the indolence, of the public. Besides the Basiles, or code of laws, the arts of husbandry and war, of feeding or destroying the natural species, were propagated with equal diligence; and the history of Greece and Rome was digested into fifty-three heads or titles, of which two only (of embassies, and of virtues and vices) have escaped the injuries of time. In every station, the reader might contemplate the image of the past world, apply the lesson or warning of each page, and learn to admire, perhaps to imitate, the examples of a brighter period. I shall not expatiate on the works of the Byzantine Greeks, who, by the assiduous study of the ancients, have deserved, in some measure, the remembrance and gratitude of the moderns. The scholars of the present age may still enjoy the benefit of the philosophical common-place book of Stobaeus, the grammatical and historical lexicon of Suidas, the Chilias of Tzetzes, which comprise six hundred narratives in twelve thousand verses, and the commentaries on Herodotus, archbishop of Thessalonica, who, from his horn of plenty, has poured the names and authorities of four hundred writers. From these originals, and from the numer.ous tribe of scholiasts and critics, some estimate may be formed of the literary wealth of the twelfth century: Constantine was enlightenment of Aristotle and Plato; and in the enjoyment or neglect of our present riches, we must envy the generation that could still peruse the history of Theopompos, the orations of Hyperides, the comedies of Menander, and the odes of Alcaeus and Sappho. The frequent labour of illustration attests not only the existence, but the popularity, of the Grecian classics: the general knowledge of the age may be deduced from the example of two learned females, the empress Eudocia, and the princess Anna Comnena, who cultivated, in the purest manner possible, the arts and sciences. The vulgar dialect of the city was gross and barbarous: a more correct and elaborate style distinguished the discourse, or at least the compositions, of the church and palace, which sometimes affected to copy the purity of the Attic. 

Theatres of taste and genius. In our modern education, the painful though necessary attainment of two languages, which are no longer living, may consume the time and damp the ardour of the youthful student. The poets and orators were long imprisoned in the barbarous dialects of our western ancestors, devoid of harmony or grace; and their genius, without precept or example, was abandoned to idle and empty powers of their judgment and fancy. But the Greeks of Constantinople, after purging away the impurities of their vulgar speech, acquired the free use of their ancient language, the most happy composition of human art, and a familiar knowledge of the sublime masters who had pleased or instructed the first of nations. Of these advantages only tend to aggravate the reproach and shame of a degenerate people. They held in their lifeless hands the riches of their fathers, without inheriting the spirit which had created and improved them. It is probable that some new and just improvements were compiled, but their languid souls seemed alike incapable of thought and action. In the revolution of ten centuries, not a single discovery was made to exalt the dignity or promote the happiness of mankind. Not a single idea has been added to the speculative systems of antiquity, and a succession of patient scholars became in their turn the dogmatic teachers of the next servile generation. Not a single composition, of history, philosophy, or literature has been saved from oblivion by the intrinsic beauties of style or sentiment, of original fancy, or even of successful imitation. In proportion as the Byzantine knowledge was absorbed from censure by their naked and unassuming simplicity; but the orators, most eloquent in their own concert, are the farthest removed from the models whom they affect to emulate. In every page our taste is taught to despise the pages of mythology and obsolete words, a still and intricate phraseology, the discord of images, the childish play of false or unseasonable ornament, and the painful attempt to elevate themselves, to astonish the reader, and to involve a trivial meaning in the smoke of obscurity and exaggeration. Their prose is soaring to the vicious affectation of poetry; their poetry is sinking below the flatness and insipidity of prose. The tragic, epic, and lyrical muses were silent and inglorious: the bard of Constantine seldom rose above a riddle or epigram, a panegyric or tale; they forgot even the rules of prosody; and with the melody of Homer yet sounding in their ears, they confound all measure of feet and syllables in the impotent strains which have received the name of political or city verses. The minds of the Greeks were bound in the fetters of a base and improper education, which is repeated only on a larger scale, but in a loosuer form, by the nations of modern Europe: the union of language, religion, and manners, which renders them the spectators and judges of each other's merit; the independence of government and interest which assists their separate freedom, and excites them 

8 Of these modern Greeks, see the respective articles in the Bibliotheca Hagiographica, a laborious work, a better method and many improvements: of Eustathius, (tom. i. p. 297—298, 306—325.) of the Psalti, (a diocese of Leo Alattus, ad cath. Constantinopolis, in the Constantine Porphyrogenitus, of sarcophagi, p. 568—569.) of John S.stubas, (tom. viii. p. 405—725.) of Suidas, (tom. ix. p. 637—807.) John Tzetzes, (tom. xii. p. 348—724.) W.harris, (in his Philological Arrangements, op. posth., has given a sketch of this Byzantinelexicon, p. 297—308.) From Ancient and modern evidence, Gerard Vossius (de Poeta Graeca, c. 6.) and Le Clerc (Bibliotheque Choiss, tom. xix. p. 355.) mention a commentary of Michael Psallus on twenty-four plays of Menander, still extant in W. at Constantinople. Yet such classic scholarship was not attended with the finish of a scholar, who pored over the categories, de Psalli, p. 42.) and Michael has probably been confounded with Honorius Scolius, who wrote an account of the grammatical learning of the church. dr. John. A. D. 255. He quotes fifty plays, but he often transcribes the old scholiasts of Aristo- phanes. 

9 Anna Comnena must boast of her Greek style, (" Τσίναραبرنامجάλ ουκ ἔχει ἀλήθεια, nor Zemara, her comments on the latter,) or with truth, πραγμάτων ἐν τῇ ἤπειρα ἔργῳ, her. The princess was conversant with the artful dialogues of Plato; and has left us a collection of quatrains in verse, containing a profusion of grace, wit, and allusion, thrice as much as eulogies, arithmetic, and music. (See her preface to the Alexiad, with Dc- canes's note.)
to strive for pre-eminence in the career of glory. The situation of the Romans was less favourable; yet in the early ages of the republic, which fixed the national character, a similar emulation was kindled among the states of Latium and Italy; and, in the arts and sciences, they aspired to equal or surpass their Greek masters. The empire of the Caesars undoubtedly checked the activity and progress of the human mind; its magnitude might indeed allow some scope for domestic competition; but when it was gradually reduced, at first to the east and at last to Greece and Constantinople, the Byzantine subjects were degraded to an abject and languid temper, the natural effect of their solitary and insular position. They were oppressed by nameless tribes of barbarians, to whom they sternly impeded the appellation of men. The language and religion of the more polished Arabs were an insurmountable bar to all social intercourse. The conquerors of Europe were their brethren in the Christian faith; but the speech of the Franks or Latins was unknown, their manners were rude, and they were rarely connected, in peace or war, with the successors of Heraclius. Alone in the universe, the self-satisfied pride of the Greeks was not disturbed by the comparison of foreign merit; and it is no wonder if they fainted in the race, since they had neither competitors to press their speed, nor judges to crown their victory. The nations of Europe and Asia were mingled by the expeditions to the Holy Land; and it is under the Constantinian dynasty that a faint emulation of knowledge and military virtue was rekindled in the Byzantine empire.

CHAPTER XV.

Origin and doctrine of the Paulicians.—Their persecution by the Greek emperors.—Revolts in Armenia, &c.—Transplantation into Thrace.—Propagation in the west.—The seeds, character, and consequences of the reformation.

Sapine super.

In the profession of Christianity, the sion of the variety of national characters may be clearly distinguished. The natives of Syria and Egypt abandoned their licentious and contemplative devotion: Rome again aspired to the dominion of the world; and the wisest and most eloquent Greeks was consumed in the disputes of metaphysical theology. The incomprehensible mysteries of the Trinity and Incarnation, instead of conciliating the sects of Christendom, were the subject of innumerable and subtle controversies, which enlarged their faith at the expense, perhaps, of their charity and reason. From the council of Nice to the end of the seventh century, the peace and unity of the church was invaded by these spiritual wars; and so deeply did they affect the decline and full of the empire, that the historian has too often been compelled to attend the synods, to explore the creeds, and to enumerate the sects, of this busy period of ecclesiastical annals. From the beginning of the eighth century to the last ages of the empire, the sound of controversy was seldom heard: curiosity was extinct, zeal was fatigued, and, in the decrees of six councils, the articles of the catholic faith had been irrevocably defined. The spirit of dispute, however vain and pernicious, requires some energy to maintain its tone. History has recorded the errors of the faith, and the proselytes Greeks were content to fast, to pray, and to believe, in blind obedience to the patriarch and his clergy. During a long dream of superstition, the Virgin and the Saints, their visions and miracles, their relics and images, were preached by the monks and worshipped by the people; and the appellation of people might be extended, without injustice, to the first ranks of civil society. At an unseasonable moment, the Isaurian emperors attempted somewhat rudely to awaken their subjects; under their influence, reason might obtain some prophets, a far greater number by the legate, but the eastern world embraced or deplored their visible deities, and the restoration of images was celebrated as the feast of orthodoxy. In this passive and unanimous state the ecclesiastical rulers were relieved from the toil, or deprived of the pleasure, of persecuting heretics. The people, by the criticism of the divines, were silent and obscure; the disputes with the Latins were rare and remote hostilities against a national enemy; and the sects of Egypt and Syria enjoyed a free toleration under the shadow of the Arabian caliphs. About the middle of the seventh century, a branch of Manichæans was selected as the victims of spiritual tyranny: they lost their patrician birth, were expelled by the desire of obtaining the title of sovereign, and their exile has scattered over the west the seeds of reformation. These important events will justify some inquiry into the doctrine and story of the Paulicians; a, and, as they cannot plead for themselves, our candid criticism will magnify the good, and perhaps or suspect the evil, that is reported by their adversaries.

The Gnostics, who had distracted the infancy, were oppressed by the greatness and authority, of the church. Instead of emulating or contesting the wealth, learning, and numbers, of the catholics, their obscure remnant was driven from the capitals of the east and west, and confined to the villages and mountains along the borders of the Empirates. Some vestige of the Manichæans may be detected in the fifth century; but the numerous sects were finally lost in the odious name of the Manicheans; and these heretics, who presumed to reconcile the doctrines of Zoroaster and Christ, were pursued by the two religions with equal and unremitting hatred. Under the grand son of Heraclius, in the neighbourhood of Samosata, a more famous sect, the Great of Lucerne, which in the semblance of a Syrian kingdom, a reformer arose, esteemed by the Paulicians as the chosen messenger of truth. In his humble dwelling of Manannal, Constantine entertained a deacon, who returned from Sympatry, and received the inestimable gift of the New Testament, which was already concealed from the vulgar by the prudence of the Greek, and perhaps of the Gnostic clergy. These books became the measure of his studies and the rule of his faith; and the catholics, who dispute his interpretation, acknowledge that his text was genuine and sincere. But he attached himself with peculiar aversion to the writings and character of St. Paul: the name of the Paulicians is derived by their enemies from some unknown and domestic teacher; but I am confident that they gloried in their affinity to the apostle of the gentiles. His disciples, Titus, Timothy, Sylvanus, Trophimus, were represented by Con stantine and his fellow-labourers: the names of the apostolic churches were applied to the congregations which they assembled in Armenia and Cappadocia; and this innocent allegory revived the example and memory of the first ages. In the gospel, and the epistles of St. Paul, his faithful follower investigated the creed of primitive christianity; and, whatever might be the success, a pontifical reader will applaud the spirit, of the inquiry. But if...
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THE DECLINE AND FALL

the scriptures of the Paulicians were pure, they were
not perfect. Their founders rejected the two epistles
of St. Peter/ the apostle of the circumcision, whose
dispute with their favourite for the ohservance of the
law could not easily be forgiven. e They agreed with
their Gnostic brethren in the universal contempt for
the Old Testament, the hooks of Moses and the prophets, which have been consecrated by the decrees of the
With equal boldness, and doubtless
catholic church.
with more reason, Constantine, the new Sylvanus,
disclaimed their visions, which, in so many bulky and
splendid volumes, had been published by the oriental
sects ; ' the fabulous productions of the Hebrew patriarchs and the sages of the east ; the spurious gospels,
epistles, and acts, which in the first age had overwhelmed the orthodox code ; the theology of Manes,
and the authors of the kindred heresies ; and the thirty
generations, or sons, which had been created by the
fruitful fancy of Valentine.
The Paulicians sincerely
condemned the memory and opinions of the Manichaean
sect, and complained of the injustice which impressed
that invidious name on the simple votaries of St. Paul
and of Christ.
Of the ecclesiastical chain, many links
The simplicity of
their belief and had been broken by the Paulician reforworship.
mers ; and their liberty was enlarged as
they reduced the number of masters, at whose voice
profane reason must bow to mystery and miracle. The
early separation of the Gnoslics had preceded the establishment of the catholic worship ; and against the
gradual innovations of discipline and doctrine, they!
were as strongly guarded by habit and aversion, as by
The obthe silence of St. Paul and the evangelists.
jects which had been transformed by the magic of
superstition, appeared to the eyes of the Paulicians in

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genuine and naked colours. An image made
without hands, was the common workmanship of a]
mortal artist, to whose skill alone the w ood and canvass must be indebted for their merit or value.
The
miraculous relics were aheap of bones and ashes, des-j
titute of life or virtue, or of any relation, perhaps, w ith
the person to w hom they were ascribed.
The true and
Vivifying cross was a piece of sound or rotten timber;
the body and blood of Christ, a loaf of bread and a cup
of wine, the gifts of nature and the symbols of grace.
The mother of God was degraded from her celestial
honours and immaculate virginity ; and the saints and
angels were no longer solicited to exercise the laborious office of mediation in heaven, and ministry upon
their

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earth.

In the practice, or at least in the theory, of the

Chap. XV.

the orthodox mystery of the Trinity : but instead of
confessing the human nature and substantial sufferings
of Christ, they amused their fancy with a celestial body
that passed through the virgin like water through a
pipe w ith a fantastic crucifixion, that eluded the vain
and impotent malice of the Jews. A creed thus simple
and spiritual was not adapted to the geTlie
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nius of the times ;5 and the rational chris- two principles of
tian, who might have been contented w ith the Magians and
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the light yoke and easy burthen of Jesus
and his apostles, was justly offended, that the Paulicians should dare to violate the unity of God, the first
article of natural and revealed religion.
Their belief
and their trust was in the Father, of Christ, of the
human soul, and of the invisible world. But they likewise held the eternity of matter ; a stubborn and
rebellious substance, the origin of a second principle,
of an active being, who has created this visible world,
and exercises his temporal reitrn till the final consummation of death and sin. h The appearances of moral
and physical evil had established the two principles
in the ancient philosophy and religion of the east;
from whence this doctrine was transfused to the various
swarms of the Gnostics. A thousand shades may be
devised in the nature and character of Ahriman, from a
rival god to a subordinate daemon, from passion and
frailty to pure and perfect malevolence: but, in spite
of our efforts, the goodness, and the power, ofOrmusd
are placed at the opposite extremities of the line; and
every step that approaches the one must recede in equal
proportion from the other.'
The apostolic labours of Constantine- The establish...
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c,
Sylvanus soon multiplied the number ot ment of the Pauhis disciples, the secret recompense of liciaus in Armespiritual ambition.
The remnant of the cfa Ponu,s &c
Gnostic sects, ar.d (-specially the Manicheeans of Armenia, were united under his standard; many catholics
were converted or seduced by his arguments ; and he
preached with success in the regions of Pontus k and
Cappadocia, which had long since imbibed the religion
of Zoroaster. The Paulician teachers were distinguished only by their scriptural names, by the n.odest title of
fellow-pilgrims, by the austerity of their lives, their
zeal or knowledge, and the credit of some extraordinary
gifts of the Holy Spirit.
But they were incapable of
desiring, or at least of obtaining, the wealth and honours
of the catholic prelacy: such anli-christian pride they
bitterly censured
and even the rank of elders or presbyters was condemned as an institution of the Jewish
synagogue. The new sect was loosely spread over
the provinces of Asia Minor to the w estward of the Euphrates; six of their principal congregations represented
the churches to which St. Paul had addressed his epistles ; and their founder chose his residence in the neighbourhood of Colonia, in the same district of Pontus
which had been celebrated bv the altars of Bellona m
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sacraments, the Paulicians were inclined to abolish all
visible objects of worship, and the w ords of the gospel
were, in their judgment, the baptism and communion
of the faithful.
They indulged a convenient latitude
for the interpretation of Scripture; and as often as
they were pressed by the literal sense, they could
escape to the intricate mazes of figure and allegory.
Their utmost diligence must have been employed to
g The six capital errors of the Paulicians are defined by Peter
dissolve the connexion between the Old and the New Siculus, (p. 755.) with much prejudice and pafsion.
bPfimum iltorum axioma est, duo rerum esse principia Ileum
Testament; since they adored the latter as the oracles malum el Ileum r.onum,
atiumque lnijus mundi condilorem el prinof God, and abhorred the former as the fabulous and cipem, et alium futuri sevi. (Petr. Sicul. p. 756.)
Two learned critics, Beausobrp, (Hist. Critique du IManicheisme,
ahsurd invention of men or daemons.
cannot he 1.1. iv. v. vi.) and Moaheim,
(Institut. Hist. Eccles. and de Rebus
surprised that they should have found in the gospel Cnnsuanis ante Constaniinuoi, sec ii.iii.) have laboured to explore
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d In rejecting the second epistle of St. Peter, the Fauliciaus are
justified by some of the most respectable of the ancients and moderns. (See Wetstein ad luc. Simon, Hist. Critique du Nouveau Testament, c. 17.) They likewise overlooked the Apocalypse, (Petr.
Sicul. p. 755.) but as such neglect is not imputed as a crime, the
Greeks of the ninth century must have been careless of the credit
and honour of the Revelations.
t This contention, which has not escaped the malice of Porphyry,
supposes some error and passion in one or both of the apostles. By
Chrysostom, Jerom, and Erasmus, it is represented as a sham quarrel, a pious fraud, for the benefit of the Gentiles and the correction
I Those who are curious of this heterodox
library, may consult the
305—437.) Even in Africa, St. Austin could describe the Manichaan
books, lam multi, tam grandes, tarn pretiosi codices, (contra Faust,
xiii. 14.) but he adds, without pity, Incendite omnes illas membranas: and his advice has bean rigorously fallowed.

and discriminate the various systems of the Gnostics on the subject
of tne two principles.
k The countries between the Euphrates and the Halvs were
possessed above 350 years by the Medes (Herodot. 1. i. c. 103.) and Persians; and the kinss of Pontus were of the royal race of the Achaemenides. (Sallusl. Fragment. 1. iii. with the French supplement and

notes of the President de Brasses.)
1 illost probably founded by Pompey after the conquest of
Pontus.
This Colonia, on the Lycus above Neo-C'asarea, is named bv the
Turks Coulei-hisar, cr Ciionac, a populous town in a strong country.
(D'Anville, Geographic Ancienne.tom. ii. p. 34. Tournefort, Vovage
du Lpvant, torn. iii. letlre xxf. p. 293.)
m The temple of Bellona. at Comana in Pontus, was a powerful
and wealthy foundation, and the high priest was respected as the
second person in the kingdom. As the sacerdotal office had been
occupied by his mother's family, Strabo (1. lit. p. 809. 835, 836, 837.)
dwells with peculiar complacency on the temple, the worship, and
festival, which was twice celebrated every vear.
But the Bellona
of Po3lus had iSj- features and character of the eoddtss, not of war,
but of iore.


and the miracles of Gregory.\footnote{Gregory, Bishop of Neo-Caesarea, (A. D. 295—303.) surmained Thaumaturgus, or the Wonder-worker. A hundred years afterwards, the history or romance of his life was composed by Gregory of Nyssa, bishop of Cappadocia, and Jerome, bishop of Strasburg, in a work now lost. He is called the father of monks. His labours in Egypt, and the oracles he uttered while there, were numerous, but he was so unhappy that he was forced to withdraw to the desert, and perform self-sacrificing services to God; he afterwards announced himself as the last and greatest of the living, and the necessary representative of the present age. Either a compound of some of his sayings, or an imitation which gained him the title of Syrius, forming a collection of his later discourses and sayings. Notwithstanding these difficulties, the story of the life of Gregory and his miracles long continued to be held in the same high estimation as any of the other popular legends.}\footnote{Hoc ceterum ad sua egregia faciunt, divini atque orthodoxi impertinentes addidisse, et Magnesias Montanisticus capsulat puniti venturi sacerdoti, eunomique libros, quosque in loco inventi est, familiam tradit; quod aequus teipsum quaeso accipiant reverentia, quominus humane doceri vestri nobis, iuxta eundem informi, (Petr. Sicul. p. 739.) What more could bigotry and persecution desire?} After a mission of twenty-seven years, Sylvanus, who had retired from the tolerant government of the Arabs, fell a sacrifice to Roman persecution. The laws of the Greek church of the pious emperors, which seldom compromised in any instance, took the lives of less odious heretics, proscribed the literary or Learned, the books, and the persons of the Montanists and Manichaeans: the books were delivered to the flames; and all who should presume to secrete such writings, or to profess such opinions, were devoted to an ignominious death.\footnote{It is supposed that this was the period of the first great persecution against the Christians, known by the name of the Heathen Persecution. (p. 589.)}

A Greek minister armed with legal and military power, sought to extinguish the feelings of the people, by the terror of the fire, and by the example of the apostle, to whom the book of doctrine had been united, and to reclaim, if possible, the lost sheep. By a refinement of cruelty, Simeon placed the unfortunate Sylvanus before a line of his disciples, who were commanded, as the price of their pardon and the proof of their repentance, to massacre their spiritual father. They turned aside from the impious office; the stones dropped from their filial bands, and of the whole number, only one executioner could be found, a new David, as he is styled by the catholics, who boldly overthrew the giant of heresy. This apostate, Justianus was his name, again deceived and betrayed his unsuspecting brother, and armed the guards of the holy temple, who may be found in the conversion of Simeon: like the apostle, he embraced the doctrine which he had been sent to persecute, renounced his honours and fortunes, and acquired among the Paulicians the fame of a missionary and a martyr. They were not ambitious of many converts, but in a calamitous period of nearly fifty years, their patience sustained whatever zeal could inflict; and power was insufficient to eradicate the obstinate vegetation of fanaticism and reason. From the blood and ashes of the first victims, a succession of teachers and congregations repeatedly arose: amidst the tumult of hostilities, the fires were covered with the fruits of their quarrels: they preached, they disputed, they suffered; and the virtues, the apparent virtues, of Sergusius, in a pilgrimage of thirty-three years, are reluctantly confessed by the orthodox historians. The native cruelty of Justinian the second was stimulated by a pious cause; and he vainly hoped to extinguish, in a single configuration, the name and memory of the Paulicians. By their primitive simplicity, their adherence of popular superstition, the Iconoclast princes might have been reconciled to some erroneous doctrines; but they themselves were exposed to a continual or the more violent attacks. The Paulicians, for the whole of their period, were justly accused as the accomplices, of the Manichaeans. Such a reproach has silenced the eloquence of Nicephorus, who relaxed in their favour the severity of the penal statutes, nor will he character sustain the honours of a more liberal motive. The feeble Michael the first, the rigid Leo the Armenian, were foremost in the race of persecution; but the prize must doubtless be adjudged to the sanguinary devotion of Theodore, who restored the images to the oriental church. Her insinuations explored the cities and mountains of the leasants, and the dwellers of the snow. They were accordingly confirmed, that in a short reign, one hundred thousand Paulicians were extirpated by the sword, the gibbet, or the flames. Her guilt or merit has perhaps been stretched beyond the measure of truth; but if the account be allowed, it must be presumed that many simple Iconoclasts were punished under a more odious name; and that some who were driven from the church, unwillingly took refuge in the bosom of heresy.

The most furious and desperate of revolts of the Paulicians were the sectaries of a religion long persecuted, and at length provoked. In A. D. 643—650, a holy cause they are no longer susceptible of fear or remorse the justice of their arms hardens them against the hands of their foes, and they rouse up their father's wrongs on the children of their tyrants. Such have been the Hussites of Bohemia and the Calvinists of France, and such in the ninth century, were the Paulicians of Armenia and the adjacent provinces.\footnote{They were first awakened to the massacre of a governor and bishop, who exercised the imperial mandate of converting or destroying the heretics: and the deepest recesses of mount Argus protected their independence and revenge. A more dangerous and consuming flame was kindled by the persecution of Theodore, and the revolt of Carthage, a valiant Paulician, who commanded a motley of the general of the east, and who had been impaled by the catholic inquisitors; and religion, or at least nature, might justify his desertion and revenge. Five thousand of his brethren were united by the same motives; they renounced the allegiance of antichristian Rome; a Saracen emir introduced Carthage to the calamities of the east, his father had extended his sceptre to the implacable enemy of the Greeks. In the mountains between Seb. and Trebizond he founded or fortified the city of Tephrice, which is still occupied by a fierce and licentious people, and the neighbouring hills are still defiled with the Paulician fugitives, who now reconcile the use of the Bible and the sword. During more than thirty years, Asia was afflicted by the calamities of foreign and domestic war: in their hostile inroads the disciples of St. Paul were joined with those of Mahomet; and the peaceful christians, the aged parent and tender virgin, who were delivered into barbarous servitude, might justly accuse the intolerant spirit of their sovereign. So urgent was the mischief, so intolerable the shame, that even the dissolute Michael, the son of Theodore, was compelled to march in person against the Paulicians; he was defeated before the walls of Saracens and the Romans; and fled before the heretics whom his mother had condemned to the flames. The Saracens fought under the same banners, but the victory was ascribed to Carthage; and the captives generals, with more than a hundred tribunes, were either released by his aversion, or tortured by his fanaticism. The valour and ambition of Chrysocheir, his successor, embraced a wider circle of rapine and revenge. In alliance with his faithful Moslem, he boldly penetrated into the heart of Asia; the troops of the frontier and the palace were repeatedly overran, and the cities of Persia and Armenia were shivered to the dust. The provinces were for a long time in a state of Moir.}

\footnote{Voyage en Turquie et en Perse, tom. ii.} Nica and Niconomedia, of Ancyra and Ephesus: nor could the apostle St. John protect from violence his city and sepulchre. The cathedral of Ephesus was turned into a stable for mullocks, and the Paulicians were enslaved by the Saracens in their contempt and abhorrence of images and relics. It is not unpleasant to the orientals, who are in general justly considered as the plunderers of the ensigns of heaven, and who have taken the same part in the plunder of the images of the world.\footnote{Poterius Siculus, (p. 763, 764.) the compiler of Theophrastus, (L. iv. c. 2. p. 853, 854) Cedrenus, (p. 541, 542, 545) and Zonaras, (tom. ii. xvi. p. 156.) describe the revolt and exploits of Carabas and his Paulicians.}\footnote{Cedrenus (p. 570—573) is without their passions or their knowledge.}
sing to observe the triumph of rebellion over the same despotism which has disdained the prayers of an injured people. The emperor Basil, the Macedonian, was reduced to despair, to offer his provinces to the soldiery, and to request, in the language of moderation and charity, that Chrysocheir would spare his fellow christians, and content himself with a royal donative of gol'd and silver and silk garments. "If the em-
peror," replied the insolent fanatic, "he desirous of peace, let him abandon the East, and retire to the distant mountains in the west. If he refuse, the servants of the Lord will precipitate him from the throne." The reluctant
Basil suspended the treaty, accepted the defiance, and led his army into the land of heresy, which he wasted with fire and sword. The open country of the Paul-
icians was exposed to the same calamities which they had inflicted; but when he had explored the strength of Tephrice, the multitude of the barbarians, and the ample magazines of arms and provisions, he desisted with a sigh from the hopeless siege. On his return to Con-
stantinople he laboured, by the foundation of convents and churches, to secure the aid of his celestial patrons, of Michael the archangel and the prophet Elijah; and it was his daily prayer that he might live to trans-
pire, with three arrows, the head of his impious adversary. Beyond his expectations, the wish was ac-
complished, for, in succession, Chrysocheir was surprised and slain in his retreat; and the rebel's head was triumphantly presented at the foot of the throne. On the reception of this welcome trophy, Basil instantly called for his bow, discharged three arrows with unerring aim, and accepted the applause of the court. Thus fell the shadow of the royal archer.

With Chrysocheir, the glory of the Paul-
icians faded and withered; 2 on the sec-
ond expedition of the emperor, the impregnable Tephrice was despoiled by the heretics, who sacked and plundered the city and its inhabitants; and it was his daily prayer that he might live to trans-
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Their decline.

About the middle of the eighth centu-
y the w-o-r-s-h-i-p-p-e-r-s of images, had made an expedi-
tion into Armenia, and found, in the cities of Melittene and Theodosiopolis, a great number of Paul-
icians, their kindred heretics. As a favour, or punish-
ment, for their resistance, they were transplanted them from the banks of the Araxes to Constantinople and Thrace; and by this emigration their doctrine was intro-
duced and diffused in Europe. 3 If the sectaries of the metropolis were soon mingled with the promiscuous mass, those of the country struck a deep root in a foreign soil. The Paulicians of Thrace resisted the storms of persecution, maintained a secret correspondence with their Armenian brethren, and gave aid and comfort to their preachers, who solicited, not without success, the in-
stant faith of the Bulgarians. 4 In the tenth century, they were again persecuted and multiplied by a more powerful dynasty, which John Zimisces, the biographer of the Chalylhian hills to the valleys of mount Hemus. The oriental clergy, who would have preserved the damage, im-
pairingly sought for the absence of the Man-
ichceans; the warlike emperor had felt and esteemed their value: their attachment to the Saracens was

9 Συμπληροτητική που το τεχνητά πραξίς. How ele-
gant were they in their mode of conversation.

10 Chrysocheir transported his myriads of heretics; and thus ra-
two riddles, says Cedrenus, (p. 482) who has copied the annals of the Theophanes.

11 Petrus Nicolaus, who resided nine months at Tephrice (A.D. 470) for the ransom of captives, (p. 767) was informed of their intended mission, and addressed his preservative, the Histoire Manichceen, to the archbishop of Bulgaria.

12 The colony of Paulicians and Jacobites, transplanted by John Zimisces (A.D. 570) from Armenia to Thrace, is mentioned by Zo-
arce (coniii. 1, p. 259) and Anna Comnena, (Alexiad, i. iv, p. 459, vol. xxvii. p. 397, etc. )

13 The Ateles of Anna Comnena, ii. c. 13, xi. c. 184, 155, xiv. p. 420—357, with the Annotations of Ducange, prove the existence of cutaneous skinnings of the apoptic father with the Manichceans, whose abomin-
able heresy was the subject of the harangus of religion.

14 Basil, a monk, and the author of the Rostenites, a sect of Geno-
s, who soon vanished. (Anna Comnena, Alexiad, i. iv, p. 496—494. Mochier, Hist. Ecclesiastica, p. 330.)

15 Blatt, Paris, Hist. Maxe, p. 267. This passage of our English hist-
ians affects the loss of a large body of evidence in an exhibition of the Manichcean system in the thirteenth cen-
tury. (No. 28.)

16 See Mariotti, Stato Militar dell' Imperio Ottomano, p. 24.
more adapted to confirm, than to refute, the belief of an evil principle. The visible assemblies of the Paelu- cici were extirpated with the sword; and the bleeding remnant escaped by flight, concealment, or catholic conformity. But the invincible spirit which they had kindled still lived and breathed in the western world. In the state, in the church, and even in the cloister, a latent succession was perpetually combined and preserved of the high band against the tyranny of Rome, embraced the Bible as the rule of faith, and purified their creed from all the visions of the Gnostic theology. The struggles of Wickliff in England, of Huss in Bohemia, were premature and ineffectual; but the names of Zwingli, Luther, and other reformers are pronounced with gratitude as the deliverers of nations.

A philosopher, who calculates the character and gree of their merit and the value of their consequences of reformation, will prudently ask from what articles of faith, above or against our reason, they have enfranchised the christians; for such enforcement is a doubtless a benefit so far as it may be compat- tible with truth and piety. After a fair discussion we shall rather he surprised by the timidity, than scanda- lized by the freedom of our first reformers. With the Jews, they adopted the belief and defence of all the Jewish scriptures with all their prophecies, from the garden of Eden to the most trivial and paltry events of Daniel; and they were bound, like the catholics, to justify against the Jews the abolition of a divine law. In the great mysteries of the Trinity and Incarnation the reformers were severely orthodox: they freely adopted the theology of the four, or the first six, councils; and with the Athanasian creed, they pronounced the eternal damnation of all who did not believe the catholic faith. Transubstantiation, the invisible change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, is a tenet that may delay the power of argument and plausability; but instead of consulting the evidence of their senses, of their sight, their feeling, and their taste, the first protestants were entangled in their own scriptures, and awed by the words of Jesus in the institution of the sacrament. Luther maintained a corporal, and Calvin a real, presence of Christ in the eucharist; and the opinion of Zuingius, that it is no more a spiritual communion, a simple memorial, has since prevailed in the reformed churches. But the loss of one mys- tery was amply compensated by the stupendous doc- trines of original sin, redemption, faith, grace, and predestination, which have been strained from the epistles of St. Paul. These subtle questions had most probably been necessarily brought up by the passions which existed in the reformed churches, but the final improvement and popular use may be attributed to the first reformers, who enforced them as the absolute and essential terms of salvation. Hitherto the weight of supernatural belief inclines against the Protestants; and many a sober christian would rather admit a wafer is a God, than that God is a cruel and capricious tyrant.

Yet the services of Luther and his rivals are solid and important; and the philosopher must own his obli- gations to these fearless enemies. By the hands of the lofty fabric of superstition, from the abuse of indulgences to the intercession of the Virgin, has

1092 with a previous history of the inquisition in general. They preserved a more reciprocal character in the first state even Satan, or the Holy Office, I will observe, that of a list of criminals which fills nineteen folio pages, only fifteen men and four women were delivered by the secular arm in all these cases. The Pater noster, or Pater Noster, is clearly intended to make a sign of salutation to the godhead, and the one among the original and pleasant faces, (Ducange, Gloss. Latinis, medit. et in- fmit. Rev. Enl.) The 398 reformers were likewise named Cathari, or Gnosis, by corruption, Gueux, or Guizers. Of the laws, crusade, and persecution against the Albigeois, a full account may be found in the ecclesiastical historians, ancient and modern, falling under protestants; and among these Flurey is the most impartial and moderate.

A The acts (Liber Sententiarum) of the Inquisition of Theolou (A.D. 1287-1292) have been published by Lumbach (Amsterdam, 1692), with a previous history of the inquisition in general. They preserved a more reciprocal character in the first state even Satan, or the Holy Office, I will observe, that of a list of criminals which fills nineteen folio pages, only fifteen men and four women were delivered by the secular arm in all these cases. The Pater noster, or Pater Noster, is clearly intended to make a sign of salutation to the godhead, and the one among the original and pleasant faces, (Ducange, Gloss. Latinis, medit. et in- fmit. Rev. Enl.) The 398 reformers were likewise named Cathari, or Gnosis, by corruption, Gueux, or Guizers. Of the laws, crusade, and persecution against the Albigeois, a full account may be found in the ecclesiastical historians, ancient and modern, falling under protestants; and among these Flurey is the most impartial and moderate.

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been levelled with the ground. Myriads of both sexes of the monastic profession were restored to the liberty and labours of social life. An hierarchy of saints and angels, of imperfect and subordinate deities, were stripped of their temporal power, and reduced to the enjoyment of celestial happiness: their images and relics were banished from the church; and the credulity which was no longer supported by the daily repetition of miracles and visions. The imitation of paganism was supplied by a pure and spiritual worship of prayer and thanksgiving, the most worthy of man, the least un worthy of the Deity. It only remains to observe, whether such sublime simplicity be consistent with our devotion, whether the veil of ignorance, in the absence of all visible objects, will not he inflamed by enthusiasm, or insensibly subsist in languour and indifference. II. The chain of authority was broken, which restrains the bigot from thinking as he pleases, and the slave from speaking as he thinks: the popes, fathers, and councils, were no longer the supreme and infallible judges of the world; and each christian was taught to acknowledge no law but the scriptures, no interpreter but his own conscience. This freedom, however, was the consequence, rather than the design, of the reformation. The distinct reformers were ambitious of succeeding the tyrants whom they had dethroned. They imposed with equal rigour their creeds and confessions; they asserted the right of the magistrate to punish heretics with death. The pride or personal animosity of Calvin proscribed in Servetus; the pope's own rebellion and the banditti of Smithfield, in which he was afterwards consumed, had been kindled by the Anabaptists by the zeal of Cranmer. The nature of the tiger was the same, but he was gradually deprived of his teeth and fangs. A spiritual and temporal kingdom was possessed by this new institution; the protestants were objects of an humble rank, without revenue or jurisdiction. His decrees were consecrated by the authority of the catholic church: their arguments and disputes were submitted to the people; and their appeal to private judgment was accepted beyond their wishes, by curiosity and enthusiasm. Since the days of Luther and Calvin, a secret reformation has been silently working in the bosom of the reformed churches; many weeds of prejudice were eradicated; and the disciples of Erasmus diffused a spirit of freedom and moderation. The liberty of conscience has been acknowledged as a common benefit, an inalienable right: the free governments of Holland and England introduced the practice of toleration; and the narrow allowance of the laws has been enlarged by the prudence and humanity of the times. In the exercise, the mind has understood the limits, of its powers, and the words and shadows that might amuse the child can no longer satisfy his manly reason. The weapons of controversy are overspread with cob webs; the doctrine of a pre-established church is far removed from the knowledge or belief of its private members; and the forms of orthodoxy, the articles of faith, are subscribed with a sigh, or a smile, by the modern clergy. Yet the friends of christianity are alarmed at this boundless inroads into scepticism. The predictions of the catholics are accomplished: the web of mystery is unravelled by the Armenians, Arians, and Socinians, whose numbers must not be computed from their separate congregations; and the pillars of revelation are shaken by those men who preserve the same without the substance of religion, who indulge the licent without the temper of philosophy.

CHAPTER X
The Bulgarians.—Origin, migrations, and settlement of the Hungarians.—Their inroads in the east and west.—The memoir of Russia.—Geography and trade.—Wars of the Russians against the Greek empire.—Conquest of the barbarians.

Under the reign of Constantine the grandson of Heracleus, the ancient barrier of the Danube, so often violated and so often restored, was irretrievably swept away by a new deluge of barbarians. Their progress was favoured by the caliph, their unknown and accursed monarchies: the protestants were deprived of their affairs in Asia; and after the loss of Syria, Egypt, and Africa, the Cæsars were twice reduced to the danger and disgrace of defending their capital against the Saracen. If, in the account of this interesting people, I have deviated from the strict and original line of my undertaking, the merit of the subject will hide my transgression, or solicit my excuse. In the east, in the west, in war, religion, in science, in their prosperity, and in their decay, the Abbean press themselves on our curiosity; the first overlook of the church and empire of the Greeks may be imputed to their relapse into paganism; their second is mainly due to the civil and religious sceptre of the oriental world. But the same labour would be unworthily bestowed on the swarms of savages, who, between the seventh and the twelfth century, descended from the plains of Scythia, in transient head, or perpetual emigration. Their names are uncountable, their origins doubtful, their actions obscure, their superstition was blind, their valor brutal, and the uniformity of their public lives was neither softened by innocence, nor refined by policy. The majesty of the Byzantine empire repelled and survived their disorderly attacks; the greater part of these barbarians has disappeared of the United Provinces. I am not satisfied with Groton, de Rebus Bellicis, Annal. i. i, p. 13, &c. ed. in 12mo, who approves the imperial laws of persecution, and only condemns the bloody tribunal of the inquisition. Sir William Blackstone (Commentaries, vol. iv. p. 53, 54,) explains the laws of England as it was fixed at the Revolution. The exceptions of papists, and of those who deny the Trinity, would still leave a tolerable scope for persecution, if the national spirit were less effectual than a hundred decrees.

I shall recommend to public attention two passages in Mr. Pressley, which betray the ultimate tendency of his opinions. At the first page of his "Reflections on the Principles of Christianity," (p. 275, 276,) the priest, at the second, (vol. i. p. 494,) the magistrate, may transfer this extract from the "History of Populous ad Danubium, Pontum Euxinum, Palatium Memelium," Caesarm, and I will admit that only decided images of the "Debates of the Synod of Cappadocia," (p. 171—172.) Potæpolis, 1721—1727. In four tomes, or six volumes, in folio. But the fashion has not enhanced the price of these rare materials.
without leaving any memorial of their existence, and the despicable remnant continues, and may long continue, to groan under the dominion of a foreign tyrant. From the antiquities of, I. Bulgarians, II. Hungarians, and, III. Russians, I shall content myself with selecting such facts as yet deserve to be remembered. The conquests of the, IV. Normans, and the monarchy of the, V. Venetians, will naturally terminate in the famous Crusades to the Holy Land, and the double fall of the city and empire of Constantinople.

Emigration of

In his march to Italy, Theodore the Bulgarians, Ostrogoth had trampled on the arms of the Bulgarians. After this defeat, the name and the nation did not long dwindle away. Perhaps, it may be supposed that the same or a similar appellation was revived by strong colonies from the Borysthenes, the Tanais, or the Volga. A king of the ancient Bulgaria bequeathed to his five sons a last lesson of moderation and concord. It was received as youth has over received the counsel of age and experience: the five princes buried their fathers' death; divided his subjects and cattle; forgot his advice; separated from each other; and wandered in quest of fortune, till we find the most adventurous in the heart of Italy, under the protection of the exarch of Ravenna, but frequenting the imperial court. The Bulgarians were impelled towards the capital. The modern Bulgaria, along the southern banks of the Danube, was stumped with the name and image which it has retained to the present hour: the new conquerors successively acquired, by war or treaty, the Roman provinces of Dalmatia, Thrace, Thessaly, Macedonia, Thrace, Peloponnesus, and Phrygia; and, in short, the west of Asia Minor. The ecclesiastical supremacy was transferred from the native city of Justinian; and, in their prosperous age, the obscure town of Lychnidus, or Achrida, was honoured with the throne of a king and a patriarch. The unquestionable evidence of language attests the descent of the Bulgarians from Slavonic, or more properly Slavonic, race: and the kindred bands of Servians, Bosnians, Rascians, Croatians, Walachians, &c. followed either the standard or the example of the leading tribe.

From the Euxine to the Adriatic, in the state of captives, or objects, or allies, or enemies, of the Greek empire, they overspread the land; and the national appellation of the slaves has been degraded by chance or malice from the signification of glory to that of servitude.

Among these colonies the Chrobatians, or Croats, who now attend the motions of an Austrian army, are the descendants of a mighty people, the conquerors and sovereigns of Dalmatia. The maritime cities, and of these the infant republic of Ragusa, implored the aid and instructions of the Byzantine court: they were associated with the republic, and were made to serve a small acknowledgment of their fidelity to the Roman empire, and to appease, by an annual tribute, the wrath of these irresistible barbarians. The kingdom of Croatia was shared by eleven Zoupanos, or feudatory lords; and their united forces were numbered to six thousand men. There were great and frequent expeditions against them; but it must be observed that the close of the tenth century that the freedom and sovereignty of the gulf were effectually vindicated by the Venetian republic. The ancestors of these Dalmatian kings were equally removed from the use and abuse of navigation; they dwelt in the White Croatia, in the inland regions of Silesia and Little Poland; and thirty days' journey, according to the Greek computation, from the sea of darkness.

The glory of the Bulgarians was First kingdom confined to a narrow scope both of time and place. In the ninth and tenth centuries, they reached the shores of the Black Sea, and a branch of the Danube; but the more powerful nations that had followed their emigration, repelled all return to the north and all progress to the west. Yet, in the obscure catalogue of their exploits, they might boast an honour which had hitherto been appropriated to the Goths; that of slaying in battle one of the successors of Augustus and Constantine. The emperor Nicophon had lost his fame in the Arabian, he lost his life in the Scythian, war. In his first operations he advanced with boldness and success to the centre of Bulgaria, and burnt the royal court, which was probably no more than an edifice of timber: but he soon retreated, searched the spoil, and refused all offers of treaty, his enemies collected their spirits and their forces: the passes of retreat were insuperably barred; and the trembling Nicophon was heard to exclaim: "Alas! alas! unless we could assume the wings of birds, we cannot hope to escape." Two days he waited his fate in the inactivity of despair; but, on the morning of the third, the Bulgarian surprised the camp; and the Roman prince, with the great officers of the empire, were slaughtered in their tents. The body of Valens had been saved from insult; but

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A.D. 533.

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A.D. 917-919.
have expired of grief and horror; the nation was saved by this terrible example; the Bulgarians were swept away from their settlements, and consigned within a narrow province; the surviving chiefs bequeathed to their children the advice of patience and the duty of revenge.

After this, the black swarm of Hungarians first hung over Europe, about the year 439. For nine hundred years after the Christian era, they were mistaken by fear and superstition for the Gog and Magog of the Scriptures, the signs and forerunners of the end of the world. Since then, they have departed to their ancestral home, and are lost for ever in their own antiquities with a strong and laudable impulse of patriotic curiosity. Their rational criticism can no longer be amused with a vain pedigree of Attila and the Huns; but they complain that their primitive records have perished in the Tartar war; that the truth or fiction of their rustic songs is long since forgotten; and that the fragments of a rude chronicle must be painfully reconciled with the contemporary though foreign intelligence of the imperial geographer, Magist "is the national and oriental denomination of the Hungarians; but, among the tribes of Scythia they are distinguished by the tigresses, and by their peculiar name of Turks, as the descendants of that mighty people who had conquered and reigned from China to the Volga. The Pannonian colony preserved a correspondence of trade and amity with the eastern Tartars, in the confines of Persia; and after a separation of three hundred and fifty years, established in the fifteenth century the kindred of the Hungarians discovered and visited their ancient country near the banks of the Volga. They were hospitably entertained by a people of pagans and savages, who still bore the name of Hungarians; conversed with the chief, who presided over that distant empire; they halted in the usual stations along the banks of the great rivers; and in the territories of Moscow, Kiow, and Moldavia, some vestiges have been discovered of their temporary residence. In this long and various pegeation, they could not always es- cape the dominion of the stronger; and the purity of their blood was improved or sullied by the mixture of

1 A bishop of Wurtzbut submitted this opinion to a revered abbé; but he more gravely decided, that Gog and Magog were the spiritual persecutors of the church; since Gog signifies the root, the pride of the He-saraca, and Magog what comes from the root, preparation of their sects. Yet these men once commanded the respect of the most learned historians, 

2 The national authors, from whom I have derived the most assistance, are George Pis, Dissertations ad Annales veterum Hungarorum, Ac. Videoboue, 1772, in folio; and Stephan Katon (Hist. Crítica Ducum et Regum Hungariae stirpi Arpadiane, Pari- sii, 1779-1781, 3 tomes). The first embraces a large and often conjectural space; the latter, by his learning, judgment, and penetration, derives the name of a critical historian.

3 The author of this Chronicle is styled the notary of king Buda- khan; he has assigned to him the twelfth century, and de-fined his character by the title of editor. The Simeon, Gesta regum Hungarorum, gives his rule as the first occasion of the rule of the gede- mentum populum Apostolicam, id est munici- pium, none pue Bugariorum Apostoli praepositor, hominorum, delitutorum (Lustrient, in Loga- tion, p. 482.) See the Commentarius Constantini Forbogeneum, tom. ii. p. 84 tom, ii. p. 427, 432, 434, 415, 441, 445, 447, with the annotations of Gruben.
a foreign race: from a motive of compulsion, or choice, several tribes of the Chazars were associated with them in an almost perpetual vassalage; and invested with the use of a second language; and obtained by their superior renown the most honourable place in the front of battle. The military force of the Turks and their allies marched in seven equal and artificial divisions; each division was formed of thirty thousand eight hundred and fifty men, or a total of two hundred and fifty thousand, in all. The reception which had been declined by the modest Lebedius, was granted to the birth or merit of Almus and his son Arpad, and the authority of the supreme khan of the Chazars confirmed the engagement of the prince and people; of the people to obey his commands, of the prince to consult their happiness and glory.

Their Fennic

With this narrative we might be re-originate, reasonably content, if the penetration of modern learning had not opened a new and larger prospect of the antiquities of nations. The Hungarian language stands alone, and as it were insulated among the languages of the Germanic tribes, and still exhibits a certain affinity to the idioms of the Fennic race; of an obsolete and savage race, which formerly occupied the northern regions of Asia and Europe. The genuine appellation of Lygri or Izouros is found on the western confines of China; their migration to the brain of Europe is attested by Tartar evidence; a similar name and language are detected in the southern parts of Siberia; and the remains of the Fennic tribes are widely, though thinly, scattered from the shores of the Ob to the shores of Lapland. The consanguinity of the Hungarians and Laplanders would display the powerful energy of climate on the children of a common parent; the lively contrast between the bold adventurers who are intoxicated with the wines of the Danube, and the wretched fugitives who are immersed beneath the snows of the polar circle. Arms and freedom have ever been the ruling, though too often the unsuccessful, passion of the Hungarians, who are endowed by nature with a vigorous constitution of soul and body. Extreme cold has diminished the stature and congealed the faculties of the Laplanders; and the Arctic tribes, alone among the sons of man, are ignorant of the galling sinews of human blood: a happy ignorance, if reason and virtue were the guardians of their peace!

7 Fischer, in the Quaestiones Petropatranæ, de Origine Ungarorum, and Pray, Dissertation. i. 6. iii. c. have drawn up several comparative tables of the Hungarian with the Fennic dialects. The affinity is indeed striking, but the lists are short; the words are purposely chosen; and I read in the learned Bayer, (Commerc. Academ. Petropol. tom. x. p. 374.) that although the Hungarian has adopted many Fennic words, (innomina voces) it essentially differs geno et natura.

2 In the region of Turfan, which is clearly and minutely described by the Chinese geographers, (Goushi, Hist. du Grand Genggacun, p. 13;) De Quignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. ii. p. 31, &c.

3 Vrochii de Cepes des Tartars, par Aboulzah Bahadur Khan, partie ii. p. 50—56.

4 In their journey to Pekin, both Ibrand Ives (Harries's Collection of Voyages and Travels, vol. i. p. 520, 521,) and Bell (Travels, vol. i. p. 174,) found the Voguls in the neighborhood of Tobolsky. By the nature of the stygian character, the Fennic, and Tartar, are accorded to the same name; the circumpacent mountains really bear the appellation of Ugræ; and all of the Fennic dialects, the Vogul is the paces of the Iberian, the Fennic, and the Tungusic, to the same name; the mountainous countenance really bears the appellation of Ugræan; and all of the Fennic dialects, the Vogul is the paces of the Iberian, the Fennic, and the Tungusic, to the same name; the mountainous countenance really bears the appellation of Ugræan; and all of the Fennic dialects, the Vogul is the paces of the Iberian, the Fennic, and the Tungusic, to the same name.

5 Fischer, Dissertation. i. 6. iii. c. have drawn up several comparative tables of the Fennic race are described in the curious work of M. Leveauque, (Hist. des Peuples soumis à la domination de la Russie, tom. i. p. 361—364.)

6 Leo has observed, that the government of the Turks was monarchical; and that the Turkish author of the Voyages, which all the Scuthian hordes resembled each other in their pastoral and military life, that they A. D. 990, &c. all practised the same means of subsistence, and employed the same instruments of destruction. But he adds, that the two nations of Bulgarians and Hungarians were superior to their brethren, and similar to each other, in the improvements, however rude, of their discipline and government; their visible likeness determines Leo to confound his friends and enemies in one common description; and the picture may be heightened by some strokes from their contemporaries of the tenth century. Except the merit and fame of solitary propagators. All that is valued by mankind appeared vile and contemptible to these barbarians, whose native fierceness was stimulated by the consciousness of numbers and freedom. The tents of the Hungarians were of leather, their garments of fur; they shaved their hair, and scented their faces: in pastures, the hard warrior was alike insensible to danger and fatigue. The confusion of men and cattle that overspread the country exposed their camp to a nocturnal surprise, had not a still wider circuit been occupied by their light cavalry, perpetually in motion to discover and delay the approach of the enemy. After the excess of experience of the Roman tactics, they adopted the use of the sword and spear, the helmet of the soldier, and the iron breast-plate of his steed: but their native and deadly weapon was the Tartar bow: from the earliest infancy, their children and servants were exercised in the double science of archery and horsemanship; their arm was strong; their aim was sure; and in the most rapid career, they were taught to throw themselves backwards, and to shoot a volley of arrows into the air. In open combat, in secret ambush, in flight, or pursuit, they were equally formidable: an appearance of order was maintained in the foremost ranks of their chariot-chiefs, who increased by the impatient pressure of succeeding crowds. They pursued, headlong and rash, with loosened reins and horrible outcries; but if they fled, with real or disembled fear, the ardour of a pursuing foe was checked and chastised by irregular speed and sudden evolutions. In the absorbing victory, astonished Europe, yet smarting from the wounds of
the Saracen and the Dane: mercy they rarely asked, and more rarely bestowed; both sexes were accused as equally inaccessible to pity, and their appetite for raw flesh might countenance the popular tale, that they drank the blood and feasted on the hearts of the slain. Yet in the barbarians, there were many, whose spon-
taneous virtue supplied their laws and corrected their manners, who performed the duties, and sympathized with the affections, of social life.

Establishment and invades of victory, the Turkish hordes approached the

the common limits of the French and

Byzantine empires. Their first con-

quests and final settlements extended on either side of the

Danube above Vienna, below Belgrade, and be-

yond the measure of the Roman province of Pannonia, cut

through the provinces of Hungary. That implac-

able and fertile land was loosely occupied by the Moravians, a

Sclavonian name and tribe, which were driven by the

invaders into the compass of a narrow province.

Charlemaigne had stretched a vague and nominal empire as far

as the edge of Transylvania; but failing of his

promise, the dukedom of Moravia forgot

their obedience and tribute to the monarchs of oriental

France. The bastard Arnulph was provoked to invade the

armies of the Turks; they rushed through the real or

figurative wall, which his indiscretion had thrown open; and the king of Germany had been justly re-

proached as a traitor to the civil and ecclesiastical

sovereignty of the christians. During the life of Arnulph,

the Hungarians were checked by gratitude or fear; but

in the infancy of his son Lewis they dis-

covered and invaded Bavaria; and such was their

Seychyan speed, that in a single day a circui-

t of fifty miles was stript and consumed. In

the battle of Augsburg the christians maintained their

advance till the seventh hour of the day; they were deceived and vanquished by the flying stratagems of the

Turkish cavalry. The conflagration was spread near

the provinces of Bavaria, Swabia, and Franconia; and

the Hungarians pitched the renoe of anarchy, by

forcing the steepest barons to discipline their vassals and

fortify their castles. The origin of walled towns is ascribed to this calamitous period; nor could any

distance or height or mountain or sea prevent the

reich of the Turco-Hungarians, almost at the

same instant, laid in ashes the Helvetic monas-

tery of St. Gall, and the city of Bremen, on the shores of

the northern ocean. Above thirty years the Ger-

manic empire, or kingdom, was subject to the igno-

miny of tribute; and resistance was disarmed by the

menace, the serious and effectual menace, of dragging

the women and children into captivity, and of slaughter-

ing the males above the age of ten years. I have

nothing more to say of the provinces of France, which

were bleach'd by the tempest, and that Spain, behind her

Pyrenees.

A.D. 900. was astonished at the approach of these

savage strangers. The vicinity of

Italy had tempted their early inroads; but, from their

camp on the Brenz, they beheld with some terror the

apparent strength and populousness of the new-dis-

covered country. They requested leave to retire; their

request was proudly rejected by the Italian king; and

the lives of twenty thousand christians paid the

forfeit of his obstinacy and rashness. Among the
cities of the west, the royal Pavia was conspicuous in

the name and fame of its nobility; but its power

itself was only derived from the relics of the apostles.

The Hungarians appeared; Pavia was in

flames; forty-three churches were con-

sumed; and, after the massacre of the people, they

took possession of a castle, to which they attached some

bushels of gold and silver (a vague exaggera-

tion) from the smoking ruins of their country. In

these annual excursions from the Alps to the

neighbourhood of Rome and Capua, the churches, that yet

escaped, resounded with a fearful litan'y: 40 save

and deliver us from the arrows of the Huns! But

the saints were deaf or inexorable; and the torrent

turned forwards, till it was stopped by the extreme

land of Calabria. A composition was offered and ac-

cepted for the head of each Italian subject; and ten

bushels of silver were poured forth in the Turkish

churches. These fruits of their work were not

lost; the gold of the Huns filled the forests of

Italy; and the robbers were defrauded both in the

numbers of the assessment and the standard of the

metal. On the side of the east the Hungarians were

opposed in difficult conflict by the equal arms of the

Bulgarians, defended the fatherland, and

whose situation formed the barrier of the

Byzantine empire. The barrier was

overturned; the emperor of Constantin-

ople beheld the waving banners of the Turks; and

of their boldest warriors presumed to strike a bat-
tle-axe into the golden gate. The arts and treasures

of the Greeks diverted the assault; but the Hungari-

ans might boast, on their retreat, that they had im-

posed a tribute on the spirit of Bulgaria and the ma-

jesty of the Caesars. The remote and rapid opera-

tions of the same campaign appear to magnify the

power and numbers of the Turk; but their courage is

most deserving of praise, since a light troop of three

or four hundred horse would often attempt and exer-

cute the most daring inroads to the gates of Thessalo-

nica and Constantinople. At this disastrous era of the

human race, the Huns are an image of the

triple scourge from the north, the east, and the south:

the Norman, the Hungarian, and the Sasanian, some-
times trod the same ground of desolation; and these

savage foes might have been compared by Homer to

the two lions growing over the carcasses of a man-

gled horse.

The deliverance of Germany and Victory of Henry Christendom was achieved by the Sax-

on princes, Henry the Fowler and Otho the

Great, who, in two memorable battles, for ever

broke the power of the Hungarians. The valiant


\[a] Muratori has considered with pathetic care the danger and re-

sources of Modena. The citizens besought St. Geminianus, their

patron, to avert, by his intercession, the rabies, angelum, &c.

\[b] Vide Brenner, apud Gell., vi. 80. in


Henry was roused from a bed of sickness by the invasion of his country; but his mind was vigorous and his prudence successful. "My companions," said he, on the morning of the combat, "maintain your ranks, receive on your bucklers the first arrows of the pagans, and prevent their second discharge by the equal and invisible spear of your valor. We have conquered: and the historical picture of the castle of Merseburg expressed the features, or at least the character, of Henry, who, in an age of ignorance, intrusted to the finer arts the perpetuity of his name.* At the end of twenty years, the children of the Turks who had invaded the Danubian plains, with Arpad reigned the king of this vast country; and their force is defined, in the lowest estimate, at one of 800,000, the hundred thousand horse. They were invades by domestic faction; the gates of Germany were treacherously unlocked; and they spread, far beyond the Rhine and the Meuse, into the heart of Flanders. But the vigour and prudence of Othe dispelled the conspiracy; the princes were made sensible, that unless they were true to each other, their religion and country were irrecoverably lost; and the national powers were reviewed in the plains of Augsburg. They marched and fought in eight legions, according to their age; the first, second, and third, were composed of Bavarians; the fourth of Franks; the fifth of Saxons, under the immediate command of the monarch; the sixth and seventh consisted of Swabians; and the eighth, legion, of a thousand Bohemians, closed the rear of the host. The resources of discipline and valor were fortified by the arts of superstition, which, on this occasion, may deserve the epitaphs of generous and salutary. The soldiers were purified with a fast; the camp was blessed with the relics of saints and martyrs; and the christian hero girded on his side the sword of Constantine, and waved the banner of St. Maurice, the prefect of the Theban legion. But his firme st confidence was placed in the holy lance, whose point was fashioned of the maws of the cross, and which his father had everted from the king of Burgundy, by the threats of war, and the gift of a province. The Hungarians were expected in the front; they secretly passed the Lech, a river of Bavaria that falls into the Danube; turned the rear of the christian army; plundered the baggage, and disordered the legions of Bohemia and Swabia. The battle was restored by the Franks, who, in the wake of Conrad, was the point of the arrow as he rested from his fatigue: the Saxons fought under the eye of their king; and his victory surpassed, in merit and importance, the triumphs of the last two hundred years. The loss of the Hungarians was still greater in the flight than in the action; they were encompassed by the rivers of Bavaria; and their past cruelties excluded them from the hope of mercy. Three captive princes were hanged at Ratisbon, the multitude of prisoners was slain or mutilated, and the fugitives, who presumed to appear in the face of their country, were condemned to everlasting poverty. Let the spirit of the vanquished not humble, and the most accessible passes of Hungary were fortified with a ditch and rampart. Adverst suggested the counsels of moderation and peace:

Hunc vero triumphum, tam laude quam memorior dignum, ad Merseburgum rex in superiori consilio domo per Czesarum, id est, pictorum, notarii præcipit, adeo ut rem parum potius quam versatilis videns. (Lutgardus, l. i. c. 5.) Another public anecdote is related with having been painted with harmony and truth by Flament of Charlemagne; and Muratori may justly affirm, non saecula faeere in quolibet partem Scripturae (Historia Danorum, lib. ii. c. 123, hist. dist. domin. Asto- tam, ii. dissert. xiv. p. 309, 310.) Our domestic claims to antiquity of ignorance and original imperfection (Mr. Walpole’s lively conceits are of a much more recent date. (Amended of Fainlg, vol. 1. p. 2, &c.)

Baronius, Annal. Eccles. A. D. 929, No. 2—5. The lance of Christ is taken from the best evidence, Lutgardus, l. i. c. 123.) Sige- borus, a captive acconpanied with Charlemagne, was a monk of Kiow, who died in the beginning of the twelfth century; but his chronicle was obscure, till it was published at Peters- burg, March 1772, in it., Appendix, vol. vi. p. 125, by Dr. Leake, of Greece and Asia, in the Table of the authors. See the entire Barontius (Baronius says Bayler, ut sacri in tabulis figur) in the Annales Bertiniani Francorum, (in Script. Ital. Murato- tori, tom. ii. pars 1. p. 553.) A. D. 923, twenty years before the ara of Russia. In their history, the princes of the Russians and Normans are the same Aquilianos homines of a singular composition.

My knowledge of these annals is drawn from M. Levreque, His- torie de la Russie, Paris, 1745, 8vo. A first and a second edition of the same by M. Dufour, a monk of Kiow, who died in the beginning of the twelfth century; but his chronicle was obscure, till it was published at Petersburg, March 1772, in it. Appendix, vol. vi. p. 125, by Dr. Leake, in his travels, vol. ii. p. 181.

The late Schlegel has translated and commented upon the Annals of Nestor; and his work is a mine of information to those who would hereafter investigate the History of the North. In 1849, four volumes of it were published, with some additional notes, in twelve volumes. The first is occupied with an introduction to the historical and political events of the second century of the Empire of Russia, or that before Rurik and the reign of this prince; the third contains the reign of Oleg, and the fourth that of Igor. M.
of the earth; these exiles were entertained in the By-
zyantine court; and they preserved, till the last age of
the empire, the inheritance of spotless loyalty, and
the use of the Danish or English language. With their
number of war vessels and battle-axes on their shoulders,
they attended the Greek emperor to the temple, the
senate, and the hippodrome; he slept and feasted un-
der their trusty guard; and the keys of the palace, the
treasury, and the capital, were held by the firm and
faithful hands of the Varangian sentinels.

In the tenth century, the geography of Geography
and Scythia was extended far beyond the trade of Russia,
limits of ancient knowledge; and the
monarchy of the Russians obtains a vast and con-
spicuous place in the map of Constantine. The sons
of Hvaric were members of the spacious province of
Volodomir, or Moscow; and, if they were confined on
that side by the hordes of the east, their western frontier
in those early days was enlarged to the Baltic sea and
the country of the Prussians. Their northern reign
ascended above the sixth degree of latitude, over
the island of Iceland and the oceanic coasts of
Norway; their eternal empire included Spain,
and monopolies, or clouded with eternal darkness.
To the south they followed the course of the Borysthenes,
and approached with that river the neighbourhood of
the Euxine sea. The tribes that dwelt, or wandered,
to the south, and crossed, the Euxine, were the
Varangians in the Berytus, and the Norwegian
conqueror, and insensibly blended into the same nation.
The language of Russia is a dialect of the Slavonian;
but, in the tenth century, these two modes of speech
were different from each other; and, as the Slavonian
prevailed in the south, it may be presumed that the
original Russian of the north, the primitive subject
of the Varangian chief, was a portion of the Fenetic
Race. With the emigration, union, or dissolution of
the wandering tribes, the loose and indefinite picture
of the Scythian desert has continually shifted. But
the most ancient map of the Varangian world, which
still retains the name and position; and as the
capitains, Novogorod 4 and Kiow, are coeval
with the first age of the monarchy. Novogorod had not
yet deserved the epithet of great, nor the alliance of
the Hanseatic league, which diffused the streams of
opulence and the principles of freedom. Kieow could
not yet boast of three hundred churches, an innumera-
table people, and a degree of greatness and splendour,
which was compared with Constantinople by those
who had never seen the residence of the Cæsars.
In their origin, the two cities were no more than
hills, or far below that state; and the inhabitants
of them might assemble for the occasional business
of war or trade. Yet even these assemblies announce

3 Du Cange has collected from the original authors the state
and history of the Varangi at Constantinople, (Glossar. Med. et
Inpiua Graecitatis, sub voce &c. &c.) Med. et Inpia Lathitatis, sub voce
Villhardouin, p. 296—299. See likewise the annotations of Blaske
the Constantinople Aile Byzantin. of Constantinople, t. i. p. 149, 150.
Saxo Grammaticus affirms that they spoke Danish; but Codinus
maintains them till the fifteenth century in the use of their native
371—421.)

4 The geography of the coast and trade of Russia is pro-
duced by the emperor Constantin Porphyrogenetus, (de Administr.
62. 112, 113.) and illustrated by the diligence of Bayer, (de Geo-
graphia Russica vicariae nomine Regionum circiter A. C. 935, in Con-
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via, &c.

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with the aid of the chronicles and traditions of Russia, Scandina-
via, &c.
some progress in the arts of society; a new breed of cattle was imported from the southern provinces; and the same occurred with the motives of the war, as land from the Baltic to the Euxine, from the mouth of the Oder to the port of Constantinople. In the days of idolatry and barbarism, the Slavonic nation of Julian was frequented and enriched by the Normans, who had prudently secured a free mart of purchase and exchange. For this purpose, at the entrance of the Oder, the corsair, or merchant, sailed in forty-three days to the eastern shores of the Baltic, the most distant nations were intermingled, and the holy groves of Curland were said to have been decorated with Grecian and Spanish gold. Between the sea and Novgorod and St. Petersburg vessels was so great that it might have been passed through a gulf, a lake, and a navigable river; in the winter season, over the hard and level surface of boundless snows. From the neighbourhood of that city, the Russians descended the streams that fall into the Boryshenens; their canoes, of a single tree, were laden with slaves of every age, furs of every species, the spoil of their foes, and the hides of the cattle; and the whole produce of the north was collected and discharged in the magazines of Kiow. The month of June was the ordinary season of the departure of the fleet; the timber of the canoes was framed in the land. The vessels, though small, were capacious; and they proceeded without obstacle down the Boryshens, as far as the seven or thirteen ridges of rocks, which traverse the bed, and precipitate the waters, of the river. At the more shallow falls it was sufficient to lighten the vessels; but the deeper cataracts were impassable; and the mariners, who dragged their vessels and their slaves six miles over land, were exposed in this toilsome journey to the robbers of the desert. At the first island below the falls, the Russians celebrated the festival of their escape; at a second, near the mouth of the river, they repaired their shattered vessels for the long and perilous voyage of the Black sea. If they steered along the coast, the Danube was accessible; with a fair wind they could reach in thirty-six or forty hours the opposite shores of Anatolia; and Constantinople admitted the annual visit of the strangers of the north. They returned on the same course, with a rich cargo of corn, wine, and oil, the manufactures of Greece, and the spices of India. Some of their countrymen resided in the capital and provinces; and the national treaties protected the persons, effects, and privileges, of the Russian merchant.

Naval expedition to the Euxine was opened for the benefit, was soon abused for the injury, of mankind. Constantinople. In a period of one hundred and ninety years, the Russians made four attempts to plunder the treasures of Constantinople: the event was various, extended the motives of the war, and was the same in these naval expeditions. The Russian traders had seen the magnificence and tasted the luxury of the city of the Caesars. A marvellous tale, and a scanty supply, excited the desires of their savage countrymen: they envied the gifts of nature which their climate denied; they coveted the works of art which they were too lazy to imitate and too indigent to purchase: the Varangian princes unfurled the banners of piratical adventure, and their bravest soldiers were drawn from the nations that dwelt in the northern islands of the ocean. The image of their naval armament was magnified; the signal service of the Cossacks, which issued from the Boryshenens, to navigate the same seas, for a similar purpose. The Greek appellation of monoxyl, or single canoes, might be justly applied to the bottom of their vessels. It was scooped out of the long stem of a beech or willow, but the slight and narrow foundation was raised and continued on either side with planks, till it attained the length of sixty, and the height of about twelve, feet. These boats were built without a deck, but with two Rudders and a mast; to move with sails and oars; and to contain from forty to seventy men, with their arms, and provisions. In the course of a few years, the first trial of the Russians was made with two hundred boats; but when the national force was exerted, they might arm against Constantinople a thousand or twelve hundred vessels. Their fleet was not much inferior to the royal navy of Agamemnon, but was magnified in the eyes of war to ten or fifteen times the real proportion of its strength and numbers. Had the Greek emperors been endowed with foresight to discern, and vigour to prevent, perhaps they might have sealed with a maritaine force the mouth of the Boryshenens. Their indifference abandoned the coast of Anatolia, the entrance of the Black sea, upon which, after an interval of six hundred years, again infested the Euxine; but as long as the capital was respected, the sufferings of a distant province escaped the notice both of the prince and the historian. The storm which had swept along from the Phasis and Trebizond, at length visited the Bosporus of Thrace; a stratagem in fifteen miles, in which the rude vessels of the Russian might have been stopped and destroyed by a more skilful adversary. In their first enterprise, under the princes of Kiow, they passed without opposition, and occupied the port of Constantinople, which they afterwards held against the allies of Thopholm, through a crowd of perils, he landed at the palace-stairs, and immediately repaired to a church of the Virgin Mary. By the advice of the patriarch, her garment, a precious relic, was drawn from the sanctuary and dipped in the sea; and a seaman tempest, which determined the retreat of the Russians, was devoutly ascribed to the mother of God. The silence of the Greeks may be a second, some hint of the truth, or at least of A. D. 895.

1. The war of the Russians and Greeks in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, are related in the Byzantine annals, especially those of Zonaras and Cedrenes; and all their testimonies are collected in the Russian of Struter, p. ii. 329—404.
3. When Photius wrote his enl buffering of the conversion of the Russian heretics, he could not have been more explicit, and sterner, than when he says: "Sic immittuntur in septentriones et in occidentes tertius et quartus et quintus." Cedrenus in Compend. p. 755.
4. See the various (Description of the Ukraiine, p. 51—61.) On the revolutions are lively, his plans accurate, and except the circumstances of firearms, we may read old Russians for modern Cossacks.
5. It is to be lamented that the writer has not signified the continuation of Russian pilgmsa Expeditiones Constantinopolitanae, Comment, Academ. Petropol, tom. i. p. 14, 144. In the face of these rhetorical inscriptions, he fixes it in the years 646 or 560, a date which might have smoothed some doubts and difficulties in the beginning of the manuscript.
7. See the various (Description of the Ukraiine, p. 51—61.) On the revolutions are lively, his plans accurate, and except the circumstances of firearms, we may read old Russians for modern Cossacks.
least of the importance, of the second attempt by Oleg, the guardian of the sons of Rurie. A strong barrier of arms and fortifications defended the Bosphorus; the war was not for the simple capture of dragging the boats over the isthmus; and this simple operation is described in the national chronicles, as if the Russian fleet had sailed over dry land with a brisk and

The third, a favourable gale. The leader of the third

assay, armament, Leo his and a by combustible. The engineers were dexterous; the weather was propitious; many thousand Russians, who chose rather to be drowned than burnt, leaped into the sea, and those who escaped to the Thracian shore were inhumanly slaughtered by the peasants and soldiers. Yet one third of the canoes escaped into shallow water; and the next spring Igor was again prepared to retrieve his disgrace and claim his revenge. After a

The fourth, a long peace, Jaroslav, the great-grand

a reign of Swatoslaus. A.D. 853—972. By the most part on foot, their irregular

of the Danube; their landing was effectuated on the Russian shore; and, as a sharp encounter, the swords of the Russians prevailed against the arrows of the Bulgarian horse. The vanquished king sunk into the grave; his children were made captive; and his dominions, as far as mount Hemus, were subjugated or ravaged by the northern invaders. But instead of relinquishing his prey, and performing his engagements, the Varangian prince was more disposed to advance than to retire; and, had his ambition been crowned with success, the seat of empire in that early period might have been transferred to a more temperate and fruitful climate.

Swatoslaus, who had been pursuing the sultan, was not to come masters of Constantinople. In our own time, a Russian armament, instead of sailing from the Borys-
thrones, has circumnavigated the continent of Europe; and the Turkish capital has been threatened by a squa-
dron of strong and lofty ships of war, of each of which, with its crew of thousand men, the enemy could have sunk or scattered a hundred canoes, such as those of their ancestors. Perhaps the present generation may yet behold the accomplishment of the prediction, of a rare prediction, of which the style is ambiguous and uncertain, and which represents such a picture; a modern epic poet would discourse his work, and dis-

By land the Russians were less formidable than by sea; and as they fought for the most part on foot, their irregular

of the sea, of Joshua was supposed by the Jews to be an equestrian

time, the son of Oleg. The vigour of his mind and body was fortified by the hardships of a military and savage life. Wrapt in a bearskin, Swa-

of the Danube, or the son of Rurie. The vigour of his mind and body was fortified by the hardships of a military and savage life. Wrapt in a bearskin, Swa-

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and prophecy, sian war were more frequently diverted by treaty than by arms. In these naval hostilities, every disadvantage was on the side of the Greeks; there was no enemy afforded no mercy; and twenty-four galleys were either taken, sunk, or destroyed.

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John Zimises, who, in a diminutive body, possessed the spirit and abilities of a hero. The first victory of his lieutenants deprived the Russians of their foreign allies, twenty thousand of whom were either destroyed by the sword, or provoked to revolt, or tempted to desert. Three hundred and sixty legions, the light of the universe, whose barbarians were still in arms; and the legions that had been recalled from the new conquests of Syria, prepared, with the return of the spring, to march under the banners of a warlike prince, who declared himself the friend and avenger of the injured Bulgaria. The passions of Mount Helmos had been left unguarded; they were instantly occupied; the Roman vanguard was formed of the immortals; (a proud imitation of the Persian style;) the emperor led the main body of ten thousand five hundred foot; and the rest of his forces followed in slow and cautious array, with the baggage and military engines. The first exploit of Zimises was the reduction of Marcianopolis, or Peristhala, in two days; the trumpets sounded; the walls were scaled; eight thousand five hundred Russians were put to the sword; and the sons of the Bulgarian king were rescued from an ignominious prison, and invested with the waters of baptism. The other legions, described on page 156, are not here to be noticed, except as the name of metropolitan, might admonish the sacraments in the church of Kiow, to a congregation of slaves and natives. But the seed of the gospel was sown on a barren soil; many were the apostates, the converts were few; and the baptism of Olga may be fixed as the age of Russian Christianity. A female, perhaps of the basest origin, who could revenge the death, and assume the sceptre, of her husband Igor, must have been endowed with those active virtues which command the fear and obedience of barbarians. In a moment of foreign and domestic peace, she sailed to Constantinople; Gennadius, the Bishop, and Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, A.D. 955, has described, with minute diligence, the ceremonial of her reception in his capital and palace. The steps, the titles, the salutations, the banquet, the presents, were exquisitely adjusted to gratify the vanity of the great Empress, with the dignity of the person of the purple. In the sacrament of baptism, she received the venerable name of the empress Helen; and her conversion might be preceded or followed by her uncle, two interpreters, sixteen damsels of a higher, and eighteen of a lower, rank, twenty-two domestics or ministers of the household, with the children, who composed the retinue of the great princess Olga. After her return to Kiow and Novgorod, she firmly persisted in her new religion; but her labours in the propagation of the gospel were not crowned with success; and both her family and nation adhered with obstinacy or indifference to the gods of their fathers. Her son Swatolaws was apprehensive of the scorn and ridicule of his companions; and her grandson Wododomir devoted his youthful zeal to multiply and decorate the monuments of ancient worship. The church was attended with traffic of the barbaresque deities of the north, who were accustomed to human sacrifices; in the choice of the victim, a citizen was preferred to a stranger, a christian to an idolater; and the father, who defended his son from the sacerdotal knife, was involved in the same doom by the rage of a fanatic tumult. Yet the lessons and example of the pious Olga remained in the deep, though secret, impression on the minds of the prince and people: the Greek missionaries continued to preach, to dispute, and to baptize; and the ambassadors or merchants of Russia compared the idolatry of the woods with the elegant superstition of Constantinople. They had gazed with admiration on the dome of St. Sophia, the lively pictures of saints and martyrs, the riches of the altar, the number and vestments of the priests, the pomp and order of the ceremonies; they were edified by the alternate succession of devout silence and harmonious song; nor was it difficult to persuade them,

conversion of Russia, A.D. 955.

Photius of Constantinople, a patriarch whose ambition was equal to his curiosity, congratulates himself and the Greek church on the conversion of the Russians. Those fierce and bloody barbarians had been persuaded by the word of God and religious instruction; the memory of his fruit for their God, the Christian missionaries for their teachers, and the Romans for their friends and brethren. His triumph was transient and premature. In the various fortune of their piratical adventures, some Russian chiefs might allow themselves to be sprinkled with the waters of baptism; the old chief Terys, when the name of metropolitan, might admonish the sacraments in the church of Kiow, to a congregation of slaves and natives. But the seed of the gospel was sown on a barren soil; many were the apostates, the converts were few; and the baptism of Olga may be fixed as the age of Russian Christianity. A female, perhaps of the basest origin, who could revenge the death, and assume the sceptre, of her husband Igor, must have been endowed with those active virtues which command the fear and obedience of barbarians. In a moment of foreign and domestic peace, she sailed to Constantinople; Gennadius, the Bishop, and Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, A.D. 955, has described, with minute diligence, the ceremonial of her reception in his capital and palace. The steps, the titles, the salutations, the banquet, the presents, were exquisitely adjusted to gratify the vanity of the great Empress, with the dignity of the person of the purple. In the sacrament of baptism, she received the venerable name of the empress Helen; and her conversion might be preceded or followed by her uncle, two interpreters, sixteen damsels of a higher, and eighteen of a lower, rank, twenty-two domestics or ministers of the household, with the children, who composed the retinue of the great princess Olga. After her return to Kiow and Novgorod, she firmly persisted in her new religion; but her labours in the propagation of the gospel were not crowned with success; and both her family and nation adhered with obstinacy or indifference to the gods of their fathers. Her son Swatolaws was apprehensive of the scorn and ridicule of his companions; and her grandson Wododomir devoted his youthful zeal to multiply and decorate the monuments of ancient worship. The church was attended with traffic of the barbaresque deities of the north, who were accustomed to human sacrifices; in the choice of the victim, a citizen was preferred to a stranger, a christian to an idolater; and the father, who defended his son from the sacerdotal knife, was involved in the same doom by the rage of a fanatic tumult. Yet the lessons and example of the pious Olga remained in the deep, though secret, impression on the minds of the prince and people: the Greek missionaries continued to preach, to dispute, and to baptize; and the ambassadors or merchants of Russia compared the idolatry of the woods with the elegant superstition of Constantinople. They had gazed with admiration on the dome of St. Sophia, the lively pictures of saints and martyrs, the riches of the altar, the number and vestments of the priests, the pomp and order of the ceremonies; they were edified by the alternate succession of devout silence and harmonious song; nor was it difficult to persuade them,

These declaimers have multiplied to 300,000 and 320,000 men, those Russian forces, of which the contemporary had given a moderate and well-founded account. 

4 Phot. Episc. II. No. 35. p. 51, edit. Montecat. It was not unworthy of the learning of the editor to mistake the Russian nation, for the Slavonian, a war-cry of the Dalmatian usurpers, and not all the Slavonic, for the Dalmatian, inscriptions, is well known and conspicuous. (Comment, Academic, Petroz., p. 45, 46.) d'Anville, Geographic Ancien, tom. i, p. 273, 311.

5 In a political management of the Greeks, they were especially with the Patriarch and the chief of the Administrative Imperators.

6 In the course of this war, Leo the Deacon, (Epam Pari, Critica, iv, A.D. 568—974,) is more accurate and circumstantial than d'Anville, (tom. ii, p. 60—683,) and Zonaras, (tom. ii, p. 395—414.)
that a choir of angels descended each day from heaven of Wołodomir, to join in the devotion of the christians. A.D. 985. But the conversion of Wołodomir was determined or hastened, by the presence of a Roman bride. At the same time, and in the city of Cherson, the rites of baptism and marriage were celebrated by the christian pontiff: the city he restored to the emperor Basil, the brother of his spouse; but the brazen gates were transported, as it is said, to Novogorod, and translated into the first church as a trophy of honour, victory and faith. At his despotie command, Peroum, the god of thunder, whom he had so long adored, was dragged through the streets of Kiow; and twelve sturdy barbarians battered with clubs the missahopen image, which was indignantly cast into the waters of the Caspian sea. The names of the twelve were pronounced in the imperial voice, and the first missionaries were treated as the enemies of God and their prince; and the rivers were instantly filled with many thousands of obedient Russians, who acquiesced in the truth and excellence of a doctrine which had been embellished by the great duke and his boyars. In the next generation, the relics of paganism were finally extirpated; but as the two brothers of Wołodomir had died without baptism, their bones were taken from the grave, and sanctified by an irregular and posthumous sacrament.

Christianity of the north.

In the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries of the christian era, the reign of A.D. 800—1100—the gospel and of the church was extended over Bulgaria, Hungary, Bohemia, Saxony, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Poland, and Russia. The triumphs and the divine zeal which were exhibited in the cause of Christianity; and the northern and eastern regions of Europe submitted to a religion, more different in theory than in practice the worship of their native idols. A laudable ambition excited the monks, both of Germany and Greece, to visit the tents and hunting-grounds; poverty and hardships, and the infidels, were the lot of the first missionaries: their courage was active and patient; their motive pure and meritorious; their present reward consisted in the testimony of their conscience and the respect of a grateful people; but the fruitful harvest of their toils was inhibited and enjoyed by the proud and wealthy lates of succeeding times. The first conversions were free and spontaneous: a holy life and an eloquent tongue were the only arms of the missionaries; but the domestic fables of the pagans were silenced by the miracles and the visions of the missionaries, and the favorable temper of the chiefs was accelerated by the dictates of vanity and interest. The leaders of nations, who were saluted with the titles of kings and saints, held it lawful and pious to impose the catholic faith on their subjects and neighbours: the coast of the Baltic, from Holstein to the gulf of Finland, was in vaded under the standard of the cross; and the reign of idoltry was closed by the conversion of Lithuania in the fourteenth century. Yet truth and candour must acknowledge, that the conversion of the north imparted many temporal benefits both to the old and the new christians. The rage of war, inherent to the human species, could not be healed by the evangelic precepts of charity and peace; and the ambition of the barbarians into the pale of civil and ecclesiastical society delivered Europe from the depredations, by sea and land, of the Normans, the Hungarians, and the Russians, who learned to spare their brethren and cultivate the arts. They were divided by the walls of Constantinople and order was promoted by the influence of the clergy; and the rudiments of art and science were introduced into the savage countries of the globe. The liberal piety of the Russian princes engaged in their service the most skilful of the Greeks, to decorate the churches, and taught the art of painting. The paintings of St. Sophia were rudely copied in the churches of Kiow and Novogorod: the writings of the fathers were translated into the Slavonic idiom; and three hundred noble youths were invited or compelled to attend the lessons of the college of Jarslaw. It should appear that Russia might have derived an early and rapid improvement from her peculiar connexion with the church and state of Constantinople, which in that age so justly despised the ignorance of the Latins. But the Byzantine nation was servile, solitary, and urging to a hasty decline: after the fall of Kiow, the navigators of the Black Sea and the Bosphorus were in the place of the princes of Wołodomir and Moscow were separated from the sea and Christendom; and the divided monarchy was oppressed by the ignominy and blindness of Tartar servitude. The Slavonic and Scandinavian kingsoms, which had been converted by the Latin missionaries, were exposed, it is true, to the spiritual jurisdiction and temporal claims of the popes; but they were united, in language and religious worship, with each other, and with Rome; they imbibed the free and generous spirit of the European republic, and greatly strengthened the right of knowledge which arose on the western world.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Saracens, Franks, and Greeks, in Italy.—First adventures and settlement of the Normans.—Character and conquests of Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia.—Deliverns of Sicily by his brother Roger.—The claim of the Normans to the empire.—The loss of the empire by the Normans.—The Norman conquests and invasion of Africa and Greece.—The emperor Manuel Comnenus.—Wars of the Greeks and Normans.—Extermination of the Normans.

The three great nations of the west, conflict of the the Greeks, the Saracens, and the Franks, encountered each other on the mother—The southern provin. A.D. 810—107...

1. Listen to the exultations of Adam of Bremen (A.D. 1059.) of which there is here an extract: "Benedictus vir nobilissimiyi normui, et atio... jussu monachi Dei audivit regnare... ecce populus ille peccatorum... ab indolentia... fundit placuit... ultra concitarius... in Venus... publicus... accepit... ab antiquis... tantum idolum... praedicatorem... verbi... sanctam... voluntatem... et imperium... considerante... et... Clementia... et... gravitate... diu... sub... sanctum... imperium... deinde... iussu... imperator... et... morte... et... imperium... ad... aeternum... (Kutak, Hist. Critica, tom. i. p. 26—28.)

2. For the general history of Italy in the ninth and tenth centuries, I may refer to the fifteenth, sixtieth, and seventh books of Newe Compendium de Regno Italia (in the second volume of his works, Milan, 1722.) the Annals of Baronius with the Criticism of Papi; the seventh and eighth volumes of the Annali del Regno of Napoli di Gianmonti; the seventh and eighth volumes (the octavo edition) of the Annali d'Italia di Mortet; and the second volume of the Annals of the Emperor and the chronicle of M. de St. Marc, a work which, under a superficial title,
Is it by your fasting that the walls of Bari have been overturned? Did not these valiant Franks, diminished as they were by langour and fatigue, intercept and vanquish the three most powerful emirs of the Saracens? and did not their defeat precipitate the fall of the city? Bari is now fallen; Tarentum trembles; Calabria will be next; and within a short time the island of Sicily may be rescued from the hands of the infidels. My brother, (a name most offensive to the vanity of the Greeks,) accelerate your naval scources, respect your allies, and distrust your flatterers. 7

These lofty hopes were soon extin-
tdued by the perilous exaction of Lewis. The Greeks in decay of the Carolingian house; and Eloy, who might deserve the honour, the A. D. 890.

Greek emperors, Basil, and his son Leo, secured the advantage of the reduction of Bari. The Italians of Apulia and Calabria were persuaded or compelled to acknowledge their supremacy, and an ideal line from mount Garganus to the bay of Salerno, leaves the far greater part of the kingdom of Naples under the dominion of the eastern empire. Beyond that line, the dukes or republics of Amalfi, A & Naples, who had never forfeited their voluntary allegiance, rejoiced in their laws, their liberties, and their independence. Amalí was enriched by supplying Europe with the produce and manufactures of Asia. But the Lombard princes of Benevento, Salerno, and Capua, were reluctantly torn from the communion of the Latin world, and too often violated their oaths of servitude and tribute. The city of Bari rose to dignity and wealth, and was the metropolis of the new theme or province of Lombardy; the title of patrician, and afterwards the singular name of Catanum, was assigned to the supreme governor; and the policy both of the church and state was modelled in exact subordination to the throne of Rome. The empire was disputed by the princes of Italy, their efforts were feeble and adverse; and the Greeks resisted or eluded the forces of Germany, which descended from the Alps under the imperial standard of the Othos. The first and greatest of those Saxon princes was compelled to relinquish the sieve of Bari; the second, after the loss of his stoutest bishops and barons, escaped with honour from the bloody field of Crotona. Defeat of Odo.

On that day the scale of war was turned III.

against the Franks by the valor of the Saracens. The first attack was driven by the Byzantine fleets from the fortresses and coasts of Italy; but a sense of interest was more prevalent than superstition or resentment, and the caliph of Egypt had transported forty thousand Moslems to the aid of his christian ally. The successors of Basil amused themselves with the belief, that the conquest of Lom-

1 The original epitaph of the emperor Lewis II. to the emperor Basil, a curious record of the age, was first published by Baronius, (Ann. Eccl. Eccl. vol. 1, No. 41.) vol. from the church of Rome in the Appendix (p. 41–42) of Henry Bruckmann's Historia Podocautarii, (Traject ad Rhenum, 1722, in fol.)

Your master, etc.

2 Lewis, king of Armenia, has given aid and protection to his own relations and the，并且与他们最近的兄弟和姐妹进行了接触，他们之间的友谊和和平关系，使他们之间的关系更加亲密。

3 Colmino del Pellegrino, a learned Capuan, the last historian of the city, has published his Historia Principum Longobardorum, in the Capitale of Mirati, title, in 4 vols. fol. and tom. v. 153–415.

4 Campanus, Porphyrigenus, de Thrasibulus, l. i. c. xi in Vit. Basil. c. 20, p. 91.

5 See Concerning the Paphlabro in, l. i. c. xi in Vit. Basil. c. 20, p. 91.

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bardy had been achieved, and was still preserved, by the justice of their laws, the virtues of their ministers, and the gratitude of a people whom they had rescued from anarchy and oppression. A series of rebellions might dash a ray of light into the palace of Constanti-

nople; and the illusions of flattery were dispelled by the easy and rapid success of the Norman adventu-

Anecdotes.

The revolution of human affairs had produced a tragical scene in Calabria a mournful and melancholy contrast between the age of Pythagoras and the tenth century of the christian era. At the former period the coast of Great Greece (as it was then styled) was planted with free and opulent cities; these cities were peopled with soldiers, artists, and philoso-

phers; and the military strength of Tarentum, Syra-

his, or Crotone, was not inferior to that of a powerful kingdom. At the second era, these once flourishing provinces were clouded with ignorance, impoverished by tyranny, and depopulated by barbarian war: nor can we severely accuse the exaggeration of a contem-

porary, that a fair and ample district of country was reduced to the same desolation which had covered the earth after the general deluge. Among the hostilities of the Arabs, the Franks, and the Greeks, in the southern Italy, I shall select two or three anecdotes expressive of the peculiar munificence of the Saracens to profane, as well as to p Ihlge, the monasteries and churches. At the siege of Salerno, a massalian chief spread his couch on the communion-cable, and on that altar sacrificed each night the virginity of a christian nun. As he wrestled with a relentless maid, a beam in the roof was accidentally or dexterously thrown down on his head; and the death of the lustful enmity was imparted to the wrath of Christ, which was at length awakened to the defence of his faithful spouse.

2. The Saracens besieged the cities of Beneventum and Capua. In the year 871, the capture of Apulia by the Normans, and the appeal to the succours of Charlemagne, the Lombards implored the clemency and aid of the Greek em-

peror. A fearless citizen drop from the walls, passed the intrenchments, accomplished his commission, and fell into the hands of the barbarians, as he was returning with the welcome news. They commanded him to assist their enterprise, and deceive his countrymen, with the assurance that wealth and honours should be the reward of his falsehood, and that his sincerity would be punished with immediate death. He ac-

cepted, and, as soon as he was within the hearing of the christians on the rampart, "Friends and brethren," he cried with a loud voice, "be hold and patient, maintain the city; your sovereign is informed of your distress, and your deliverers are at hand. I know my doom, and commit my wife and children to your gratitude." The rage of the Arabs confirmed his evidence; and the self-devoted patriot was trans-

ferred with a hundred spears. He deserves to live in the memory of the virtuous, but the repetition of the same story in ancient and modern times, may sprinkle some of the bloom of this generous deed.

3. The recital of a third inci-

dent may provoke a smile amidst the horrors of war. Theobald, marquis of Caramino and Spoleto, supported the rebels of Beneventum; and his wanton cruelty was not incompatible in that age with the character of a hero. His captives of the Greeks, to whose menaces and threats he was left exposed, and the outrage was aggravated by a cruel jest, that he wished to present the emperor with a supply of eunuchs, the most precious ornaments of the Byz-

antine court. Thearrison of a castle had been defended with an extraordinary valour and resolution by a young man of fourteen years old. He was put to death immediately after the surrender of the castle; but his body was dismembered by the order of the Theobald. His limbs were thrown into different parts of the city, and then burnt. Theobald denied the charge, and protested, that, since the Amazons, he had never heard of a female war. "And how," she furiously exclam-

ed, "can you attack us more directly, how can you wound us in a more vital part than the husbands of whom what we most dearly cherish, the source of our joys, and the hope of our posterity!" The plunder of our flocks and herds I have endured with a murmur, but this fatal injury, this irreparable loss, will not be without a successor. I have reproved your husbands and to your persons. But let my lord be pleased to spare what his little handmaid presumes to claim as her peculiar and lawful property.

The establishment of the Normans in Origin of the the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, in Italy, an event degrading its glory, in its consequences the most important both to Italy and the eastern empire. The broken provinces of the Greeks, Lombards, and Saracens, were exposed to every invader, and every sea and land were invaded by the pillage, rapine, and slaughter of the barbarian princes. After a long indulgence of rapine and slaughter, this fair and ample territory was accepted, occupied, and named, by the Normans of France: they renounced their gods for the God of the christians; and the dukes of Nor-

The walls of the same city of Beneventum. But the actors are dif-

ferent, and the guilt is imputed to the Greeks themselves, in which the Byzantine edition is applied to the Saracens. In the late war in

Germany, M. D'Assas, a French officer of the regiment of Auvergne, who had been condemned by a council of war for having corporally acquitted himself in a similar manner. His behaviour is the more heroic, as even the innocence of him who had made him prisoner, (Voltaire, Histoire de Louis XV, c. 33, tom. ii, p. 172.)

2 Theobald, who is styled Heros by Luttrell, was properly duke of Spoleto, not Marquis of Caramino, from which title and office of marquis (commander of the march or frontier) was introduced into Italy by the French emperors. (Abbre Chronolo-

giae, tom. xii, p. 725, &c.)

3 Luttrell, Hist. i. c. iv. in the Roman Italic, Script. tom. i, p. 432, &c. Should the licences of the title be demonstrated, I may, with poor Stittis, that it is hard if I may not transcribe it... what a bishop could write without scruple. What if I had transcribed it; and from a critical passage to us nostris corporis redilocii, &c.

4 Sometimes the Normans in Italy are collected in the fifth volume of Muratori; and among these we may distinguish the\n
Constantine Porphyrogenitus (in Vit. Basil. c. 25 p. 183.) is the ori-

Constantine Porphyrogenitus (in Vit. Basil. c. 25 p. 183.) is the ori-

unknown; the names of both are unknown.

In the year 653, the same tragedy is described by Paul the De-

con (in Georgii Thaeg. t. v. c. 7 & 8, p. 587, edit. Gros.) under
of the Roman Empire.

\[299\]

manly acknowledged themselves the vassals of the successors of the Way of which was the Capet. The savage fierceness which they had brought from the snowy mountains of Norway, was refined, without being corrupted, in a warmer climate; the companions of Rollo insensibly mingled with the natives; they imbibed the manners, language, and gallantry, of the French nation; and, in a mature age, the Normans might claim the semblance of virtue and grace as an acquired fashion; they were often received with kindness by the proud and fashionable superstitious, they embraced with ardor the pilgrimages of Rome, Italy, and the Holy Land. In this active devotion, their minds and bodies were invigorated by exercise: danger was the incentive, not the motive: and the passage of their lives was decorated by wonder,credulity, and ambition; they venerated their country. They confederated for their mutual defence: and the robbers of the Alps, who had been allured by the garb of a pilgrim, were often chastised by the arm of a warrior. In one of these pious visits to the cavern of mount Garganos in Apulia, which had been sanctified by the apparition of the archangel Michael,\(^1\) they were accosted by a stranger in the Greek habit, but who soon revealed himself as a rebel, a fugitive, and a mortal foe of the Greek empire. His name was Melo; a noble citizen of Bari, who, after an unsuccessful attempt to espouse the cause of the emperor, placed himself under the protection of the Saracens, avengers of his country. The bold appearance of the Normans revived his hopes and solicited his confidence: \(^1\) they listened to the complaints, and still more to the promises, of the patriot. The assurance of wealth demonstrated the justice of his cause; and they were met with by a vassal of the chief of Bari, who supplied the more indigent with arms and horses, and instantly led them to the field of action. In the first conflict, their valor prevailed; but in the second engagement they were overwhelmed by the numbers and military engines of the Greeks, and ignominiously retreated with their faces to the enemy. The unfortunate Melo ended his life, a suppliant at the court of Germany: his Norman followers, excluded from their native and their promised land, wandered among the hills and valleys of Italy, and the Balkan mountains, and that formidable sword, the princes of Capua, Beneventum, Salerno, and Naples, ultimately appealed in their domestic quarrels; the superior spirit and discipline of the Normans gave victory to the side which they espoused; and their cautious policy observed the balance of power, lest the preparedness of any rival state should render their aid less important and their service less profitable. Their first asylum was a strong camp in the depth of the marshes of Campania; but they were soon endowed by the liberality of the duke of Naples with a more plentiful and permanent seat. Eight miles from his capital, a town was founded, which was afterwards called Aversa. Foundation of work against Capua, the town of Aversa was built and fortified for their use; and they enjoyed, as their own, the corn and fruits, the meadows and groves, of that fertile district.\(^2\) The report of their success attracted every year new swarms of pilgrims and adventurers from every corner of the world, by necessity; the rich were excited by hope; and the brave and active spirits of the Normans were impatience of easy and ambitious of renown. The independent standard of Aversa afforded shelter and encouragement to the outlaws of the province, to every fugitive who had been escaped from the injustice and violence of the Normans, and these foreign associates were quickly assimilated in manners and language to the Gallic colony. The first leader of the Normans was count Rainulf; and, in the origin of society, pre-eminence of rank is the reward and the proof of superior merit.\(^3\)

\[Since the conquest of Sicily by the Normans, the Greek emperors had been served in Sicily, anxious to regain what valuable possess-\]
THE DECLINE AND FALL

Chapter XVII.

reduced thirteen cities, and the greater part of Sicily, under the obedience of the emperor. But his military fame was sullied by ingratitude and tyranny. In the division of the spoil, the desires of his brave auxiliaries were forgotten; and neither their avow nor their pride could brook this injurious treatment. They presented their complaint to the emperor; their complaint was disregarded; their interpreter was scourged; the sufferings were his; the insult and resentment belonged to those whose sentiments he had delivered. Yet they dissembled till they had obtained, or stolen, a share of the Italian conquest: their brethren of Aversa sympathised in their indignation, and the province of Apulia was invaded as the forfeit of the

Their conquest.\footnote{Jeffrey Malaterra, who relates the Sicilian war, and the conquest of Apulia. (I. c. 7, 9, 19.) The same events are described by Cedrenus (tom. i. p. 741–743, 753, 756) and Zonaras; (tom. ii. p. 227, 228) and the Greeks are so hardened to disgrace, that their narratives are impartial enough.} Above twenty years after the

of Apulia. first emigration, the Normans took the

A.D. 1091–1096, field with no more than seven hundred horse and five hundred foot; and after the recall of the

Byzantine legions\footnote{The execrable character of the Normans.} from the Sicilian war, their numbers are magnified to the amount of three thousand

sand men. Their herald proposed the option of battle or retreat; \"if of battle,\" was the unanimous cry of the Normans, of their stout warriors, with a stroke of his fist, felled to the ground the horse of the Greek messenger. He was dismissed with a fresh horse; the insult was concealed from the imperial troops; but in two successive battles they were more fatally instructed of the prowess of their adversaries. In this interval the Ascalon adventurers of France; the duke of Lombardy was made prisoner; the Apulians avenged in a new
dominion; and the four places of Bari, Otranto, Brindisi, and Tarentum, were alone saved in the shipwreck of the Greek fortune. From this war we may guess the extent of the Norman power, which soon eclipsed the infant colony of Aversa. Twelve counts\footnote{Opposition of the Normans to the Latin conquerors.} were chosen by the popular suffrage; and age, birth, and merit were the motives of their choice. The tributes of their peculiar districts were appropriated to their use; and each count erected a fortress in the midst of his lands, and at the head of his vassals. In the centre of the province, the common habitation of Melphi was reserved as the metropolis and citadel of the republic; a house and separate quarter was allotted to each of the twelve counts; and the national public revenues were recapitulated to the

vassals. The first of his peers, their president and general, was entitled count of Apulia; and this dignity was conferred on William of the iron arm, who, in the language of the age, was styled a lion in battle, a lamb in the presence of the guerdon in court. The manners of his countrymen are fairly delineated by a contemporary and national historian.\footnote{"The Normans," says Ma-

terra, "are a cunning and revengeful people; eloquence and dissimulation appear to be their hereditary qualities; they can stoop to flattery; but unless they are curbed by the restraint of law, they indulge the licentiousness of nature and reason. Their reputation is founded upon their reputation.}\n

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of the east and west. The throne of St. Peter was occupied by Leo the ninth, a simple saint, of a temper most apt to deceive himself and the world, and whose venerable character would conciliate with the name of piety the measures least compatible with the elevation of his order. But the complaints, perhaps the calamities, of an injured people: the impious Normans had interrupted the payment of tithes: and the temporal sword might be lawfully unsheathed against the sacrilegious robbers, who were deaf to the entreaties of the church. As a German, his birth and baptism kindled in him a love for his native land, which had free access to the court and confidence of the emperor Henry the third; and in search of arms and allies, his ardent zeal transported him from Apulia to Saxony, from the Elbe to the Tiber. During these hostile preparations, Argyrus indulged himself in the use of secret and guilty weapons: a crowd of Normans became the victims of public or private revenge; and the valiant Drogo was murdered in a church. But his spirit survived in his brother Humphrey, the third count of Apulia. The assassins were chastised; and the son of Melo, overthrown and worsted, now began to extol the beauty behind the walls of Bari, and to await the tardy succour of his allies.

A.D. 1031. Expedition of Pope Leo IX against the Normans. The power of Constantine was distracted by a Turkish war; the mind of Henry was feble and irresolute; and the zeal for the reform was impaired. An army, accompanied with a German army, was accompanied only by a guard of seven hundred Swabians and some volunteers of Lorrain. In his long progress from Mantua to Beneventum, a vile and promiscuous multitude of Italians was enlisted under the holy standard: the priest and the soldier, and the duke and the peasant, and the officer and the adventurers, and the mural saint repeated the lessons of his youth in the order of march, of encampment, and of combat. The Normans of Apulia could muster in the field no more than three thousand horse, with a handful of infantry; the defense of the natives intercepted their provisions and retreat; and their spirit, incapable of fear, was chilled for a moment by superstitious awe. On the hostile approach of Leo, they knelt without disgrace or reluctance before their spiritual father. But the pope was inexorable; his lofty Germans afforded to the descending temporalities of their adversaries; and the Normans were informed that death or exile was their only alternative. Flight they disdained, and, as many of them had been three days without tasting food, they embraced the assurance of a more easy and honourable death. They climbed the hill of Civitella, descended into the plain, and charged in penetrable phalanx; and neither man, nor steed, nor armour, could resist the weight of their long and two-handed swords. After a severe conflict, they were encompassed by the squadrons returning from the pursuit of the万个, and died in thousands, with the joy of their foes, and the satisfaction of revenge. The gates of Civitella were shut against the flying pope, and he was overtaken by the pious conquerors, who kissed his feet, to implore his blessing, and the absolution of their sinful victory. The soldiers held in their enemy and captive the viceroy of Christ; and, though we cannot suppose that they did not understand that they were infected by the popular superstition. In the calm of retirement, the well-meaning pope deposed the effusion of christian blood, which must be imputed to his accoutet: he felt that he had been the author of sin and scandal: and as his undertaking had failed, the indecency of his military character was universally condemned. With these dispositions, he listened to the offers of a beneficent treaty; desisted an alliance which he had preached as the cause of God; and ratified the past and future conquests of the Normans. By whatever hands they had obtained the possession of Apulia, and the provinces of Naples and Calabria were a part of the donation the Normans. Of Constantine and the patrimony of St. Peter: the grant and the acceptance confirmed the mutual claims of the pontiff and the adventurers. They promised to support each other with spiritual and temporal arms; to divide or guard the provinces inhabited by the Normans, stipulated for every plough-land: and since this memorable transaction, the kingdom of Naples has remained above seven hundred years a fief of the holy see.

The pedigree of Robert Guiscard Birth and character of Robert Guiscard. He is variously deduced from the peasants named the sons of his father, the valiant and courageous peasant, the pride and ignorance of a Grecian princess; from the duke, by the ignorance and flattery of the Italian subjects. His genuine descent may be ascribed to the second or middle order of private nobility. He sprang from a race of «seigneurons or baronets», of the dukes of the Countenance, in the Lower Normandy: the castle of Hauteville was their honourable seat; his father Tancred was conspicuous in the court and army of the duke; and his military service was furnished by ten soldiers or knights. Two marriages, of a rank not unworthy of his own, made him the father of twelve sons, who were educa-

1 A Life of St. Leo IX, deeply tinged with the passions and prejudices of the age, has been composed by Wiltet, printed at Paris, 1514, in five books and six times, but not printed in the Colloquiis of Boland, of Mabillon, and of Muratori. The public and private history of the pontificate is given by Robert the famous Guiscard, attacked, broke, routed, and pursued the Italian enemies, who fought without discipline, and fled without shame. A hostier trial was reserved for the valour of count Humphrey, who led the cavalry of the right wing. The Germans have been described as unskilful in the management of the horse and lance: but on foot they formed a strong and im-
ted at home by the impartial tenderness of his second wife. But a narrow patrimony was insufficient for this numerous and daring progeny; they saw around the neighbourhood the mischiefs of poverty and discord, and resolved to seek in foreign wars a more glorious inheritance. Two only remained to perpetuate the race: the eldest, by the death of their father, became their tenant; the other, as they successively attained the vigour of manhood, departed from the castle, passed the Alps, and joined the Apulian camp of the Normans. The elder were prompted by native spirit; their success encouraged their younger brethren, and the three first in station in this expedition were Orce, desired to be the chief of their nation, and the founders of the new republic. Robert was the eldest of the seven sons of the second marriage; and even the reluctant praise of his foes has endowed him with the heroic qualities of a soldier and a statesman. His lofty stature surpassed the tallest of his army; his limbs were cast in the true proportion of strength and gracefulness; and to the decline of life, he maintained the patient vigour of health and the commanding dignity of his form. His complexion was ruddy, his shoulde were broad, his hair and beard were long and of a flaxen complexion; in his highest fortune, he was as well disposed to his voice, like that of Achilles, could impress obedience and terror amidst the tumult of battle. In the ruder ages of chivalry, such qualifications are not below the notice of the poet or historian; they may claim a baser end at once, as they are not of equal dignity; but he could wield in the right hand his sword, his lance in the left; that in the battle of Civitella, he was three unhorsed; and that in the close of that memorable day he was adjudged to have borne away the prize of valour from the warriors of the two armies. His bearing was so guarded by the suspicion of his consciousness of superior worth: in the pursuit of greatness, he was never arrested by the scruples of justice, and seldom moved by the feelings of humanity; though not insensible of fame, the choice of open or clandestine means was determined only by his present advantage. The surplus of Guiscard was applied to this end; political wisdom, which is too often confounded with the practice of dissimulation and deceit; and Robert is praised by the Apulian poet for excelling the cunning of Ulysses and the eloquence of Cicero. Yet these arts were disguised by an appearance of military frankness; in his highest fortune, he was as well disposed and courteous to his fellow-soldiers; and while he indulged the prejudices of his new subjects, he affected in his dress and manners to maintain the ancient fashion of his country. He was supplied with a richness in his youth; yet it was sufficient for a life of simplicity and industry; his primitive indigence had taught the habits of frugality; the gain of a merchant was not below his attention; and his prisoners were tortured with slow and unfailing cruelty, to force a discovery of their secret treasure. According to the Greeks, he departed from Normandy, with only five followers on his horseback, and thirty on foot; yet even this allowance appears too bountiful: the sixth son of Tancred of Hauteville passed the Alps as a pilgrim; and his first military band was levied among the adventurers of Italy. His brothers and countrymen had divided the fertile lands of Apulia; but they guarded their shares

with the jealousy of war; the aspiring youth was driven forwards to the mountains of Calabria, and in his first exploits against the Greeks and the natives, it is not easy to discriminate the hero from the robber. To surprise a castle or a convent, to insannce a wealthy citizen, to plunder the adjacent villages for necessary supplies, and then, as the Greek proverb says, he exercised the powers of his mind and body. The volunteers of Normandy adhered to his standard; and, under his command, the peasants of Calabria assumed the name and character of Normans.

As the genius of Robert expanded with the rise of his fortunes, his ambition was not satisfied by his elder brother, by whom, in a tran-
sient quarrel, his life was threatened and his liberty restrained. After the death of Humphrey, the tender age of his sons excluded them from the command; they were reduced to a private estate by the ambition of their guardian and uncle; and Guiscard was exiled on a buckler, and saluted count of Apulia and general of the republic. With an increase of authority and of force, he resumed the conquest of Calabria, and soon aspired to a rank that should raise him for ever above the heads of his equals. By some acts of rapine or robbery, he acquired a name and character universally detestable, but Nicholas the second was easily persuaded, that the divisions of friends could terminate only in their mutual prejudice; that the Normans were the faithful champions of the holy see; and it was safer to trust the rashness of the enemy to the design of Guiscard. A synod of one hundred bishops was convened at Melphi; and the count interrupted an important enterprise to guard the person and execute the decrees of the Roman pontiff. His gratitude and policy concurred on Robert and his posterity the ducal title, with the confirmation of his possessions; and the republic of Normandy was divided, both in Italy and Sicily, which his sword could rescue from the schismatic Greeks and the unbelieving Saracens. This apostolic sanction might justify his arms: but the obedience of a free and victorious people could not be transferred without their consent; and Guiscard knew that the granting of the duchy of Sicily rested on the condition of his consent; and he was the labour of twenty years to deserve and realize these lofty appellations. Such tardy progress, in a narrow space, may seem unworthy of the abilities of the chief and the spirit of the nation: but the Normans were few in number; their resources were scanty; their service was voluntary and precarious. The bravest designs of the duke were sometimes opposed by the free voice of his parliament of barons: the twelve counts of popular election conspired against his authority; and against their perfidious uncle the sons of Humphrey demanded justice and revenge. By his policy and vigour, Guiscard discovered their plots, suppressed their oaths, and disobedience; and punished the king with death or exile: but in these domestic feuds, his years and the national strength were unprofitably consumed.

The acquisition of the ducal title by Robert Guiscard is a nice and obscure business. With the good advice of Giannone, Muratibus, and other counselors, who endeavored to Eurico to be the Duke of Apulia, a consistent and probable narrative.

Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 1053. No. 69.) has published the original act. He professed to have copied it from the Liber Cen
erun, a Vatican manuscript. Yet a Liber Cen
nerun has been printed by Muratibus (Antiqu. mediæ Ætatis, tom. v. p. 881—908.) and the name of Vatican and Cardinal awaken the suspicions of a poetaster, and even of a philosopher.
most eminent rank, and most distant climates, invited or visited the physicians of Salerno. They were protected by the Norman conquerors; and Guiscard, though bred in arms, could discern the merit and value of a philosopher. After a pilgrimage of thirty-nine years, Constantine, an African Christian, returned from Haggadah, a man of the largest and most liberal frame of mind, was invited to the court of the Abbazians; and Salerno was enriched by the practice, the lessons, and the writings, of the pupil of Avicenna.

The school of medicine has long slept in the name of a university; but her precepts are abridged in a string of aphorisms, bound together in the Leomine verses, or Latin hymn, of the twelfth century. 4

II. Seven miles to the west of Salerno, and thirty to the south of Naples, the obscure town of Amalfi displayed the power and rewards of industry. The land, however fertile, was of narrow extent; but the sea was accessible and open: the inhabitants first assumed the office of supplying the western world with the manufactures and productions of the east; and this useful traffic was the source of their opulence and freedom. The government was popular, under the administration of a duke and the supremacy of the Greek emperor. Fifty thousand vessels were in the sea at one time. If there was any city more abundantly provided with gold, silver, and the objects of precious luxury. The mariner who swarmed in her port excelled in the theory and practice of navigation and astronomy; and the discovery of the compass, which has opened the globe, is due to the neediness of the sailors. 4

Roger, the twelfth, and last of the Conquest of Sicil.

His reign, of Pancre, had been long delayed by Count Ro-

Age. He accepted the welcome sum-

mons; hastened to the Apulian camp; and deserved at first the esteem, and afterwards the envy, of his elder brother. Their valour and ambition were equal; but the youth of Roger was more tractable. 4

Roger, engaged the disinterested love of the soldiers and people. So scanty was his allowance, for himself and for his followers, that he descended from conquest to robbery, and from robbery to domestic theft; and so loose were the notions of property, that, by his own historian, at his special command, he is accused of stealing horses from astable at Melphi. 4

His spirit

4 Munster carries their antiquity above the year (1056.) of the death of Edward the Confessor, the rex Anglorum to whom they are addressed, Nor is this date affected by the opinion, or rather mis-

take, of Pasquier. Becheres de la France, iv. v. 23.) and Du-

comes, (Glosar. Latin.) The practice of rhythm, as early as the sixteenth century, is contained in the works from the end of the eight and sixteenth century to the north and east. (Marini, Antiquit. tom. iii. dissert. a. p. 686–705.)

4 The description of Amalfi, by William the Apulian, (l. iii. p. 227.) contains much truth and some particulars. The third line may be applied to the sailo's compass: 4

\[\text{v. Latii munere magni erat.}

\text{v. Lectionis antiquam melius contenientur, quod}

\text{inquisita ad eum grammaticum non dicimus et ullius pomponii.
}

\text{v. Amalfitanae habitant; quidam adducunt vilium et reprehensibilium dictorum summis et pluribus patens.
}

\text{v. Laytonianus est non minus facinus, quod
}

\text{adsumum cumulent divittiis vel honoris attingent. Such in the preface of Malaterra (l. i. c. 35.) to the house-straining. From the mo-

ment (l. i. c. 19.) that he has mentioned his patron Roger, the elder

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emerged from poverty and disgrace: from these base practices he rose to the merit and glory of a holy war; and the invasion of Sicily was seconded by the zeal and policy of his brother Guiscard. After the retreat of the Greeks, the *Idolaters*, a most audacious reproach of the Persians, returned the Athenians and possessions; but the deliverance of the island, so vainly undertaken by the forces of the eastern empire, was achieved by a small and private band of adventurers. In the first attempt, Roger braved, in an open boat, the real and fabulous dangers of Seyla and Charybdis; land. Not only the noblest and most active soldiers, but the Saracen, to the gates of Messina; and safely returned with the spoils of the adjacent country. In the fortresses of Trani, his active and patient courage was equally conspicuous. In his old age he related with pleasure, that by the distress of the siege, himself, and the countless his wife had been reduced to a single cloak or mantle, which they were alternately: that in a sally his horse had been slain, and he was dragged away by the Saracens; but that he owed his rescue to his good sword, and had retreated with his saddle on his back, lest the meanest trophy might be left among the miseries of the sierra country. Roger, three hundred Normans withstood and repulsed the forces of the island. In the field of Ceramio, fifty thousand horse and foot were overthrown by one hundred and sixty-six Christian soldiers, without reckoning the *captive banner*. Those captive bands of four camels, were reserved for the successor of St. Peter; and had these barbaric spoils been exposed not in the Vatican, but in the capital, they might have revived the memory of the Punic triumphs. These insufficient numbers of the Normans not only probably salute their kith and kin, the soldiers of honourable and equestrian rank, each of whom was attended by five or six followers in the field; yet, with the aid of this interpretation, and every fair allowance on the side of valor, arms, and reputation, the discontinuance of so many myriads will render the present reader to the alternative of a miracle or a fable. The Arabs of Sicily derived a frequent and powerful succour from their countrymen of Africa; in the siege of Palermo, the Norman cavalry was assisted by the galleys of Pisa; and, in the hour of action, the cory of the two brothers was subordinated to a diplomatic engagement. The Messina was the capital of thirty years, Roger, with the title of great count, obtained the sovereignty of the largest and most fruitful island of the Mediterranean; and his administration displays a liberal and enlightened mind above the limits of his age and education. The Moslems were maintained in the free enjoyment of their religion and property; a philosopher and physician of Mazara, of the race of Mahomet, harangued the conqueror, and was invited to court; his geography of the seven climates was translated into Latin; and Roger, after a dilignet perusal, professed the work of the Arabian to the writings of the Grecian Ptolemy. A remnant of christ\- 

...
had been contrived by the subile Guiscard; and he trusted, that after this pretender had given a decent color to his arms, he would sink, at the nod of the conqueror, into his primitive obscurity. But victory was the only argument that could determine the belief of the Greeks; and the ardor of the Latins was much inferior to their credulity; the Norman veterans wished, like Italians, to be avenged; the Venetians referred their hasty repairs to the known and unknown dangers of a transmarine expedition. In his new levies, Robert exerted the influence of gifts and promises, the terror of civil and ecclesiastical authority; and some acts of violence might justify the repugnance, that age and the characters of these princes had trained into the Persian service of their unrelenting prince. After two years' incessant preparations, the land and naval forces were assembled at Otranto, at the heel, or extreme promontory, of Italy; and Robert was accompanied by his horse, who fought by his side, his son Bohemond, and the representatives of the emperor Michael. Thirteen hundred knights, of Norman race or discipline, formed the six-ws of the army, which might be swelled to thirty thousand followers of every denomination. The men, the horses, the arms, the engines, the wooden towers, covered with raw hides, were embarked on board the galleys. The Norman dukes had never been built in the ports of Italy, and the galleys were supplied by the alliance of the republic of Ragusa.

Siege of Durazzo.

At the mouth of the Adriatic gulf, the 
A. D. 1091. shores of Italy and Epirus line in to July 17. wards each other. The space between Brundusium and Durazzo, the Roman passage, is no more than one hundred miles; at the last station of Otranto, it is contracted to fifty; and this narrow distance had suggested to Pyrrhus and Pompey the sublime or extravagant idea of a bridge. Before the general embarkation, the Norman duke despatched Bohemond with five thousand men to despatch an advance party to Corfu, to survey the opposite coast, and to secure an harbour in the neighbourhood of Vallona for the landing of the troops. They passed and landed without perceiving an enemy; and this successful experiment displayed the neglect and devise of the naval power of the Greeks. The islands of Epirus and the maritime towns were subdued by the arms or the name of Robert, who led his fleet and army from Corfu (I use the modern appellation) to the siege of Durazzo. That city, the western key of the empire, was guarded by ancient renown, and recent fortifications, by George Pachymeres, and his father Charles, by a crusading garrison. The body of Bohemond, and a numerous garrison of Albanians and Macedonians, who, in every age, have maintained the character of the soldiers. In the prosecution of his enterprise, the courage of Guiscard was assailed by every form of danger and mischance. In the most propitious season of the year, as his fleet passed along the coast, a storm of wind and snow unexpectedly arose; the Adriatic was swelled by the raging blast of the south, and a new shipwreck confirmed the old infancy of the Acroeranian rocks. The sails, the masts, and the oars, were shatttered or torn away; the sea and ships were covered with the fragments of vessels, with an armada of dead bodies; and the greatest part of the provisions were either drowned or damaged. The ducal galley was laboriously rescued from the waves, and Robert halted seven days on the adjacent cape, to collect the relics of his loss, and revive the drooping spirits of his soldiery. The Newgebirt, the hasty and inconstant mariners who had explored the ocean from Greenland to mount Atlas, and who smiled at the petty dangers of the Mediterranean. They had wept during the tempest; they were alarmed by the hostile approach of the Venetians, who had been solicited by the first day's action was not disadvantageous to Bohemond, a beardless youth, who led the naval powers of his father. All night the galleys of the enemy lay on their anchors in the form of a crescent; and the victory of the second day was decided by the dexterity of their evolutions, the station of their archers, the weight of their javelins, and the borrowed aid of the Greek fire. The Apulian and Ragusian vessels fled to the shore, several were cut from their cables, and dragged away by the conqueror; and a sally from the town carried slaughter and dismay to the tents of the Norman fleet. After the Mengus of Durazzo, and as soon as the besiegers had lost the command of the sea, the islands and maritime towns withdrew from the camp the supply of tribute and provision. That camp was soon affected with a pestilential distemper; five hundred knights perished by an inglorious death; and the list of survivors (if all could be revived) amounted to ten thousand persons. Under these calamities, the mind of Guiscard alone was firm and invincible; and while he collected new forces from Apulia and Sicily, he bated, or seared, or sapped, the walls of Durazzo. But his industry and valour were unequal to the task, and the conquest of the city was reserved for the conqueror of Illyria. A movable turret, of a size and capacity to contain five hundred soldiers, had been rolled forwards to the foot of the rampart; but the descent of the door or draw-bride was checked by an enormous beam, and the wooden structure was instantly consumed by artificial flames.

While the Roman empire was attack-
ed by the Turks in the east, and the Normans in the west, the aged successor of Michael surrendered the sceptre to the hands of Alexius, the illustrious and captious of the Comnenian dynasty. The princes Anne, his daughter and historian, observes, in her affected style, that even Hercules was unequal to a double combat; and, on this principle, she approves a hasty peace with the Turks, which allowed her father to undertake in person the relief of Durazzo. On his accession, Alexius found the camp without soldiers, and the treasury without money; yet such were the vigour and activity of his measures, that in six months he assembled an army of seventy thousand men, and performed a march of five hundred miles. The troops were lodged in Europe and Asia, from Peloponnesus to the Black sea; his majesty was displayed in the silver arms and rich trappings of the companies of horse-guards; and the emperor was attended by a train of nobles and princes, trembling for the life of Vergil, is an interesting moment in the his-
tory of poetry and art. We have now to consider the case which is strangely doubled by Strabo (L. iv. p. 233) and Pliny. (Hist. Nat. ii. 62.)

The Itinerary of Jerusalem (p. 603, ed. Weisgell) gives a true account of the name of the Normans by the Italian and Spanish, which is strangely doubled by Strabo (L. iv. p. 233) and Pliny. (Hist. Nat. ii. 62.)

PLiny (Hist. Nat. iii. 6.) allows quinquaginta miles for this transmarine course, and agrees with the real distance from Otranto to Durazzo, which is very different from twenty-five miles, as stated by de Gueuze, &c. (p. 3–5.) Heroldius Barbarus, who substitutes centurias Venetianas for the milices, is corrected by every Venetian pilot who has sailed out of the gulf.

The Italian renunciation of the schism is still in force, and, in the Chronicle of Lupus Prussan, is confirmed by every Venetian pilot who has sailed out of the gulf.

The schism is still in force, and, in the Chronicle of Lupus Prussan (Script. Ital. tom. v. p. 53.)

Malaterra (L. iv. c. 27) speaks in high, but indefinite, terms of the emperor, whom the opikis inominaetabiles: like the Apianus post, (I. iv. p. 272.)

More focusum montes et plana teguntur.
some of whom, in rapid succession, had been clothed with the purple, and were indulged by the lenity of the times in a life of influence and dignity. Their youthful ardour might animate the multitude; but the latent and present limit of the Roman world: the raw levies were drawn together in haste and terror; and the garrisons of Anatolia, or Asia Minor, had been purchased by the evacuation of the cities which were immediately occupied by the Turks. The strength of the Greek army consisted in the Varangians, the Scandinavian guards, whose numbers were recently augmented by a colony of exiles and volunteers from the British island of Thule. Under the yoke of the Norman conqueror, the Danes and English were oppressed and united: a band of adventurous youths resolved to do all that lay in their power to defend the seat of their fires and hold it open to the two great seas; and, in their long pilgrimage, they visited every coast that afforded any hope of liberty and revenge. They were entertained in the service of the Greek emperor; and their first station was in a new city, at a distance of thirty miles from the shore. Alexius soon reproved them to the defence of his person and palace; and bequeathed to his successors the inheritance of their faith and valour.\(^3\) The name of a Norman invader revived the memory of their wrongs: they marched with alacrity against the national foe, and paused to regain in Epirus the glory which they had lost in the battle of Hastings. The Varangians were supported by some companies of Franks or Latins; and the rebels who had fled to Constantinople from the tyranny of Guiscard, were eager to signalize their zeal and gratify their revenge. In this emergency, the emperor himself took the impregnable and impregnable strongholds of Thrace and Bulgaria; and these heretics united with the patience of martyrdom, the spirit and discipline of active valour.\(^6\) The treaty with the sultan had procured a supply of some thousand Turks; and the arrows of the Scythian horse were opposed to the lances of the Norman cavalry. On the report and distant prospect of these formidable numbers, Robert assembled a council of his principal officers. "You behold," said he, "your danger: it is urgent and inevitable. The hills are covered with armed men who congregate; and the long column, which is accustomed to wars and triumphs. Obedience and union are our only safety; and I am ready to yield the command to a more worthy leader." The vote and acclamation, even of his secret enemies, assured him, in that perilous moment, of their esteem and confidence; and the duke thus continued: "Let us trust in the rewards of victory, and deprive cowardice of the means of escape. Let us burn our vessels and our baggage, and give battle on this spot, as if we were the plain and insignificant people before." The resolution was unanimously approved; and without confining himself to his lines, Guiscard awaited in battle array the nearer approach of the enemy. His rear was covered by a small river; his right wing extended to the sea; his left to the hills: nor was he conscious, perhaps, that on the same ground Caesar and Pompey had formerly disputed the empire of the world.\(^7\)

**Battle of Drouad.**

Against the advice of his wisest captains, Alexius resolved to risk the event of a general action, and exhibited the garrisons and reserves of Drouad.\(^2\)


\(^2\) See the simple and massive narrative of Caesar himself. (Commentary of Drouad.)

\(^3\) The character and story of these Saxons has been the subject of the fifty-fourth chapter.

\(^4\) See the simple and massive narrative of Caesar himself. (Commentary of Drouad.)

\(^5\) The last is an unlucky word for a female prisoner.
of the Roman Empire.

2027. The emperor Henry III. invaded the

2028. Greeks, was met with a

2029. A.D. 1242.

2030. the king of Germany, and

2031. A.D. 1265.

2032. the Latin princes, the allies of

2033. The American translation is not

2034. The Romans had changed the

2035. inquisitorious name of Epic-damn

2036. in the book of Daniel to denote

2037. Durazzo, a dardenni; poet (Alberi.

2038. the Norman ducal family which

2039. traversed the mountains of Thessaly;

2040. three hundred English in the city of

2041. approached the Thessalonians;

2042. a more pressing duty suspended the

2043. viewed from the same princely

2044. the march of the Norman

2045. of the Frankish and Norman

2046. for the possession of

2047. was it not justly

2048. of Homer.

2049. arrows at the horse rather than the

2050. the of the impostor Michael was more honorable to

2051. exceeded his life.

2052. It is more than probable that Gaiss-

2053. card was not afflected by the loss of a

2054. costly pagvant, which had merited only

2055. the contempt and derision of the Greeks. After their

2056. defending of Duraz-

2057. and a Venetian commander supplied the place

2058. George Palaeologus, who had been imprudently called

2059. away from his station. The tents of the besiegers

2060. were converted into barracks, to sustain the inclemen-

2061. cy of the winter; and in answer to the defiance of the

2062. the Greek and Venetian embassies were received as

2063. least equal to their obstinacy. Perhaps he already

2064. trusted to his secret correspondence with a Venetian

2065. noble, who sold the city for a rich and

2066. or the victory unhonorable marriage.

2067. and trumpet of the conqueror. Yet

2068. they defended the street three days against an enemy

2069. already master of the rampart; and near seven months

2070. between the first investment and the final

2071. surrender of the place. From Durazzo, the Norman

2072. duke continued his successes in the field, and

2073. traversed the mountains of Thessaly; surprised

2074. three hundred English in the city of Castoria;

2075. approached the Thessalonians; and made Constantinople

2076. tremble. A more pressing duty suspended the

2077. prosecution of his ambitious designs. By shipwreck,

2078. pestilence, and the sword, his army was reduced to a

2079. third of the original numbers; and instead of being

2080. recruited from Italy, he was informed, by

2081. epistles, of the mischief and dangers which had been

2082. produced by his absence; the revolt of the cities and

2083. of Apulia; the distress of the pope; and the

2084. Revolt of Rome. The Normans had entered

2085. the city of Averio, and the

2086. of Bohemond. Highly presuming that his

2087. person was sufficient for the public safe-

2088. ty, he repassed the sea in a single brigantine, and left

2089. the remnant of the army under the command of his son

2090. and the Norman counts, exhorting Bohemond to re-

2091. precation of the freedom of his peers, and the counts to

2092. renew the authority of their leader. The son of

2093. Guiscard trod in the footsteps of his father; and the two

2094. destroyers are compared, by the Greeks, to the
caterpillar and the locust, the last of whom devours whatever it has

2095. escaped the teeth of the former. After winning

2096. two splendid and ambitious exploits, he

2097. the plain of Thessaly, and besieged Larissa, the

2098. the fabulous realm of Achilles, which contained the

2099. the treasure and

2100. of the Byzantine camp. Yet a just praise

2101. must not be refused to the fortitude and prudence of

2102. Alexius, who bravely struggled with the calamities of the

2103. in the poverty of the state, he presumed to

2104. to borrow the fabulous ornaments of the

2105. the desertion of the Manicheans was supplied

2106. some tribes of Moldavia: a reinforcement of seven

2107. thousand Turks replaced and revenged the loss of their

2108. brethren; and the Greek soldiers were

2109. the march of the Norman

2110. for the possession of

2111. was it not justly

2112. of Homer. He wishes to inspire contempt, as well as horror for the

2113. animal, and the general desolation of war, the

2114. or common nonsense, of mankind, reassures her laudable
design.

2115. in the supplicatory

2116. in the book of Daniel to denote

2117. of the Greeks. After their

2118. the city of Castoria; and

2119. the Thessalonians; and made Constantinople

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2150. some tribes of Moldavia: a reinforcement of seven

2151. thousand Turks replaced and revenged the loss of their

2152. brethren; and the Greek soldiers were exercised to

2153. to the hands of the

2154. of ambushes and evolutions. Alexius had been taught

2155. by experience, that the formidable cavalry of the

2156. the Franks on foot was unfit for action, and almost inca-

2157. of motion; his archers were directed to aim their

2158. The Romana had changed the inauspicious name of Epic-damn

2159. to denote the inauspicious day of his death (see Malatera) bore some affinity to hardiness. One of Robert's

2160. was Durand, a dardenni; poet (Alberi. Monach. in Chrysostom. lib. xxii. c. 18. p. 131.) By the

2161. advice of Alexius, who taught him to draw public personages;

2162. a Roman than a Greek, which the

2163. his grace to groan out a tolerable meaning; is a golden crown; is explained by Serres Pertuis (in Lexica Graeco- Barbaro) by στέφανος, a flash of lightning.

2164. For these general events I must refer to the general historians, Rossinus, Baroinus, Mosheim, and other

2165. Lives of Gregory VII. are either legends or inventions; (St. 

2166. St. Gregory, Abbeys, tom. ii. p. iv.)" From which it appears that the stories and

2167. in modern fashion, which lasted from the eleventh to the

2168. fifteenth century. These robes were sometimes two feet, and fastened to the knee with a silver

2169. The episode itself (Alexian. l. iii. p. 94, 95, 55.) well deserves to be

2170. is a modern reader. He will, as usual, find some instruction in Le Ovati, (Vide de Bibliothek, (Biblio-

2171. members, &c.)... of whom I have already spoken, and to whom I can add nothing. May I presume to add, that the portrait of St. Athanasius is one of

2172. of the possessions of my history (vol. i. p. 375, &c.) with which I am least

2173. bow, with the rancour of a Greek is schismatic, calls him ταυτο-

2174. the history of the Roman church... Gregorio VII. (Annales Quedlin- nburg. tom. i. p. 155.)" But this courage is impo-

2175. the sensible power of (Constat.)
ed to the cause of Gregory: their resolution was fort-
tified by supplies of men and money from Apulia; and
Belezzas Rome, and the city was thrice ineffectually besieged
by the emperor. But in the fourth year he corrupted, as it is said,
with Byzantine gold, the nobles of Rome, whose
estates and castles had been ruined by the war. The
A. D. 1064. gates, the bridges, and fifty hostages,
were delivered into his hands: the anti-
Popes of Cluny were consecrated in the Lateran: the grateful pontiff
crowned his protector in the Vatican; and the empe-
or Henry fixed his residence in the capital, as the
lawful successor of Augustus and Charlemagne. The
ruins of the Sepulchrum were still defended by the
nephew of Gregory; the pope himself was invested
in the castle of St. Angelo: and his last hope was in
the courage and fidelity of his Norman vassal. Their
friendship had been interrupted by some reciprocal
injuries and complaints; but, on this pressing occa-
sion, Guiscard was urged by the obligation of his oath,
by his interest, more potent than oaths, by the love of
fame, and his enmity to the two emperors. Unfurling
the holy banner, he resolved to fly to the relief of the
prince of the apostles: the most numerous of his
armies, six thousand horse, and thirty thousand
foot, was instantly assembled; and by land and by sea
he came to Rome was animated by the public applause and the
promise of the divine favour. Henry, invincible in
sixty-six battles, trembled at his approach; re-col-
clected some indispensible affairs that required his pre-
sence in Lombardy; exulted the Romans to perma-
nces before Rome. Were in their allegiances; and hastily re-
bert; May, treated three days before the entrance of
the Normans. In less than three years, the son
of Tancred of Hauteville enjoyed the glory of delivering
the pope, and of compelling the two emperors of the east and west, before his banners. The
Second expedition of Robert was clouded by the calamities
of Rome. By the aid of the friends of Gregory, the
walls had been perforated or scaled; but the imperial
faction was still powerful and active; on the third
day, the people rose in a furious tumult; and a hostile
circle was formed, in his defence or re-capture
the signal of fire and pillage. The Saracens of Sic-
ly, the subjects of Roger, and auxiliaries of his bro-
ther, embraced this fair occasion of rifling and profla-
ing the holy city of the christians; many thousands
of the citizens, in the sight, and by the allies, of their
spirits elevated; were exposed to open fire, to
death; and a spacious quarter of the city, from the
Lateran to the Coliseum, was consumed by the flames,
and devoted to perpetual solitude. From a city,
where he was now hated, and might be no longer fear-
ed, Gregory retired to end his days in the palace
of Salerno. The artful pontiff might flatter the vanity
of Guiscard, with the hope of a Roman or imperial
crown; but this dangerous measure, which would have
inflamed the ambition of the Norman, must for ever have
aliienated the most faithful princes of Germany.

q

Sie uno tempore victi
Sunt terrae Domini duo; rex Alexammaticus iste,
Romani maximus; Altera arma Rossa armis superat; et alter
Nomini audit solis formidante cerre.

It is significant that the Apulian poet, should distinguish
the Greek as the ruler of the Roman empire, (l. iv. 274.)

The name of Alex, ro, in the fourteenth and fourteenth
century, is authentic, circumstantial, and fair. Dix ignem exclamans urbem incensa, &c.
The Apulian poet omits the mention, (inde quibusdam mithraeum existat) which is again evaginated in some partial chronicles. (Muratori Ar-
nal., tom. iv. p. 127.)

In this instance of his public benefactions, the Jean Dumas de Rome
reteri et nova, l. iv. c. 5, p. 163,) prettily adds. Dureau, bidequy in Col
dilectores in cœnomanium urbis, cupido in, in hoc regno vestinumque amantissimam Roman reus,
rectam ut perpetua viriditas consistente volventcs et ruinas sus.

fatigable Robert resumed the design of his eastern
conquests. The zeal or gratitude of Gregory bad
promised to his valor the kingdoms of Greece and Asia, in
the Frankish conquests; his troops were invested with
success and eager for action. Their numbers, in
the language of Homer, are compared by Anna to a
swarm of bees; 4 yet the utmost and moderate limits
of the powers of Guiscard have been already defined;
they were contained on this second occasion in one
hundred and twenty thousand men. During the
success of this far advanced, the harbour of Brundusium 5 was prefer-
ed to the open road of Otranto. Alexius, apprehen-
sive of a second attack, had assiduously laboured to
restore the naval forces of the empire; and obtained
from the prince of Venice, who owned the
number of thirty-six transports, fourteen galleys, and nine
vessels or ships of extraordinary strength and magni-
tude. Their services were liberally paid by the li-
ence or monoply of trade, a profitable gift of many
shops and houses in the port of Constantinople, and a
tribute. The want of experience had as usual
produce of a tax on their rivals of Apamia. By
the union of the Greeks and Venetians, the Adriatic
was covered with a hostile fleet; but their own neglect, or
the vigilance of Robert, the change of a wind, or the
shelter of a mist, opened a free passage; and the Nor-
mans in their progress were freed from Scyzra and
Corfu. With twenty strong and well-appointed gal-
leys, their intrepid duke immediately sought the ene-
my, and though more accustomed to fight on horse-
back, he trusted his own life, and the lives of his bro-
ther against that of a traitor, to the event of a naval combat.
The dominion of the sea was disputed in three en-
gagements, in sight of the island of Corfu; in the
second, the skill and number of the allies were
superior; but in the third, the Normans obtained a
final and complete victory. 3 The light brigantines of
the Greeks were no match for the Normans, and
the nine castles of the Venetians maintained a more obsti-
inate conflict; seven were sunk, two were taken; two
thousand five hundred captives implored in vain the
mercy of the victor; and the daughter of Alexius
deplores the loss of thirteen thousand of his subjects
on the island of Cephalonia, which was conquered.
She was deprived of the command of the
conquest of Constantinople; but, instead of
traversing the hills of Epirus, he turned his arms against
Greece and the islands, where the spoils would repay
the labour, and where the land and sea forces might
pursue their joint operations with vigour and effect.
But in the isle of Cephalonia, his projects were finally
blasted by an epidemic disease: Robert himself, in
4 The royalty of Robert, either promised or bestowed by the pope,
(Anna, 1. p. 22) is sufficiently confirmed by the Apulian, (l. iv. p.
276.)
Romani regni sibi promissae commoda: Pape freevar.
Nor can I understand why Grever, and the other pagan advocates
should be displeased with this new instance of apostolic jurisdic-
tion.
5 See Homer, Illiad B. I hate this peptic mode of quotation by the
letters of the Greek alphabet 57, &c. His bills are the image of a
disordered crowd: their discipline and public works seem to be
the ideas of a later age. (Virgil, Aenid 1. 1)
The admirable port of Brundusium was protected by a line of
outward harbours, which stretched both north and south of the
island, and narrowing by degrees, till it communicated by a small
neck with the open sea; within this line, walls and
fortifications were continued on the coast sides. Caesar and nature have laboured for its ruin; and against
such a work, by another age, was deemed the effect of the Xapaaon, apol
ments (Cumberland's Travels in the two Sicilies, vol. i. p. 348-
300.)

The project of William of Apulia (l. iv. p. 276) describes the victory
of the Normans, and forgets the two previous defeats, which are diligently
recited in the chronicles, (i. iv. c. 31, p. 164,) and speaks of the
project as one of herculean effort, since they despoil their sea, proper exultant moll. (Dundurn, in Chren.
in Morav., Script. Rom. in lustrum, tom. vii. p. 249.)
The seventh year of his age, expired A.D. 683, July 17. in his tent; and a suspicion of poison was committed, by public rumour, to his wife, or to the Greek emperor. This premature death might be suspected of a legal investigation from the royal property, and his future exploits; and the event sufficiently declares, that the Norman greatness was founded on his life. Without the appearance of an enemy, a victorious army dispersed or retreated in disorder and consternation; and Alexios, who had trembled for his empire, received the inheritance of his father. But it is probable, the remains of Guiscard was shipwrecked on the Italian shore; but the duke's body was recovered from the sea, and deposited in the sepulchre of Venii- sin, a place more illustrious for the birth of Horace, than for the burial of the Norman heroes. Roger, his successor, immediately sunk to the humble station of a duke of Apulia: the esteem or partiality of his father left the valiant Bohemond to the inheritance of his sword. The national tranquillity was disturbed by his claims, till the first crusade against the infidels of the east, opened a more splendid scene than all that preceded. Of human life, the most glorious or humble prospects are alike and soon bounded by the sepulchre. The male line of Robert Guiscard was extinguished, both in Apulia and Antwerp, in the tenth year of his death; and the daughter of his brother became the father of a line of kings; and the son of the great count was endowed with the name, the conquests, and the spirit, of the first Roger. The heir of that Norman adventurer was born in Sicily; and, at the age of only four years, he succeeded to the sovereignty of the Greek colonies, which one moiety had been ceded to the elder branch; struggled to enlarge his Calaban limits beyond the measure of former treaties; and impatiently watched the declining health of his cousin William of Apulia, Duke of Apulia, the grandson of Robert. 

A.D. 1097. tidings of his premature death, Roger sailed from Palermo with seven galleys, cast anchor in the bay of Salerno, received, after ten days' negotiation, an oath of fidelity from the Norman capitalist, commanded the submission of the Norman conquerors, and由此 restored by the victorious Roger. A conscious superiority of power and merit prompted him to disdain the titles of duke and of count; and the island of Sicily, with a third perhaps of the continent of Italy, might form the basis of a kingdom, which would only yield to the French kingdom, or perhaps the possessions of the nation who attended his coronation at Palermo, might doubtless pronounce under what name he should reigne over them; but the example of a Greek tyrant or a Saracen emir were insufficient to justify his regal character; and the nine kings of the Latin world might not demand his immediate investiture by the authority of the supreme pontiff. The pride of Anachus was pleased to confer a title, which the pride of the Norman had stipulated for solicitation; but his own legitimacy was attacked by the adventurer, who was his equal in the extent of his dominions, and while Anacletus sat in the Vatican, the successful fugitive was acknowledged by the nations of Europe. The infant monarchy of Roger was shaken, and almost overthrown, by an unlucky choice of an ecclesiastical patron; and the sword of Lothaire the Great, the sword of Godfrey the Great, the sword of the great King, the sword of the great Count, the swords of Pisa, and the zeal of St. Bernard, were united for the ruin of the Sicilian robber. After a gallant resistance, the Norman prince was driven from the continent of Italy; a new duke of Apulia was invested by the pope and the emperor, each of whom held one end of the government, or flag-staff, as a token that they asserted their right, and suspended their quarrel. But such jealous friendship was of short and precarious duration: the German armies soon vanished in disease and desertion; the Apulian duke, with all his adherents, was exterminated by a Norman conqueror, who had been his helper. A fate in living: like his predecessor Leo the ninth, the feeble though haughty pontiff became the captive and friend of the Normans; and their reconciliation was celebrated by the eloquence of Bernard, who now revolved the title and virtues of the king of Sicily.

As a penance for this impious war his confessors in against the successor of St. Peter, that Africa, monarch might have promised to dis- play the banner of the cross, and he accomplished with ardour a vow so propitious to his interest and hope. The recent inquiries of Sicily might provide a just retaliation on the heads of the Saracens; the Normans, whose blood had been mingled with so 100,000 fast, and 400 galley. Compara Homere (Essays, vol. i. pp. 288, 484,) and his adversary Wallace. (Numbers of Mankind, p. 306, 307,) the theme of every traveller, D'Orville, Reclus, Schweinbeur, &c. A contemporary historian of the acts of Roger from the year 1127 to 1133, found his title on merit and valor, the content of the Saracen, and the ancient rivalry of Sicily and Palermo, without introducing Pope Anarchus. (Alexand. Cruceii Tribunis, Abbatia de Rebibus Regum Rogerii, lib. iv. in Monarchi, Script. Rerum Ital. tom. v. p. 607 355.)

The books of the Cronicas, of the Carmina Burana, and of the Saracens, Sweden, Denmark, and Hungary. The three first were more worth reading than those of Charles the Great, and his three sword; the three last by their baptism; and of these the king of the Saracen alone was a Christian. (D'Orville, et al. 1127. p. 355.)

Fazulius, and a crew of Sicilians, had attempted a more early and independent coronation, (A. D. 1123. May 15,) which Giannone and Filenghi, who had been successively rejected by the Saracen emir, were restored by the silence of contemporaries; nor can be restored by a proverbious charter of Messina, translated by the Annali di Italia, tom. v. p. 340. Pag, Critica, tom. iv. p. 467. &c.

Roger corrupted the second person of Lothaire's army, who was moreover rather cried, a retreat for the Germans (says Guicciardini, in p. 54) are ignorant of the use of trumpets. Most ignorant himself!
many subject streams, were encouraged to remember and emulate the naval triumphs of their fathers, and in the maturity of their strength they contended with the decline of an African power. When the Fatimite caliph departed for the conquest of Egypt, he rewarded the real merit and apparent fidelity of his servant Joseph, with a gift of his royal mantle, and forty Arab horses, in exchange with its continuous furnishing and the government of the kingdoms of Tunis and Algiers. The Zeidrites, the descendants of Joseph, forgot their allegiance and gratitude to a distant benefactor; grasped and abused the fruits of prosperity; and after running the little course of an oriental dynasty, were excluded in their own land. Above all, on the side of the land, they were pressed by the Almohades, the fanatic princes of Morocco, while the sea-coast was open to the enterprises of the Greeks and Franks, who, before the close of the eleventh century, had extorted a ransom of two hundred thousand pieces of gold. By the first arms of Roger, the island or rock of Malta, which has been since ennobled by a military and religious colony, was inseparably annexed to the crown of Sicily. Tripoli, a strong and maritime city, was the next object of his attack; and the slaughter of the males, the capitvity of the females, might have led to a fearful example. The most frequent parts were themselves. The capiial of the Zeidrites was named Africa from the country, and Mahadad from the Arabian bvid; it is strongly built on a neck of land, but the imperfection of the harbour is not compensated by the fortifications of the adjacent parts. Mahadad was besieged by George the Sicilian admiral, with a fleet of one hundred and fifty galleys, amply provided with men and the instruments of mischief; the sovereign had fled, the Moorish governor refused to capitulate, declined the last and irresistible assault, and secretly embarked his warriors, who abandoned the place and its treasures to the rapacious Franks. In successive expeditions, the king of Sicily or his lieutenants reduced the cities of Tunis, Safax, Capsin, Bona, and a long tract of the sea-coast; the fortresses were garrisoned, the country was tributary, and a host of the Franks, in subject. they might be inscribed with some flattery on the sword of Roger. After his death, that sword was broken; and these transmarine possessions were neglected, evacuated, or lost, under the troubled reign of his successor. The emperor and his people were persuaded that the African continent is neither inaccessible nor invincible; yet the great princes and powers of Christendom have repeatedly failed in their armaments against the Moors, who may still glory in the easy conquest and long subdive of Spain.

Since the death of Robert Guiscard, the Normans had relinquished, above sixty years, their hostile designs against the empire of the east. The policy of Roger solicited a public and private union with the Greek princes, whose alliance would dignify his regal character; he demanded in marriage a daughter of the Comnenian family, and the first steps of the treaty seemed to promise a favourable event. But the contemptuous treatment of his ambassadors exasperated the vanity of the new monarch; and the insincerity of the Byzantine court was expiated, according to the law of nations, by the sufferings of a guiltless people. With a fleet of seventy galleys, George, the admiral of Sicily, appeared before Cerip; and both the island and city were beleaguered for some time. But the doge of Venice, who had yet to learn that a siege is still more calamitous than a tribute. In this invasion, of some moment in the annals of commerce, the Normans spread themselves by sea, and over the provinces of Greece, and the venerable age of Athens. The bses, and Corinth, was most severely tried by the exigencies of Athens no memorial remains. The ancient walls, which encompassed, without guarding, the opulence of Thebes, were sealed by the Latin christians; but their sole use of the gospel was to sanctify an oath, that the lawful owners had not secreted any relic of their literature or industry. On the approach of the Normans the lower town of the citadel, which was seated on a lofty eminence abundantly watered by the classic fountain of Pirene: an impregnable fortress, where the want of courage could be hid by any advantages offered by the ground. It was necessary that the besiegers should mount the labour (their sole labour) of climbing the hill, under the general, from the commanding eminence, admired his own victory, and testified his gratitude to heaven, by tearing from the altar the precious image of Christ, which was a monument of the service of both sexes, who to George transported to Sicily, composed the most valuable part of the spoil, and in comparing the skilful industry of the mechanic with the imm, and cowardice of the soldier, he was heard to exclaim, that the distaff and loom were the only works of art which were capable of his admiration. The progress of this naval armada—Louis VII. was marked by two conspicuous events, the rescue of the king of France, and the insult of the Byzantine capital. In his return by sea from an unfortunate crusade, Louis the seventh was received by the Greeks, who barely violated the laws of honour and religion. The fortunate encounter of the Norman fleet delivered the royal captive; and after a few and honourable entertainment in the court of Sicily, Louis continued his journey to Rome and Constantinople. The vassals of the house of Potet despised the mailed warriors of Constantinople and the Helleespont were stamplied. He left without defence and without the suspicion of danger. The clergy and people, for the soldiers had followed the standard of Manuel, were astonished and dismayed at the hostile appearance of a line of galleys, which boldly cast anchor in the front of the imperial city. The forces of the Sicilian admiral were inadequate to the siege or assault of an immense and populous metropolis; but George enjoyed the glory of humbling the Greek arrogancy, and of marking the path of conquest to the masters of the world. He landed the Normans was capable of risque adventure. The empress of Sicily, who had surprised Manuel with an unguarded moment, Manuel accepted the liberty to pursue, to desire, while his martial spirit, A. D. 1149, 1149.

The decline and fall. Chapter XVII.


2 Tripoli, (says the Nubian geographer, or more properly the Shi- rif al Ein) urbis est, rara, non multa valuts, quae prope litus mari, magnificantissimam, quin multae aliorum civitas docuit.

3 See the geography of Leo Africanus, (in Ramusio, tom. i. fol. 74. vers. 17. 75. secto) and Shaw's Travels, (p. 110) the seventh book of the History of Hierotheus, (vol. i. tom. ii. p. 305.) The passages of Moses and of the voyage and defence of the place are offered by Charles V. and the Venetians, (ibid.) to explain the navigation of the African coast.

4 Since the accuracies of the African conquerors of Roger; and his criticism was supplied by his friend the Abbe Lencoresse, with some Arabic memones. (A. D. 1147. No. 35. A. D. 1149. No. 16. A. D. 1153. No. 14.)

5 Apulius Calvis, Siculius merti merito aedificavit. A proof of this inscription, which denotes, that the Norman conquerors were still discriminated from their christian and Modern subjects, is Andrea Fabriscius, Histo. Siculae. In More it, rogo ton, ver. 271.) which describes these posts as the neglect or treachery of the admiral Majo.

The decline of the Sicilian house, who end too soon or begin too late, must be supplied by Otto of Eriheiman, a German, (Ged. Frederici i. l. 42. in Monarch, &c. tom. ii. p. 228, 229, 233.) and the Greek writers Cimenes, (ib. c. 2—5) and Nicetas, (in Manuel, i. tom. i. 2.)

To this imperfect capture and speedy rescue. I apply the word of Cassiodorus, (in the Cimenes, &c. tom. iv. p. 420, 421.) about the history of the French, who, when the region is marked, nothing more implies a period of rectitude than a country rose; yet, when the story is exaggerated, their advocate, Boccaccio, is less positive as the commentator on Guglielmi than the reporter of the emperor, (ib.)

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The forces of the empire were awakened to revenge. The Archipelago and Ionian sea were covered with his squadrons and those of Venice; but I know not by what favourable arrangement of transports, victualers, and pinnaces, our reason or even our fancy can be reconciled to the stupendous account of fifteen hundred vessels, which is proposed by a Byzantine writer. The Venetians were directed with prudence and energy: in his homeward voyage George lost nineteen of his galleys, which were separated and taken: after an obstinate defence, Corfu imposed the clemency of her lawful sovereign; nor could a ship, a soldier of the Norman prince, be saved. He was an ardent lover of the eastern sea; the prosperity and the health of Roger were already in a declining state: while he listened in his palace of Palermo to the messengers of victory or defeat, the invincible Manuel, the foremost in every assault, was celebrated by the Greeks and Latins as the Alexander or Hercules of the age.

A prince of such a temper could not be satisfied with having repelled the incursion of a barbarian. It was the right and duty, it might be the interest and glory, of Manuel to restore the ancient majesty of the empire, to recover the power and splendour of Sicily, which the base pretensions of this pretended king, the grandson of a Norman vassal,6 had degraded to the level of a vassal of the Greek monks; his wild and impetuous zeal to avenge the murder of his father; his love of revenge and hatred of his sovereign; his obstinate resistance to all the advice of the papal legates, of the Holy Roman emperors, and of the Venetians; his enmity to the Venetians, who were his allies throughout the whole war; his hatred of the Latins, whose territories he was about to invade; and the interest of all Christian nations in the preservation of the empire, were the motives which incited Manuel to launch a war of conquest against the Latins.6

The clergy and the nobles of the empire, the inhabitants of the cities and villages, the Venetian merchants, and the inhabitants of the towns of Sicily, were all occupied with the same project, and the fame of this enterprise spread far and wide. The sailors and soldiers were all resolved to press on to Constantinople, and to recover the empire from the Latins. It was therefore with great joy that the pope and the emperor of Constantinople received the news of the invasion of Sicily. The emperor of Constantinople had been the first to send his fleet against the Latins; and the emperor of Germany had promised to follow with his own fleet.7

The emperor of Byzantium, on the other hand, was determined to seize the opportunity of the war to recover the empire of the Latins in the west. He had invited the pope to join him in this enterprise, and the pope had sent him a letter in which he expressed his desire to see the empire of the Latins restored to its former glory and power. The emperor of Byzantium was delighted with this offer, and the two emperors agreed to form a league for the recovery of the empire of the Latins. The league was ratified by a treaty, signed at Venice in the year 1171.8

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The Decline and Fall

Chapter XVII.

The first William did not degenerate from the value of his race; but his temper was slothful; his manners were droll; his passion hot-brained and over-curious; and the monarch is responsible, not only for his personal vices, but for those of Majo, the great admiral, who abused the confidence, and conspired against the life, of his benefactor. From the Arabian conquest, Sicily had imbided a deep tincture of oriental feudalism; the queen desired her husband, her son, and her baron, of a sultan; and a christian people was oppressed and insulted by the ascendant of the eunuchs, who openly professed, or secretly cherished, the religi-

The Byzantine Cæsars acquiesced in this shadow of domination, without expecting, perhaps without desiring, the service of a Norman army; and the truce of thirty years was not disturbed by any hostilities between Sicily and Constantinople.

About the end of that period the throne of Manuale was usurped by an inhuman tyrant, who had desired the abode of his country and mankind: the sword of William the second, the grandson of Roger, was drawn by a fugitive of the Comnien race; and the subjects of Andronicus might safely applaud, as friends, their sovereignty as the worst of enemies. Last war of the Greeks and Normans.

The Latin historians expatiate on the rapid progress of the four counts who invaded Romania with a fleet and army, and reduced many castles and cities to the obedience of the king of Sicily. The Greeks, by nipping the wanton and sanguinary cruelties that were perpetrated in the sack of Thessalonica, the second city of the empire, the modern.develope the fate of those invincible but unsuspecting warriors who were destroyed in the arts of a vanquished foe. The latter apply in songs of triumph, the repeated victories of their countrymen on the sea of Marmora or Pontus, on the banks of the Strymon, and under the walls of Durazzo. A revolution which punished the crimes of Andronicus, had united against the Franks the zeal and courage of the successful insurgents; ten thousand were slain in battle, and Isaac Angelus, the new emperor, might indulge his vanity or vengeance in the treatment of four thousand captives. Such was the event of the last contest between the Greeks and Normans: before the expiration of twenty years, the river Po had lost or degraded their foreign supremacy: and the successors of Constantinople did not long survive to insult the fall of the Sicilian monarchy.

William I., the Bad, king of Sicily.

He was roused to arms by danger and shame; and the spectre of Roger successively devolved to his son and grandson: they might be conformed under the name of William; they are strongly discriminated by the epithets of the bad and the good; but these epithets, which appear to describe the perfection of virtue and vice, cannot strictly be applied to either of the Norman kings. William I. the Bad, king of Sicily.

A. D. 1156.

A. D. 1155.

A. D. 1154.

A. D. 1166.

May 7.

This victory is mentioned by Romanus of Salerno, (in Muratori, Scriptores, tom. vii. p. 128, seq.) It is written in Salernian, that is to say, in the praise of the king of Sicily, Cinnamus; (l. iv. c. 12, p. 97, 98,) so much warmer and copious than Falcondus, (p. 258, 278.) But the Greeks are fond of description, and the Latin historian is not fond of William the Bad.

A key to the epitaph of William I., see Cinnamus (l. iv. c. 2, p. 101, 102, and Nicetus, l. i. c. 5.) It is difficult to affirm whether these terrors deceived themselves, or the public, in those distressing particulars of the death of the grandeur of the empire. It is an only quote of original evidence, the poor chronicles of Secund of Cremona, and the list of Fons Ven., (p. 75,) as they are published in the seventh volume of Muratori's historiarum. The king of Sicily seems to have been proclaiming the event to the assembled assembly of his courtiers. C. P. They were caput confitum; caput captivum, by Isaac.

The fall of the Cinnamites, who are now reduced to Nicetus, (in Andronicus, l. i. c. 7, 8, 9, l. i. c. i., in Isaac Angelus, l. i. c. 1—4,) who never recovered the complete dominion of the empire and the empire, he is above question; but the fall of Constantinople, the fall of Constantinople, the fall of Constantinople, is not the same thing as the fall of the empire. For the history of learning, I shall observe that Homer's great commentator, Eustathius, archbishop of Thessalonica, refused to desert his flock.
tremity (he interrogates a friend) how must the Sicilians act? By the unanimous election of a king of valour and experience, Sicily and Calabria might yet be preserved; for in the levity of the Apulians, ever eager for new revolutions, I can repose neither confidence nor hope. Should Calabria be lost, the lofty towers and the remains of his home would guard the straits of Messina, might guard the passage against a foreign invader. If the savage Germans coalesce with the pirates of Messina; if they destroy with fire the fruitful region, so often wasted by the fires of mount Etna, what resource will be left for the interior parts of the kingdom? The Christian invader would not be violated by the hostile footsteps of a barbarian. Catana has again been overwhelmed by an earthquake; the ancient virtue of Syracuse expires in poverty and solitude; but Palermo is still crowned with a diadem, and her triple walls enclose the active multitudes of Christians and Saracens. If the two nations under one king, can unite for their common safety, they may rush on the barbarians with invincible arms. But if the Saracens, fatigued by a repetition of injuries, should now retire and rebel; if they should overcome the vanguard of the Christian army, the unfortunate Christians, exposed to a double attack, and placed as it were between the hammer and the anvil, must resign themselves to hopeless and inevitable servitude. We must not forget, that a priest here prefers his country to his religion; and that the Mussulmans, of the two nations, were still numerous and powerful in the state of Sicily.

Conquest of the kingdom of Sicily by the emperor Henry VII. The hopes, or at least the wishes, of the monks of Palermo, that the grandson of the first king, whose birth was illegitimate, but whose civil and military virtues shone without a blemish. During four years, the term of his life and reign, he stood in arms on the furthest verge of the Apulian frontier, against the powers of Germany; and the restitution of a royal captive, of Constantia herself, without injury or ransom, may appear to surpass the most liberal measure of policy or reason. After his decease, the kingdom of his widow and infant son fell without a struggle; and Henry pursued his victorious march from Capua to Palermo. The political and the naval arts of his father strengthened him, and if the pope and the free cities had consulted their obvious and real interest, they would have combined the powers of earth and heaven to prevent the dangerous union of the German prince with the kingdom of Sicily. But the subtle policy, for which the Normans are famed, was a nullity, or arranged, was on this occasion blind and inactive; thina, movi concurrens, caeli vestae, rapinae atque victoriae, et sedare luxuriæ; hinc cives cuncta gladii intercapiet, et servitute debrit, viribus constrainitur, armis stirpium, &c. 2

2 In Apulia, qui semper novas evadentes, novarum rerum sedibus aguntur, nihil amplius aut insignis responsum, nihil amplius ad placitum. 3

3 Sic cuivis tuorum virtutum et adhaecianat, &c.

4 Cum crudelitate picturis Theutonicum confugit atrocissi, et inter hostes lapides, &c.

5 Ex parte, quam nobilissimarum civitatum fulgor illustratur, qua et tami res ignifiare meritu privilégio praebentur, nemunum regius sed barbarorum particissimum. 1

6 In his partes, qui nebulosam urbem furtus illustravit, sed hic curiosius descriptio, de placitis, &c. 2

7 Vide non suppeditat, et conatus tuus tam inopia civitatis, quam possessionum, laus victorius, laudis, &c.

8 At vero, quia difficile et christians in tanto turbine sublato regio timore, Saracenos non oppressi, si Saraceni injuryatur gratia,

9 Ex antiquis matrimonii, in universum mundi, vel manio, vel nuptiae munitiones occupaverint; ut hic cunmq Theutonicum annua virtute plantarum in serva immidiatam duas fabricaverint, motore fortunatus, &c. 1

10 Sed interpretari sunt Siculi inter harres de praepositiuas, et velint inter malumque incendio multum cum discrimine consumunt quod, haec opus ingeniosissima, &c. 2

11 In eum discernere possint. O staminem plebius, et creporum, cum etiam venitatibus, &c. 3

12 Sed si contra disertitudinem, si superit confessor, &c. 4

13 Et contra disertitudinem, si superit confessor, &c. 4

14 Nonnulli quis effredicis, ut Cusani, barbarae tan virtutis, bono consilio, tantum de detactis fortunas relateri contente, &c.

15 The Normans and Sicilians appear to be confounded.

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and if it were true that Celestine the third had kicked away the imperial crown from the head of the prosaic Henry, such an act of impotent pride could serve only to cancel an obligation and provoke an enmity. The Genoese, who enjoyed a beneficial trade and establishment in Sicily, listened to the promise of the island, and in September: they despatched their fleet commanded the straits of Messina, and opened the harbour of Palermo; and the first act of his government was to abolish the privileges, and to seize the property of these, imprudent allies. The last hope of Falanconis was defeated by the discord of the island, and bloodshed again: these dragns of the capital; several thousand of the latter were slain; but their surviving brethren fortified the mountains, and disturbed about thirty years the peace of the island. By the policy of Frederick the second, sixty thousand Saracens were transported to Norma in Apulia. In their wars against the Roman church, the emperor and his son Mainz were strengthened and disgraced by the service of the enemies of Christ; and this national colony maintained their religion and manners in the heart of Italy, till they were extirpated, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, by the vengeance and revenge of the house of Anjou. All the calamities which the prophetic orator had deplored, were surpassed by the cruelty and avarice of the German conqueror. He violated the royal sequestrums, and explored the secret treasures of the palace, Palermo, and the whole kingdom: the priceless jewels, however precious, might be easily removed; but one hundred and sixty horses were laden with the gold and silver of Sicily. The young king, his mother and sisters, and the nobles of both sexes, were separately confined in the fortresses of the Alps; and, on the slightest rumour of rebellion, the captives were deprived of life, of their eyes, or of the hope of posterity. Constantia herself was touched with sympathy for the miseries of her country; and the hearess of the Norman line might struggle to check her despot's husband, and to save the patrimony of her new-born son, of an emperor so famous in the next age under the name of Frederic the second. Final extinction Ten years after this revolution, the of the Normans, French menaced annexed to their crown A.D. 1204. the duchy of Normandy; the secpree of her ancient and powerful rule had been transferred by Henry, and speedy daughter of William the Conqueror, to the house of Plantaganet; and the adventurous Normans, who had raised so many trophies in France, England, and Ireland, in Apulia, Sicily, and the east, were lost, either in victory or servitude, among the vanquished nations.

CHAPTER XVIII.

OF THE SICILIAN, THE TURKS.

The Turks of the house of Seljuk.—Their revolt against the Seljuk, conquest of Iconium.—Togar muballids Persia, and protects the caliph.—Defeat and captivity of the emperor Romanus Diogenes by Alp Arslan.—Power and magnificence of Malek Shah.—Conquest of Asia Minor and Syria.—State and oppression of Jerusalem.—Pilgrimage to the holy sepulchre.

From the isle of Sicily, the reader must The Turks transport himself beyond the Caspian sea, 2

1 The testimony of an Englishman, of Roger de Hoveden, (p. 689.) will highly weigh against the silence of German and Italian historians. (Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. x. p. 156.) The priests and pilgrims who returned from Rome, exalted, by every tale, the omnipresence of the holy father.

2 Ex iconi in eo cum Textonicum insigni miseris. (Coffini, Annali, Genova, in the same year, tom. iv. p. 249.)


4 Montefeltro quotes a passage from Arnold of Lubeck, (t. i. c. 23.) Repertorium absconditum, et omnium lapidum pretiosorum 4.
to the original seat of the Turks or Turcomans, against whom the first crusade was principally directed. Their Scythian empire of the sixth century was long since dissolved; but the name was still famous among the Greeks and orientals; and the fragments of the nation, each a powerful and independent people, were scattered over the desert from China to the Black Sea, and from the colony of Hungarianians was admitted into the republic of Europe, and the thrones of Asia were occupied by slaves and soldiers of Turkish extraction. While Apulia and Sicily were subdued by the Norman lance, a swarm of these northern shepherds overspread the continent of Europe, and the race of Seljuk erected a splendid and solid empire from Samarcand to the confines of Greece and Egypt; and the Turks have maintained their dominion in Asia Minor, till the victorious crescent has been planted on the dome of St. Sophia.

Of the greatest of the Turkish princes was Mahmood or Mahomud, the Gaznevide, who reigned in the eastern provinces of Persia one thousand years after the birth of Christ. His father Sebecatig was the slave of the shah, and ascended the throne of Persia by a descent of fortune and blood. But in this descent of servitude, the first degree was merely titular, since it was filled by the sovereign of Transoxiana and Chorassan, who still paid a nominal allegiance to the caliph of Bagdad. The second rank was filled by those descendants of Samanides, who broke, by his revolt, the bonds of political slavery. But the third step was a state of real and domestic servitude in the family of that rebel, from which Sebecatig, by his courage and dexterity, and the sudden and unexpected command of the city and province of Ganza, the narrow and successor of his grateful master. The falling dynasty of the Samanides was at first protected, and at last overthrown, by their servants; and, in the public disorders, the fortune of Mahomud continued increased. For him the title of sultan was first invented; and his kingdom was enlarged from Transoxiana to the neighbourhood of Isphan, from the shores of the Caspian to the mouth of the Indus. But the principal source of his fame and riches was the holy war which he waged against the Gentiles of Hindostan. In his twelve expiditions into that country, he gained an almost unequaled and unparalleled success. And his victories were celebrated in the Tables of M. de Guignes, (Hist. des Huns, tom. i. p. 155—173.) and our countryman, Colonel Alexander Dow, (vol. i. p. 23—53.) In the two first volumes of his History of Hindostan, he styles himself the translator of the Persian Farsamites; but in his third, it is not easy to distinguish the version and the original.

The dynasty of the Samanides continued 125 years, A. D. 871—999. During this time the description of the Tables of M. de Guignes, (Hist. des Huns, tom. i. p. 406—494,) was followed by the Gaznevides, A. D. 999—1183, (see tom. i. p. 479—525,) and the Mongolians who followed them. The name of the dynasty still continues the name of the place.

Gaznevide horon non habet: est emperorum et demicilium merita Indica. Arabicois Geographis, Rerum, tab. xxiii. p. 303. Herbelot, p. 361. It has not been visited by any modern traveller. The name of the Caliph of Bagdad, who employed the Arabian or Chaldaic language, (see the preceding note,) is the same as the name of the name of a very ancient city, (Oxus) in the province of the Huns, and a name of various forms, (Asyrt, Soldavna,) is familiarly employed in the Greek and Latin languages. This name was taken from the Oxus, and appears in the names of many others of the same eastern and western countries. Dacca (Dacca, Divisi, oxus,ขา) is the name of a town in the province of Hindostan, and it is the name of a river. (Personal experience.) Of the name of the ancient and modern Hindostan, a great number of MSS. are preserved; but as the name is obscure, the person of the man who has preserved it in his memory, but not in his book, is the Sasanides of the sixth, but the Seljukides of the twelfth century. (De Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. i. p. 246.)

for the formidable array of their elephants of war. The sultan of Gazne surpassed the limits of the conquests of Alexander: after a march of three months, over the hills of Cashmir and Thibet, he reached the famous city of Kinnog, on the Upper Ganges, and, in a naval combat on one of the branches of the Indus, defeated the power of Kithio. But the eastern princes, the Turks, of the Kachides, were incommensurable in numbers; the people, their lives and fortunes; but to the religion of Hindostan, the zealous mus-luman was cruel and inexorable; many hundred temples, or pagodas, were levelled with the ground; and a thousand idols were demolished; and the servants of the prophet were stimulated and rewarded by the precious materials of which they were composed. The pagoda of Sumnat was situate on the promontory of Guzarat, in the neighborhood of Diu, one of the last remaining possessions of the Portuguese. It was standing on a lofty point, but within twenty years was consumed by fire, and reduced to insignificant piles; two thousand Brahmins were consecrated to the service of the deity, whom they washed each morning and evening in water from the distant Ganges: the subordinate ministers consisted of three hundred mus-lumans professed conjurers, who could make their girls, conspicuous for their birth or beauty. Three sides of the temple were protected by the ocean, the narrow istmus was fortified by a natural or artificial precipice; and the city and adjacent country were peopled by a nation of fanatics. They confessed the sins and the punishment of Kinnog and Dehli; but if the impious stranger should presume to approach their holy precincts, he would surely be overwhelmed by a blast of the divine vengeance. By this challenge, the faith of Mahmud was animed to a personal trial of the strength of this Indian deity. Fifty thousand of his worshippers were pierced by the spear of the Moslems; the walls were scaled; the sanctuary was profaned; and the conqueror aimed a blow of his iron mace at the head of the idol. The trembling Brahmins are said to have offered ten millions sterling for his ransom; and it was urged by the wise counsellors, that the destruction of a stone image would not change the hearts of the Gentiles; and that such a sum might be dedicated to the relief of the true believers. You reasons," replied the sultan, are specious and strong; but I am resolved to be an idolater, and the Brahmins shall appear as a merchant of idols." He repeated his blows, and a treasure of pearls and rubies, concealed in the holy of the statue, explained in some degree the devout prodigality of the Brahmins. The fragments of the idol were distributed to Gazna, Mecca, and Medina. Bagdad listened to the edifying tale; and Mahmud was saluted by the caliph with the title of guardian of the fortune and faith of Mahomet.

From the paths of blood, and such is the history of nations, I cannot be induced to turn aside to gather sacred flowers of science or virtue. The name of Mahomud the Gaznevide is still venerable in the east; his subjects enjoyed the blessings of prosperity and peace; his vices were concealed by the veil of religion; and two familiar examples

1. Ferishta (sped Dow, Hist. of Hindostan, vol. i. p. 43,) mentions the report of a gus in the Indian army, But I am slow in believing the story, and still more in scrutinizing the first text, and then the authority of Ferishta, who lived in 15th century, though he certainly ivumed the name of the person (Kinnog, or Canneu, the old Palimbhoto,) is soaried in latitude 27° N. (By the old maps of the sixteenth century, and from the gazetteer, and the excellent Memoir on his Map of Hindostan, p. 35—43,) 300 priests, 20,000 shops for the area not 600,000 hands of the inhabitants, &c. (Oriental Geography, tab. xxv. p. 274, Dow, vol. i. p. 16) will allow an ample deduction. (Ferishta, now believed, not the believer; the same, I believe,) the Sasanides of the sixth, but the Seljukides of the twelfth century. (De Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. i. p. 246.)

2. The idolaters of Europe, say Ferishta, (Dow, vol. i. p. 65,) "con- ferably Ambelisco, (p. 272,) and Romney's Map of Hindostan.
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

will testify his justice and magnanimity. I. As he sat in the divan, an unhappy subject bowed before the throne to accuse the imprudence of the Cappadocian rebel, who had driven him from his house and bed. "Suspend your clamours," said Mamud, "inform me of your next visit, and yourself in person will judge and punish the offender." The sultan followed his guide, instruments of war, with his guards, and extinguishing the torches, pronounced the death of the imputee, who had been seized in the act of rapine and adultery. After the execution of his sentence, the lights were rekindled, Mamud fell prostrate in prayer, and rising from the ground, demanded some homely fare, which he had prepared for him. The spectral meal is a special delicacy in his residence, both for horses and for poor men, whose injury he had avenged, was unable to suppress his astonishment and curiosity; and the courteous monarch condescended to explain the motives of this singular behaviour. "I had reason to suspect that none except one of my sons could dare to perpetrate such an outrage; and I extinguished the lights, that my justice might be blind and inexorable. My prayer was a thanksgiving on the discovery of the offender; and so painful was my anxiety, that I had passed three days without food since the first moment of apprehension. This may be ascribed to the manner in which I declared war against the dynasty of the Bowides, the sovereigns of the western Persia: he was disarmed by an epistle of the sultana mother, and delayed his invasion till the manhood of her son. During the life of my husband," said the artful regent, "I was ever apprehensive of our ambition: he was a prince and a soldier worthy of your arms. He is now no more: his sceptre has passed to a woman and a child, and you dare not attack their infancy and weakness. How inglorious would be your conquest, how shameful your defeat! and yet the event of war is in the hand of the Almighty." Avracte was the only defect that tarnished the illustrious character of Mamud; and never has that passion been more richly satiated. The orientals exceed the measure of credibility in the account of millions of gold and silver, such as the avidity of man has never accumulated; in the magnitude of pearls, diamonds, and rubies, such as have never been produced by the workmanship of nature. Yet the soil of Hindostan is impregnated with precious minerals: her trade, in every age, has attracted the gold and silver of the world; and her virgin soils were originally embellished by the admixture of clay. His behaviour, in the last days of his life, evinces the vanity of these possessions, so laboriously won, so dangerously held, and so inevitably lost. He surveyed the vast and various chambers of the treasury of Gzana; bursified them: the magnificent buildings which sustained the state were for his use and that of his sons. His government, in the last days of his life, evinces the vanity of these possessions, so laboriously won, so dangerously held, and so inevitably lost. He surveyed the vast and various chambers of the treasury of Gzana; bursified them: the magnificent buildings which sustained the state were for his use and that of his sons.

Manners and emigration of the Turks in the regular operation of government and the Turkmen, A. D. 900—1000. The country is abandoned to the pastoral tribes of

Arabs, Cordis, and Turkmen.1 Of the last-mentioned people, two considerable branches extend on either side of the Caspian, on the one hand, the eastern Turkmen, of forty thousand soldiers; the eastern, less obvious to the traveller, but more strong and populous, has increased to the number of one hundred thousand families. In the midst of civilized nations, they preserve the manners of the Syrian desert, remove their encampments with the change of seasons, and feed their cattle among the ruins of palaces and temples. Their flocks and herds are their only riches; their tents, either black or white, according to the colour of the banner, are covered with felt, and of a circular form: their winter emigration, which is in the regular season of their Christian year.2 In the decline of the caliphate, and the breaking up of the empire of its lieutenants, the barrier of the Jaxartes was often violated: in each invasion, after the victory or rout of their countrymen, some wandering tribe, embarking the Mahometan faith, obtained a free encampment in the spacious plains and pleasant climate of Transoxiana and Carizme. The Turkish slaves who aspired to the throne encouraged these emigrations, which recruited their armies, awoke their subjects and rivals, and protected the frontier against the wild natives of Turkestan; and this policy was abused by Mahmud the Guzzendie beyond the example of former times. He was admonished of his error by a chief of the race of Seluk, who dwelt in the territory of Bochara. The sultan had inquired what supply of men he could furnish for military service. "If you send," replied Ismael, "one of these arrows into our camp, fifty thousand of your servants will mount on horseback." And if that number," continued Mahmud, "should not be sufficient!" Send this second arrow to the horde of Balik, and you will find fifty thousand more." But," said the Guzende, disclosed by the sight of the Jaxartes, and the whole force of your kindred tribes!" Despatch my bow," was the last reply of Ismael, "and as it is circulated around, the summons will he obeyed by two hundred thousand horse. The apprehension of such a disgraceful event induced the Christian princes to the most obnoxious tribes into the heart of Chorasan, where they would be separated from their brethren by the river Oxus, and enclosed on all sides by the walls of obedient cities. But the face of the country was an object of temptation rather than terror; and the vigour of government was relaxed by the absence and death of the sultan of Gzana. The shepherds were converted into robbers; the bands of robbers were collected into an army of conquerors; as far as Isphahan and the Tigris, Persia was afflicted by their predatory inroads; and the Turkmen were not ashamed or afraid to measure their courage and numbers with the proudest sovereignties of Asia. Massoud, the son and successor of Mahmud, had too long neglected the advice of his wisest omars. "Your enemies," they repeatedly urged, "were in their origin a swarm of ants; they are

1 See a lost and natural picture of these pastoral manners in the history of William of Tyre, l. c. and in the works of the historians of Persia, e. g., Bell infringed, Justin, and his most of the language of the oriental nations, in the works of the historians of Persia.
2 A d'Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 287. Yet these letters, accepted as the works of a prince and a scholar, are written in the language of the oriental nations, and are meant to have been read by them with those on the authority of others. D'Hherbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 287.
now little snakes; and, unless they be instantly crushed, they will acquire the venom and magnitude of serpents." After some alternatives of truce and hostility, after the repulse or partial success of his lieutenants, the emperor caused himself and the Turkman leader, who attacked him on all sides with barbarous shouts and irregular onset. "Massoud," says the Persian historian, "plunged singly to oppose the torrent of gleaming arms, exhibiting such acts of gigantic force and valour, that he never returned before displaying to the Turkish nation. The princes who had felt, or who feared, the Seljukian arrows, bow'd their heads in the dust; by the conquest of Aderbijan, or Median, he approached the Roman confines, and the shepherd presumed to despatch an ambassador, or herald, to demand the tribute and obedience of the emperor Constipontine. In his own dominions, Togrtl was the father of his soldiers and people; by a firm and equal administration Persia was relieved from the evils of anarchy; and the same hands which had been imbued in blood became the guardians of justice and the public peace. The more rustic, perhaps the wisest, portion of the Turkmans continued to dwell in the tents of their ancestors; and, from the Oxus to the Euphrates, these military colonies were protected and propagated by their native princes. But the Turks of the court and city were refined by business and softened by pleasure: they imitated the dress, language, and manners, of Persia; and the royal palaces of Nishapur and Rei displayed the order and magnificence of a great monarchy. The most deserving of the Arabians and Persians were promoted to the honours of the state; and the whole body of the Turkish nation embraced with favour and sincerity the religion of Mahomet. The northern swarms of barbarians, who overspread both Europe and Asia, have been irreconcilably separated by the consequences of a similar conflict. Among the Moslems, as among the christians, their vague and local traditions have yielded to the reason and authority of the prevailing system, to the fame of antiquity, and the consent of nations. But the triumph of the Komor is more pure and imperious, and unites the nation by any wish or complaint. The worship which might allure the pagans by some resemblance of idolatry. The first of the Seljukian sultans was conspicuous by his zeal and faith: each day he repeated the five prayers which are enjoined to the true believers; of each week the two first days were consecrated by an extraordinary fast; and in every city a mollah was completed, before Togrtl presumed to lay the foundations of a palace. With the belief of the Komor, the son he delivered the extraordinary character of Togrtl in his own declination and faith. But that A.D. 1035, sublime character was still disputed by the caliphs of Bagdad and Egypt, and each of the rivals was solicited to prove his title in the judgment of the strong, by the aid of illustrious sultans. Mahomed the Grim had declared himself in favour of the line of Abyb, and had treated with indignity the roble of honour which was presented by the Fatimite ambassador. Yet the ungrateful Hashemite had changed with the change of fortune; he appalled the victory of Zenon, and named the Seljukian sultan his temporal viceregent over the Moslem world. As Togrtl executed and enlarged this important trust, he was called to the deliverance of the caliph Cayem, and obeyed the holy summons, which gave a new kingdom to his arms. In the palace of Bagdad, he consorted of the faithful still slumbered, a venereal phantom.

Dow, Hist. of Hind-stan, vol. i. p. 95, 95–98. I have copied this passage as a specimen of the Persian manner; but I suspect, that by some odd fatality, the style of Fereisheh is improved by that of Ousian.

1 The Zendeilim of D'Herbeoil, (p. 1025) the Dindak of Dow, (vol. i. p. 87) is probably the Bandaneian of Abulbeda, Geograph. p. 145. Kildevil, a small town of Chostam, two days journey from Mani, was enriched through the east for the production and manufacture of cotton.

2 The Byzantine historians (Cedrenus, tom. ii. p. 766, 767, Zonaras, tom. i. p. 198) have enforced, this revolution, the truth of time and place, of name and persons, of cause and events. The ignorance and errors of these Greeks (which I shall not stop to unravel) may inspire some distrust of the story of Cyzaxres and Cyrus, as it is told by their most eloquent predecesor.

Wittinor, Tyr. 1. i. c. 7. p. 633. The divisio by arrows is an ancient mode in the east.

3 D'Herbeoil, p. 101. Yet after the fortune of his posterity, Seljuk became the forty-fifth in lineal descent from the great Afrashian, emperor of Persia in 597. The Tartar pedigree of the house of Zileia gave a different root to flattery and fabule; and the historian Mirbudh Derby in his Seljukides from Alkaxan, the reign of the mother, (p. 20, col. 3.) If they be the same as the Zalatefs of Abulhidhor, and the Seljukides of the Zaran, or the Zilxus, they are still more distant from the truth. The weighty evidence of a Tugrol prince himself, the description of his sire, Dindak, or Alcino, and Ozan Khan.

4 By a slight correction, Peroral Beg, the name of Tugrol's-pix of the Greeks. His reign and character are faithfully exhibited by D'Herbeoil, (p. 147, 147, 147) and de Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. ii. p. 198-201.)

Cedrenus, tomb. ii. p. 747, 750, Zonaras, tom. ii. p. 257. With their usual knowledge of oriental affairs, they describe the adversities of the Seljuniks, like the synthesis of the patriarch, was the vicar and successor of the caliph.

D'Herbeoil, p. 101. The Turks borrowed the distinction of Turks and Turkman, which is least in popular and convenient. The names are the same, and the application of one is the same import in the Persian and Teutonic idoms. Few critics will adopt the etymology of James de Vosy, (Hist. Hierosol. i. c. 11, p. 104.) of Turcomani, de Seljuk, or of Sinjar, or Abou Flea, or Azleno, or Oxan Khan.

5 By a slight correction, Peroral Beg, the name of Tugrol's-pix of the Greeks. His reign and character are faithfully exhibited by D'Herbeoil, (p. 147, 147, 147) and de Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. ii. p. 198-201.)

His servant or master, the prince of the Bowides, could no longer protect him from the inconstancy of monarchs, and the population of his capital, whose pride was suppressed by the revolt of the Turkish and Arabian emirs. The presence of a conqueror was implored as a blessing; and the transient mischiefs of fire and sword were excused as the sharp but salutary remedies which alone could restore the health of the republic. The successors of Saladin, in their turn, hastened from Damascus to Jerusalem, and the blood of one hundred thousand christians was a grateful sacrifice to the Arabian prophet. Yet the arms of Togrol did not make any deep or lasting impression on the Greek empire. The torrent rolled away from the open country; the sultan retired before the besiegers from the siege of an Armenian city; the obscure histories continued or suspended with a vieiicissitude of events; and the bravery of the Macedonian legions received the fame of the conqueror of Asia². The reign of Alp Arsalan, the valiant lion, is distinguished by his conquests in the East and West, the completion of the Turkish empire, and the title of a kingdom, and the spirit of the nation, were annihilated: the artificial fortifications were yielded by the mercenaries of Constantinople; by strangers without faith, veterans without pay or victors, and proved to be an empty delusion. The loss of this important frontier was the news of a day; and the cathedrals were neither surprised nor displeased, that a people so deeply infected with the Nestorian and Euyerbian errors, had been delivered by Christ and his mother into the hands of the infidels.

² The woods and valleys of mount Caucasus were more strenuously defended by the native Georgians or Iberians: but the Turkish sultan and his son Malek were indefatigable in this holy war; their captives were compelled to promise a spiritual, as well as a temporal, obedience, to Togrol; they were obliged to pay them a double renown over the east and west. After this inauguration, the sultan was prevented from prostrating himself a second time; but he twice kissed the hand of the commander of the faithful, and his titles were proclaimed by the voice of heralds and the applause of the Moslems. In a second visit to Bagdad, the Seljuks prince again rescued the caliph from his enemies; and devoutly, on foot, led the bridle of his mule from the prison to the palace. Their alliance was cemented by the marriage of Togrol's sister with the successor of the prophet. With the same imperious, obdurate spirit, he intrusted the head of the Seljuks to his harem; but Ceymou proudly refused his daughter to the sultan, disdained to mingle the blood of the Hashemites with the blood of a Sceyhnian shepherd; and prostrated the negociation months, till the gradual dissolution of his revveque abondished him and death, that he was still in the hands of a master.

A.D. 1068.

III.
The royal nuptials were followed by the death of Togrol himself; as he left no children, his nephew Alp Arsalan succeeded to the title and prerogatives of sultan; and his name, after that of the caliph, was pronounced in the public prayers of the Moslems. Yet in this revolution, the Abbassides acquired a larger measure of liberty and power. On the throne of Asia, the Turkish monarchs were less jealous of the domestic administration of Bagdad; and the commanders of the faithful were relieved from the miseries of Iraq by the presence and poverty of the Persian dynasty.

The Turks invaded the Roman empire, and won the respect and gratitude of the Saracens by the famous treaty of Nicaea, which, by the victories of Nichephorus, Zimisces, and Basil, had been extended as far as Antioch and the eastern boundaries of Armenia. Twenty-one years after the death of Togrol, his second son and successor was suddenly assaulted by an unknown race of barbarians, who united the Sceyhan valour with the fanaticism of new proselytes, and the art and riches of a powerful monarchy.³ The myriads of Turkish horse overspread a frontier of six hundred miles from Tauris to Bagdad, and the blood of one hundred thousand christians was a grateful sacrifice to the Arabian prophet. Yet the arms of Togrol did not make any deep or lasting impression on the Greek empire. The torrent rolled away from the open country; the sultan retired before the besiegers from the siege of an Armenian city; the obscure histories continued or suspended with a vicissitude of events; and the bravery of the Macedonian legions received the fame of the conqueror of Asia.³ The reign of Alp Arsalan, the valiant lion, is distinguished by his conquests in the East and West, the completion of the Turkish empire, and the title of a kingdom, and the spirit of the nation, were annihilated: the artificial fortifications were yielded by the mercenaries of Constantinople; by strangers without faith, veterans without pay or victors, and proved to be an empty delusion. The loss of this important frontier was the news of a day; and the cathedrals were neither surprised nor displeased, that a people so deeply infected with the Nestorian and Euyerbian errors, had been delivered by Christ and his mother into the hands of the infidels.

³ For these wars of the Turks and Romans, see in general the Byzantine histories of Zonaras and Cedrenus, Sicelitus the continuator of Cedrenus, and Nichephorus Bryennus Caesar. The two first of these were monks, the latter a luter statement: yet such were the Greeks, that the difference of style and character is scarcely discernible.

4 For the order of these events, I must refer the reader to the History of Guignes. The texts of the Saracens would yield the same facts (see note 5), but the history of the first Seljuks and the accuracy of Guignes.

5 History of the Romans, tom. ii. 1. 600. The dates of the Saracens and of the Seljuks are uncertain. The Saracens, ad callem Cedrenus, tom. ii. 383, whose ambiguous conception shall not be pursued, are identified by Struttler, Memoria Byzant. tom. ii. 600, with the Seljuks of Griendel and Monophyseite heresies. He familiarly talks of the sword, of the cross, of the knowledge of the Roman, and of the power of the Saracens; which might appear to be a little before the death of Alp Arsalan in 1072. It would appear, however, that his bigotry is forced to confess, that they were soon afterwards discharged on the orthodox Romans.

6 For this curious ceremony, I am indebted to M. De Guignes, (tom. ii. p. 190) and to La Roque, (Hist. de Byzance, p. 365. It is the object of his work, country, and character.

7 Eudoxia anna (A. D. 153) obit prinsessa Togrolhacbas.... yet fait d'is a meer qu'il excellait, covered error cords metalism invasion, ut ubi abetit et ego adfugit ut ipsam sub refrain. Elisa (Hist. Saracen. p. 312, vers. Euphras.)

8 For these wars of the Turks and Romans, see in general the Byzantine histories of Zonaras and Cedrenus, Sicelitus the continuator of Cedrenus, and Nichephorus Bryennus Caesar. The two first of these were monks, the latter a luter statement: yet such were the Greeks, that the difference of style and character is scarcely discernible. For the order of these events, I must refer the reader to the History of Guignes. The texts of the Saracens would yield the same facts (see note 5), but the history of the first Seljuks and the accuracy of Guignes.

9 History of the Romans, tom. ii. 1. 600. The dates of the Saracens and of the Seljuks are uncertain. The Saracens, ad callem Cedrenus, tom. ii. 383, whose ambiguous conception shall not be pursued, are identified by Struttler, Memoria Byzant. tom. ii. 600, with the Seljuks of Griendel and Monophyseite heresies. He familiarly talks of the sword, of the cross, of the knowledge of the Roman, and of the power of the Saracens; which might appear to be a little before the death of Alp Arsalan in 1072. It would appear, however, that his bigotry is forced to confess, that they were soon afterwards discharged on the orthodox Romans.

10 For this curious ceremony, I am indebted to M. De Guignes, (tom. ii. p. 190) and to La Roque, (Hist. de Byzance, p. 365. It is the object of his work, country, and character.

11 Eudoxia anna (A. D. 153) obit prinsessa Togrolhacbas.... yet fait d'is a meer qu'il excellait, covered error cords metalism invasion, ut ubi abetit et ego adfugit ut ipsam sub refrain. Elisa (Hist. Saracen. p. 312, vers. Euphras.)

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and dismayed the superior numbers of the Greeks; and in the defeat of Basiliscus, one of their principal generals, he disarmed them of all hope and clemency. The imprudence of the emperor had separated his forces after the reduction of Malazkurd. It was in vain that he attempted to recall the mercenary Franks: they refused to obey his summons; he could not prevail to wait their return; the desertion of the Uzi filled his mind with anxiety and suspicion; and against the most salutary advice he rushed forwards to speedy and decisive action. Had he listened to the fair proposals of the sultan, Romanus might have secured a retreat, perhaps a peace; but in these over-traits he succumbed to the wishes of his vanquished enemy, and his answer was conceived in the tone of insult and defiance. "If the barbarian wishes for peace, let him evacuate the ground which he occupies for the encampment of the Romans, and surrender his city and palace of Rej as a pledge of his sincerity." Alp Arslan smiled at the vanities of the demand, but kept the death of so many faithful Moslems; and, after a devout prayer, proclaimed a free permission to all who were desirous of retiring from the field. With his own hands he tied up his horse's tail, exchanged the sword of bis of his two sons for a long sword, and dressed himself in a white garment, perfumed his body with musk, and declared that if he were vanquished, that spot should be the place of his burial. The sultan himself had affected to cast away his missile weapons; but his hopes of victory were placed in the arrows of the Turkish cavalry, whose squadrons were distributed in the form of a crescent. Instead of the successive lines and reserves of the Grecian tactics, Romanus led his army in a single and solid phalanx, and pressed with vigour and impatience the artilled and disciplined phalanx of the barbarians. His desultory and fruitless combat he wasted the greater part of a summer's day, till prudence and fatigue compelled him to return to his camp. But a retreat is always perilous in the face of an active foe; and no sooner had the standard been turned to the rear than the phalanx was broken by the base cowardice, or the barbarian jealousy, of Andronicus, a rival prince, who disgraced his birth and the purple of the Caesars. The Turkish squadrons poured a cloud of arrows on this moment of confusion and lassitude; and the horns of their military and musical fame were on the point of being reaped. In the destruction of the army and pillage of the camp, it would be needless to mention the number of the slain or captives. The Byzantine writers deplore the loss of an inestimable pearl; they forget to mention, that in this fatal day the Asiatic provinces of Rome were irreparably sacrificed.

As long as a hope survived, Romanus Capitvity and attempted to rally and save the relics of deliverance of the emperor his army. When the centre, the imperial station, was left unguarded on all sides, and encompassed by the victorious Turks, he still, with desperate courage, maintained the fight till the close of the day, at the head of the brave and faithful subjects who adhered to his standard. They fell around him; his horse was slain; the emperor was wounded; yet he stood alone and intrepid, till he was oppressed and bowed by the strength of multitudes. The glory of this illustrious prize was disputed by a slave and a soldier; a slave who had seen him on the throne of Constantiopole, and a soldier whose extreme deformity had been excused on the promise of some signal service. De- 102.) to 12,000 horse. But the same Elmiue gives 500,000 men to the whole army of the Greeks. (D'Herbelot, supra p. 1046.)
spoil of his arms, his jewels, and his purple, Romanus spent a dreary and perilous night on the field of battle, amidst a disorderly crowd of the meaner barbarians. In the morning the royal captive was presented to Alp Arslan, who doubted of his fortune, till he had read his reverent report of his ambassadors, and by the more pathetic evidence of Basiliscus, who embraced with tears the feet of his unhappy sovereign. The successor of Constantine, in a piteous state, was led into the Turkish divan, and commanded to kiss the ground before a lofty throne. Alp Arslan, starting from his throne, is said to have plucked his foot on the heel of the Roman emperor. But the fact is doubtful; and if, in this moment of insolence, the sultan complied with a national custom, the rest of his conduct has extorted the praise of his magnanimity, and generosity, and sand to "Keign Pr and say!"

"Pomp was conducted to a distant part, where he was served with pomp and reverence by the officers of the sultan, who, twice each day, seated him in the place of honour at his own table. In a free and familiar conversation of eight hours, Alp Arslan, who knew them as subordinates from the conqueror; but he severely censured the unworthy subjects who had deserted their valiant prince in the hour of danger, and gently admonished his antagonist of some errors which he had committed in the management of the war. In the preliminaries of negotiations, Alp Arslan asked him what treatment he expected to receive, and the calm indifference of the emperor displayed the freedom of his mind. "If you are cruel," he said, "you will take my life; if you listen to pride, you will drag me at your chariot wheels; if you consult your interest, you will accept a ransom, and restore me to my country." And when continued the sultan, "would have been your own behaviour, had fortune smiled on your arms!"

The reply of the Greek betrays a sentiment, which prudence, and even gratitude, should have taught him to suppress; but he was either so deceived as to believe that he would have inflicted on thy body a stripe," The Turkish conqueror smiled at the insolence of his captive; observed that the Christian law inculcated the love of enemies and forgiveness of injuries; and nobly declared that he would not imitate an example which he considered as a mark of weakness. He had dictated the terms of liberty and peace, a ransom of a million, an annual tribute of three hundred and sixty thousand pieces of gold, the marriage of the royal children, and the deliverance of all the Moslems who were in the power of the Greeks. Romanus, with a sigh, subscribed this treaty, so disgraceful to the majesty of the empire; he was immediately invested with a Turkish robe of honour; his nobles and patricians were restored to their sovereignty; and the sultan, after a courteous embrace, dismissed him with rich presents and a parting word. No sooner did he reach the confines of the empire, than it was informed that the palace and provinces had disclaimed their allegiance to a captive: a sum of two million pieces was painfully collected; and the fallen monarch transmitted this part of his ransom, with a sorrowful expression and disconsolate mien, the generosity, or perhaps the ambition, of the sultan, prepared to espouse the cause of his ally; but his designs were prevented by the defeat, imprisonment, and death, of Romanus Digenes."

In the treaty of peace, it does not appear that Alp Arslan extended any province or city from the captive emperor; the Greeks were told his reverence would obtain the trophies of his victory, and the spoils of Anatolia, from Antioch to the Black sea. The fairest part of Asia was subject to his laws; twelve hundred princes, or the sons of princes, stood before his throne; and two hundred thousand soldiers marched under his banners. The sultan disdained to provoke a scruple in him, that he should be fastened to four stakes, and left to expire in that painful situation. At this command, the desperate Carizmian, drawing a dagger, rushed headlong towards the throne: the guards raised their battle-axes; their zeal was checked by their masterful arch; Alp Arslan, who had caused his bow, but his foot slipped, the arrow glanced aside, and he received in his breast the dagger of Joseph, who was instantly cut in pieces. The wound was mortal; and the Turkish prince bequathed a dying adoration to the pride of kings. "In your youth," said Alp Arslan, "I was advised by a sage to humble myself before God; to distrust my own strength; and never to despise the most contemptible foe. I have neglected these lessons; and my neglect has been deservedly punished. Yesterday, as from an eminence I beheld the numbers, the discipline, and the splendour of my troops, the earth seemed tremulous under my feet; and I said in my heart, surely thou art the king of the world, the greatest and most invincible of warriors. These armies are no longer mine; and, in the confidence of my personal strength, I now fall by the hand of him who is my master." Alp Arslan, with the virtues of a Turk and a muslime, his voice and stature commanded the reverence of mankind; his face was shaded with long whiskers; and his ample turban was fashioned in the shape of a crown. The remains of the sultan were deposited in the tomb of the Seljuk princes, and his name was invested with the character of a hero. The public interest dictated this useful inscription: "O ye who have seen the glory of Alp Arslan exalted to the heavens, repair to Marc, and you will behold it buried in the dust." The inscription of the hill, and the tomb itself, more forcibly proclaim the instability of human greatness.

During the life of Alp Arslan, his reign and predecessors had been acknowledged as the period of Malek the future sultan of the Turks. On his father's death, the inheritance was disputed by an uncle, a cousin, and a brother: they drew their securiats, and assembled their followers; and


This interesting death is told by D'Herbelot, (p. 103, 104.) and M. de Guignes, tom. iii. p. 212, 213.) from their oriental writers: but the history of the Huns is taken from Zonaras, with few exceptions. Zonaras, p. 343, 345.)

A crime of high renown, (the late Dr. Johnson,) who has severely scrutinized the epitaphs of Pope, might cavil in this sublime inscription at the words "repair to Marc," since the reader must already be at Marc before he could perceive the inscription.

Chap. XVIII.

OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

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The triple victory of Malek Shah established his own reputation and the right of primogeniture in every age, and more especially in Asia, the thirst of power has inspired the same passions, and occasioned the same disorders; but from the long series of civil war, it would not be easy to extract a sentiment more pure and unalloyed than that which the saying of the Turkish prince. On the eve of the battle, he performed his devotions at Thous, before the tomb of the Imam Riza. As the sultan rose from the ground, he asked his vizir Nizam, who had knelt beside him, whether he entertained any secret petition. "The honor of your arms may be enlarged," replied the vizir, "but the prudent and, most probably, the sincere answer of the minister. "For my part," replied the generous Malek, "I implored the Lord of hosts, that he would take from me my life and crown, if my brother be more worthy than myself to reign over the Moslem." The favourable judgment of heaven was ratified by the caliph; and for the first time, the sacred title of commander of the faithful was communicated to a barbarian. But this barbarian, by his personal merit, and the extent of his empire, was the greatest prince of his own age. After he had subdued the lost provinces of Asia and his rival, he marched at the head of innumerable armies to achieve the conquest of Turkestan, which had been undertaken by his father. In his passage of the Oxus, the boatmen, who had been employed in transporting some of his troops, complained that the imperial revenue was assessed on the revenues of Antioch. The sultan frowned at this preposterous choice; but he smiled at the artful flattery of his vizir. "It was not to postpone their reward, that I selected those remote places, but to pay a memorial to posterity, that, under your reign, Antioch and the Oxus were subject to the same sovereign." But this description of his limits was unjust and parsimonious; beyond the Oxus, he reduced to his obedience the cities of Behar, Casmez, and Samarcand, and crushed each rebellious slave, or independent savage, who dared to resist. Malek passed the Sihon or Jazartes, the last boundary of Persian civilization; the borders of Turkestan yielded to his supremacy: his name was inscribed on the coins, and in the prayers of Cashgar, a Tartar kingdom on the extreme borders of China. From the Chinese frontier, the annexation of Turkestan, which bordered the two empires, and the two subject to the sultan, was necessary to the grandeur of his empire, and to the stability of the sovereignty. The feeble successor of Mahomet obtained a respite of ten days; and before the expiration of the term, the barbarian was summoned by the angel of death. His ambassadors at Constantinople had asked in mar- velous language a renewal of the friendly treaty, which, after a period of eighty years, was renewed; and the daughter of Alexius, who might herself have been the victim, expresses her abhorrence of this unnatural conjunction. The daughter of the sultan was bestowed on the caliph Mustad, with the condition, that, renouncing the society of his wives and concubines, he should for ever confine himself to this honourable alliance. The greatness and union of the Turkish empire expired in the person of Malek Shah. His vacant throne was disposed of by the House of Malek Shah, and the princes of the House of Malek Shah have reigned ever since. In the year 542—543 (1147—1148), and the sultan bestowed a more serious and learned care on the reformation of the calendar, which was effected by Rifaie, vizir and generalissimo. The vizir explained a law of the prophet, the Moslem is confined to the irregular course of the lunar months; in Persia, since the age of Zoroaster, the revolution of the sun has been known and celebrated as an annual festival. 24 An ample share of their wisdom and virtue is due to a Persian vizir, who ruled the empire under the reigns of Alp Arsalan and his son. Nizam, one of the most illustrious ministers of the east, was honoured by the sultan, who was at the same time the greatest merit was trusted by the sultan as the faithful viceroy of his power and justice. After an administration of thirty years, the fame of the vizir, his wealth, and even his services, were transformed into crimes. He was overthrown by the insidious arts of a woman and a rival; and his fall was hastened by a rash declaration, that his cap and cloak, the badges of his office, were connected with the divine decree with the throne and diadem of the sultan. At the age of ninety-three years, the venerable statesman was dismissed by his master, accused by his enemies, and murdered by a fanatic; the last words of Nizam attested his innocence, and the remainder of Malek Shah's life was short and inglorious. From Isphahan, the scene of this disgraceful transaction, the sultan moved to Bagdad, with the design of transplanting the caliph, and of fixing his personal residence in the holy city. His most illustrious vizir, the learned D. Hamet, was the chief minister of the government; and his friend and successor, the learned Dr. Hamet, whose reign was of thirty-two years, obtained as the payment of a debt, an annuity of one million of crowns. The division of the sultanate was the revenue of the house of Malek Shah.

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OPUTED by his brother and his four sons; and, after a series of civil wars, the treaty which reconciled the surviving candidates confirmed a lasting separation in the Persian dynasty, the eldest and principal branch of the house of Seljuk. The three younger dynasties were those of Kerman, of Syria, and of Roum: the first of which, and their whole descendants, were the descendants of the House of Hisar; the second expelled the Arabian princes of Aleppo and Damascus; and the third, our peculiar care, invaded the Roman provinces of Asia Minor. The generous policy of Malek contributed to their elevation; he signed his own name for ever on their escutcheon; he had vanquished in the field, to seek new kingdoms worthy of their ambition; nor was he displeased that they should draw away the more ardent spirits, who might have disturbed the tranquillity of his reign. As the supreme head of his family and nation, the great vassal of Persia commanded the obedience and tribute of his royal brethren: the thrones of Kerman and Nire, of Aleppo and Damascus; the Atabeks, and emirs of Syria and Mesopotamia, erected their standards under the shadow of his sceptre; and the hordes of Turkmans overspread the plains of the western Asia. After the death of Malek, the hands of union and subordination were relaxed and finally dissolved; the indulgence of the house of Seljuk invested their slaves with the inheritance of kingdoms; and, in the oriental style, a crowd of princes arose from the dust of his feet.

Conquest of Asia Minor by the Turks.

A prince of the royal line, Cutulmish, the son of Izrail, the son of Seljuk, had fallen in a battle against Alp Arslan; and the humane victor had dropped a tear over his grave. His five sons, strong in arms, ambitious to the crown alone, defended their symmetric against the son of Alp Arslan. The two armies expected the signal, when the caliph, forgetful of the majesty which secluded him from vulgar eyes, interposed his venerable mediation. "Instead of shedding the blood of your brethren, your brethren both in descent and faith, unite your forces in a holy war against the Greeks, the enemies of God and his apostle." They listened to his voice; the sultan embraced his rebellious kinsmen; and the eldest, the valiant Soliman, accepted the royal standard, which gave him the free conquest and hereditary command of all the provinces of Asia Minor, from Arzemon to Constantiople, and the unknown regions of the west. Accompanied by his four brothers, he passed the Euphrates; the Turkish camp was soon seated in the neighbourhood of Kutaich in Phrygia; and his Syrian troops were induced to waste the country as far as the Hellespont and the Black sea. Since the decline of the empire, the peninsula of Asia Minor had been exposed to the transient, though destructive, inroads of the Persians and Saracens; but the fruits of a lasting conquest were reserved for the Turkish sultan; and his arms were introduced by the Greeks, who aspired to reign on the ruins of their country. Since the captivity of Romanus, six years the feble son of Eudo-

cia had trembled under the weight of the imperial crown, till the provinces of the east and west were lost in the same month by a double rebellion; of either chief Nicophonius was the common name; but the surnames of Brynnus and Botoniates distinguish the European and Asiatic candidates. Their reasons, or that of the favor they received from the divan; and, after some hesitation, Soliman declared himself in favor of Botoniates, opened a free passage to his troops in their march from Antioch to Nice, and joined the banner of the crescent to that of the cross. After his ally had ascended the throne of Constantiople, he attended the motions of the Turkish camp; and the desponding cities were tempted by the summons of a Roman prince, who immediately surrendered them into the hands of the barbarians. These acquisitions were confirmed by a treaty of peace with the emperor Alexius: his fear of Robert compelled him to seek the friendship of Soliman; and it was not till after the sultan's death that he extended as far as Nicomedia, about sixty miles from Constantiople, the eastern boundary of the Roman world. Trebizond could not be left on either side by the sea and mountains, preserved at the extremity of the Euxine, the ancient character of a Greek colony, and the future destiny of a christian empire.

Since the first conquests of the caliphs, the establishment of the Turks in Anatolia or Asia Minor was the most deplorable loss which the church and empire had sustained. By the propagation of the Moslem faith, Soliman deserv- ed the name of Gazi, a holy champion; and his new kingdom, of the Romans, or of Roum, was added to the tables of empire geography. It is described as extending from the Euphrates to Constantiople, from the Black sea to the confines of Syria; pregnant with mines of silver and iron, of alum and copper, fruitful in corn and wine, and productive of cattle and excellent horses. The wealth of Lydia, the arts of the Greeks, the fertility of the Scythian conquerors. Yet, in the present decay, Anatolia still contains some wealthy and populous cities; and, under the Byzantine empire, they were far more flourishing in numbers, size, and opulence. By the choice of the sultan, Nice, the metropolis of Bithynia, was preferred for his palace and fortress; the seat of the Seljukian dynasty of Roum was planted one hundred miles from Constantiople; and the divinity of Christ was denied and despoiled in the same temple in which it had been pronounced by the first general synod of the catholics. The unity of God, and the mission of Mahomet, were preached in the mosques; the Arabian learning was taught in the schools; the cadis judged according to the law of the Koran; the Turkish manners and language prevailed; and the ancient cities were scattered over the plains and mountains of Anatolia. On the hard conditions of tribute and servitude, the Greek christians might enjoy the exercise of their religion; but their most holy churches were pro-

6 Such is the description of Roum by Histoire the Armeuniens, whose Tartar history may be found in the collections of Rambous and Berce (See Abbeau's Geograph. climat. viii. p. 281-302.)
faned; their priests and bishops were insulted; 6 they were compelled to suffer the triumph of the pagans, and the apostolic traditions of the Church were marked by the knife of circumcision; and many thousands captive were devoted to the service or the pleasures of their masters. 7 After the loss of Asia, Antioch still maintained her primitive allegiance to Christ and Caesar; but the solitary province of Europe was now no longer a power surrounded on all sides by the Mahometan powers. The despoilers of Philarethus the governor prepared the sacrifice of his religion and loyalty, had not his guilt been prevented by his son, who hastened to the Niene palace, and offered to deliver this valuable province to the influence of the church. The panicky multitude, having mounted on horseback, and in twelve nights (for he reposed in the day) performed a march of six hundred miles. Antioch was oppressed by the speed and secrecy of his enterprise; and the dependent cities, as far as Laodicea and the confines of Aleppo, obeyed the example of the metropolis. From Laodicea to the Thracian Bosporus, or arm of St. George, the conquest and reign of Soliman extended thirty days' journey in length, and in breadth about ten or fifteen, between the rocks of Lyelia and the Black sea. 8 The Turkish ignorance of the Christian religion, the danger to the safety of the emperor; but so soon had a fleet of two hundred ships been constructed by the hands of the captive Greeks, that Alexius trembled behind the walls of his capital. His plains epistles were dispatched to excite the compassion of the Latins, and to paint the danger, the weakness, and the riches, of the city of Constantine. 9

But the most interesting conquest of the Seljuk Turks, was that of Jerusalem, 10 which soon became the theatre of the most extraordinary actions. In the first year of the reign of that monarch, the inhabitants had stipulated the assurance of their religion and property; but the articles were interpreted by a master, against whom it was dangerous to dispute; and in the four hundred years of the reign of the caliph, the political opposition of Jerusalem was exposed to the vicissitudes of storm and sunshine. 11 By the increase of proselytes and population, the Mahometans might: excuse their usurpation of three-fourths of the city: but a peculiar quarter was reserved for the patriarch with his clergy and people; a tract of land, called the golden gates of paradise; and the sepulchre of Christ, with the church of the resurrection, was still left in the hands of his votaries. Of these votaries, the most numerous and respectable portion were strangers to Jerusalem; the pilgrims to the Holy Land, had been stimulated rather than suppressed, by the conquest of the Arabs; and the enthusiasm which had always prompted these perilous journeys, was nourished by the congenial passions of grief and indignation. A crowd of pilgrims from every nation and every tongue, visited the adjacent sanctuaries, more especially at the festival of Easter: and the Greeks and Latins, the Nesterians and Jacobites, the Coptics and Abyssinians, the Armenians and Georgians, maintained the chapels, the clergy, and the poor of their respective communities, with the aid of the inhabitants of many various tongues, the worship of so many nations in the common temple of their religion, might have afforded a spectacle of edification and peace; but the zeal of the christian sects was imbittered by hatred and revenge; and in the kingdom of a suffering Messiah, who had pardoned his enemies, they aspired to command and persecute their spiritual brethren. The pre-eminence was asserted by the spirit and numbers of the Franks; and the greatness of Charlemagne 12 protected both the Latin pilgrims, and the catholics of the east. The poverty of Curthage, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, and the increase of the influence of the empire; and many monasteries of Palestine were founded or restored by his liberal devotion. Harun Alrashid, the greatest of the Abbasides, esteemed in his christian brother a similar supremacy of genius and power: their friendship was cemented by the intercourse of gifts and embassies; and the caliph, without resigning the substantial dominion, presented the emperor with the keys of the holy sepulchre, and perhaps of the city of Jerusalem. In the decline of the Carolingian monarchy, the republic of Amalfi prepared to avenge the outrage of the Franks. Her vessels transported the Latin pilgrims to the coasts of Egypt and Palestine, and desired, by their useful imports, the favour and alliance of the Fatimite caliphs 13; an annual fair was instituted on mount Cury; and the Italian merchants founded the convent and hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, the cradle of the monastic and military order, which has since reigned in the isles of Rhodes and of Malta. Had the christian pilgrims been content to revere the tomb of a prophet, the disciples of Mahomet, instead of blan-}

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1. State and pilgrimage of Jerusalem.

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who impose on the credulous spectators for their own benefit, and that of their tyrants. In every age, a principle of toleration has been fortified by a sense of interest; and the revenue of the prince and his emir was increased each year, by the expense and tribute of so many thousand strangers.

Under the Fatimite caliph, the sceptre from the Abbassides to the Fatimites was a benefit, rather than an injury, to the Holy Land. A sovereign resident in Egypt, was more sensible of the importance of christian trade; and the emirs of Palestine were less remiss in the justice and public charity among Christians; the third of these Fatimite caliphs was the famous Hakem, a frantic youth, who was delivered by his impiety and despotism from the fear either of God or man; and whose reign was a wild mixture of vice and folly. Regardless of the most ancient customs of Egypt, he imposed on his women an absolute confinement; the restraint excited the clamours of both sexes; their clamours provoked his fury; a part of Old Cairo was delivered to the flames; and the guards and citizens were engaged many days in a bloody conflict. At first the caliph declared himself a zealous mungador; and a general interdict was laid on the devotions and colleges: twelve hundred and ninety copies of the Koran were transcribed at his expense in letters of gold; and his edict extirpated the vineyards of the Upper Egypt. But his vanity was soon flattered by the hope of introducing a new religion; he aspired above the favours of God. His jealousy of the Christians, and mixture of the most high God, who, after nine apparitions on earth, was at length manifest in his royal person. At the name of Hakem, the lord of the living and the dead, every knee was bent in religious adoration; his majesty was respected by the Christians, and colleges: twelve thousand converts had signed his profession of faith; and at the present hour, a few and warlike people, the Druses of mount Libanans, are persuaded of the law and divinity of a madman and tyrant.

In his divine character, Hakem hated the Jews and christians, as he imposed on his rivals; while some remains of prejudice or prudence still pleaded in favour of the law of Mahomet. Both in Egypt and Palestine, his cruel and wanton persecution made some martyrs and many apostates; the common rights and special privileges of the sectaries were equally disregarded, and the tranquillity of strangers and natives. The temple of the christian world, the church of the resurrection, was demolished to its foundations; the luminous prodel of Easter was interrupted, and much profane labour was exhausted to destroy the cave in the rock which properly constitutes the holy sepulchre. At the report of this sacrilege, the nations of Europe were astonished and afflicted: but instead of arming in the defence of the Holy Land, they contented themselves with burning or hating the Jews, as the secret advisers of the impious barbarian. Yet the calamities of Jerusalem were in some measure alleviated by the inconstancy or repentance of Hakem himself; and the royal man

date was sealed for the restitution of the churches, when the tyrant was assassinated by the emissaries of his sister. The succeeding caliphs resumed the maxims of religion and policy; a free toleration was again granted; with the pious aid of the emperor of Constantiople, the holy sepulchre arose from its ruins; the Turks, who had conducted his itinerant brethren; and from Belgrade to Antioch, they traversed fifteen hundred miles of a christian empire. Among the Franks, the zeal of pilgrimage prevailed beyond the example of former times; and the roads were covered with multitudes of either sex, and of every rank, who professed their contempt of life, so soon as they should have kissed the tomb of their Redeemer. Princes and prelates abandoned the care of their dominions; and the numbers of these pious caravans were a prelude to the armies which marched in the beginning of the fourteenth century. About thirty years before the first crusade, the archbishop of Mentz, with the bishops of Utrecht, Bamberg, and Ratishon, undertook this laborious journey from the Rhine to the Jordan; and the multitude of their followers amounted to seven thousand persons. At Constantinople, the Turk was engaged by the emperor; but the ostentation of their wealth provoked the assault of the wild Arabs; they drew their swords with scrupulous reluctance, and sustained a siege in the village of Capernam, till they were driven by the pressure of the Turk to make a retreat. After visiting the holy places, they embarked for Italy, but only a remnant of two thousand arrived in safety in their native land. Ingulphus, a secretary of William the Conqueror, was a companion of this pilgrimage: he observes that they sallied from Normandy, thirty stout and well-appointed horsemen; but that they repassed the Alps, twenty miserable palmers, with the staff in their hand, and the iteat at their back.

After the defeat of the Romans, the Conquest of the Fatimite caliphs was to be invaded by the Turks. One of the tenants of Malek Shah, Atiz, the Carizman, marched into Syria at the head of a powerful army, and reduced Damascus by famine and the sword. Huns, and the other cities of the province, acknowledged the caliph of Bagdad and the sultan of Persia; and the victorious emir advanced without resistance to the banks of the Nile: the Fatimite was preparing to fly into the heart of Africa: but the negroes of his guard and the inhabitants of Cairo made a desperate sally, and repulsed the Turk from the confines of Egypt. In his retreat, he indulged the licence of slaughter and rapine; the judge and notaries of Jerusalem were invited to his camp, and their execution was followed by the massacre of three thousand citizens. The cruelty or the defeat of Atiz was soon punished by the sultan Tuncish, the brother of Malek Shah.

2 Por idem tempus ex universo orbis tam immunissimus multitudine conslitutus ad seipsum celebratus sola sancta Hierosolyma, quantum praestitit, ubi Solomons tabernaculum erat aperitum. "St. Stephen incited the Jews, as the secret advisers of the impious barbarian. Yet the calamities of Jerusalem were in some measure alleviated by the inconstancy or repentance of Hakem himself; and the royal man

3 Siracusa, Lambrusco, Isola elevata, called Isola dei Pescatori, and Otranto, in Apulia. (De Felt.)

4 See Gheiler, 1. iii. 1. Konon, (Hist. Crit. Reg. Hungaria, tom. i. p. 304—341) examines whether St. Stephen founded a monastery at the place of incidence, called Hieropolis: and the next is thefollowing:

5 In the following order: "Saints and martyrs of the rock of Jerusalem." (See Gheiler, 1. iii. part. i. p. 215, 216) add the testimonies, or rather the names, of Ab当之 and Novatian.

6 Barussus (A. D. 1061, No. 43—56) has transcribed the greater part of the original narratives of Ingulphus, Matrinus, and Lambrusco.

7 See Elnmacin, (Hist. Saracen., p. 348, 350) and Ab_algabys, (Synes., p. 207. 237. 219. 276) and other chroniclers. (Hist. des Huns, tom. ii. part. 1. p. 415, 247) add the testimonies, or rather the names, of Ab当之 and Novatian.
Shah, who with a higher title and more formidable powers, asserted the dominion of Syria and Palestine. The house of Seljuk reigned about twenty years in Jerusalem; but the hereditary command of the holy city and territory was intrusted or abandoned to the emir Ortok, the chief of a tribe of Turkomans, who, after their expulsion from Palestine, formed two dynasties on the borders of Armenia and Assyria. The oriental christians and the Latin pilgrims deplored a revolution, which, instead of the regular government and old alliance of the caliphs, imposed on their necks the iron yoke of the strangers of the north. In his court and camp the great sultan had adopted in some degree the arts and manners of Persia; but the body of the Turkish nation, and more especially the pastoral tribes, still breathed the fierceness of the desert. From Nice to Jerusalem, the western countries of Asia were a scene of foreign and domestic hostility; and the shepherds of Palestine, who held a precarious sway on a doubtful fiefdom, had neither leisure nor capacity to avert the slow profits of commercial and religious freedom. The pilgrims, who, through innumerable perils, had reached the gates of Jerusalem, were the victims of private rapine or public oppression, and often sunk under the pressure of famine and disease, before they were permitted to salute the holy sepulchre. A spirit of national resentment flowered and swelled the Turks to assert the clergy of every sect; the patriarch was dragged by the hair along the pavement, and cast into a dungeon, to extort a ransom from the sympathy of his flock; and the divine worship in the church of the resurrection was often disturbed by the savage rudeness of its masters. The pathetic tale excited the millions of the west to march under the standard of the cross to the relief of the Holy Land: and yet how trifling is the sum of these accumulated evils, if compared with the single act of the sacrifice of Hakem, who was so patiently consumed by the Turks? A slighter provocation inflamed the more irascible temper of their descendants: a new spirit had arisen of religious chivalry and papal dominion: a nerve was touched of exquisite feeling; and the sensa-tion vibrated to the heart of Europe.

CHAPTER XIX.

Origin and numbers of the first crusade.—Characters of the Latin princes.—Their march to Constantinople.—Polecy of the Greek emperor Alexius.—Conquest of Nice, And loch, and Jerusalem, by the Franks.—Deliverance of the holy sepulchre.—Godfrey of Bouillon, first king of Jerusalem.—Institutions of the French or Latin kingdom.

The first crusade. About twenty years after the conquest of Jerusalem by the Turks, the holy Peter the hermit, sepulchre was visited by a hermit of the name of Peter, a native of Amiens, in the province of Picardy, in France. His resentment and sympathy were excited by his own injuries and the oppression of the christian name; he mingled his tears with those of the patriarch, and earnestly inquired, if no hopes of relief could be entertained from the Greek emperors of the east. The patriarch exposed the vices and weakness of the successors of Constantine. "I will remove," exclaimed the hermit, "the martial nations of Europe, which have been drawn to the call of the hermit. The astonished patriarch dismissed him with epistles of credit and complaint; and no sooner did he land at Bari, than Peter hastened to kiss the feet of the Roman pontiff. His nature was small, his appearance contemptible, but his eyes were kept closed by the vehemence of speech, which seldom fails to impart the persuasion of the soul. He was born of a gentleman's family, and had the military service was under the neighbouring counts of Boulogne, the heroes of the first crusade. But we soon relinquished the sword and the world; and if it be true, that his wife, however noble, was aged and ugly, he might withdraw, with the less reluctance, from her bed to a convent, and at length to a hermitage. In this austere solitude, his body was en-erated, excited by his eye, to call him, he believed; whatever he believed, he saw in dreams and revelations. From Jerusalem, the pilgrim returned an accomplished fanatic; but as he excelled in the popular madness of the times, pope Urban the second received him in a suit of the most extraordinary sign, promised to support it in a general council, and encouraged him to proclaim the deliverance of the Holy Land. Invigorated by the approbation of the pontiff, his zealous missionary traversed, with speed and success, the provinces of Italy and France. His diet was abstemious, his prayers long and fervent, and the alms which he received with one hand, he distributed with the other: his head was bare, his feet naked, his meagre body was wrapped in a coarse garment; he bare and displayed a weighty crosifix; and the ascetic beauty of the person was sanctified in the public eye, by the service of the man of God. He preached to innumerable crowds in the churches, the streets, and the highways: the hermit entered with equal confidence the palace and the cottage; and the people, for all were people, were impetuously moved by his call to repentance and arms. When he painted the sufferings of the natives and pilgrims of Palestine, every heart was melted to compassion; every breast glowed with indignation, when he challenged the warriors of the age to defend their brethren, and rescue their Sue-
served for Urban the second, the most faithful of his disciples. He undertook the conquest of the east, whilst the larger portion of Rome was possessed and fortified by his rival Guibert of Ravenna, who contended with Urban for the name and honours of the pontificate. He attempted to unite the powers of the west, and he ascended the papal throne, not as the representative of the church, and the people from their princes, by the excommunication which himself and his predecessors had thundered against the emperor and the king of France. Philip the first, of France, supported with patience the censures which he had provoked by his.separation from Rome. These censures were mainly due to the failure of the Conciliar movement, of which Urban, the fourth, of Germany, assented the right of investitures, the prerogative of confirming his bishops by the delivery of the ring and crosier. But the emperor's party was crushed in Italy by the arms of the Normans and the countess Mathilde; and the long quarrel had been recently overcome by the revolt of his son Conrad and the shame of his wife, who, in the synods of Constance and Placentia, confessed the manifold prostitutions to which she had been exposed by a husband regardless of her honour and his own. So popular was the cause of Urban, so weighty was his influence, that sixty dukes and forty bishops at Placentia were composed of two hundred bishops of Italy, France, Burgundy, Swabia, and Bavaria. Four thousand of the clergy, and thirty thousand of the laity, attended this important meeting; and, as the most spacious cathedral would have been inadequate to the multitude, the session of seven days were held in a plain adjacent to the city. The ambassadors of the Greek emperor, Alexis Comnenus, were introduced to plead the distress of their sovereign and the danger of Constantinople, which was divided only by a narrow sea from the victorious Turks, the common enemy of both. In the dress they fluttered the pride of the Latin princes; and, appealing at once to their policy and religion, exhorted them to repel the barbarians on the confines of Aia, rather than to expect them in the heart of Europe. At the sad tale of the misery and perils of their eastern brethren, the assembly burst into tears: the most exacter champions declared their readiness to march; and the Greek ambassadors were dismissed with the assurance of a speedy and powerful succour.

The relief of Constantinople was included in the larger and most distant project of the deliverance of Jerusalem. The assembly held an assemblage to a second synod, which he proposed to celebrate in some city of France in the autumn of the same year. The short delay would propagate the flame of enthusiasm; and his firmest hope was in a nation of soldiers, still proud of the pre-eminence of their name, and ambitious to emulate their hero Charlemagne, who, in the popular Romance of Turpin, had achieved the conquest of the Holy Land. A latent motive of affection or vanity might influence the choice of Urban: he was himself a native of France, a monk of Cluny, and he had been a counsellor of St. Peter. The Censures of Philip had illustrated his family and province; nor is there perhaps a more exquisite gratification than to revisit, in a conspicuous dignity, the humble and laborious scenes of our youth. It may occasion some surprise that the Council of Clermont might seem to erect in the heart of the French State, the tribunal from whence he November, hurled his anathemas against the king; but our surprise will vanish so soon as we form a just estimate of a king of France of the eleventh century. Philip the first was the great-grandson of Hugh Capet, the founder of the present race, who, in the decline of Charlemagne's posterity, added the regal title to his patrimonial estates of Paris and Orleans. In this narrow compass, he was possessed of wealth and jurisdiction; but in the rest of France, Hugh and his first descendants were no more than the feudal lords of about a hundred and fifty duchies and baronies of dependence, with no real power, who disdained the control of laws and legal assemblies, and whose disregard of their sovereign was revenged by the disobedience of their inferior vassals. At Clermont, in the territories of the count of Auvergne, the pope might brave with impunity the re- sistance of the monarch, and the consent of the whole, who had convened in that city was not less numerous or respectable than the synod of Placentia. Besides his court and council of Roman cardinals, he was supported by thirteen archbishops and two hundred and twenty-five bishops; the number of mitred prelates was computed at more than four hundred, and the number of those whose names were put to the acts of the council. In short, it was one of the most powerful and illustrious assemblies ever held under the archiepiscopal dignity of the church; and a protection of three years was extended to husbandmen and merchants, the defenders..."
The Decline and Fall

Chap. XIX.

The decline and fall of the Holy Roman Empire. But the name and nature of a holy war demands not to be made a pretext for injuring any other society; nor can we doubt that the universal sympathy with justice and propriety of our enterprise. In the age of the crusades, the christians, both of the east and west, were persuaded of their lawfulness and merit; their arguments are clouded by the perpetual abuse of Scripture and rhetoric; but they seem to insist on the necessity of destroying the idolaters, of cutting off the holy grail of the Holy Land, and the impiety of their pagan and Mahometan foes. The right of a just defence may fairly include our civil and spiritual allies: it depends on the existence of danger; and that danger must be estimated by the two-fold consideration of the manner and the amount of the evil or mischief. A perilous test has been impinged to the Mahometans, the duty of exterminating all other religions by the sword. This charge of ignorance and bigotry is favored by the Koran, by the history of the mussulman conquerors, and by the example of their present conquering race. The eminent virtues of the Turks in the eleventh century, the victorious arms of the Turks presented a real and urgent apprehension of these losses. They had subdued, in less than thirty years, the kingdoms of Asia, as far as Jerusalem and the Helleespont; and the Greek empire tottered on the verge of destruction. Besides an honest sympathy for their brethren, the Latins had a right and interest in the support of Constantinople, the most important barrier of the west; and the privilege of defence must reach to prevent, as well as to repel, an impending assault. But this salutary purpose might have been accomplished by a moderate succour; a more calamous reason must disclaim the innumerable hosts and remote operations, which overwhelmed Asia and depopulated Europe. II. Palestine could add nothing to the strength of the safety of the Latins; and fanaticism also would perish under the pressure of more distant and narrow province. The christians affirmed that their inalienable title to the promised land had been sealed by the blood of their divine Saviour; it was their right and duty to rescue their inheritance from the unjust possessors, who profaned his sepulchre, and oppressed the pilgrimage of his disciples. Vainly would it be alleged that the pre-eminence of Jerusalem, and the sanctity of Palestine, have been abolished with the Mosaic law; that the God of the christians is not a local deity, and that the recovery of Bethel or of Calvary, his erable, will not atone for the violation of the moral precepts of the gospel. Such arguments glance aside from the leaden shield of superstition; and the religious mind will not easily relinquish its hold on the sacred ground of mystery and miracle. III. But the holy wars which have been waged in every climate of the globe, from Egypt to Lisbon, and from Peru to Hindostan, require the support of some more general and flexible tenet. It has often been supposed, and sometimes affirmed, that a difference of religion is a worthy cause of hostility; that obnoxious infidels may be slain in cold blood, and permitted to pervert these divinest of thoughts with durchaus, the successes of his policy have been followed by the death of Bonaparte. He, the Meheri Historical of the First Crusade, in seven books, (p. 897-1525) in small value to account. if the reader will turn to the first scene of the first part of Henry the Fourth, he will see in the text of Shakespeare the natural feeling of interest and justice in the The Meheri Historical of the First Crusade, digested through vigorous minds, greedy of every pretence to have and persecute those who dissent from their creed.
mercy. Above four hundred years before the first crusade, the eastern and western provinces of the Roman empire had been acquired about the same time, and in the same manner, by the barbarians of Germany and Arabia. Time and treaties had legitimated the conquests of the Christian Franks; but in the eyes of their subjects and neighbours, forty days' fasts, three days' imprisonment, or death by the arms of war or rebellion, might be lawfully driven from their unlawful possession. 1

As the manners of the christians were relaxed, their discipline of penance was also relaxed. The penance which the first century judges humanity of the three infolded the mercy of the three, and the three is enumerated which innocence could not have suspected, and others which reason cannot believe; and the more ordinary offences of fornication and adultery, of perjury and sacrilege, of rape and murder, were expiated by a penance, which, according to the various circumstances of the case, was sometimes multiplied by ten times; and in those times of anarchy and vice, a modest sinner might easily incur a debt of three hundred years. His insolvency was relieved by a commutation, or indulgence, a year of penance was expiated at twenty-six solidi 2 of silver, about four pounds sterling, for the rich; at three solidi, or nine shillings, for the indigent: and these sums were soon appropriated to the use of the church, which derived, from the redemption of sins, an inexhaustible revenue and a boundless store of alms. A debt of three hundred years, or twelve hundred pounds, was enough to impoverish a plentiful fortune; the rarity of gold and silver was supplied by the alienation of land; and the princely donations of Pepin and Charlemagne are expressly given for the remedy of their soul. It is a maxim of the civil law, that whoever cannot pay his fines, must pay with his body; and this law tender, like the law of the Jews, was administered by the monks, a cheap, though painful, equivalent. By a fantastic arithmetical, a year of penance was taxed at three thousand lashes; 3 and such was the skill and patience of a famous hermit, St. Dominic of the iron scourge, 4 that in six days he could discharge an execution of the crossing of the churlish infold on the hand and stripes. His example was followed by many penitents of both sexes; and, as a vicarious sacrifice was accepted, a sturdy disciplinarian might expiate on his own back the sins of his benefactors. 5 These compensations of the purge and the person introduced, in the eleventh century, a more honourable mode of satisfaction. The merit of military service against the Saracens of Africa and Spain, had been allowed by the predecessors of Urban the second. In the council of Clermont, that pope proclaimed a plenary indulgence to those who should enlist under the banner of the cross; and on the day of the consecration of the new large church, they received a full receipt for all that might be due of canonical penance. 6 The cold philosophy of modern times is incapable of feeling the impression that was made on a sinful and fanatic world. At the voice of their pastor, the robber, the incendiary, the homicide, arose by thousands to the victim of the innocent; 7 and the infolded the same deeds which they had exercised against their christian brethren; and the terms of atonement were eagerly embraced by offenders of every rank and denomination. None were pure; none were exempt from the guilt and penalty of sin; and those whose who were sufficiently reformed and converted, the church and the state, were the best entitled to the temporal and eternal recompense of their pious course. If they fell, the spirit of the Latin clergy did not hesitate to adorn their tomb with the crown of martyrdom; 8 and should they survive, they could expect without imputation the delay and increase of their heavenly reward. They offered their blood to the Son of God, who had laid down his life for their salvation; they took up the cross, and entered with confidence into the way of the Lord. His providence would watch over their safety; perhaps his visible power would support the principles of their holy enterprise. The cloud and pillar of Jehovah had marched before the Isrealites into the promised land. Might not the christians more reasonably hope that the rivers would open for their passage; that the walls of the strongest cities would fall at the sound of their trumpets; and that the sun would be arrested in his mid career, to allow them time for the destruction of the infolded? 9

Of the chiefs and soldiers who wore— Temporal and ed to the holy sepulchre, I will dare to carmel motives, affirm, that all were prompted by the spirit of enthusiasm; the belief of merit, the hope of reward, and the

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1 Each century of lashes was sanctioned with the recital of a psalm; and the whole Paschal, with the accomplishment of 1,500,000 stripes; was equivalent to five years of imprisonment.

2 The Life and Achievements of St. Dominic Lorizquen was compiled by his friend Antoine de Rivarol (Thesaurus Ecclesiasticorum, Hist. Eccles. tom. xiii. p. 95—101). Bonifacii, A.D. 1565, No. 7, who observes from Damianus, how fashionable, even among ladies of quality, was the practice of penance, (Catholic Universal, lib. iii. t. 2. p. 517, et seq.)

3 At a quarter or even half a rath a laund, Sancho Panza was a creditable payer, and paid without reluctance the penance of 15,000 denarii in Fécé Lebat (Voyagez en Italie, tom. viii. p. 10—25) a very lively picture of the destitution of one of these artists.

4 Quicherat observes, that a common practice of the crusaders, and such is the uniform style of the historians; (Esprit des Croisades, tom. iii. p. 477.) but the prayer for the repose of their souls is invariable in orthodox theology with the merits of martyrdom.
assurance of divine aid. But I am equally persuaded, that in 
many it was not the sole, that in some it was not the only
cause. The principal and most important motives of
religion are feeble to stem, they are strong and
irresistible to impel, the stream of national manners.
Against the private wars of the barbarians, their bloody
tournaments, licentious loves, and judicial duelis, the
popes and synods might ineffectually thunder. It is a
malignant censure to provoke the inferior specu-
lum of the Greeks, to drive into the cloister the vic-
tims of anarchy or despotism, to sanctify the patience
of slaves and cowards, or to assume the merit of the
humanity and benevolence of modern Christians. War
and its effects, the state of the Franks, or Latins; they were
enjoined, as a penance, to gra-
tify those passions, to visit distant lands, and to draw
their swords against the nations of the east. Their
victory, or even their attempt, would immortalize the
names of the intrepid heroes of the cross; and the
purest piety could not be insensible to the most splen-
did prospect of military glory. In the petty quarrels of
Europe, they shed the blood of their friends and
countrymen, for the acquisition perhaps of a castle or
village. They could march with alacrity against the
distant and hostile nations who were devoted to their
arms. The Holy See, already grasped in the hand of Asia;
and the conquest of Apulia and Sicilv by the
Normans might exalt to royalty the hopes of the most
private adventurer. Christendom, in its rudest state,
must have yielded to the climate and cultivation of the
Mahometan countries; and their natural and artifi-
cial wealth had been acquired by the trade of
incense, and the gifts of an imperfect commerce. The
vulgar, both the great and the small, were taught to
believe every wonder, of lands flowing with milk and
honey, of mines and treasures, of gold and diamonds,
of frankincense, and myrrh, and of cinnamon.
In this earthly paradise, each warrior depended on his sword to carve
a plausible and honourable establishment, which he measured only by
the extent of his wishes. Their
vassals and soldiers trusted their fortunes to God and
theirs; and the soldiers of
the most miserable nation could
enrich the meanest follower of the
vamp; and the
fla-
vour of the wines, the beauty of the Grecian women,
were temptations more adapted to
the nature, than to the
profession, of the champions of the cross. The
love of freedom was a powerful incitement to the mul-
thitudes to be dissuaded by the
influences of
ecclesiastic tyranny. Under this holy sign, the peasants and
burgers, who were attached to the service of the
globe, might escape from a haughty lord, and trans-
plant themselves and their families to a land of
liberty. The monk might release himself from the
discipline of his convent; the debtor might suspend
the accumulation of usury, and the pursuit of his
credit; and outlaws and malefactors of every cast
might continue to brave the laws and elude the punish-
ment of their crimes.1

1 Influence of the various motives to prosecute the war were potent and nu-
merous: when we have singly computed their weight on the mind of each individual, we
must add the infinite series, the multiplying powers, of example and fashion. The first proselytes became
the warmest and most effectual missionaries of the cross among their friends and countrymen when they
preached the duty, the merit, and the recompense of

2 The same hopes were displayed in the letters of the adventuriers and
the consuls of France to the Emperor. Horae de Rebus civitatis, (9th
century); by the Burgundians, men and that he was delivered of a hundred
caesars by the conquest of Aleppo. (Guibert, p. 534, 555.)

3 In his apology of the Franks to the Council of Clermont, Abbe
summoned the danger of the church, and the relics of saints,
the aura and the saron, and petitionarium famularum voluntas
(p. 152), as if he were the indignant Guibert, the Greek women
were handmaids than those of France.

4 The Crossigni, freedmen from debt, usury,

5 In his orations of the Emperor's letter to the Council of Clermont, A
summoned the danger of the church, and the relics of saints,
the aura and the saron, and petitionarium famularum voluntas
(p. 152), as if he were the indignant Guibert, the Greek women
were handmaids than those of France.

6 Some instances of these indigna are given in the Escries des

7 In his orations of the Emperor's letter to the Council of Clermont, A
summoned the danger of the church, and the relics of saints,
the aura and the saron, and petitionarium famularum voluntas
(p. 152), as if he were the indignant Guibert, the Greek women
were handmaids than those of France.
partake in the spoil; but their genuine leaders (may we credit such folly?) were a goose and a goat, who were carried in the fronted miles between the two worthy Christians ascribed an infusion of the divine spirit. Of these and of other bands of enthusiasts, the first and most easy warfare was against the Jews, the murderers of the Son of God. In the trading cities of the Morelle and the Rhine their colonies were numerous and rich; and they enthrone protection of the emperor and the bishops, the free exercise of their religion. At Verdun, Treves, Mentz, Spire, Worms, many thousands of that unhappy people were pillaged and massacred: nor had they felt a more bloody stroke since the persecution of Hadrian. After the conquest and later, the Franks sometimes treated the Christians, who accepted a feigned and transient conversion; but the more obstinate Jews opposed their fanaticism to the fanaticism of the Christians, barricaded their houses, and precipitating themselves, their families, and their wealth, into the rivers or the flames, disapprented of their flocks, or at least the avowal, of their implacable foes.

The destruction of the frontier of Austria and in Hungary and the seat of the Byzantine monarchy, the A.D. 1096. crusaders were compelled to traverse an impetuous confluence of the wild and desolate countries of Hungary and Bulgaria. The soil is fruitful, and intersected with rivers; but it was then covered with morasses and forests, which spread to a boundless extent, whenever man has ceased to exercise his dominion over the earth. Both nations had imbued the rudiments of Christianity; the Hungarians were ruled by their native princes; the Bulgarians by a lieutenant of the Greek emperor: but on the slightest provocation, their ferocious nature was rekindled, and ample provocation was afforded by the disorders of the first pilgrims. Agriculture must have been unprofitable and handicapped among a people, whose cities were built of reeds and timber, which were deserted in the summer season for the tents of hunters and shepherds. A scanty supply of provisions was more easily demaned from these necessities; the wild and reckless rovers who compose the reputed band were not as a matter of course, to be with a less appetite at the sight of a man who had assigned to them and to rush headlong against the Turks, who occupied the road of Jerusalem. The hermit, conscious of his shame, had withdrawn from the camp to Constantinople, and his lieutenant, Walter the Penniless, who was worthy of a better command, attempted without success to introduce some order and prudence among the herd of savages. They separated in quest of prey, and themselves fell an easy prey to the arts of the sultan. By a rumour that their foremost companions were rioting in the spoils of his capital, Solomon tempted the main body to descend into the plain of Nisie; they were overwhemed by the Turkish arrows; and a pyramid of bones informed their companions of the place of their defeat. Of the first crusaders, three hundred thousand had already perished, before a single city was rescued from the infidels, before their graver and more noble bands had completed the preparations of their enterprise. For those of the Byzantine, without excepting Tuscany, is informed of the first crusaders to the holy city of Jerusalem. The citizens, like ourselves, can only quote the writers of France; but he compares with local science the ancient and modern geography. Ante postem Cyperon, in Sopor et Ponon; Malaezia, Zemun; Fluvius Murus, Savoia; Lentia, Leith; Abendroth, on their un- and the pilotus. These massacres and depredations on the Jerns, which were re- reached at each crusade, are cooly related. It is true, that St. Ben- This account is based on a very meager text. See the contemporary description of Hungary in Ocho de Frising, i., c. 34 in Muratori, scriptum. Hermon Iulianicus, tomo. vi. p. 605, 606.

To save time and space, I shall represent, in a short table, the particular references to the great events of the first crusade.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Crew</th>
<th>The Chiefs</th>
<th>The Road to Constantinople</th>
<th>Alexius</th>
<th>Nice and Asia Minor</th>
<th>Edessa</th>
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The old Hungarians, without excepting Tuscany, are informed of the first crusaders to the holy city of Jerusalem. The citizens, like ourselves, can only quote the writers of France; but he compares with local science the ancient and modern geography. Ante postem Cyperon, in Sopor et Ponon; Malaezia, Zemun; Fluvius Murus, Savoia; Lentia, Leith; Abendroth, on their un- and the pilotus. These massacres and depredations on the Jerns, which were re- reached at each crusade, are cooly related. It is true, that St. Ben-
The decline and fall

The chief of the None of the great sovereigns of Eu-
first crusade. rope embarked their persons in the first
crusade. The emperor Henry the fourth was not dis-
posed to obey the summons of the pope; Philip the first of France was occupied by his ambitious
intentions in England by a recent conquest; the
kings of Spain were engaged in a domestic war against
the Moors; and the northern monarchs of Scotland,
Denmark, Sweden, and Poland, were yet strangers
to the passions and interests of the south. The reli-
gion of the north was more strongly felt by the princes
of the second order, who held an important place in the
feudal system. Their situation will naturally cast
under four distinct heads the review of their names and
characters; but I may escape some needless repetition,
by observing at once, that courage and the exercise
of which are the common attribute of these Christian
adventurers.

1. Godfrey of Bouillon. I. The first rank both in
Bouillon, war and council is justly due to Godfrey
of Bouillon; and happy it would have been for the crus-
saders, if they had trusted themselves to the sole
direction of that chivalrous and doughty representa-
tive of Charlemagne, from whom he was descended
in the female line. His father was of the noble race
of the counts of Boulogne: Brabant, the lower prov-
ince of Lorraine, was the inheritance of his mother;
and by the emperor's bounty, he was himself invested
with the duchy of Lorraine, which he transferred to
his lordship of Bouillon in the Ardennes. In the
service of Henry the fourth, he bore the great
standard of the empire, and pierced with his lance the
breast of Redolph the rebel king: Godfrey was the first
who ascended the walls of Rome; and his sickness,
his vow, perhaps his remorse for bearing arms against
the pope, confirmed an early resolution of visiting the
holy sepulchre, not as a pilgrim, but a deliverer. His
valour was matured by prudence and moderation; his
piety, though blind, was sincere; and, in the tumult
of a camp, he practised the real and fictitious virtues
of a convert. Superior to the private fictions of the
chiefs, he reserved his enmity for the enemies of
Christ; and though he gained a kingdom by the at-
tempt, his pure and disinterested zeal was acknow-
ledged by his rivals. Godfrey of Bouillon was ac-
companied by his two brothers, by Eustace the elder,
who had succeeded to the county of Boulogne, and by
the younger, Baldwin, a character of more ambiguous
virtue. The duke of Lorraine was alike celebrated
on either side of the Rhine; from his birth and education,
he was a thorough German; he was conversant in
the Teutonic languages: the barons of France, Germany,
and Lorraine, assembled their vassals; and the confederate
force that marched under his banner was composed of
twelve thousand foot and about ten thousand horse.

II. Hugh of Ver. II. In the parliament that was held at
march, Robert Paris, in the king's presence, about two
months after the council of Clermont,
bears of Hugh, count of Vermandois, was the
Gibrati, Ar. most conspicuous of the princes who as-
sumed the cross. But though the crusade was
applied, not so much to his merit or possessions,
(thought neither were contemptible,) as to the royal
birth of the brother of the king of France. 2 Robert,
duke of Normandy, was the eldest son of William the
Conqueror; but on his father's death he was deprived
of the kingdom of England, by his own inudence and
the activity of his brother Rufus. The worth of a noble
rivalship, and the inconstancy of fortune, the
fickleness of temper: his cheerfulness seduced him to the
indulgence of pleasure; his profuse liberality im-
pooverished the prince and people; his indiscriminate
clemency multiplied the number of enemies; and the
amiable qualities of a private man became the essen-
tial and principal mark of his character. For the trifling
sum of ten thousand marks, he mortgaged Normandy
during his absence to the English usurper; 3 but his engage-
ment and behaviour in the holy war announced in
Robert a reformation of manners, and restored him
in some degree to the public esteem. Another Robert
was count of Flanders, a royal province, which, in
his own time, gave three queens to the thrones of
France, England, and Denmark: he was surnamed
the Sword and Lance of the Christians; but in the ex-
ploration of a soldier, he sometimes forgot the duties of a
prince. The character of Robert the warrior, and the
office of a crusader, were the principal occupa-
tions of his life. The conqueror of Antioch, and
the friend of the Saracens, was the first among the
kings of the Holy Land; and to his braver deeds and
matured prudence, he was indebted for much part of
the honours of his crown. The warlike genius of his
son, which was so much greater in the hands of
William the conqueror, but which remained for a
whole century in the hands of his son, was ascribed to the
natural feeling of a people who had been conquered.

1 The author of the Esprit des Croisades has doubted, and might
disbelieve, the crusade and tragic death of prince William, with
1500 or 15,500 Danes, who was cut off by sultan Saladin in Cambodia.
See de Vigny, Histoire, tom. i. p. 111.
2 The fragments of the Kingdoms of Lotharingia, or Lorraine, were
published by the king's command, in the Memoirs of the Royal
Society, 1704, without his name, which is in the latter has been changed
into that of Brabant. (Vales. Notit. Gall., p. 283–286.)

3 The kingdom of France, the duchy of Normandy, the County of
Laon, the counties of Avernes and Avesnes, the counties of
Croissy, of Besancon, and of Comminges, the comtesses of
Boulogne, the articles of Boulogne, part i. p. 51. Brabant, part ii. p. 37, 84.
Baugies, p. 151. On his deathbed, Godfrey sold or pawned
the church to 1500 marks.

4 See the family character of Godfrey, in Williams of Tyre, 1. i. c.
5–8, his previous design in Godbert, (p. 945) his sickness and vow,
in Bernard Theat. (c. 78.)

5 The manuscripts, that Hugh was proud of his nobility, riches,
and power, (1. x. p. 295) the two last articles appear more
equival, but an scribe, which seven hundred years ago was
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

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Of the but the sand armies, their iant 2. and who i small Bohemond his amorous Anlichita justify to the fifteenth Tancred, pretend Storia same h Aries; was and he already of Aquila the fifth crusades, the warriors of every country were perpetually associated; and impartial taste must prefer a Gothic tournament to the Olympic games of classic antiquity. Instead of the naked spectacles which corrupted the manners of the Greeks, and banished from the stadium the virgins and nuncios; the pompous decoration of the lists was crowned with the presence of chaste and high-born beauty, from whose hands the conqueror received the prize of his dexterity and courage. The skill and strength that were exerted in wrestling and boxing, and the martial glory of the chivalric soldier; but the tournaments, as they were invented in France, and eagerly adopted both in the east and west, presented a lively image of the business of the field. The single combats, the general skirmish, the defence of a pass, or castle, were rehearsed as in actual service; and the contest, both in real and mimic war, was decided by the superior management of the horse and lance. The lance was the proper and peculiar weapon of the knight; his horse was of a large and heavy breed; but this charger, till he was raised to the degree of the approbation of the sovereign, was his attendant; and he quietly rode a pad or halterly of a more easy pace. His helmet and sword, his greaves and buckler, it would be superfluous to describe; but I may remark, that at the period of the crusades, the armour was less ponderous than in later times; and that, instead of a heart or leather, as it was defended by an hauberk or coat of mail. When their long lances were fixed in the rest, the warriors fearfully spurred their horses against the foe; and the light cavalry

The mother of Tancred was Emma, sister of the great Robert Guiscard of Apulia, a woman of great courage and energy; so much so, that the family and country of so illustrious a person should be known; yet the valorous and reasonable conduct of Tancred, and the love he bore to his mother, is a proof of the Italian, and perhaps of the race of the marquises of Monteferrat in Piedmont. (Script. tom. v. p. 291, 292.)

1. To gratify the childish vanity of the house of Este, Tancre was inserted in his poem, and in the first crusade, a fabulous hero, the bravest and most renowned Rinaldo, C. xxvii. 96—98. He might borrow his name from a Rinaldo, with the Aquila bianca Estense, who vanquished the Saracens at the siege of Salerno, in 1191. (Storia Imperiale di Riccobaldo, in Muratori Script. Ital. tom. ix. p. 360. Arato, Orlando Furioso, hoc. 30.) But 1. The distance of sixty years between the death of Tancred and the two Rinaldos is not sufficient. 2. The Storia Imperiale is a forgery of the Conte Bassano, at the end of the fifteenth century, p. 240—260. 3. The Rinaldo and his exploits are not less chimerical than the hero of Tancre; (Muratori, Antiichita Estense, tom. i. p. 360.)

2 The athletic exercises, particularly the boxing and pugilism, were condemned by Lycurgus, Philopomen, and Galen, a lawyer, and by some other physicians in general, and a practice which the most learned reader may weigh the apology of Lucian, in the character of Salon. See West on the Olympic Games, in his Pindar, vol. ii. p. 56—56. 342—345.
of the Turks and Arabs could seldom stand against the direct and impetuous weight of his charge. Each knight was attended to the field by his salioun squire, a youth of equal birth and similar hopes; he was followed by his archers and men at arms, and four, or five, or six soldiers, were computed as the furniture of a complete lance. In the expeditions to the neighbouring isles, the Holy Land, the deserts of Syria, the feudal tenure no longer subsisted; the voluntary service of the knights and their followers was either prompted by zeal or attachment, or purchased with rewards and promises; and the numbers of each squadron were measured by the power, the wealth, and the fame, of the owner, and the fidelity of his tenantry. Their rank was distinguished by his banner, his armorial coat, and his cry of war; and the most ancient families of Europe must seek in these achievements the origin and proof of their nobility. In this rapid portrait of chivalry, I have been urged to anticipate on the story of the crusades, at once an effect, and a cause, of this memorable institution.\(^6\) March of the princes to Constantinople. A.D. 1086, August 15—A.D. 1087, soon as they were relieved by the subjugation of the plebeians, they both encouraged each other, by interviews and messages, to accomplish their vow, and hasten their departure. Their wives and sisters were desirous of partaking the danger and merit of the pilgrimage; their portable treasures were conveyed in bars of silver and gold; and they were followed by the equipment of hounds and hawks to amuse their leisure and to supply their table. The difficulty of procuring subsistence for so many myriads of men and horses, engaged them to separate their forces; their choice of situation determined their road; and it was agreed to meet in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, and from thence to begin their operations against the Turks. From the banks of the Meuse and the Moselle, Godfrey of Bouillon followed the direct way of Germany, Hungary, and Bulgaria; and, as long as he exercised the sole command, every step afforded some proof of his prudence and virtue. On the confines of Hungary he stopped three weeks by a christian people, to whom the name, or at least the abuse, of the cross was justly odious. The Hungarians still smarted with the wounds which had received from the first parties of crusaders: in their turn they had abused the right of defence and retaliation; and they had reason to apprehend a severe revenge from a hero of the same nation, and who was engaged in the same cause. But, after weighing the good sense and the excellent virtues of this virtuous duke was content to pity the crimes and misfortunes of his worthless brethren; and his twelve deputies, the messengers of peace, requested in his name a free passage and an equal market. To remove their suspicions, Godfrey trusted himself, and afterwards his brother, to the faith of Carlow, now King of Hungary, who treated them with a simple but hospitable entertainment: the treaty was sanctioned by their common gospel; and a proclamation, under pain of death, restrained the anarchy and licence of the Latin soldiers. From Austria to Belgrade, they traversed the plains of Hungary, without enduring or offering an injury; and the proximity of Carlowan, who hovered on the flanks with his numerous cavalry, was a precaution not less useful for their safety than for his own. They reached the bough of the Sava; and no sooner had they passed the river, the king of Hungary deserted them, and saluted their departure with the fairest wishes for the success of their enterprise. With the same conduct and discipline, Godfrey pervaded the woods of Bulgaria and the frontiers of Thrace; and might have assailed the Magi, but he had almost reached the first term of his pilgrimage, without drawing a spear against a christian adversary. After an easy and pleasant journey through Lombardy, from Turin to Aquileia, Raymond and his provincials marched forty days through the savage country of Dalmatia\(^7\) and Schisto-

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\(^6\) On the curious subjects of knighthood, knights' service, nobility, arms, cry of war, banners, and tournaments, an ample fund of information may be obtained in Scaliger, Opuscula, vol. i. Part III. Tophanius, De Honor. part ii. c. 3. 3. 5. Ducange. (Opera, tom. iv. p. 258—261, 264.) The chivalric origin of the noblemen of the feudal age was the subject of a dissertation by Bredero, in Schriften der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Gottingen, and a dissertation by Mr. Longstaff, in the Revue du dix-neuvième siècle (vol. x. p. 172.)

\(^7\) See the narrative of the crusades by Du Cange, tom. i. p. 569, 573. See also the 'Narrative of the Crusades' by R. W. Seton-Watson. The crusades were a series of religious wars fought by Europeans between the 11th and 13th centuries to recapture the Holy Land from Muslim rule. The crusades were organized by the Pope and were supported by the Catholic Church. The First Crusade (1095-1099) was successful in capturing Jerusalem from the Muslim Fatimid Caliphate. The Second Crusade (1147-1149) was less successful, with the Crusaders being defeated at the Battle of the Arsuf. The Third Crusade (1189-1192) was the largest and most expensive, with the Crusaders successfully capturing Jerusalem but failing to capture the Egyptian city of Acre. The Fourth Crusade (1202-1204) was particularly controversial, as it diverted the Crusade army to Constantinople and resulted in the sack of the city. The Fifth Crusade (1217-1221) was the last major Crusade, and it failed to capture Jerusalem. The crusades had a significant impact on European history, including the promotion of overseas trade, the establishment of new trade routes, and the spread of new ideas and cultures. The crusades also had a profound effect on the Muslim world, leading to the loss of territories and the displacement of populations. The crusades were a complex and multifaceted event, with varying motivations and outcomes. ---
flock and cottage were swept away by the inundation. Such was the fortune, or at least the apprehension, of the Greek emperors; and who would have desired in this history, and whose conduct is so differently represented by his daughter Anne, and by the Latin writers. In the council of Phcenicia, his embassadors had solicited a moderate succour, perhaps of ten thousand soldiers; but he was astonished by the appraisals of so many potent chiefs. The emperor fluctuated between hope and fear, between timidity and courage; but in the crooked policy which he mistook for wisdom, I cannot believe, I cannot discern, that he meekly, conspired against the life or honour of the French heroes. The purported grievances of these and other kings were such heathen, alike destitute of humanity and reason; nor was it possible for Alexius to prevent or deplore their destruction. The troops of Godfrey and his peers were less contemptible, but not less suspicious, to the Greek emperor. Their motives might be pure and pious; but he was equally alarmed by his knowledge of the ambitious Bohemond, and his ignorance of the Transalpine chiefs: the courage of the French was blind and headstrong; they might be tempted by the luxury and wealth of Greece, and elated by the view and opinion of their invincible strength and fortune. The council of Phcenicia left the aspect of Constantinople. After a long march and painful abstinence, the troops of Godfrey encamped in the plains of Thrace; they heard with indignation, that their brother, the count of Vermadois, was imprisoned by the Greeks; and their reluctant duke was compelled to indulge them in some freedom of retaliation and rape. They were appeased by the submission of Alexius; he promised to supply their camp; and if they refused, in the midst of winter, to pass the Bosphorus, their quarters were assigned among the gardens and palaces on the shores of that narrow sea, but the announcement was not so speedily fulfilled as the news which startled the minds of the two nations, who despised each other as slaves and barbarians. Ignorance is the ground of suspicion, and suspicion was inflamed into daily provocations: prejudice is blind, lunger is deaf; and Alexius is accused of a design to starve the Latins in a dangerous post, on all sides encompassed with the water of Godfrey sounded his trumpets, burst the net, overthrew the plain, and insulted the suburbs; but the gates of Constantinople were strongly fortified; the ramparts were lined with archers; and after a doubtful conflict, both parties listened to the voice of peace and religion. The emperor, in the height of the summer, speedily soothed the fierce spirit of the western strangers; as a Christian warrior, he rekindled their zeal for the prosecution of their holy enterprise, which he engaged to second with his troops and treasures. On the return of spring, Godfrey was persuaded to occupy a pleasant and plentiful camp in Asia; and no sooner had he passed the Bosphorus, than the Greek vessels were suddenly recalled to the opposite shore. The same policy was repeated with the succeeding chi-fis, who were swayed by the example, and weakened by the departure, of their foremost companions. By his skill and diligence, Alexius prevented the union of any two of the confederate armies at the same moment under the walls or the Penteconetos not a Latin pilgrim was left on the coast of Europe. The same arms which threatened Europe might deliver Asia, and repel the Turks from the neighbouring shores of the Bosphorus and Hellespont. The fair provinciers from Nice to Antioch were the recent patrimony of the Roman emperor; and his ancient and perpetual claim still embraced the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt. In his enthusiasm, Alexius indulged, or affected, the ambitious hope of leading his new allies to subvert theRodrigues, and to reconstruct the race of the Caesars. The courage, by his prudence, was content with extorting from the French princes an oath of homage and fidelity, and a solemn promise, that they would either restore, or hold, their Asissian conquests, as the humble and loyal vassals of the Roman empire. Their independent spirit was fired at the mention of this foreign and voluntary servitude: they successively yielded to the dexterous application of gifts and flattery; and the first prelates became the most eloquent apostles of the orthodoxy of their emperor, and tempers dissuaded him from exposing his royal person to the sight of unknown and lawless barbarians. His prudence, or his pride, was content with extorting from the French princes an oath of homage and fidelity, and a solemn promise, that they would either restore, or hold, their Asissian conquests, as the humble and loyal vassals of the Roman empire. Their independent spirit was fired at the mention of this foreign and voluntary servitude: they successively yielded to the dexterous application of gifts and flattery; and the first prelates became the most eloquent apostles of the orthodoxy of their emperor, and tempers dissuaded him from exposing his royal person to the sight of unknown and lawless barbarians. He obtained the homage of the Crusaders in the council of Phcenicia.

1 Anna Comnena was born the 1st of December, A. D. 1083. Indicat. viii. (Alexiad. L. vi. p. 195, 197.) At thirteen, the time of the first crusade, she was noble, and perhaps married to the younger Nicephorus Bryennius, with whom she had two sons, Alexius, and Michael. (Alexiad. L. vii. p. 213, 216.) Some moderns have imagined, that her eminency to Bohemond was foreseen in the destinies of the crusades, and that her partiality for the Bosphorus, and her partial relations (Alexiad. L. vii. p. 293-297.) may be opposed to the interest of the Latins, but in their subsequent Quarrel she is in brief and fact, undervalued.

2 In their view of the character and conduct of Alexius, Mainzberg has been seduced by the shining, and by some part of the partial bloom of the Eusebian Greeks. The prejudice of a philosopher is too excessive from that of a foreigner.

3 Between the Black sea, the Bosphorus, and the river Danube, which is deep in summer, and runs fifteen miles through a flat naked low, there is only the Bosphorus, which is 350 miles in breadth; and the stone bridge of the Bosphorus, which in successive ages was restored by Manuel and by Alexius, fixiation d’Ibnus Daras, liv. c. 2. De

4 Magi, C. P. Christian. l. iv. c. 2. p. 172.)

5 There were two sorts of adoption, the one by arms, the other by introducing the son between the shut and skin of his father. Ducaigne (sur Juveille, xxxii. p. 270) supposes Godfrey’s adoption of Alexius to be of the latter sort, because he has been of late time known in by the name of the son of the emperor, if not of the emperor, during the time of the emperors of the Bosphorus.

6 After his return, Robert of Flanders became the son of the king of England, on the occasion of four hundred marcs. See the first at in the Hymen’s Federe.
decided that he was the soldier and servant of Christ alone, and that the Greek might be considered with an equal treaty of alliance and friendship. His obstinate resistance enhanced the value and the price of his submission; and he shone, says the princess Anne, among the barbarians, as the sun amidst the stars of heaven. His distress of the noise and insolence of the French, his calumny, designs on the Greeks, the reproach imparted to his faithful Raymond: and that aged statesman might clearly discern, that however false in friendship, he was sincere in his enmity. The spirit of chivalry was last subdued in the person of Tancred; and none could deem themselves dissolved of the honour of that galling knight, than those who disdained the gold and flattery of the Greek monarch; assaulted in his presence an insolent patriarch; escaped to Asia in the habit of a private soldier; and yielded with a sigh to the authority of Bohemond and the interest of the Christian cause. The hést and most estimable reason was the impossibility of passing the sea and accomplishing their work, without the licence and the vessels of Alexius; but they cherished a secret hope, that as soon as they trod the continent of Asia, their swords would oblige their shame, and draw a step of their own side, which was not to be very faithfully performed. The ceremony of their homage was grateful to a people who had long since considered pride as the substitute of power. High on his throne, the emperor sat mute and immovable; his majesty was adored by the Latin princes; and as the keys either to the feet or the knees, an indignity which their own writers are ashamed to confess, and unable to deny. The insubordination of the Franks, the murmurs of the dukes and counts, but a French baron (he is supposed to be Robert of Paris) presumed to ascend the throne, and to place himself by the side of Alexius. The rage and reproach of Baldwin provoked him to exclaim, in his barbarous idiom, "Who is this rustic, that keeps his seat, while so many valiant captains are standing round him?" The emperor maintained his silence, dissembled his indignation, and questioned his interpreter concerning the universal language of gesture and countenance. Before the departure of the pilgrims, he endeavoured to learn the name and condition of the unacquainted baron. "I am a Frenchman," replied the peasant, "of the purest and most noble blood of my country. All that I know is, that there is a church in my neighbourhood, the resort of those who are desirous of improving their valour in single combat. Till an enemy appears, they address their prayers to God and his saints. That church I have frequently visited, but never have I found an antagonist who dared to accept my defence," Alexius dismissed the challenger with some prudent advice for his conduct in the Turkish warfare; and history repeats with pleasure this lively example of the manners of his age and country.

The conquest of Asia was undertaken and achieved by Alexander with the aid of five thousand Macedonians and Greeks; and his best hope was in the strength and discipline of his phalanx of infantry. The principal force of the crusaders consisted in their cavalry; and when that force was mustered in the plains of Syria, it consisted of about three hundred horsemen. By each horseman mounted one hundred thousand fighting men, completely armed with the helmet and coat of mail. The value of these soldiers deserved a strict and absolute account; and the flower of European chivalry might furnish, in a first effort, this forlorned hope. The boldness of good fortune, the courage to be enrolled for the service of scouts, pioneers, and archers; but the promiscuous crowd were lost in their own disorder; and we depend not on the eyes or evidence, but on the belief and fancy, of a chaplain of count Baldwin, in the estimate of six thousand and forty individual adventurers, besides the priests and monks, the women and children, of the Latin camp. The reader starts; and before he is recovered from his surprise, I shall add, on the same testimony, that if all who took the cross had accomplished their vow, the sterner side of the battle, may be reckoned to be the work of a million men, who emigrated from Europe to Asia. Under this oppression of faith, I derive some relief from a more sagacious and thinking writer, who, after the same review of the cavalry, accuses the credulity of the priest of Chartres, and even doubts whether the Seljukite retrenchments of the vizirs should be attributed to the great multitude; and many were repulsed by the obstinacy of the way, the most insuperable as they were unforeseen to these ignorant fanatics. The savage countries of Hungary and Bulgaria were whitened with their bones; their vanguard was cut in pieces by the Turkish sultan; and the loss of the first adventurer, by the sword, or climate, or fatigue, has already been stated at three hundred thousand men. Yet the myriads that survived, that marched, that pressed forwards on the holy pilgrimage, were a subject of astonishment to those whom the battles of the first phase of her language sinks under the efforts of the princes Anna: the images of locusts, of leaves and flowers, of the sands of the sea, or the stars of heaven, imperfectly represent what she had seen and heard; and the daughter of Alexius exhales, that Europe was deceived from its foundations, and buried under Asia. The ancient hosts of Darius and Xerxes labour under the same doubt of a vague and indefinite multitude: but I am inclined to believe, that a larger number has never been contained within the lines of a single camp, than at the siege of Nice, the first appearance of the Latin princes. Their motives, their characters, and their arms, have been already displayed. Of their troops, the most numerous portion were natives of France: the Low Countries, the banks of the Rhine, and Aquilia, sent a powerful reinforcement; some bands of adventurers were drawn from Spain,

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Chap. XIX.

Their review and remarks, A.D. 1097.

May.


4 There is some diversity on the numbers of his army; but no authority can be compared with that of Prolemy, who states it at five thousand horse and thirty thousand foot. (See Usher's Annals, p. 252.)

5 Frolicher, Carnotena, p. 507. He enumerates nineteen nations of different names and languages, (p. 393.) but I do not clearly apprehend his difference between his personages and Agneta. (See p. 566.)

6 The battle of Dyracilus (L. xvi. p. 327.) This circumstance may justify the situation of Durance, (N. p. 380.) that he was not other than a part of Poitou, of the same language. It properly styled the Duchy or island of France.

7 See the battle of Montebello. Durance discovers his church to be that of St. Denis, or Durox, of Susson, queen duellum inleri (Sed ani inmemo) and nothing more; but invicta reddi, et in Duergundia et fato facillime consistentia cognoscent ad eum. Jahn, Sarbcrdownia, cap. 139.

8 His laudable declamation of their stature and inarticulate name, and indeed there is scarcely at all the name that is now Agneta, to us so dear and familiar to a polished people. I shall select only one example, Egisfrida, f. the count of St. Oler.
of Lombardy, and England; and from the distant bogs and mountains of Ireland, the Savages, who were emu-

nated, and savage fanatics, ferocious at home but unwar-

like abroad. Had not superstition condemned the sac-     cularigies of depriving the poorest or weakest     christian of the merit of the pilgrimage, the useless     crowd, with mouths but without hands, might have     existed forever, for the whole was that this remoter     companions had opened and secured the way of the Lord.     A small remnant of the pilgrims, who passed the     Bosphorus, was permitted to visit the holy sepulchre.     Their northern constitution was scorched by the rays,     and infected by the vapours, of a Syrian sun. They     crossed that country, with a water and provision:     their numbers exhausted the inland country: the     sea was remote, the Greeks were     unfriendly, and the christians of every sect fled     before the voracious and cruel rapine of their brethren. In     the dire necessity of famine, they sometimes     roasted and devoured the flesh of their infant or adult     captives. Among the Turks and Saracens, the     idolaters of Europe were rendered more odious by the name     and reputation of cannibals: the spies who introduced     themselves into the kitchen of Bohemond were shown     several human bodies turning on the spit: and the     artful     and remorseless betraying of his     companions, by the same time the abhorrence and the terror of the infidels.  

Siege of Nice, A.D. 1057, May 11—June 20.        

I have expatiated with pleasure on the     first steps of the crusaders, as they     paint the manners and character of Europe; but I shall     abridge the tedious and uniform narrations of the central, which     were performed by strength and are described by     ignorance. From their first station in the neighbor-

hood of Nicomedia, they advanced in successive     divisions; passed the contracted limit of the Greek     empire; opened a road through the hills, and commenced,     by the capture of their pious and tender     companion, the Turkish     sultan. His kingdom of Roum extended from the     Hellespont to the confines of Syria, and     barred the pilgrimage of Jerusalem: his name was     Kilidje-Arslan, or Soliman, 1 of the race of Seljuk, and     the son of the first conqueror; and in the defence of a     land which the Turks considered as their own, he     deserved the praise of his enemies, by whom alone he is     known to posterity. Yielding to the first     impulse of the torrent, he deposited his family and     treasure in Nice; retired to the mountains with fifty     thousand horse, and twice descended to assault the camps     or quarters of the Greeks: but the march of the     wantons, formed by Duke Robert, at the battle of Antioch. (Barbarou, part ii, p. 101.)  

1 Valesius Scotorum apud herb. leon. alias imaginum curiosius, (Otho     bosco, lib. iii. cap. v.) dixit, that in barbarous nations,     the most glorious actions were despised and    Hello's, from whence our behelvy, was the movable tower of the     crusaders. (Ducange, tomes ii. & iii, p. 201.)  

I cannot forbear remarking the resemblance between the siege     and lake of Nice, with the operations of Herzen Cortez before     Mexico. See Dr. Robertson, &c. in his American, 1. c. 216.  

2 Mercantur, a word invented by the French crusaders, and     confided in that language to the present time: it should     well beowen, from whence our behelvy, was the movable tower of the     crusaders. (Ducange, tomes ii. & iii, p. 201.)  

He was followed by the celebrated Elizabeth, the bishop of Puy, and the remainder of the sacred army.  

Without the fortified castles, and seats of the middle ages,     see     the Chambert, (Antiquities of the Crusaders,) p. 208.  

From Guignes, toms ii. p. 31.  

2 Barozius has produced a very doubtful letter to his brother        Robert, deceased, at the battle of Dorylaeum, (A.D. 1097, Nov. 14.)     Chaldayen: be it so. The first attack was comento succumbere;     (Latin, &c.) the second to stand. Were Godfrey of Bouillon and Hugh brothers,     Twaddel is styled filius, of whom I certainly not of Roger, nor of     Bohemond.
Without a moment's pause, they formed in new order, and advanced to a second battle. They were received with equal resolution; and, in their common disdain for the unwarlike people of Greece and Asia, it was concluded that the Turks and the Franks were the only nations entitled to the appellation of soldiers. Their encounter was varied and balanced by the contrast of arms and discipline; of the direct charge, and wheeling evolutions; of the couched lance, and the brandished javelin; of a weighty broad-sword, and a crooked saber; of cumbersome armour, and thin flowing robes; and of the long Tartar bow, and the arbalist or cross-bow, a deadly weapon, yet unknown to the orientals. As long as the horses were fresh, and the quivers full, Soliman maintained the advantage of the day; and four thousand christians were pierced by the Turkish arrows. In the evening, swiftness yielded to strength; on either side the numbers were equal, or at least as great as any ground could hold, or any general could manage; but in turning the hills, the last division of Raymond and his pretenders was led, perhaps without design, on the rear of an exhausted enemy; and the long contest was determined. Besides a nameless and unaccountable multitude, three thousand pagan knights were slain in the battle and pursuit; the camp of Soliman was pillaged; and in the variety of precious spoil, the curiosity of the world was satisfied with firearms and appurtenances, and the new aspect of dronedaries and camels. The importance of the victory was proved by the hasty retreat of the sultan: reserving ten thousand guards of the relics of his army, Soliman evacuated the kingdom of his father, and hastened to the aid, and kindle the resentment, of his Eastern brethren. In a March through the lesser Asia, July—September, 1097, a wasted land and deserted towns, without either finding a friend or an enemy. The geography may trace the progress of Antioch of Pisidia, Iconium, Archelais, and Germanicia, and may compare those classic appellations with the modern names of E-kisheh the old city, Aksheh the white city, Cogni, Erkeli, and Marash. As the pilgrims passed over a desert, where a draught of water would have relaxed them for six days by intolerable thirst; and on the banks of the first rivulet, their haste and insensitivity were still more pernicious to the disorderly throng. They climbed with toil and danger the steep and slippery sides of mountains, and many of the soldiery cast away their arms to secure their footsteps; and had not terror preceded their van, the long and trembling file might have been driven down the precipice by a handful of resolute enemies. Two of their most respectable chiefs, the duke of Lorraine and the count of Thoules, were carried in litters; Raymond was raised, as it is said, by miracle, from a hopeless malady; and Godfrey had been torn by a bear, as he pursued that rough and perilous chance in the mountains of Pisidia.

To improve the general consternation, the sultan of Bagdis and the brother of Godfrey were detached from the main army with their respective squadrions of five, and of seven, hundred knights. They overran in a rapid career the hills and sea-coast of Cilicia, from Cogni to the Cyrian gates: the Norman standard was first planted on the walls of Tarsus and Malmistra; but the proud injustice of Baldwin at length provoked the patient and generous Italian; and they turned their arms against him. But the Franks, by their constant and profane quarrel. Honour was the motive, and fame the reward, of Tarcrei; but fortune smiled on the more selfish enterprise of his rival. He was called to the assistance of a Greek or Armenian tyrant, who had been suffered under the Turkish yoke to reign over the christians of Edessa, because of his timely pare of his son and champion; but no sooner was he intro accused into the city, than he inflamed the people to the massacre of his father, occupied the throne and trea plus, extended his conquests over the hills of Armenia and plain of Mesopotamia, assumed the first princepality of the Franks or Latins, which subsisted fifty-four years beyond the Empires.

Before the Franks could enter Syria, the summer, and even the autumn, were completely wasted; the siege of Antioch, and the separation and repose of the army, during the winter season, was strongly debated in their council: the love of arms and the holy sepulchre urged them to advance; and reason perhaps was on the side of resolution, since every hour of delay abates the fame and force of the invader, and multiplies the numbers of his army. The legate of the church, of the Franks, the king of France, the emperor, and the sultan of Syria was protected by the river Orontes; and the iron bridge, of nine arches, derives its name from the massy gates of the two towers which are constructed at either end. They were opened by the sword of the duke of Normandy; his victory gave entrance to three hundred thousand envoys, an accident which may allow some scope for losses and desertion, but which clearly detects much exaggeration in the review of Nice. In the description of Antioch, it is not easy to define a middle term between her ancient magnificence, under the successors of Dogobert Augustus, and the modern aspect of Turkish desolation. The Tetrapolis, or four cities, if they retained their name and position, must have left a large vacancy in a circumference of twelve miles; and that measure, as well as the number of four hundred towers, are not perfectly consistent with the five hundred thousand arms; an accident which, in the siege. Yet Antioch must have still flourished as a great and populous capital. At the head of the Turkish emirs Baggisian, a veteran chief, command in the place: his garrison was composed of six or seven thousand foot; and they were supported by one hundred thousand Moslems: a force is said to have fallen by the sword; and their numbers were probably inferior to the Greeks, Armenians, and Syrians, who had been no more than fourteen years the slaves of the house of Seljuk. From the remains of a solid and stately wall, it appears to have arisen to the height of three score feet in the valleys; and wherever less art and labour had been applied, the ground was supposed to be defended by the river, the morass, and the mountains. Notwithstanding these fortifications, the city had many times been taken by the Turks; and many times by the Greeks, and the Turks: so large a circuit must have yielded many precious points of attack; and in a siege that was formed about the middle of October, the vigour of the execution could alone justify the boldness of the attempt. Whatever strength and valour could peradventure redeem the world was abandoned by the sultan and by the champions of the cross: in the frequent occasions of

\[1\] Veramonten dicunt se esse Francorum generatione: et una multa debet esse, miles et Ferronici (des Francorum, p. 7.)

\[2\] Balista, Baliste, Arbaliste. See Marotus, Antioch, tom. ii. p. 288—322. Ducas, (De et La, tom. i. p. 521.) The time of Anna Comnena, this weapon, which she speaks with the name of Thang recurric, was unknown in the east. (L. x. p. 291.) By a human inconstancy, the pope strange to prohibit its christian use, was the only weapon of ancient warfare. (Rollin,Hist. des Huns, i. p. 109.)

\[3\] The curious reader may compare the classic learning of Callierges, and the geographical science of Flaviothe, William of Tyre, the only historian of the crusades who has any knowledge of antiquity, and M. Oertl found almost in the footsteps of the Franks from Constantinople to Antioch, (Voyage en Turquie et en Fere, tom. i. p. 55—56.)
sallies, of forage, of the attack and defence of convoys, they were often victorious; and we can only complain, that their exploits are sometimes enlarged beyond the scope of public belief. The deaths of the victorious leader and two of his followers, possibly on board a Turk from the shoulder to the haunch; and one half of the infidel fell to the ground, while the other was transported by his horse to the city gate. As Robert of Normandy rode against his antagonist, "I devote thy head," he piously exclaimed, "to the demons of hell," and that head was instantly chopped to the breast by the resistless stroke of his descending falchion. But the reality or report of such gigantic prowess must have taught the Moslems to keep within their walls; and against those walls of earth or stone, the sword and the lance were unavailing weapons. In the beggary of half a dozen able-bodied men who had been used to the life of soldiers were supine and ignorant, without skill to contrive, or money to purchase, or industry to use, the artificial engines and implements of assault. In the conquest of Nice, they had been powerfully assisted by the wealth and knowledge of the Greek emperor: his absence was poorly supplied by some Genoese and Pisan vessels, which were attracted by religion or trade to the coast of Syria: the stores were scanty, the return precarious, and the communication difficult and dangerous. Indolence or weakness had prevented the Franks from investing the entire circuit; and the perpetual fear of Robin Hood and his men incited the Moslems to the garrison of the city. At the end of seven months, after the ruin of their cavalry, and an enormous loss by famine, death, and fatigue, the progress of the Crusaders was imperceptible, and their success remote, if the expedition was not abandoned. The Sultan Ultaghas, the crafty and ambitious Bohemond, had not employed the arms of cunning and deceit. The Christians of Antioch were numerous and disconcerted; Phirouz, a Syrian renegade, had acquired the favour of the emir and the command of three towers; and the merit of his repentance disguised to the Latins. The garrison of the city were at length exorted to leave the garrison and treason. A secret correspondence, for their mutual interest, was soon established between Phirouz and the prince of Taranto; and Bohemond declared in the council of the chiefs, that he could deliver the city into their hands. But he claimed the sovereignty of Antioch as the reward of his service; and the proposition, which had been rejected by the enemy, was at length extorted from the distress of his equals. The nocturnal surprise was executed by the French and Norman princes, who ascended in person the scaling-ladders that were thrown from the walls: their new prolate, and the guides to the camp, were reviewed, and introduced the servants of Christ, the army rushed through the gates; and the Moslems soon found, that, although mercy was hopeless, resistance was impossible. But the citadel still refused to surrender; and the victors themselves were speedily encompassed and besieged by the innumerable forces of Kerboga, prince of Mosul, who, with twenty-eight Turkish emirs, advanced to the delivery of Antioch. Five and twenty days the Christians spent on the verge of destruction; and the proud lieutenant of the caliph and the sultan of the world had only the choice of battle or death. In this extremity they collected the relics of their strength, sailed from the town, and in a single memorable day annihilated or dispersed the host of Turks and Arabs, which they might safely report to have consisted of six hundred thousand men, their supernatural allies I shall proceed to consider: the human and celestial powers which the victory of Antioch bore the fear of despair of the Franks; and the surprise, the discord, perhaps the errors, of their unskillful and presumptuous adversaries. The battle is described with as much disorder as it was fought; but we may observe the tents of Kerboga, a movable and spacious palace, enriched with the luxury of Asia, and capable of holding above two thousand persons; we may distinguish his three thousand guards, who were cased, the horses as well as the men, in complete steel.

In the eventful period of the siege and their famine, the defence of Antioch, the crusaders were alternately exalted by victory or sunk in despair; either swelled with plenty or ensnared with hunger. A speculative reasoner might suppose, that their faith had a strong and serious influence on their practice; and that the soldiers of the cross, the deliverers of the holy sepulchre, prepared themselves by a sober and virtuous life for the daily contemplation of martyrdom. Experience shows us this charitable illusion: and seldom does the history of profane war display such scenes of intemperance and prostitution as were exhibited under the walls of Antioch. The grove of Daphne no longer flourished; but the Syrian garrison was still inviolate, and the priests of the gods were still offered, as they were before, to evangeologic purity. In the first days of the siege and the possession of Antioch, the Franks consumed with wanton and thoughtless prodigality the frugal subsistence of weeks and months: the desolate country no longer yielded a supply; and from that country they were prevented by the advance of the Turks. Disease, the faithful companion of want, was evanished by the rains of the winter, the summer heats, unwholesome food, and the close imprisonment of multitudes. The pictures of famine and pestilence are always the same, and always disastrous: and our imagination may reduce the nature of their sufferings and their resources. The remains of treasure or spoil were eagerly invidious in the purchase of the vilest nourishment; and dreadful must have been the calamities of the poor, since, after paying three marks of silver for a goat and fifteen for a lean camel, the counting of N. Flanders was reviewed, and Crispin Godfrey to borrow a horse. Sixty thousand horses had been reviewed in the camp: before the end of the siege they were diminished to two thousand, and scarcely two hundred fit for service could be mustered on the day of battle. Weakness of body and terror of mind extinguished the ardent enthusiasm of the pilgrims; and every motive of honour and religion was subdued by the desire of life. Among the chiefs, three heroes

Abelaphazaris adds the haughty reply of Callabas, or Kerboga; "Non possum etiam per gradum." (Byasst, p. 312.)

1 In describing the host of Kerboga, most of the Latin historians, the author of the Gesta, (c. 17.) Robert Monachus, (c. 50.) Balderic, (p. 111.) Fulcherus Cambrensis, (p. 399.) Guibert, (p. 512.) William de Tyre, (L. V. c. 3, p. 715.) Bernard Thesaurarius, (L. V. c. 5, p. 695.) have content with the vague expressions of infinite multitude, immense army, immense company of men, which correspond with the mere examples of annihilation.

2 See the tragic and scandalous fate of an archdeacon of royal birth, who was slain by the Turks as he reaped in an orchard, playing at dice with a Syrian companion.

3 The value of an ass in silver (fifteen shillings) at Churms was to two marks, (four pounds) and afterwards much higher: a kid or lamb, from one shilling in our present money; in the second famine, a loaf of bread, or the head of an animal, sold for a piece of gold. Many examples might be produced that would show how, by the extravagant folly, not the distractions of the infatuation of the prince, the populace, the clergy, a race of the phil-
The church-doors were barred against the impetuous multitude. The ground was opened in the appointed place; but the workmen, who relieved each other, dug to the depth of twelve feet without discovering the subject of their search. In the evening, when Count Raymond had withdrawn to his post, and the weary assistants began to murmur, Bartholomew, in his shirt, and without his shoes, boldly descended into the pit; the darkness of the hour and of the place enabled him to overcome the man of valor and strength. The first sound, the first gleam, of the steel was saluted with a devout rapture. The holy lance was drawn from its recess, wrapt in a veil of silk and gold, and exposed to the veneration of the crusaders; their anxious suspense burst forth in a general shout of joy and hope, and the desperate troops were again inspired with the enthusiasm of valor. Whatever had been the arts, and whatever might be the sentiments, of the chiefs, they skillfully improved this fortunate revelation by every aid that discipline and devotion could afford.

The soldiers were dismissed to their quarters with an injunction to prepare for the approaching conflict, freely to bestow their last pittance on themselves and their horses, and to expect with the dawn of day the signal of victory. On the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul, the gates of Antioch were thrown open to the multitude; and the Holy Lance was marshalled in twelve divisions, in honour of the twelve apostles; and the holy lance, in the absence of Raymond, was intrusted to the hands of his chaplain. The influence of this relic or trophy was felt by the soldiers, and perhaps by the enemies, of Christ; and its potent energy was heightened by an accident, a stratagem, or a rumour, of a miraculous complexion.

Three knights, in white garments and celestial war-trappings, had observed the excitement of the populace; and they hastened to issue, from the hills: the voice of Adhemar, the pope's legate, proclaimed them as the martyrs St. George, St. Theodore, and St. Mauritius; the tumult of battle allowed no time for doubt or scrutiny; and the welcome apparition dazzled the eyes of the imagination of a fanatic army. In the season of danger and triumph, the revelation of Bartholomew of Marseilles was unanimously asserted; but as soon as the temporary service was accomplished, the personal dignity and liberal aims which the count of Thoulouse derived from this event, and the reputation of his chaplain, and awakened the reason of his rivals. A Norman cleric presumed to sift, with a philosophic spirit, the truth of the legend, the circumstances of the discovery, and the character of the prophet; and the pupils Bohemond ascribed their deliverance to the merits and intervention of Christ alone. For a while, the Provincials defended their national palladium with clamours and arms; and new visions condemned to death and hell the profane sceptics, who presumed to scrutinize the truth and merit of the discovery. The prevalence of incredulity compelled the author to subdue the spirit of impatience and veracity to the judgment of God. A pile of dry faggots, four feet high, and fourteen long, was erected in the midst of the camp; the flames burnt fiercely to the elevation of thirty cubits; and a narrow path of twelve inches was left for the perilous trial. The unfortunate priest of Marseilles traversed the fire with dexterity and speed; but his thighs and belly were scorched by the intense heat; he expired the next day; and the logic of believing minds will pay some regard to his dying protestations of innocence and truth. Some miracles were afterwards wrought by the Provincials, to substitute a cross, a ring, or a tabernacle, in the place of the holy lance, which soon vanished in contempt and oblivion.

The decline and fall. Chap. xix.

may be found without fear or reproach: Godfrey of Bouillon was supported by his magnificent piety; Bohemond by ambition and interest; and Tancred declared, in the true spirit of chivalry, that as long as he wore the head of forty knights, he would never relinquish the enterprise of Palestine. But the count of Thoulouse and Provence was suspected of a voluntary indisposition: the duke of Normandy was recalled from the sea-shore by the censure of the church; Hugh the Great, though he left his own men on the banks of the battle, embraced an ambiguous opportunity of returning to France; and Stephen count of Chartres basely deserted the standard which he bore, and the council in which he presided. The soldiers were discouraged by the flight of William viscount of Melun, summoned the Hermit, from the weighty strokes of his axe; and the saints were scandalised by the fall of Peter the Hermit, who, after anthing Europe against Asia, attempted to escape from the penance of a necessary fast. Of the multitude of recrue warrior, the names (says an historian) are blotted from the book of life; and other free friars, who made a show of being pastors for the deserters who dropped in the night from the walls of Antioch. The emperor Alexius, who seemed to advance to the succour of the Latins, was dismayed by the assurance of their hopeless condition. The choice of their fate in silence; nay, many of the punishments were tried without effect; and to rouse the soldiers to the defence of the walls, it was found necessary to set fire to their quarters.

Legend of the holy lance. For their salvation and victory, they were indebted to the same finalism which had led them to the brink of ruin. In such a cause, and in such an army, visions, prophecies, and miracles, were frequent and familiar. In the distress of Antioch, they were repeated with unusual energy and success; St. Ambrose had assured a pious ecclesiastic, that the omission of the trial would be the signal of deliverance and grace; the deserters were stopped by the presence and reproaches of Christ himself; the dead had promised to arise and combat with their brethren; the Virgin had obtained the pardon of their sins; and their confidence was revived by a visible sign, the seasonable and splendid discovery of the holy lance. The policy of their chiefs has on this occasion been admired, and might surely be excused; but a pious fraud is seldom produced by the cold conspiracy of many persons; and a voluntary impostor must have been the author of the wish and the credulity of the people. Of the diocese of Marseilles, there was a priest of low cunning and loose manners, and his name was Peter Bartholomew. He presented himself at the door of the council-chamber, to disclose an apparition of St. Andrew, which had been thrice reiterated in his sleep, with a dreadful menace, if he presumed to suppress the commands of heaven. "At Antioch," said the apostle, "in the church of my brother St. Peter, near the high altar, is concealed the steel head of the lance that pierced the side of our Redeemer: its merits, however, if temporal, salvation, will be manifested to his disciples. Search and ye shall find: bear it aloft in battle; and that mystic weapon shall penetrate the souls of the miscreants." The pope's legate, the bishop of Puy, affected to listen with coldness and distrust; but the revelation was eagerly accepted by Count Ray- mond, whom his faithful subject, in the name of the apostle, had chosen for the guardian of the holy lance. The experiment was resolved; and on the third day, after a due preparation of prayer and fasting, the priests of Marseilles, with a prodigy of trusty spectators, among whom were the count and his chaplain; and

Guibert (p. 343. 232.), attempts to excuse Hugh the Great, and even Stephen of Chartres.

See the progress of the crusade, the retreat of Alexis, the victory of Antioch, and the conquest of Jerusalem, in the Alzirek, l. ii. p. 317.—357. Anna is so prone to exaggeration, that she magnifies the exploits of the Latins.
Yet the revelation of Antioch is gravely assailed by succeeding historians; and such is the press of credulity, that miracles, most doubtful on the spot and at the moment, will be received with implicit faith at a convenient distance of time and space.

The prudence or fortune of the Franks and Turks had delayed their invasion till the decline of civil liberty and luxury. The policy of the three first sultans, the kingdoms of Asia were united in peace and justice; and the innumerable armies which they led in person were equal in courage, and superior in discipline, to the barbarians of the west. But at the time of the crusade, the humbler spirit of the last was consummated. A French king had been crowned by the Greek patriarch, and his private ambition was insensible of the public danger; and, in the vicissitudes of their fortune, the royal vassals were ignorant, or regardless, of the true object of their allegiance. The twenty-eight emirs who marched with the standard of Kerboga, were his rivals or enemies; their heavy levies were drawn from the towns and tents of Mesopotamia and Syria; and the Turkish veterans were employed or consumed in the civil wars beyond the Tigris. The caliph of Egypt embraced this opportunity of weakness and discord, to recover his ancient possessions; and in this enterprise was engaged Tancred of Tarentum. The Turks expelled the children of Ortok, and restored in Palestine the civil and ecclesiastical authority of the Fatimites. They heard with astonishment of the vast armies of Christians that had passed from Europe to Asia and rejoiced in the siege and destruction of Jerusalem, which broke the power of the Turks, the adversaries of their sect and monarchy. But the same Christians were the enemies of the prophet; and from the overthrow of Nice and Antioch, the motive of their enterprise, which was gradually understood, would urge them for their war. The crusaders were liberal with their money, and the Nile. An intercourse of epistles and embassies, which rose and fell with the events of the war, was maintained between the throne of Cairo and the camp of the Latins; and their adverse pride was the result of ignorance and enthusiasm. The emirs of Egypt heard in a darkened, or insinuated in a milder, tone, that their sovereign, the true and lawful commander of the faithful, had rescued Jerusalem from the Turkish yoke; and that if the pilgrims, who were their opponents, were to be distinguished by the belief of their lost condition, the caliph Mostai despised their arms and imprisoned their deputies; the conquest and victory of Antioch prompted him to solicit those formidable champions with gifts of horses and silk robes, of vases, and purses of gold and silver; and in his estimate of their merit or power, the first place was assigned to Bohemond, and the second to Godfrey. In either fortune the answer of the crusaders was firm and uniform; they disdained to inquire into the private claims or possessions of the followers of Mahomet: whatsoever was his name or nation, the crusaders allowed them to be their enemies and instead of prescribing the mode and terms of their pilgrimage, it was only by a timely surrender of the city and province, their sacred right, that he could preserve their alliance, or deprive their impending and irresistible attack.1

Yet this attack, when they were within a delay of the view and reach of their glorious prize, was suspended above ten months after the defeat of Kerboga. The zeal and courage of the crusaders were chilled in the moment of victory; and instead of marching to improve the constellation, they hastily dispersed to the pursuit of the luxury of Syria. The causes of this strange delay may be found in the want of strength and subsistence. In the painful and various service of Antioch, the cavalry was annihilated; many thousands of every rank had been lost by famine, sickness, and desertion: the same abuse of plenty had been productive of the destruction of a third of the army. The consumption of the temperance and distress had generated a pestilence, which swept away above fifty thousand of the pilgrims. Few were able to command, and none were willing to obey: the domestic feuds, which had been stilled by common fear, were again renewed in acts, or at least in sentiments, of hostility; the fortune of Baldwin and Bohemond excited the envy of their companions; the bravest knights were enlisted for the defence of their new principalities; and count Raymond exhausted his troops and treasures in an idle expedition into the heart of Syria. The armies were dispersed in discord and disorder; a sense of honour and religion was rekindled in the spring; and the private soldiers, less susceptible of ambition and jealousy, awakened with angry clamours the indolence of their chiefs. In the month of May, the relics of their march to Jerusalem were proceeded from the city of Antioch to Laodicea; about forty thousand. A.D. 1099. The Latins, of whom no more than fifteen hundred horse, and twenty thousand foot, were capable of immediate service. Their easy march was continued between mount Ibalbus and the seashore; their camps were liberally supplied, and they were selected on the heights of Genoa and Pisa; and they drew large contributions from the emirs of Tripoli, Tyre, Sidon, Acre, and Caesarea, who granted a free passage, and promised to follow the example of Jerusalem. From Caesarea they advanced into the midland country; their clerks recognized the sacred geography of Lydda, Ramla, Emaus, and Bethlem, and as soon as they descried the holy city, the crusaders forgot their toils and claimed their reward.2

Jerusalem has derived some reputation from the number of memorable sieges of the city. Of those memorable sieges. It was not till after a long and obstinate contest that Babylon June 7-July 8, and Rome could prevail against the obstinacy of the people, the eaggly ground that might supersede the necessity of fortiifications, and the walls and towers that would have fortified the most accessible plain.3 These obstacles were diminished in the age of the crusades. The bulwarks had been completely destroyed and imperiously restored: the Jews, their nation, and worship, were forever banished; but nature is less changeable than man, and the site of Jerusalem, though somewhat softened and somewhat removed, was still strong against the assaults of an enemy. By the experience of a recent siege, and a three years' possession, the Saracens of Egypt had been taught to discern, and in some degree to remedy, the defects of a place, which relish but ill without a fortification of the city. The winter was completed, and according to Gen. vi. 13, the Hebrews, and according to Jer. v. 15, ‘they that were at Bashan’, were disposed to resign. Aladin, or Ishkai, the caliph's lieutenant, was intrusted with the defence; his policy strove to restrain the native Christians by the dread of their own ruin and that of the holy sepulchre; to animate the

1 The two antagonists who express the most intimate knowledge and the strongest conviction of the miracle, and of the facts, are Raymon of Arles, and Raschid al-Din of Persia. 2 See M. de Guignes, t. ii. p. 235, &c. 3 The articles of Barthunus, Mohaniel, Samguris, in D. Herbelot. 4 See M. de Guignes, t. ii. p. 235, &c. 5 See Mr. de Guignes, t. ii. p. 235, &c. 6 See M. de Guignes, t. ii. p. 235, &c. 7 See Mr. de Guignes, t. ii. p. 235, &c. 8 See Mr. de Guignes, t. ii. p. 235, &c.
Moslems by the assurance of temporal and eternal rewards. His warriors was said to have consisted of forty thousand Turks and Arabians; and if he could muster twenty thousand of the inhabitants, it must be confessed that the besieged were more numerous than the besieging army. Had the diminished strength and numbers of the Latins allowed them to grasp the whole circumference of four thousand yards, (above two English miles and a half,) to what useful purpose should they have descended into the valley of Ben Himmon and torrent of Cedron, or approached the precipices of the south and east, from whence they had nothing either to hope or fear? Their siege was most of the time directed against the western sides of the city. Godfrey of Bouillon erected his standard on the first swell of mount Calvary; to the left, as far as St. Stephen's gate, the line of attack was continued by Tancred and the two Roberts; and count Raymond established his quarters from the citadel to the foot of mount Siron, which was no longer included within the precincts of the city. On the fifth day, the crusaders made a general assault, in the fanatic hope of battering down the walls without engines, and of scaling them without ladders. By the dint of brute force, they forced the first breach; but they were driven back with shame and slaughter to the camp: the influence of vision and prophecy was deadened by the too frequent abuse of those pieces stragglers; and time and labour were found to be the only means of victory. The siege was speedily fulfilled in forty days, but they were forty days of calamity and anguish. A repetition of the old complaint of famine may be imputed in some degree to the voracious or disorderly appetite of the Franks; but the stony soil of Jerusalem is almost destitute of water; the scanty springs and hasty torrents were dried up in the summer season; nor was the thirst of the besiegers relieved, as in the city, by the artificial supply of cisterns and aqueducts. The circumjacent country is equally destitute of trees for the uses of shade or building; but some large beeches were discovered in a cave by the crusaders; a wood near Sichem, the enchanted grove of Tasso, was cut down: the necessary timber was transported to the camp by the vigorous and dexterity of Tancred: and the engines were framed by some Genoese artists, who had fortunately landed in the harbour of Jaffa; and which the Latins purchased at a fabulously expensive, and in the stations of the duke of Loraine, and the count of Thoulouse, and rolled forwards with devout labour, not to the most accessible, but to the most neglected, parts of the fortification. Raymond's tower was reduced to ashes by the fire of the besieging army, but his colleague was more vigilant and successful: the enemies were driven by his archers from the rampart; the drawbridge was let down; and on a Friday at three in the afternoon, the day and hour of the Passion, Godfrey of Bouillon stood victorious on the walls of Jerusalem. His example was followed in every side by the emulation of valour; and about four hundred and sixty years after the conquest of Omar, the holy city was rescued from the Mahometan yoke. In the pillage of public and private wealth, the adventurers had agreed to respect the exclusive property of the first occupant; and the spoils of the great mosque, seventy lamps and massive vases of gold and silver, with a hundred thousand pieces of silver, were seized in the house of the Grand Vizier, and brought to the gates of Tancred. A bloody sacrifice was offered by his mistaken votaries to the God of the christians; resistance might provoke, but neither age nor sex could mollify, their implacable rage: they indulged themselves three days in a promiscuous massacre; and the massacre of the inhabitants of Jerusalem is supposed to have been a very epidemic disease. After seventy thousand Moslems had been put to the sword, and the harmless Jews had been burnt in their synagogue, they could still reserve a multitude of captives, whom interest or lassitude persuaded them to spare. Of these savage heroes of the Cross, Tancred alone betrayed some sentiments of compassion; yet we may praise the more selfish levity of Raymond, who granted a capitulation and safe-conduct to the garrison of the citadel. The holy sepulchre was now free; and their bloody victors prepared to go back to their native countries. Raymond, surrounded by contrite hearts, and in a humbled posture, they ascended the hill of Cavalry, amidst the loud anthems of the clergy; kissed the stone which had covered the Saviour of the world; and bedewed with tears of joy and penitence the monument of their redemption. This event, which was so long agitated and most tenderly displayed, has been variously considered by two philosophers; by the one, as easy and natural; and by the other, as absurd and incredible. Perhaps it is too rigorously applied to the same persons and the same hour: the example of the victorious, the splendour of the pious companions; while they cleansed their minds, they purified their minds; nor shall I believe that the most ardent in slaughter and rapine were the foremost in the procession to the sepulchre.

Eight days after this memorable event, which pope Urban did not live to see, the Latin chiefs proceeded to the election of a king, to guard and govern their conquests in Palestine. Hugh the Great, and Stephen of Chartres, had required what the victors of Jaffa, the Vexillifer of Jerusalem, or any other leader, who strove to gain by a second crusade an honourable death. Baldwin was established at Edessa, and Bohemond at Antioch; and two Roberts, the duke of Normandy, and the count of Flanders, preferred their fair inheritance in the west to a doubtful competition or a barren sceptre. The jealousy and ambition of Raymond were condemned by his own followers, and the free, the just, the unanimous voice of the army, proclaimed Godfrey of Bouillon the first and most worthy of the champions of christendom. His magnanimity accepted a trust as full of danger as of glory; he entered Jerusalem where his Saviour had been crowned with thorns, the devout pilgrim rejected the name and insignia of royalty; and the founder of the kingdom of Jerusalem contented himself with the modest title of Defender and Baron of the Holy Sepulchre. His Election and

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* The Ileicity of Voltaire is balanced with some sense and exposition by the French author of the Esprit des Crusades, (tom. iv. p. 365—382.) He observes, indeed, that, according to the ancient historians, the inhabitants of Jerusalem must have exceeded 200,000; that in the year of Titus, Josephus collects 1,200,000 Jews; that they were stated by Tacitus himself at 60,000; and that the largest calculation, that its circumference was 40,000, must still leave them more numerous than the modern army.

* Maunrelli, who diligently perambulated the walls, found a circuit of 4200 yards, or 3 miles and 114 chains, (a fact,) from an authentic plan, D'Anville concludes a measure nearly similar, of 1690 French fathoms, (p. 23—25,) in its scarce and valuable tract. For the tombs of the kings and warriors, see Reland, op. cit. tom. ii. In the second book of the Dead Sea, Judea, and Arabia, (D'Anville, p. 15—21.) It was of little consequence to compare the power of David, with the history of Hume, in his History of England, vol. i. p. 311, 321, octavo edition.

* Voltaire, in his Essai sur l'Histoire Generale, tom. ii. c. 34. 345, 346. 347. He speaks of the English ascribe to Robert of Normandy, and the Provincials to Raymond of Thoulouse, the glory of refusing the crown; but the fact is the reverse: In the Histories of Thibbon, of which the whole has been translated, and revised (Villhardouin, No. 130,) of the count of St. Gilles. He died at the siege of Tripoli, which was pressed by his descend-
The king of Jerusalem.

Without this indulgence, the conquerors might have almost been stripped of their kingdom, which consisted only of Jerusalem and Jaffa, with about twenty villages and towns of the adjacent country. Within this narrow verge, the Mahometans were still lodged in some inaccessible spots, and many traders, and the pilgrims, were exposed to daily and domestic hostility. By the arms of Godfrey himself, and the two Baldwin, his brother and cousin, who succeeded to the throne, the Latins breasted with more ease and safety; and at length they equalled, in the extent of their dominions, though not in the millions of their subjects, the ancient princes of Judah and Israel.

After the reduction of the maritime cities of Acre, Tripoli, and Ascalon, the Latins were enabled by the fleets of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, and even of Flanders and Norway, to range the coast from Scanderoon to the borders of Egypt was possessed by the christians. If the prince of Antioch disclaimed his supremacy, the counts of Edessa and Tripoli owned themselves the vassals of the king of Jerusalem; the Saracens reigned beyond the Euphrates; and the four cities of Homs, Hamah, Damascus, and Aleppo, were the only relics of the Mahometan conquests in Syria.

The laws and language, the manners and titles, of the French nation and Latin church, were introduced into these transmarine colonies.

According to their feudal laws, in which the principal states and subordinate baronies, descended in the line of male and female succession; but the children of the first conquerors, a motley and degenerate race, were dissolved by the luxury of the climate; the arrival of new crusaders from Europe was a doubtful hope. The sickness and feather-footedness of Saracens, supplied by the churches and cities; and the whole legal nullity of the kingdom could not exceed eleven thousand men, a slender defence against the surrounding multitudes of Saracens and Turks.

But the first great work of Jerusalem was the founding of the knighthood of the hospital of St. John, or of the temple of Solomon; on the strange association of a monastic and military life, which fanaticism might suggest, but which policy must approve. The flower of the nobility...
ity of Europe aspired to wear the cross, and to profess the vows, of these respectable orders; their spirit and discipline were immortal; and the speedy donation of twenty-eight thousand farms, or manors, enabled the first order of military and religious infantry for the defence of Palestine. The austerity of the convent soon evaporated in the exercise of arms; the world was scandalized by the pride, avarice, and corruption, of these Christian soldiers; their claims of immunity and jurisdiction disturbed the harmony of the Holy Land, and the attempts of the court were engaged by their jealous emulation. But in their most dissolve period, the knights of the hospital and temple maintained their fearless and fanatic character; they neglected to live, but they were prepared to die. In 1312, the order of the Temple, the parent and off-spring of the crusades, has been transplanting from this institution by the holy sepulchre to the isle of Malta.\footnote{Asiile of Jerusalem.}

The spirit of freedom, which pervades the feudal institutions, was felt in its greater vigor by the volunteers of the cross, who elected for their chief the most deserving of his peers. Amidst the slaves of Asia, unconscious of the lesson or example, a model of political liberty was introduced: and the laws of the French kingdom are derived from the purest source of equality and justice. The first and fundamental condition is the assent of those, whose obedience they require, and for whose benefit they are designed. No sooner had Godfrey of Bouillon accepted the office of supreme magistrate, than he solicited the public and private advice of the Latin pilgrims, who were the best judges of the state and extension of Europe. From these materials, with the counsel and approbation of the patriarch and barons, of the clergy and laity, Godfrey composed the 

\textit{Asiile of Jerusalem,}\footnote{\textit{A. D. 1098.}} a precious monument of feudal jurisprudence. The new kingdom was governed by the seals of the patriarch, and the viscount of Jerusalem, was deposited in the holy sepulchre, enriched with the improvements of succeeding times, and respectfully consulted as often as any doubtful question arose in the tribunals of Palestine. The subsequent books pursue their emigration to Rhodes and Malta.

The Templars, in the old law French, were printed with the term de Temps, the abridgment of the word de Tempore, which was the vulgar expression of the word \textit{Assis,} (c. 24.) Yet Jerusalem capitulated with Saladin at the queen and the principal barons suffered death or captivity; and a scale of prices was fixed and a private could not pretend the services of the conquerors. \textit{It is true,} says the author, \textit{this is not an official copy.\footnote{Holy Sepulchre.}}

\textit{A law of the old kingdom of France,} which makes it impossible to expound and authenticate the internal customary customs of the French in Palestine.

\textit{The letters of Tiberiu of Tiberiu of Jerusalem, to the emperor of king Amurant.} (A. D. 1095--1096,) that he would commit his knowledge to writing, and the rules of the order de Tempore, c. 24, c. 25. In this letter, he mentions, in the name of the house of Jerusalem, and appeals to the bishops that he was a companion of the holy sepulchre, and that he had been at the house of God. (c. 26.)

\textit{The charter of the order of Jerusalem.} (A. D. 1192) to the emperor of king Amurant, c. 26, that he would commit his knowledge to writing, and the rules of the order de Tempore, c. 24, c. 25. In this letter, he mentions, in the name of the house of Jerusalem, and appeals to the bishops that he was a companion of the holy sepulchre, and that he had been at the house of God. (c. 26.)

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The justice and freedom of the constitution were maintained by two tribunals Court of peers, of unequal dignity, which were instituted by Godfrey of Bouillon after the conquest of Jerusalem. The king, in pursuance of the superior court, the court of the barons. Of these the four most conspicuous were the prince of Galilee, the lord of Sidon and Caesarea, and the counts of Jaffa and Tripoli, who, perhaps, with the constable and marshal, were in a special manner the complem and judges of each other. But the civil and criminal causes of the nobles, by infe-}
an injury; and the judicial combat was fought on the same principle, and with the same spirit, as a private duel. Charles retired to the land of his adoption, and his action is still unimpaired or past the age of sixty. The consequence of a defeat was death to the person accused, or to the champion or witness, as well as to the accuser himself; but in civil cases, the demandant was punished with infamy and the loss of his suit, while his wrongs and chagrin suffered an ignominious judgment. In many cases, it was in the opinion of the judge to award or to refuse the combat: but two are specified, in which it was the inevitable result of the challenge; if a faithful vassal gave the lie to his compeer, who unjustly claimed any portion of his lord's domaines; or if an unknown compeer presumed to impeach the judgment and veracity of the court. He might impeach them, but the terms were severe and perilous: in the same day he successively fought all the members of the tribunal, even those who had been absent: a single defeat was followed by death and infamy; and where none could hope for victory, it is highly probable that none would adventure the trial. In the Assise of Jerusalem, the legal subtilty of the court of Jaffa is more laudably employed to elude, than to facilitate, the judicial combat, which he derives from a principle of honour rather than of superstition.

Court of barons. Among the causes which enfranchised the plebeians from the yoke of feudal tyranny, the institution of cities and corporations is one of the most powerful; and if those of Palestine are coeval with the first crusade, they may be ranked with the most ancient of the Latin world. Many of the pilgrims had escaped from their lords under the banner of the cross; and it was the policy of the French princes to tempt their stay by the assurance of the rights and privileges of freedom. It is expressly declared in the Assise of Jerusalem, that after insinuating, for his knights and barons, the court of peers, in which he presided himself, Godfrey of Bouillon established a second tribunal, in which his person was represented by his viscount. The jurisdiction of this inferior court extended over the burgesses of the kingdom; and it was composed of a select number of the most discreet and worthy citizens, who were sworn to judge, according to the power of the justices and fortunes of their epi-
fides. In the conquest and settlement of new cities, the example of Jerusalem was imitated by the kings and their great vassals; and above thirty similar corporations were founded before the loss of the Holy Land. Another class of subjects, the Syrians, or oriental Christians, were oppressed by the zeal of the clergy, and protected by the toleration of the state. Godfrey listened to their reasonable prayer, that they might be judged by their own national laws. A third court was instituted for their use, of limited and domestic jurisdiction: the sworn members were Syrians, in blood, language, and religion; but the office of the president (in Arabic, of the rain) was sometimes exercised by the viscount of the city. At an immeasurable distance below the nobles, the burgesses, and the strangers, the Assise of Jerusalem condescends to mention the serfs and slaves. They were not affected by the captives of war, who were almost equally considered as the objects of property. The relief or protec-

tion of these unhappy men was not esteemed worthy of the care of the legislator; but he diligently provides for the recovery, the protection, and indemnity of the fugitives. Like hounds, or hawks, who had strayed from the lawful owner, they might be lost and claimed: the slave and falcon were of the same value; but three slaves, or twelve oxen, were accumulated to equal the price of the war-horse; and the sum of three hundred pieces of gold was fixed, in the age of chivalry, as the equivalent of the more noble animal.a

CHAPTER XX.

Preservation of the Greek empire.— Numbers, passage, and event, of the second and third crusades.— Mt. Bernard.— Reign of Saladin in Egypt and Syria.— His conquest of Jerusalem.— Naval crusades.— Richard the first of England.— Pope Innocent the third, and the fourth and fifth crusades.— The emperor Frederic the second.— Louis the ninth of France, and the two lost crusades.— Expulsion of the Latins or Franks by the Moslembs.

In a style less grave than that of history, I should perhaps compare the em- peror Alexis to the jackall, who is A. 1105—1118. the jackal, and which he had to follow the heels of我国的 leaving of the lion. What ver had been his fears and trials in the passage of the first crusade, they were amply recom- pensed by the subsequent benefits which he derived from the exploits of the Franks. His dexterity and vigilance secured their first conquest of Nice; and from this threatening station the Turks were compelled to evacuate the neighbourhood of Constantinople. While the crusaders, with blinding valor, advanced into the midland countries of Asia, the crafty Greek improved the favourable occasion when the emirs of the sea-coast were recalled to the standard of the sultan. The Turks extinguished the states of Rhodes and Cilicia; the cities of Ephesus and Smyrna, of Narth, Philadelphia, and Laodicea, were restored to the em- peror, which Alexis charaged from the Hellespont to the banks of the Maeander, and the rocky shores of Pamphylia. The churches resumed their splendour; the towns were rebuilt and fortified; and the desert country was peopled with colonies of Christians, who were gently removed from the more distant and dangerous frontier. In these paternal cares, we may for- give Alexis, if he forgot the deliverance of the holy sepulchre; but, by the Latins, he was stigmatized with the eternal reproach of treason and desertion. They had sworn fidelity and obedience to his throne; but he had promised to assist their enterprise in person, or at least, with his troops and treasures: his base retreat dissolved their obligations; and the sword, which had been the instrument of their victory, was the pledge and title of their just independence. It does not ap- pear that the emperor attempted to revive his obsolete claims over the kingdom of Jerusalem; b but the bor- deys of Cilicin and Syria were more recent in his pos- session, and more accessible to his arms. The great army of the crusaders was annihilated or dispersed; the principality of Antioch was left without a head, by the surprise and captivity of Bohemond: his ransom had oppressed him with a heavy debt; and his Nor-

a See the Assises de Jerusalem, (319, 311, 312.) These laws were enacted, as late as the year 1350, in the kingdom of Cyprus. In the sixth and seventh centuries, I endeavored to collect a complete and ex- tensive canon of the history of this country, (of his Book of Account,) that the price of a wolfhound was no less extravagant in the court of his Byzantine sovereigns. The King of Cyprus, the Duke of Brabant, and many other noble barons, have contributed with similar magnificence to the foundation and cultivation of the Order of the Knights of St. John (Knights of Jerusalem), of which the Prince of Angoulême was the Grand Master. The Duke of Brabant granted to it an annual sum of 500 l. (Cabinet des Rév., p. 312.) For the anno- tation, and the spirit of this kind of valiant and benevolent associated with the passion of chivalry, see (p. 181.)

b Anna Comnena relates her father's conquests in Asia Minor, Alexiad, l. xii. p. 321–332., I. xi. p. 519.; his Cilician war against Tancred and Bohemond, p. 326–327.; the war of Euphras, with toxi- on prodigies, i. xii. xiii. pp. 435–436.; the death of Bohemond, i. xiv. p. 419.}

The kings of Jerusalem submitted however to a nominal dependence on their successors in their insurrections, and in the duty of attendance on the person of the reigning emperor. (Pucelle, Dissertations sur Jérusalem, xvii. p. 314.)
man followers were insufficient to repel the hostilities of the Greeks and Turks. In this distress, Bohemond embraced a magnanimous resolution, of leaving the defense of his kingdom to his generals, and skilled in war; in arming the west against the Byzantine empire, and of executing the design which he inherited from the lessons and example of his father Guiscard. His embarkation was clandestine; and if we may credit a tale of the princess Anne, he perished at the head of five thousand horse and forty thousand foot, assembled from the most remote climates of Europe. The strength of Durazzo, and prudence of Alexius, the progress of famine, and approach of winter, eluded his ambitious hopes; and the vassal confederates were seduced from his standard. A treaty of peace suspended the hostilities of the Greeks, and they were finally delivered by the death of an adversary, whom neither oaths could bind, nor dangers could appal, nor prosperity could satiate. His children succeeded to the principality of Antioch; but the boundaries were strictly defined, the homage was clearly suspended, and he was the only sultan, to the cities of Trebizond and Malatia that were restored to the Byzantine emperors. Of the coast of Anatolia, they possessed the entire circuit from Trebizond to the Syrian gates. The Seljuk dynasty of Roum was separated on all sides from the sea and the Mussulman brethren; the power of the sultan was shaken by the various defeats, of the Franks; and after the loss of Nice, they removed their throne to Cogni or Iconium, an ob- seure and inland town above three hundred miles from Constantinople. Instead of trembling for their capital, the Comnenian princes waged an offensive war against the Turks, and the first crusade prevented the fall of the declining empire.

Expeditions by land: the first crusade.

A.D. 1096, the second, of Conrad, and Louis VII. A.D. 1097. The third of Frederick, A.D. 1101.

In the twelfth century, three great em- pignations marched by land from the west to the relief of Palestine. The soldiers of France, Germany, and the sea and the Mussulman brethren; the power of the sultan was shaken by the various defeats, of the Franks; and after the loss of Nice, they removed their throne to Cogni or Iconium, an ob- seure and inland town above three hundred miles from Constantinople. Instead of trembling for their capital, the Comnenian princes waged an offensive war against the Turks, and the first crusade prevented the fall of the declining empire.

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In the twelfth century, three great em- pignations marched by land from the west to the relief of Palestine. The soldiers of France, Germany, and the sea and the Mussulman brethren; the power of the sultan was shaken by the various defeats, of the Franks; and after the loss of Nice, they removed their throne to Cogni or Iconium, an ob- seure and inland town above three hundred miles from Constantinople. Instead of trembling for their capital, the Comnenian princes waged an offensive war against the Turks, and the first crusade prevented the fall of the declining empire.

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Barbarossa spared the guilty Philadelphia, rewarded the hospitable Laodicea, and deployed the hard necessity that had stained his sword with any drops of chris-
tian blood. In their intercourse with the monarchs of Germany and Boh-
mania, and in the pursuit of plunder, they employed a combination of feign-
darted fire from their eyes, and spit blood like water on the ground. Under the hangers of Conrad, a troop of females rode in the attitude and armour of men; and the chief of these Amazons, from her gilt spurs and bukskins, obtained the epithet of the Golden-footed

II. The numbers and character of the

the Greek emperor was an object of terror to the

to the Greeks, and the sentiment of fear is nearly allied to that of hatred. This aversion was suspended or softened by the apprehension of the Turkish power; and the invaders of the Latins will not bias our more candid belief, that the emperor Alex-

isumberland their insolence, eluded their hostilities, counselled their rashness, and opened to their admiral the road of pilgrimage and conquest. But when the Turks had been driven from Nice and the sea-coast, with the inestimable appellation of conquerors; and the in-
tertant sultans of Cogni, they felt with purer indignation the free and frequent passage of the western barba-
rians, who violated the majesty, and endangered the safety, of the empire. The second and third crusades were undertaken under the reign of Manuel Comnenus and Alexius Angelus, in the mixture of the same perilous

and the nature of union of a cowardly and a miserable temper was exemplified in the latter, who, without merit or mercy, could punish a tyrant, and occupy his throne.

It was secretly, and perhaps tacitly, resolved by the prince and people to destroy, or at least to discourage the

the emperors had stipulated a safe passage and fair market in the country of their christian breth-
ren; the treaty had been ratified by oaths and hos-
tages; and the poorest soldier of Frederic's army was

furnished with three marks of silver to defray his ex-

penses on the road. But every engagement was viol-

ated by treachery and injustice; and the complaints of the Latins are attested by the honest confession of a Greek historian, that the Franks could not love his own

Instead of an hospitable reception, the

gates of the cities, both in Europe and Asia, were
closely barred against the crusaders; and the scanty

pittance of food was let down in baskets from the walls. Experience or foresight might excuse this
treatment of the Franks; but no humane

and his own subjects of giving reasonable intelligence to

the sultan, and treacherous guides to the Latin princes.

Instead of crushing the common foe, by a double at-

ack at the same time but on different sides, the Ger-

mans were urged by emulation, and the French were

retarded by jealousy. Louis had scarcely passed the

Bosphorus when he was met by the returning emperor,

who had lost the greatest part of his army in glorious,

but unsuccessful, actions on the banks of the Mean-
der. The contrast of the pomp of his rival hastened the

retreat of Conrad: theilocclusions of his independent

vassals reduced him to his hereditary troops; and he

borrowed some Greek vessels to execute by sea the

pilgrimage of Palestine. Without studying the les-

sons of experience, or the nature of war, the king of

France advanced through the same country to a simi-

lar fate. The vanguard, which bore the royal banner

1 I must observe, that in the second and third crusades, the subjects of Conrad and Frederic were styled by the Greeks and oriental Masons. The Lechi and Ezechii of Cinnamus are the Poloi and Ebrei and Frenkoi; and it is a common subject of indignant complaint of

2 The conduct of the Philadelphians is blazed by Nicetas, while the anonymous German accuses the turdness of his countrymen, (cul-
cita nostri.) History would be cleansed, if we were enlightened by such contradictions. It is likewise from Nicetas, that we learn the mode and manner of Frederic's

3 Cinnamus says, which Cinnamus translates into Latin by the word, Saxam. Incanage works very hard to save his king and country from ignominy, (see the History of Frederic.) He is accused afterwards insisted on a meeting in nari ex equo, non ex equo, accord-

4 Eg. Romanorum imperator sun, lic Romanorum. (Anonym. Ca-
nis, p. 32.) The public and historical style of the Greeks was more
decorated with the twisted, and of these, in the Greek

5 In the sequel of Innocent III. (iii. p. 134.) and the History of

Baldwin, (p. 129, 132,) are the views of a pope and a cardinal on this

singular occasion.
and the oriflamme of St. Denis, had doubled their march with rash and inconsiderate speed; and the rear, which the king commanded in person, no longer found their companions in the evening camp. In darkness and disorder, they were encompassed, assailed, and overwhelmed, by the innumerable host of Turks, who overran the part of the Christian army of the twelfth century. Louis, who climbed a tree in the general discomfiture, was saved by his own valor and the ignorance of his adversaries; and with the dawn of day he escaped alive, but almost alone, to the camp of the vanguard. But instead of retreating from the field, he hastened back to shelter the relics of his army in the friendly seaport of Salatia. From thence he embarked for Antioch; but so penurious was the supply of Greek vessels, that they could only afford room for his knights and nobles; and the plebeian crowd of infantry was left to perish at the foot of the Pamphylion hills. The emperor and the king embarked and went to Jerusalem; their martial trains, the remnant of mighty armies, were joined to the Christian powers of Syria, and a fruitless siege of Damascus was the first grand exploit of the Second Crusade. Frederic, embarking for Europe with the personal fame of piety and courage; but the orientals had braved these potent monarchs of the Franks, with whose names and military forces they had been so often threatened. Perhaps they had still more to fear from the veteran genius of the emperor, who in his youth had served in Asia under his uncle Conrad. Forty campaigns in Germany and Italy had taught Barbarossa to command; and his soldiers, even the princes of the empire, were accustomed under his reign to obey. As soon as he lost sight of Philadelphia and Antioch, the last cities of the Greek frontier, he plunged into the salt and barren desert, a land (says the historian) of horror and tribulations. During twenty days, every step of his fainting and sickly march was besieged by the innumerable hordes of Turks, whose numbers and fury seemed after each defeat to multiply and inflame. The emperor continued to struggle and to suffer; and such was the measure of his calamities, that when he reached the gates of Iconium, no more than one thousand knights were able to serve on horseback. By a sudden and resolute assault he de- feated the Turks, and stormed the capital of the sal- tan, who humbly sued for pardon and peace. The road was now open, and Frederic advanced in a career of triumph, till he was unfortunately drowned in a petty torrent of Cilicia. The remainder of his German army was by sickness at least a third of the emperor's son expired with the greatest part of hisSwabian vassals at the siege of Acre. Among the Latin heroes, Godfrey of Bouillon and Frederic Barbarossa alone could achieve the passage of the Lesser Asia; yet even their success was a warning; and in the last and most experienced age of the crusades, every nation preferred the sea to the toils and perils of an inland expedition.

The enthusiasm of the first crusade Obitus of the is a natural and simple event, whilst enthusiasm of hope was fresh, danger untired, and the crusade enterprise congenial to the spirit of the times. But enterprise of Europe may indeed excite our pity and admiration; that no instruction should have been drawn from constant and adverse experience; that the same confidence should have repeatedly grown from the same failures; that six succeeding generations should have rushed headlong on the open sea before them; and that men of every condition should have staked their public and private fortunes on the desperate adventure of possessing or recovering a tomb-stone two thousand miles from their country. In a period of two centuries after the council of Clermont, each spring and summer produced a new emigration of pilgrim warriors for the defence of the Holy Land; but the seven great armaments or crusades were exci- cted by some impending or recent calamity: the nations were moved by the authority of their pontiffs, and the example of the emperor, who died in the first crusade, and their reason; was silenced, by the voice of their holy orators; and among these, Bernard, the monk, or the saint, may claim the most honourable place. About eight years before the first con- quest of Jerusalem, he was born of a merchant family, at St. Bernard, A. D. 1011—1153. Three and twenty he buried himself in the monastery of Citeaux, then in the primitive fer- vor of the institution; at the end of two years he led forth her third colony, or daughter, to the valley of Clairvaux in Champagne, and was content, till the hour of his death, with the humble station of abbot of his own community. A philosophical age has abol- ished, with a liberal and indiscriminate disdain, the honours of these spiritual heroes. The nearest among them are distinguished by some energies of the mind: they were at least superior to their votaries and disciples; and, in the race of superstition, they attained the prize for which such numbers contended. In speech, in writing, in action, Bernard stood high above his rivals and contemporaries; his compositions are not devoid of wit and eloquence; and he seems to have preserved, as much as he could of his superiority as a monk and religious writer, in connection with what he reckoned with the character of a saint. In a secular life, he would have shared the seventh part of a private inheritance; by a vow of poverty and penance, by closing his eyes against the visible world, by the denial of all promise and of all establishment, Clairvaux became the oracle of Europe, and the foun- der of one hundred and sixty convents. Princes and pontiffs trembled at the freedom of his apostolical cen- sures: France, England, and Milan, consulted and obeyed his judgment in a solemn of the church; the debt was repaid by the gratitude of Innocent the 2 As counts of Verin, the kings of France were the vassals and ad- vocates of the monastery of St. Denis. The saint's peculiar banner, which the king kissed on entering the abbey, was a palm leaf or flaming colour. The oriflamme appeared at the head of the French armies from the twelfth to the twentieth century. (Encyclopædia on Joinesville, Desert, xviii. p. 244—253.)

2 The original French histories of the second crusade are the Ges- tas Francorum and the Chroniques de l'ancien monde by Guglielmo di Burgoch, the third collection. The same volume contains many original letters of the king of Sicily his minister, &c. the best documents of authentic his- tory.

2 The fervor of the Abbot and the friars is described in the annals of Tunisia and Egypt, and the discrepancies between these accounts are of the same kind as those between the annals of the crusades. (Secreta Fidelium Crucis, i. i. p. 26.)

2 The most authentic information of St. Bernard must be drawn from his own writings, published in a correct edition by Peri Galli- ton, and reprinted at Venice, 1750. In six volumes in folio. Whatever friendship could redress, or superstition could add, is contained in the two lives, by his disciples, in the sixth volume: whatever learning and criticism could ascertain, may be found in the publications of Benedictine editor.

2 The city of Acre, formed the valley of Abonyh, is situated among the woods near Bar Sur Aube in Champagne. St. Bernard would blush at the pomp of the church and monastery; he would ask for the library, the catalogue, and the archives of the library of the Benedictines of Clairvaux. (Lamansch, Anecdotes de diverses Sociétés, p. 541.)

2 The desire of comparing two great men has tempted many writers to place them in opposition to each other, and to indulge their fancy in their defeat. (Q. Curt. l. iii. c. 4, § 3.) But, from the march of the emperor, I rather judge, that his zeal is in the Cypriacus, a stream of less fame, but of a longer course.
second; and his successor, Eugenius the third, was the friend and disciple of the holy Bernard. It was in the proclamation of the second crusade that he shone as the missionary and prophet of God, who called the nations to the defence of his holy sepulchre. At the parliament of Vezelay he spoke before the king; and Louis the seventh, with his nobles, received their crosses from his hand. The abbots of Clairvaux then marched to the less easy conquest of the emperor Conrad: a phlegmatic people, ignorant of his language, was transported by the pathetic vehemence of his tone and gestures; and his progress, from Constance to Cologne, was the triumph of eloquence and inextinguishable zeal. By this depopulation of Europe; affirms that cities and castles were emptied of their inhabitants; and computes, that only one man was left behind for the consolation of seven widows. The blind fanatics were desirous of electing him for their general; but the example of the hermit Peter was before their eyes; and while he assured the crusaders of the divine favour, he prudently declined a military command, in which failure and victory would have been almost equally disgraceful to his character. Yet, after the calamitous event, the abbot of Clairvaux was loudly accused as a false philosopher, and his writings were burnt. His consternation; his enemies exulted, his friends blasphemed, and his apology was slow and unsatisfactory. He justifies his obedience to the commands of the pope; expatiates on the mysterious ways of Providence; imputes the misfortunes of the pilgrims to their own sins; and modestly insists that his mission had been approved by signs and wonders. Had the fact been certain, the argument would be decisive; and his faithful disciples, who enumerate twenty or thirty miracles in a day, appeal to the public assemblies of France and Germany, in which they were performed.

At the time of the first crusade, the Franks had the credit beyond the precincts of Clairvaux; but in the preternatural cures of the blind, the lame, and the sick, who were presented to the man of God, it is impossible for us to ascertain the separate shares of accident, of fancy, of imposture, and of fiction.

Prague of the Omnipotence: itself cannot escape the murrains of its discordant votaries; since the same dispensation which was applauded as a deliverance in Europe, was deplored, and perhaps arraigned, as a calamity in Asia. After the loss of Jerusalem, the Seljukian fealty was broken. Damascus, Bagdad mourned in the dust; the caliph Zeineddin of Damascus tore his beard in the caliph's presence; and the whole divan shed tears at his melancholy tale. But the commanders of the faithful could only weep; they were themselves captive in the hands of the Turks: some temporal power was restored to the last age of the Abbassides; but their humble ambition was confined to Bagdad and the adjacent province. Their tyrants, the Seljukian sultans, had followed the common law of the Asiatic dynasties, the unceasing round of valour, greatness, discord, degeneracy, and decay: their spirit and power were un

equal to the defence of religion; and, in his distant realm of Persia, the christians were slain under the name and the arms of Sangiari, the last hero of a race. While the sultans were involved the Atabeks of Syria in the silken web of the haram, the pious task was undertaken by their slaves, the Atabeks, a Turkish name, which, like the Byzantine patricians, had ascended into the throne of the Princes. Nevertheless, a valiant Turk, had been the favourite of Malek Shah, from whom he received the privilege of standing on the right hand of the throne; but, in the civil wars that ensued on the monarch's death, he lost his head and the government of Aleppo. His domes ters, the veil emired presented to his son Zenghi, who proved his first arms against the Franks in the defeat of Antioch; thirty campaigns in the service of the caliph and sultan established his military fame; and he was invested with the command of Mosul, as the only champion that could avenge the cause of the prophet. The public hope was not disappointed: after a siege of twenty-five days, he stormed the city of Edessa, and recovered from the Franks their conquests beyond the Ephrathas; the martial tribes of Cordistan were subdued by the independent sovereign of Mosul and Aleppo: his success was so great that he was beloved as a father by his country; they trusted to his liberality for their rewards; and their absent families were protected by the vigilance of Zenghi. At the head of these veterans, his son Noureddin gradually united the Mahometan powers; added the kingdom of Hamath to his dominions, and waged a long and successful war against the christians of Syria; he spread his ample reign from the Tigris to the Nile, and the Abbassides rewarded their faithful servant with all the titles and prerogatives of royalty. The Latins themselves were compelled to own the division and cambio of the empire: it was the ruin of all of this implacable adversary. In his life and government the holy warrior revived the zeal and simplicity of the first caliphs. Gold and silk were banished from his palace; the use of wine from his dominions; the public revenue was scrupulously applied to the public service; and the frugal household of Noureddin was maintained from his legitimate share of the spoil which he vested in the purchase of a private estate. His favourite sultana sighed for some female object of expense. "Alas," replied the king, "I fear God, and have no more than my property. I cannot alienate; but I still possess three shops in the city of Hems: these you may take; and these alone can I bestow." His chamber of justice was the terror of the great and the refuge of the poor. Some years after the sultan's death, an oppressed subject called aloud in the streets of Damascus, No Or Noureddin, Noor eddin, where art thou now? Arise, arise, to pity and protect us!" A tumult was apprehended, and a living tyrant blinded or trembled at the name of a departed monarch.

1 Manuelis et obediens ... multipli cavit no sumerum vacuantes urbes et castella; et pene jam non inuentumque annum ... rei publicae, in specie nis et nis et... 
2 Sic dictum formatur ut de omnium arce, ut eretd absit facies armatum, aut quod tam remotum ... quae sunt. 
3 See the testimonies in Vita lmm. l. iv. c. 5. 6. Opp. tom. vi, p. 1500—1514. l. v. c. 1—17, p. 1596—1534. 
By the arms of the Turks and Franks the Fatimids had been terror’d of Syria, Turke, Th. D. 163—1160.

Yet they were still revered as the descendants and successors of the prophet; they maintained their invisible state in the palace of Cairo; and their person was seldom violated by the profane eyes of strangers. The Latin ambassadors have described their own introduction through a series of gloomy passages and glittering porticoes; the scene was enlivened by the warbling of birds and the murmur of fountains: it was enriched by a display of rich furniture and pictures, the contents of which were secreted and something was shown, and much was supposed; and the long order of unfolding doors was guarded by black soldiers and domestic eunuchs. The sanctuary of the presence-chamber was veiled with a curtain; and the vizir, who conducted the ambassadors, laid aside his sapphire, and prostrated himself three times on the ground; the veil was then removed; and they beheld the commander of the faithful, who signified his pleasure to the first slave of the throne. But this slave was his master; the vizirs or sultans had usurped the supreme authority of Egypt; the claim of the emir was transferred to the Levant or the Indies; the Franks did not venture to contest the toil and expense of conquest; the Fatimids were deserted by their allies; the sect was driven into the desert. The secret zeal and ambition of the Turkish princes speedily to reign in Egypt under the name of the Abbassides; but the restoration of the suppliant Shewar was the ostensible motive of the first expedition; and the success was intrusted to the emir Shiracouh, a valiant and veteran commander. Dargham was oppressed and slain; but the ingratitude, the jealousy, the persecutions, of his empire was too great a temptation; he was at length invited to assume the sovereignty himself. He determined to invite the king of Jerusalem to deliver Egypt from his insolent benefactors. To this union the forces of Shiracouh were unequal; he relinquished the precipitate conquest; and the evacuation of Belbalus was the condition of his safe retreat. As the Turks retreated, and their general closed the rear, with a vigilant eye, and a battle-axe in his hand, a Frank presumed to ask him if he was not afraid of an attack? "It is doubtless in your power to begin the attack," replied the intrepid emir; "but rest assured, that not one of my soldiers will go to paradise till he has sent an infidel to hell." His report of the riches of the land, the effeminacy of the natives, and the disorders of the government, revived the hopes of Nourreddin; the caliph of Bagdad applauded the pious design; and Shiracouh descended into Egypt a second time with twelve thousand Turks, and ten thousand Arabs. Yet his forces were still inferior to the confederate armies of the Franks and Saracens; and I can discern an unusual degree of military art, in his passage of the Nile, his march through Egypt, and his victories over the vassals of his dynasty. The conqueror of the northern deserts, an emerald a palm and a half in length, and many vases of crystal and porcelain of China, (Reisne, p. 156.)
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

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impotent of yoke, addicted to rapine, and tenacious of the government of their national chiefs. The resemblance of name, situation, and manners, seem to identify the people of the same land, that they still defend against the Ottoman Porte the antique freedom which they asserted against the successors of Cyrus. Poverty and ambition prompted them to embrace the profession of mercenary soldiers: the service of his father and uncle prepared the reign of the great Saladin, and the son of the simple Card, magnanimously smiled at his pedigree, which flattery deduced from the Arabic culpis. So unconscious was Nourreddin of the impending ruin of his house, that he constrained the reluctant youth to follow his uncle Shiracouh into Egypt; his military character was established by the defence of Alexandria; and if we may believe the Latins, he solicited and obtained from the christian general the profuse hours of knighthood. On the death of Shiracouh, the office of grand vizir was bestowed on Saladin, as the youngest and least powerful of the emirs; but with the advice of his father, whom he invited to Cairo, his genius obtained the ascendant over his equals, and attached the army to his person and interest. While Nourreddin lived, these ambitious Cards were the most humble of his slaves; and the indissoluble murmurs of the divan were silenced by the prudent Aynb, who left nothing to chance; were safe in his possession, himself would lead his son in chains to the feet of the throne. "Such language," he added in private, "was prudent and proper in an assembly of your rivals; but we are now above fear and obedience: and the threats of Nourreddin shall not daunt Ayb, until the simple sugarsauce, his reasonable death relieved them from the odious and doubtful conflict: his son, a minor of eleven years of age, was left for a while to the emirs of Damascus; and the new lord of Egypt was decorated by the caliph with every title that could sanctify his usurpation; his services were Saladin, long content with the possession of Egypt; he despised the christians of Jerusalem, and the Atebeks of Damascus, Aleppo, and Diarbeerk: Mecca and Medina acknowledged him for their temporal protector; his brother subdued the distant regions of Yemen, or the inroad of the Belo; and at the Despot of Armenia, the empire spread from the African Tripoli to the Tigris, and from the Indian ocean to the mountains of Armenia. In the judgment of his character, the reproaches of treason and ingratitude strike forcibly on our minds, impressed, as they are, with the principle and expectation of the Saracens. He was conquered by the revolution of Asia, which had erased every notion of legitimate succession; by the recent example of the Atebeks themselves; by his reverence to the son of his benefactor, his humane and generous behaviour to the collateral

branches; by their incapacity and his merit; by the approbation of the caliph, the sole source of all legitimate power; and, above all, by the wishes and interests of the people, the saint, for both Nourreddin and Saladin are ranked among the Mahometan saints; and the constant meditation of the holy war appears to have shed a serious and sober colour over their lives and actions; and of the youth of the latter was addicted to wine and women; but his aspiring spirit soon renounced the temptations of pleasure, for the greater follies of fame and dominion: the garment of Saladin was of a coarse woollen; water was his only drink; and, while he enlaced the temperance, he surpassed the chastity of his Arabin prophet. In faith and practice he was a rigid musulman; he ever deplored that the defence of religion had not allowed him to accomplish the pilgrimage of Mecca; but at the stated hours, five times each day, the sultan devoutly prayed with his brethren: the involuntary omission of fasting was remorsefully repaid; and his penusl the Koran on horseback, between the approaching armies, may be quoted as a proof, however ostentations, of piety and courage. The supersitious doctrine of the sect of Shafi was the only study that he designed to encourage: the poets were disturbed; but all profane science was the object of his aversion; and a philosopher, who had vended some speculative novelties, was seized and strangled by the command of the royal saint. The justice of his divan was accessible to the meanest suppliant against himself or his friends; and it was only for a kingdom that Saladin would deviate from the rule of equity. While the descendants of Seljuk and Zenghi held his stirrup and smoothed his garments, he was affable and patient with the meanest of his servants. So boundless was his liberality, that in the hands of the Saracens, Egyptians, Moros, and Arabs, were adorned with the royal foundations of hospitals, colleges, and mosques; and Cairo was fortified with a wall and citadel; but his works were consecrated to public use, nor did the sultan indulge himself in a garden or palace of private luxury. In a fanatic age, himself a fanatic, the true and genuine virtue of Saladin appeared as the espousal of the christians; the emperor of Germany gloried in his friendship; the Greek emperor solicited his alliance; and the conquest of Jerusalem diffused, and perhaps magnified, his fame both in the East and West Indies.

During its short existence, the kingdom of Jerusalem was supported by the discord of the Turks and Saracens; and, as far as the Fatimatih caliphs and the sultans of Damascus were tempted to sacrifice the cause of their religion to the meaner considerations of private and present advantage. But the powers of Egypt, Syria, and Arabia, were now united by a hero, whom nature and fortune had armed against the christians. All without now hold the most threatening aspect; and all was feasible and hollow in the internal state of Jerusalem. After the two first Baldwin, the
brother and cousin of Godfrey of Bouillon, the seer, devoted by female succession to Melisenda, daughter of the second Baldwin, and her husband Fulc, count of Anjou, the father, by a former marriage, of our English Plantagenets. Their two sons, Baldwin the younger, coward, but belonging to the Lusignan family, with his wife, a worthy woman, and not at all successful, war against the infidels; but the son of Amaury, Baldwin the fourth, was decried by the levity, a gift of the crusades, of the faculties both of mind and body. His sister Sybilia, the mother of Baldwin the fifth, was his natural heiress; after the sudden and unexplained death of her child, the second husband, Guy of Lusignan, a prince of a handsome person, but of such base renown, that his own brother Jeffrey was heard to exclaim, "Since they have made him a king, surely they would have made me a god!"

The choice was generally blamed; and the most powerful vassal, Raymond, count of Tripoli, who had been excluded from the succession and regency, entertained an implacable hatred against the king, and exposed his honour and conscience to the temptations of the sultan. Such were the guardians of the holy city; a legate, a child, a woman, a coward, with a traitor: the royal captivity was suspended for months, and its fate was delayed twelve years by some supplies from Europe, by the value of the military orders, and by the distant or domestic avocations of their great enemy. At length, on every side, the sinking state was encircled and pressed by a hostile line; and the troops who had been deceived by the false promises of the Christians, whose existence was preserved only by its protection. A soldier of fortune, Reginald of Chatillon, had seized a fortress on the edge of the desert, from whence he pillaged the caravans, insulted Maomet, and threatened the cities of Mecca and Medina. Saladin condescended to complain; rejoiced in the defect; and landed at the head of four thousand horse and foot, invaded the Holy Land. The choice of Tiberias for his first siege was suggested by the count of Tripoli, to whom it belonged; and the king of Jerusalem was persuaded to drain his garrisons, and to arm his people for the relief of that important district. The sultan, with the help of the infidels, and the difficulties of the king, the Christians were betrayed into a camp despite of water: he fled on the first onset, with the losses of both nations: Lusignan was overthrown, with the loss of thirty thousand men; and the wood of the fez-er-er, fire misfortune, was left in the power of the infidels. The royal captivity was conveyed to the tent of Saladin; and as he fainted with thirst and terror, the generous victor presented him with a cup of sherbet, cooled in snow, without suffering his companion, Reginald of Chatillon, to partake of this mark of hospitality and respect. The prince, son and dignity of a king," said the sultan, "are sacred; but this impious robber must instantly acknowledge the prophet whom he has blasphemed, or meet the death which he has so often deserved." On the proud of conscientious refusal of the christian warrior, Saladin struck him on the head with his sword, and Reginald was dispatched by the guards. The trembling Lusignan was sent to Damascus, to an honourable prison and speedy ransom; but the victory was stained by the execution of two hundred and thirty knights of the hospital, the inexpressible champions and models of virtue. This was left without a head; and of the two grand masters of the military orders, the one was slain and the other was a prisoner. From all the cities, both of the sea-coast and the inland country, the garrisons had been drawn away for this fatal field: Tyre and Tripoli alone could escape the rapid irruption of Saladin; and three months after the capture, he appeared in arms before the gates of Jerusalem.

He might expect that the siege of a city so venerable on earth and in heaven, so interesting to Europe and Asia, would rekindle the last sparks of enthusiasm; and the troops that had been deceived by the prince of Tripoli, every man would be a soldier, and every soldier a candidate for martyrdom. But queen Sybilia trembled for herself and her captive husband; and the barons and knights, who had escaped from the sword and chains of the Turks, displayed some faintness and selfish spirit in the public cause. The most numerous portion of the inhabitants was composed of the Greek and oriental christians, whose experience had taught to prefer the Mahometan before the Latin yoke; and the holy sequele attracted a base and needy crowd, without arms or courage, who shouted loudly on the charter of freedom. Some feeble and hasty efforts were made for the defence of Jerusalem; but in the space of fourteen days, a victorious army drove back the sallies of the besieged, planted their engines, opened the wall to the breadth of fifteen cubits, applied their scaling-ladders, and carried the tower whose existence had so long protected the city and the sultan. It was in vain that a bare-foot procèsion of the queen, the women, and the monks, implored the Son of God to save his tomb and his inheritance from impious violation. Their sole hope was in the mercy of the conqueror, and to their first suppliants deception that mercy was sternly denied. "He had sworn to avenge the patience and long-suffering of the Moslems; the hour of forgiveness was elapsed, and the moment was now arrived to expire, in blood, the innocent blood which had been split by Godfrey and the first crusaders. But a desperate and successful struggle of the Franks admonished the sultan that his triumph was not yet secure; he listened with reverence to a solemn adoration in the name of the common Father of mankind; and a sentiment of human sympathy mollified the rigour of fanaticism and conquest. He consented to accept the city, and to spare the inhabitants. The Greeks and Christians were permitted to live under his dominion; but it was stipulated, that in forty days all the Franks and Latins should evacuate Jerusalem, and be safely conducted to the seaports of Syria and Egypt; that ten pieces of gold would be paid in ransom for each woman, five for each man, and one for every child; and that those who were unable to purchase their freedom should be detained in perpetual slavery. Of some writers it is a favourite and inveterate theme to compare the humanity of Saladin with the massacre of the first crusade. The difference would be merely personal; but we should not forget that the christians had offered to capitulate, and that the Mahometans of Jerusalem sustained the last extremities of an assault and storm. Justice is indeed due to the fidelity with which the Turkish conqueror fulfilled the conditions of the treaty; and he may be said to have avenged the pious,Mother for the glance of pity which he cast on the misery of the vanquished. Instead of a rigorously exaction of his debt, he accepted a sum of thirty thousand byzants, for the ransom of seven thousand poor; two or three thousand more were dismissed by his gratuitous charity, and the number of slaves was reduced to eleven or fourteen thousand persons. In his interview with the queen, his words, and even his tears, suggested the kindest consolations; his liberal alms were distributed among those who had been made
orpans or widows by the fortune of war; and while the knights of the hospital were in arms against him, he allowed their more pious brethren to continue, during the capitulation, in his camp. In these acts of mercy the virtue of Saladin deserves our admiration and love: he was above the necessity of dissimulation, and his stern fanaticism would have prompted him to desist rather than to affect, this profane compassion for the enemies of the Koran. After Jerusalem had been delivered from the presence of the strangers, the sultan made his triumphal entry, his banners waving in the wind, and to the harmony of martial music. The great mosh of Omar, which had been converted into a church, again consecrated to one God and his prophet Mahomet; the walls and the garrison of the place, which had been held by his own son, were handed over to him. Bohadin, which, and, for the sake of the monastery, the sand Beach and the sensual, which was not yet distinctly the mosque of Eleonore, was erected in the sanctuary. But when the golden cross that glittered on the dome was cast down, and dragged through the streets, the christians of every sect utter a lamentable groan, which was answered by the joyful shouts of the Moslems. In four ivory shoes the patriarch had collected the crosses, the images, the vases, and the relics of the holy place: they were seized by the conqueror, who was desires of presenting the caliph with the trophies of christian idolatry. He was persuaded, however, to intrust them to the patriarch and prince of the Latins, which was done through the intervention of Richard of England, at the expense of fifty-two thousand byzants of gold.

The third crusade, by sea.

Antioch, 40 A.D. Dl. 1187. Bohadin, which was already converted by the Turk from a church to a prison, waspitched to Richard of England, who was the son of the conqueror. The view of the Taht, the emperor of the Egyptians, was taken by the emperor of the Latins from Syria; which was already conveyed by a vassal to the city, that one of the religious, the christians penetrated to the royal tent. By the means of divers and pigeons, a regular correspondence was maintained with the besieged; and, as often as the sea was left open, the exhausted garrison was withdrawn, and a fresh supply was poured into the place. The Latins camp was thinned by famine, the sword, and the climate; but the tents of the dead were replenished with new pilgrims, who exaggerated the strength and speed of their approaching countrymen. The vulgar were astonished by the report, that the pope himself, with an innumerable crusade, was advanced as far as Constantinople. The monarch of the emperor of the Latins wasવे to all the Latins, which was done through the intervention of Richard of England, at the expense of fifty-two thousand byzants of gold.

The nations might fear and hope the immediate and final expulsion of the Latins from Syria; which was already conveyed by a vassal to the city, that one of the religious, the christians penetrated to the royal tent. By the means of divers and pigeons, a regular correspondence was maintained with the besieged; and, as often as the sea was left open, the exhausted garrison was withdrawn, and a fresh supply was poured into the place. The Latins camp was thinned by famine, the sword, and the climate; but the tents of the dead were replenished with new pilgrims, who exaggerated the strength and speed of their approaching countrymen. The vulgar were astonished by the report, that the pope himself, with an innumerable crusade, was advanced as far as Constantinople. The monarch of the emperor of the Latins was vowed by the Latins, which was done through the intervention of Richard of England, at the expense of fifty-two thousand byzants of gold.
Latin powers acquired a strong town and a convenient harbour; but the advantage was most dearly purchased. The minister and historian of Saladin computes, from the report of the enemy, that their numbers, at different periods, amounted to five or six hundred thousand; that most of the sand Christians were slain; that a far greater number were lost by disease or shipwreck; and that a small portion of this mighty host could return in safety to their native countries.

Richard of England, and the only kings of France and England, who have fought under the same banners; but the holy service, in which they were enlisted, was incessantly disturbed by their national jealousies; and the two factions, which they protected in Palestine, were more to the eye of the French monarch than to the common enemy. In the eyes of the orientals, the French monarch was superior in dignity and power; and in the emperor's absence, the Latins revered him as their temporal chief. His exploits were not adequate to his name. Philip was brave, but the sufferings he endured in his escape from captivity occasioned no more than a suspicion of sacrificing his health and interest on a herculean scale; the surrender of Acre became the signal of his departure; nor could he justify this unpopularity better than by leaving the duke of Burgundy, with five hundred knights, and ten thousand foot, for the service of the most enterprising of the emirs. The king of England, though not inferior in dignity, surpassed his rival in wealth and military renown; and if he were to be justified in his claim to be considered as a rival to Tyre by some secret assassins. After the surrender of Acre, and the departure of Philip, the king of England led the crusaders to the recovery of the sea-coast; and the cities of Caesarea and Jaffa were added to the fragments of the kingdom of Jus- signaque, with a thousand warriors from Acre. Ascalon, was a great and perpetual battle of eleven days. In the disorder of his troops, Saladin remained on the field with seventeen guards, without lowering his standard, or suspending the sound of his brazen kettle-drums; he again rallied and renewed the charge; and his preachers or heralds called aloud on the univer- sarians, manfully to stand up against the christian idolaters. But the progress of these idolaters was irresistible; and it was only by demolishing the walls and burning the town that most of the Infidel inhabitants were compelled to leave them from occupying an important fortress on the confines of Egypt. During a severe winter, the armies slept; but in the spring, the Franks advanced within a day's march of Jerusalem, under the leading standard of the English king, and his active spirit intercepting the matter of caravans. and business, Saladin had fixed his station in the holy city: but the city was struck with consternation and discords; he hastened; he prayed; he preached; he offered to share the dangers of the siege; but his Mamalukes, who entertained the hope of meeting their companions at Acre, pressed the sultan with loyal or seditions entreaties, to reserve his person and their courage for the future defence of their religion and empire.

The Moslems were delivered by the sudden, or as they deemed, the miraculous, retreat of the Christians; and the laurels of Richelieu were snatched from the Moslem and his companions. The hero, ascending a hill, and veiling his face, exclaimed with an indignant voice, "Those who are unwilling to rescue, are unworthy to view, the sepulchre of Christ!" After his return to Acre, on the news that Jaffa was surprised by the Franks, from the sultan present to his tents on the hipped foremost on the beach, the castle was relieved by his presence; and sixty thousand Turks and Saracen s fled before his arms. The discovery of this weakness provided them in return in the morning; and they found him carelessly encamped before the gates with five thousand horse, and two thousand foot of Franks.

Without counting their numbers, he sustained their charge: and we learn from the evidence of his enemies, that the king of England, grasping his lance, rode furiously along their front, from the right to the left with his sword raised, without meeting an adversary who dared to encounter his career.

Am I writing the history of Orlando or Amadis?

During these hostilities, a languid and tedious negotiation between the Franks and Moslems was started, and continued, and the two princes were accused, or suspected, by the Turks, and the Moslem sultan was accused by the Franks. It is a question whether the Franks or the Moslems were the better party in this quarrel, after the trial of each other, could either hope for a decisive victory.

6 See the distress and piteous firmness of Saladin, as they are described by Bodinian (p. 7—9, 359—375) who himself harangued the defenders of Jerusalem; their ears were not unknown to the enemy. (Jacob a Vitrica, l. c. 100, p. 1123.)

7 At 3000 men, or an Ayshite prince, remained in Ascalon, according to Hict. of St. John d'Acre, 1. c. 1123. I have known the names either of Philip or Richard.

8 See the progress of negotiation and hostility in Bodinian, p. 209—229, 359—375. The author of the itinerary of St. Albanius, 1. c. 102—103, observes, that Acre was a very numerous town.

9 See the state of the arms before the siege of Acre, (V'uvsauf, 1. c. 232—256.)

10 See the state of the arms before the siege of Acre, (V'uvsauf, 1. c. 232—256.)
Richard and Saladin appeared to be in a declining state; and they respectively suffered the evils of distant and domestic warfare: Plantagenet was impatient to punish a perfidious rival who had invaded Normandy in his absence; and the indefatigable sultan was subdued by the cries of the people, who were the victims, and of the soldiers, who were the instruments, of his victories. Full meritans for the jealousy of England were the restitution of Jerusalem, Palestine, and the true cross; and he firmly declared, that himself and his brother pilgrims would end their lives in the pious labour, rather than return to Europe with ignominy and remorse. But the consecration of Saladin rendered the contrast in the true character of the parts: he would neither store the idols, nor promote the idolatry, of the christians; he asserted, with equal firmness, his religious and civil claim to the sovereignty of Palestine; despised on the importance and sanctity of Jerusalem; and rejected all terms of the establishment, or partition, of the Latins. The marriage which Richard proposed, of his sister with the sultan's brother, was defeated by the difference of faith: the princess abhorred the embraces of a Turk; and Adel, or Saphadin, would not easily renounce a plurality of wives. A personal interview was declined by Saladin, who alleged their mutual ignorance of each other's language; and the negotiation was managed with much art and delay by their interpreters and envoys. The final agreement was equally disapproved by the zealous of both parties, by the Roman pontiff and the caliph of Egypt. The sultan, however, who had not been assured that any holy sepulchre should be open, without tribute or vexation, to the pilgrims of the Latin christians; that, after the demolition of Ascalon, they should inclusively possess the sea-coast from Jaffa to Tyre; that the count of Tripoli and the prince of Antioch should be allowed to maintain their castles during three years and three months, all hostilities should cease. The principal chiefs of the two armies swore to the observance of the treaty; but the monarchs were satisfied with giving their word and their right hand; and the royal majesty was excused from an oath, which always implies some suspicion of falsehood and dishonour. Richard embarked for Europe, to seek a long captivity and a premature grave; and the space of a few months concluded the life and glories of Saladin.

The orientals describe his edifying death, which happened at Damascus; but they seem ignorant of his equal distribution of his alms among the three religions, or of the display of a shroud, instead of a standard, to admonish the east of the instability of human greatness. The unity of empire was dissolved by his death; his sons were oppressed by the stronger arm of their uncle Saphadin; the hostile interests of the sultans of Egypt, Damascus, and Aleppo, were again revived; and the Franks or Latins stood, and breathed, and hoped, in their fortresses along the Syrian coast.

Innocent III. The noblest monument of a conqueror, A.D. 1193—1194, of his fame, and of the terror which he inspired, is the Saladin tenth, a general tax, which was imposed on the holy, and even the clergy, of the Latin church for the service of the holy war. The practice was too lucrative to expire with the occasion; and this tributary became the foundation of all the titles and tenth on ecclesiastical benefices, which have been granted by the Roman pontiffs to catholic sovereigns, or reserved for the immediate use of the apostolic see. This pecuniary emolument must have tended to increase the interest of the homage in the recovery of Palestine; after the death of Saladin they pursued the crusade, by their epistles, their legates, and their missionaries; and the accomplishment of the pious work might have been expected from the zeal and talents of Innocent the third. Under that young and ambitious priest, the successors of St. Peter attained that greatness proceeding from their own nation. In eighteen years, he exercised a despotical command over the emperors and kings, whom he raised and deposed; over the nations, whom an interdict of months or years deprived, for the offence of their rulers, of the exercise of christian worship. In the council of the Lateran he acted as an confessing and temporal, soveraign of the east and west. It was at the feet of his legate that John of England surrendered his crown; and Innocent may boast of the two most signal triumphs over sense and humanity, the establishment of transubstantiation, and the origin of the inquisition. At his death, two crusades, the fourth and the fifth, were undertaken; but, except a king of Hungary of the second order were at the head of the pilgrims: the forces were inadequate to the design; nor did the efforts correspond with the hopes and wishes of the pope and the people. The fourth crusade was diverted to Constantinople; and the conquest of the Greek or Roman empire by the Latins will form the proper and important subject of the next chapter. In the fifth, two hundred thousand marched into the eastern mouth of the Nile. They reasonably hoped that Palestine must be subdued in Egypt, the seat and storehouse of the sultan; and, after a siege of sixteen months, the Moslems deplored the loss of Damietta. But the christian army was ruined by the conception of the legate, the king of Jerusalem, and the pepe's name, assumed the character of general: the sickly Franks were encompassed by the waters of the Nile and the oriental forces; and it was by the evacuation of Damietta that they obtained a safe retreat, some concessions for the pilgrims, and the tardy restitution of the third relic of the true cross. The failure may in some measure be ascribed to the abuse and multiplication of the crusades, which were preached at the same time against the pagans of Livonia, the Moors of Spain, the Albigens of France, and the kings of Sicily of the imperial family. In these meritorious military services, the volunteers might acquire at home the same spiritual indulgence, and a larger measure of temporal rewards; and even the popes, in their zeal against a domestic enemy, were sometimes tempted to forget the distress of their Syrian brethren. From the last age of the crusades they derived the occasional command of an army and revenue; and some deep reasoners have suspected that the whole enterprise, from the first synod of Placentia, was contrived and executed by the policy of Rome. The suspicion is not founded either in nature or in fact. The successors of St. Peter appear to have followed, rather than guided, the impulse of manners and prejudice; without much foresight of the seasons, or cultivation of the soil, they gathered the ripe and spontaneous fruits of the superstition of the

to the pope, a tenth of the Levite's tenth to the high-priest. (Selden on Titulus; see his Works, vol. iii. p. 105.)

1 See the Gesta Innocentii iii. lib. moral. Script. Rev. ital. (tom. iii. p. 596—596.)

2 A.D. 1193—1194.

3 See the fifth crusade, and the siege of Damietta, in Jacobus Vitricus, Gesta Dei Belligrorum, (iii. 1125—1194.) In the Gesta Dei Belligrorum, an eye-witness, Bernardus Theodoricus, (in Script. Moravit. tom. vii. p. 565—566.) c. 159—203.) a contemporary, and Sanutus, (Secreta Sibylla, Cru- cian. i. iii. p. 4—5.) a diocletian, poster; and of the Arabians, Alpharabizus, (Dyssx. p. 294.) and the Egyptians at the end of Joinville, (p. 533, 537—547.)

4 To deicide who dared to make war against Mainfoye, the pope (A.D. 1255) cnetit in-processus pecatorum remissionem. Edilas mirabilis inter quasdam sanctitatem, nocem praestitit incommuniter quantum pro cruce infidelium salus. (Matthew Paris, p. 765.)

5 A high flight for the rest of the thirteenth century.

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times. They gathered these fruits without toll or personal danger: in the council of the Lateran, Innocent the third declared an ambiguous resolution of animating the crusaders by his example: but the pilot of the sacred vessel could not abandon the helm; nor was Palestine ever blessed with the presence of a Roman pontiff.

The emperor Frederic II. of the kingdom, under the immediate protection of the pilgrims, was successively the pupil, the enemy, and the victim of the church. At the age of twenty-one years, and in obedience to his guardian Innocent the third, he assumed the cross; the same promise was repeated at his royal and imperial coronations; and his marriage with the heiress of Jerusalem for ever bound him to defend the kingdom of his son Conrad. But as Frederic advanced in age and authority, he repented of the rash engagements of his youth: his liberal sense and knowledge taught him to despire the phantoms of superstition and the crowns of Asia: he now endeavoured to make good his promise for the ancestors of Innocent; and his ambition was occupied by the restoration of the Italian monarchy from Sicily to the Alps. But the success of this project would have reduced the popes to their primitive simplicity; and, after the delays and excuses of twelve years, he urged the emperor, with entreaties and threats, to fix the time and place of his departure for Palestine. In the harbours of Sicily and Apulia he prepared a fleet of one hundred galleys, and of one hundred vessels, that were framed to transport and land two thousand five hundred knights, with their horses and attendants; his vassals of Naples and Germany formed a powerful army; and the number of English crusaders was magnified to sixty thousand by the report of fame. But the inevitable, or affected, slowness of these mighty preparations consumed the strength and provisions of the more indigent pilgrims; the multitude was thinned by sickness and desertion, and the sultry summer of Calabria anticipated the mischiefs of a Syrian campaign. At length the emperor hoisted sail at Brundisium, with a fleet and army of forty thousand men, which kept the sea more than twenty days; and his hasty retreat, which was ascribed to his friends to a grievous indisposition, was accused by his enemies as a voluntary and obstinate disobedience. For suspending his vow was Frederic excommunicated by Gregory the ninth; for presuming, the next year, to accomplish his vow, he was again excommunicated by the same pope. While he served under the banner of the cross, a crusade was preached against him in Italy; and after his return he was compelled to ask pardon for the injuries which he had suffered. The clergy and military orders of Palestine were previously instructed to renounce his communion and dispute his commands; and in his own kingdom, the emperor was forced to consent that the orders of the camp should be issued in the name of God and of the christian republic. Frederic entered Jerusalem in triumph and with arms on hands (for no priest would perform the office) he took the crown from the altar of the sepulchre. But the patriarch

The clergy arifully confounded the mosch or church of the tomb with the sepulchre itself, and their wilful error has deserved both Vertot and Muratori.

The name of the crusaders suggests to the mind the name of the Mevagissey, a small town of Cornwall, which is remarkable for the use of oar by the skilful men who work within the town; for the safety of which they are held in high estimation. But the name has been variously interpreted by different authors. It was probably the name of a nun, and is sometimes applied to a nun's cell, or a nun's house. The town is also called "The Decline and Fall".
of his character; but the noble and gallant Joinville, who shared the friendship and captivity of Louis, has traced with the pencil of nature the fine portrait of his visage and many of his acts, so that we may learn to suspect the political views of depressing their great vassals, which are often imputed to the royal authors of the cruades. Above all the princes of the middle ages, Louis the ninth successfully laboured to restore the prerogatives of the crown; and the barrier of his victorious arms, the most modest enumeration amounts to fifty thousand men; and, if we might trust his own confession, as it is reported by oriental vanity, he disembarked nine thousand five hundred horse, and one hundred and thirty thousand foot, who performed their pilgrimage under the shadow of his power.

He takes Damietta.
A.D. 1299.

In complete armour, the oriflamme waving before him, Louis leaped foremost on the beach; and the strong city of Damietta, which had cost his predecessors a siege of sixteen months, was abandoned on the first stroke of the trumpets. But Damietta was the first and the last of his conquests; and in the fifth and sixth crusades, the same causes, almost on the same ground, were productive of similar calamities.

In a rainy delay, which introduced into the camp the seeds of an epidemic disease, the Franks advanced from the sea-coast towards the capital of Egypt, and strove to surmount the unseasonable inundation of the Nile, which opposed their progress. Under the eye of their intrepid monarch, the barons and knights of France displayed their invincible contempt of danger and distress; but it was at home that the last French troops suffered the most. The Moscovite army, which has been lost. But a soldier, who afterwards usurped the sceptre, rallied the flying troopers: the main body of the christians was far behind their vanguard; and what was the result? The army was dissolved.

A siren of Greek fire was incessantly poured on the invaders; the Nile was commanded by the Egyptian galleys, the open country by the Arabs; all provisions were intercepted; each day aggravated the sickness and famine; and about the same time a retreat was found to be necessary, and impracticable. The king, who confesses, that Louis might have escaped, if he would have deserted his subjects: he was made prisoner, with the greatest part of his nobles; all who could not redeem their lives by service or ransom, were inhumanly massacred; and the walls of Cairo were decorated with a circle of Christian heads. The captivity in which the king of France was loaded with chains; but the generous victor, a great grand-daughter, of the khan of the Blancs, who was not only victorious, but also victorious, was returned to his son and successor gave the signal of the retreat.

It is thus," says a lively writer, "that a christian king died near the ruins of Cartaghe, waging war against the sectaries of Mahomet, in a land to which Dido had introduced the deities of Syria."

A more unjust and absurd charge the Mamlukes cannot be devised, than that which condemns the natives of a country to perpetual servitude, under the arbitrary dominion of strangers and slaves. Yet such has been the state of Egypt above five hundred years. The most illustrious monarchs and great dynasties, which were themselves promoted from the Tartar and Circassian hands; and the four and twenty bees, or military chiefs, have ever been succeeded, not by their sons, but by their servants. They produce the great charter of their liberties, the treaty of Selim the first with the republic; and the Osmanian tolerant still accepts from the sultans, which are valued by Johnville at 500,000 French livres of his own time, and expressed by Matthew Paris by 100,000 marks of silver.

The idea of the sarri has been thus expressed by Johnville, whose very name is identified with the idea of adventure: "Selim, m. de Voltiare. (Hist. Generale, tom. ii. p. 386, 387.) The Mamlukes themselves were foreign powers, or, rather, they had felt their value, they hoped his conversion; and such a motion, which was not seconded, might be made, perhaps by a secret christian, in their unorganized society.


The chronology of the two dynasties of Mamelukes, the Bula- rrier, Turks or Tartars of Kipziel, and the Bericine, Circassians, is impossible. For Eusebius (Pariiis, Parisii, (n. 1. p. 254—257) their history from Abulfeda, Mahom, Ac. to the beginning of the thirteenth century, by the same M. de Guignes, is of no account, (n. 1. p. 159—150.)

Savoy, Lettres sur l'Egypte, tom. ii. lettre xv, p. 189—206. I know in the expedition the same day. Yet it is true, that the sultans, which were valued by Johnville at 500,000 French livres of his own time, and expressed by Matthew Paris by 100,000 marks of silver, (n. 1. p. 254—257) their history from Abulfeda, Mahom, Ac. to the beginning of the thirteenth century, by the same M. de Guignes, is of no account, (n. 1. p. 159—150.)


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Egypt: a slight acknowledgment of tribute and subject.

With some breathing intervals of peace and order, the two dynasties are marked as a period of rapine and bloodshed; but their throne, however shaken, reposed on the two pillars of discipline and valor. They extended their conquests over Nubia, Ethiopia, Arabia, and Syria; their Mamalukes were multiplied from eight hundred to twenty-five thousand horse; and their numbers were increased by a provincial militia of one hundred and seven thousand foot, and the occasional aid of sixty-six thousand Arabs. Princes of such power and spirit could not long endure on the list of his master, Richard; exorted, by his valour, a ten years' truce; and escaped, with a dangerous wound, from the dagger of Antioch, of a fanatic assassin. A.D. 1268.

Their situation was henceforth exposed to the rapines of the conqueror, was finally occupied and ruined by Bonet-edar, or Bihars, sultan of Egypt and Syria; the Latin principality was extinguished; and the first seat of the Christian name was dispersed by the slaughter of seventeen, and the captivity of one hundred, thousand of her inhabitants. The maritime towns of Lycia, Coptoia, Tripoli, Berytus, Sidon, Tyre, and Jaffa, and the stronger castles of the hospitalers and templars, successively fell; and the whole existence of the Franks was confined to the city and colony of St. John of Acre, which is sometimes described by the more classic title of Ptolemis.

After the loss of Jerusalem, Acre, which is distant about seventy miles, became the metropolis of the Latin christians, and was adorned with strong and stately buildings, with aqueducts, an artificial port, and a double wall. The garrison was increased by the incessant streams of pilgrims and fugitives: in the pauses of hostility the trade of the East and West was attracted to this convenient station; and the market could offer the produce of every clime and the interpreters of every tongue. But in this conflux of nationalities the present was prophesied: all the disciples of Jesus and Mahomet, the male and female inhabitants of Acre were esteemed the most corrupt; nor could the abuse of religion be corrected by the discipline of law. The city had many sovereigns, and no government. The kings of Jerusalem and Cyprus, the house of Lusignan, the princes of Antioch, the counts of Tripoli and Sidon, the great masters of the hospital, the temple, and the Teutonic order, the republics of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, the pope's legate, the kings of France and England, according to independent command and tribunal, exercised the power of life and death; every criminal was protected in the adjacent quarter; and the perpetual jealousy of the nations often burst forth in acts of violence and blood. Some adventurers, who disregarded the ensign of the cross, compensated their want of pay by the plunder of the Mahometan villages and farms. The Mosheim, who traded under the public faith, were despised and hanged by the christians; and the denial of satisfaction justified the arms of the sultan Khalil. He marched against Acre at the head of sixty thousand horse and one hundred and forty thousand foot: his train of artillery (if I may so say) was numerous and mighty. The separate timbers of a single engine were transported in one hundred waggons; and the royal historian Abulfeda, who served with the troops of Hannah, was himself a spectator of the holy war. Whatever might be the vices of the Franks, their courage was resolute, undaunted enthusiasm and despair; but they were torn by the discord of seventeen chiefs, and overwhelmed on all sides by the powers of the sultan. After a siege The loss of Acre of thirty-three days, the double wall was forced by the Moslems; the principal towers of their engines; the Moslems, the Mamalukes made a general assault; the city was stormed; and death or slavery was the lot of sixty thousand christians. The convenant, or rather fortress, of the templars resisted three days longer; but the great number of horse in the army of the hundred knights, only ten were left alive, less happy than the victims of the sword, if they lived to suffer on a scaffold in the unjust and cruel proscription of the whole order. The king of Jerusalem, the patriarch, and the great master of the hospital, effectually retreat to the shore; but the sea was rough, the vessels were insufficient; and great numbers of the fugitives were drowned before they could reach the isle of Cyprus, which might comfort Lusignan for the loss of Palestine. By the command of the sultan, the churches and fortifications of the Latin cities were precipitated in a moment of ardor for war; still opened the holy sepulchre to some devout and defileless pilgrims; and a mournful and solitary silence prevailed along the coast which had so long resounded with the world's debate.*

CHAPTER XXI.

Schisms of the Greeks and Latins.—State of Constantinople.—Revolt of the Bulgarians.—Ivan Angelus debarred by his brother Alezius.—Origin of the fourth crusade.—Alliance of the French and Venetians with the son of Isaac.—Their naval expedition to Constantinople.—The two sieges and final conquest of the city by the Latins.

The restoration of the western empire Schism of the by Charlemagne was speedily followed Greeks by the separation of the Greek and Latin churches. A religious and national animosity still divides the two largest communions of the christian world; and the schism of Constantinople, by alienating most useful allies, and provoking her most dangerous enemies, was rejected by the pope as the decline and fall of the Roman empire in the east.

In the course of the present history Their aversion the aversion of the Greeks for the Latins has been often visible and conspicuous. It was originally derived from the disdain of servitude, inflamed, after the time of Constantine, by the pride of equality or dominion; and finally exasperated by the preference which their rebellious subjects had given to the alli-
ance of the Franks. In every age the Greeks were proud of their superiority in profane and religious knowledge; they had first received the light of Christianity; they had pronounced the decrees of the seven general councils; they alone possessed the language of prophecy; nor should the Barbarians, immersed in the darkness of the west, be permitted to argue on the high and mysterious questions of theological science. Those barbarians despised in their turn the restless and subtle levity of the orientals, the authors of every heresy; and simplicity, which was certain to hold the tradition of the apostolic church. Yet in the seventh century, the synods of Spain, and afterwards of France, improved or corrupted the Nicene creed, on the mysterious subject of the Trinity. In the long procession of the controversies of the east, the nature and Holy Ghost: generation of the Christ had been scrupulously defined; and the well-known relation of father and son seemed to convey a faint image to the human mind. The idea of birth was less analogous to the Holy Spirit, who, instead of a divine gift or attribute, was the very self of Christ, the son of God. If Jesus was son, a god; he was not begotten, but in the orthodox style he proceeded. Did he proceed from the Father alone, perhaps by the Son? or from the Father and the Son? The first of these opinions was asserted by the Greeks, the second by the Latins; and the addition to the Nicene creed of a word of phrase was the flame of discord between the oriental and the Gallican churches. In the origin of the dispute, the Roman pontiffs affected a character of neutrality and moderation: they condemned the innovation, but they acquiesced in the sentiment, of their Transalpine brethren; they removed the distinctions existing a little while before on the question of the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son, as well as from the Father. Such articles of faith ecclesiastical disci- pline are not susceptible of treachery; but the pluralism of discipline will vary in remote and independent churches; and the reason, even of divines, might allow, that the difference is inevitable and harmless. The craft or superstition of Rome has imposed on her priests and deacons the rigid obligation of celibacy; among the Greeks it is confined to the bishops; the less is compensated by dignity or unambitious by age; and the parochial clergy, the papal and the coadjutor society of the world, has been married before their entrance into holy orders. A question concerning the eunuchs was fiercely

debated in the eleventh century, and the essence of the eucharist was supposed in the east and west to depend on the use of leavened or unleavened bread. Shall I mention a serious history the furious reproaches which were urged on the papists? Their formidable was long while remained on the defensive? The neglect to abstain, according to the apostolical decree, from things strangled, and from blood: they fasted, a Jewish observance! on the Saturday of each week; during the first week of Lent they permitted the use of meat and wine, and their informants were enraged in the taste of flesh; and animal grease was substituted for the want of vegetable oil; the holy chism or union in baptism was reserved to the episcopal order: the bishops, as the bridegrooms of their churches, were decorated with rings; their priests shaved their faces, and baptized by a single immersion. Such were the eres which provoked the zeal of the patriarchs of Constantinople; and which were justified with equal zeal by the doctors of the Latin church.

Bigotry and national aversion are powerful magicians of every object of dis- cipline corrected by council; but the schism of the Greeks may be traced in the emulation of the leading prelates, A. D. 567-588, who maintained the supremacy of the old metropolis superior to all, and of the reigning capital, inferior to none, in the Christian world. About the middle of the eleventh century, Photius, and his successor, the captain of the guards and principal secretary, was yet supported by the public compassion and the obstinacy of his adherents. They appealed to the tribunal of Nicholas the first, one of the proudest and most aspiring of the Roman pontiffs, who embraced the welcome opportunity of judging and condemning his rival of the east. Their quarrel was intimidated by a conflict of jurisdiction over the king and nation of the Bulgarians; nor was their recent conversion to Christianity of much avail to either prelate, unless he could number the prelates among the subjects of his own power. With Photius the patriarch was victorious; but in the furious contest he deposited in his turn the successor of St. Peter, and involved the Latin church in the reproach of heresy and schism. Photius sacrificed the peace of the world to a short and precarious reign; he fell with his patri- cian, the Cesar Bardius; and Basil the Macedonian performed an act of justice in the restoration of Ignatius, whose age and dignity had not been sufficiently respected. From his monastery, or prison, Photius solicited the favour of the emperor by pathetic complaints and arfiful flattery; and the eyes of his rival were scarcely closed, when he was again restored to the throne of Constantinople. After the death of Bas- sil, he experienced the vicissitudes of courts and the ingratitude of a royal pupil; the patriarch was again depored, and in his last illatory hours he might regret the freedom of a life and studies. In such revolution, the breath, the nod, of the sovereign had been accepted by a submissive clergy; and a synod of three hundred bishops was always prepared to hail

1 In France, after some harsher laws, the ecclesiastical discipline of the nobility was now relaxed: milk and water were allowed to all who rejected the Philoque, at least the doctrine, must be damned. All regular clerics, who adhered to the doctrine of the filioque, were received at Rome about the year 854.

2 Before the shrine of St. Peter, he placed two shields of gold, at equal distance of powers of silver: of the two creeds (cursa Auctoritas) preconatus et caelestis ecclesiae fides, (Anast. in Leon. III. in Muntanis, tom. lii, pars e. p. 2 8.) His language was: "You are aware that neither of these creeds were received at Rome about the year 854.

3 With regard to this point of the synod of 878, it is to be declared, that all who rejected the filioque, at least the doctrine, must be damned. All regular clerics, who adhered to the doctrine of the filioque, were received at Rome about the year 854. The phrase, 'only non sibi non potest.' (Collect, Commons, tom. i. p. 257-258.) The potestas would be a large loophole of salvation! the ten volume of the Venice edition of the Councils contains all the acts of the synods, and history of Photius: they are abridged, with a short notice of precepts or practice, by Lepsius and Tournaux.

1 Photius, in his book against the Latins, and in his book against the Bulgarians, on the Schism of the Greeks, still claimed the supreme authority of Constantino- ple. The synod of Rome, in 1076, was the only one that ever opposed the authority of Photius's successor, Basil: but this fact shows the decay of the patriarchal power in the eleventh century. It is not, however, necessary to recur to so remote a period to find the image of authority in the constant council of the western church. In the translation of the MSS. of wandering to the synod of Rome, in 1076, was the only one that ever opposed the authority of Photius's successor, Basil: but this fact shows the decay of the patriarchal power in the eleventh century. It is not, however, necessary to recur to so remote a period to find the image of authority in the constant council of the western church. In the translation of the MSS. of the Fathers of the Church, the synods of Rheims, Tours, and Canterbury, in the eleventh century, are noticed with the greatest respect. The synod of Rome, in 1076, was the only one that ever opposed the authority of Photius's successor, Basil: but this fact shows the decay of the patriarchal power in the eleventh century. It is not, however, necessary to recur to so remote a period to find the image of authority in the constant council of the western church. In the translation of the MSS. of the Fathers of the Church, the synods of Rheims, Tours, and Canterbury, in the eleventh century, are noticed with the greatest respect.
THE DECLINE AND FALL

19 CXXI.

the triumph, or to stigmatize the fall, of the holy, or the execrable, Photius.1 By a delusive promise of sucour or reward, the popes were tempted to counts
nance these various proceedings; and the synods of Constantinople were ratified by their epistles or lega
gates. But the court and the people, Ignatius and Photius, were equally adverse to their claims; their ministers were insulted or imprisoned: the procession of the Holy Ghost was forgotten: Bulgars was for ever annexed to the Byzantine throne; and the schism was prolonged by the rigid censure of all the churches. The dark
ness and corruption of the tenth century suspended the intercourse, without reconciling the minds, of the two nations. But when the Norman sword restored the churches of Apulia to the jurisdiction of Rome, the departing flock was warned, by a pious epistle of the Greek patriarch, to avoid and abhor the errors of the Latins.

The rising majesty of Rome could no longer brook the insolence of a rebel; and Michael Cerularius was excommuni
cicated in the heart of Constantinople by the pope's legates, who, stepping at their feet, deposited on the altar of St. Sophia a direful anathema,2 which enumerates the seven mortal heresies of the Greeks, and devotes the guilty teachers, and their unhappy sectaries, to the eternal society of the devil and the brutes. But the court and the people, Ignatius and Photius, were equally adverse to their claims; their ministers were insulted or imprisoned: the procession of the Holy Ghost was forgotten: Bulgars was for ever annexed to the Byzantine throne; and the schism was prolonged by the rigid censure of all the churches. The dark
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The aversion of the Greeks and Latins was nourished and manifested in the three first expeditions to the Holy

Land. Alexis Comnenus contrived the absence of all but the ferminish; pilgrims: his successors, Manuel and Isaac Angelus, proceeded to the Moslem for the ruin of the greatest princes of the Franks; and their crooked and malignant policy was seconded by the active and voluntary obedience of every order of their subjects. Of this hostile temper, a large portion of the donatives proceeded to the con
ersence of language, dress, and manners, which severs and alienates the nations of the globe. The pride, as well as the prudence, of the sovereign was deeply wounded by the intrusion of foreign armies, that claimed a right of traversing his dominions, and passing under the walls of his capital; his subjects were insulted and plundered by the rude strangers of the west; and the hatred of the pusillanimous Greeks was sharpened by secret envy of the bold and pious enter
tprises of the Franks. But these profane causes of national enmity were followed by the insinuation of new causes of religious zeal. Instead of a kind embrace, a hospitable reception from their Christian brethren of the east, every tongue was taught to repeat the names of schismatic and heretic, more odious to an orthodox ear than those of pagan and infidel: instead of being loved for the general conformity of faith and worship, they were abhorred for some rules of discipline, some questions of theology, in which them
selves or their teachers might differ from the Oriental church. In the crusade of Louis the seventh, the Greek clergy washed and purified the altars which had been polluted by the Latins. The companions of Frederic Barbarossa deplore the injuries which they endured, both in word and deed, from the peculiar rancour of the bishops and monks. Their prayers and sermons excited the people against the impious heresies, and the patriarch is accused of declining, that the faithful might retaliate the expi
Y of all their sins by the extirpation of the schis
matics.3 An enthusiast, named Dorotheos, alarmed the fears, and restored the confidence, of the emperor, by a prophetic assurance, that the German heretic, after assaulting the gate of Blachernon, would be made a singular example of the divine vengeance. The passages of these mighty armies were rare and perilous events; but the crusades introduced a frequent and familiar intercourse between the two nations, which enlarged their knowledge without abating their prejudices, and which had the effect of uniting Constantinople demanded the produc
tions of every climate: these imports were balanced by the art and labour of her numerous inhabitants; her situation invites the commerce of the world; and, in every period of her existence, that commerce has been in the hands of her neighbours of the East. The Amalphi, the Venetians, Phains, and Genoese, intro
duced their factories and settlements into the capital of the empire: their services were rewarded with honours and immunities; they acquired the possession of lands and houses; their families were multiplied by marriages with the natives; and, after the abolition of the Mahometan mosch, it was impossible to interdict the churches of the Roman rite.4 The two wives of Manuel Comnenus5 were of the race of the Franks; the first, a sister-in-law of the emperor Conrad; the second, a daughter of the princes of France, was be
ned for his son Alexis a daughter of Philip Augustus of France; and he bestowed his own daughter on a marquis of Montserrat, who was educated and dignified in the palace of Constantinople. The Greek encountered the arms and aspired to the empire, of the west; and the Franks despised the fidelity of the Franks; their military talents were unftly recompensed by the lucrative offices of judges and treasurers; the policy of Manuel had solicited the alliance of the pope; and the popular voice accused that of Alexis of a bias towards the Latins.6 During his reign, and that of his successor Alexis, they were exposed at Constantinople to the reproach of foreigners, heretics, and favourites; and this triple guilt was severely expiated in the tumult, which announced the return and elevation of Andronim

1 The synod of Constantinople, held in the year 688, is the eighth of the general councils, the last assembly of the east which is recogni
zed by the Roman church. She rejects the synods of Constantinople of the years 867 and 879, which were, however, equally numerous and more venerable to Photius.

2 See this matter in the councils, bo. xi. p. 137. + 409.

3 Anna Comnena (Alexiad, I, p. 51—53) represents the other

view, which she obtained from the papers, i.e. Greeks and

the Latin communions, the style of Communions and Nice

Rax is still more vehement. Yet how calm is the voice of history compared with that of polemics?

4 See Frere, Hist. Recns tom. xvi. p. 162, 213, 256.)
by equal abuses in the collection, and the application, of the revenue. While the Greeks numbered the days, and prepared to receive their victors and to dote on the dazzling and grotesque pageantry of their servitude, the assizes and the galleys, the numbers and the confidence, the pride and the resistance, the sanctity of the capital, were reduced to ashes; the clergy were burnt in their churches, and the sick in their hospitals; and some estimate may be formed of the slain from the clemency which sold above four thousand christians in perpetual slavery to the Turks. The priests, the bishops, and the destruction of the schismaties; and they chanted a thanksgiving to the Lord, when the head of a Roman cardinal, the pope's legate, was severed from his body, fastened to the tail of a dog, and dragged, with savage mockery, through the city. The more diligent of the strangers who had retreated, on the first alarm, to their vessels, and escaped through the Hellespont from the scene of blood. In their flight, they burnt and ravaged two hundred miles of the sea-coast; inflicted a severe revenge on the guiltless subjects of the empire; marked the priests and monks as their prey; and laid waste without effectual resistance, the manufacture of plunder, the loss of their property and friends. On their return, they exposed to Italy and Europe the wealth and weakness, the perfidy and malice, of the Greeks, whose virtues were painted as the genuine characters of heresy and schism. The scruples of the first crusaders had neglected the finest opportunities of securing, by the possession of Constantinople, the way to the Holy Land: a domestic revolution invited, and almost compelled, the French and Venetians to achieve the conquest of the Roman empire of the east. Reinas and char. of Isaac Angelus.

In the series of the Byzantine princes, 2. A.D. 1185—1195.

the last male of the Comnenian family who reigned at Constantinople. The revolution, which cast him headlong from the throne, saved and exalted Isaac Angelus, who descended by the females from the same imperial dynasty. The successor of a second Nero might have found it an easy task to deserve the esteem and affection of his subjects; they sometimes had reason to regret the administration of Andronicus. The sound and vigorous mind of the tyrant was capable of discerning the condition between his own and the public; what was for one, what was for all who could inspire him with fear, the unsuspected people, and the remote provinces, might bless the inexorable justice of their master. But his successor was vain and jealous of the supreme power, which he wanted courage and abilities to exercise; his vicissitudes were pernicious, his virtues (if he possessed any virtues) were useless, to mankind; and the Greeks, who imputed their calamities to his negligence, denied him the merit of any transient or accidental benefits of the times. Isaac slept on the throne, and was unnoticed; his subjects had exchanged their stoicism for the sop of buffoons, and the hours were amused by comedians and buffoons, and even to those buffoons the emperor was an object of contempt: his feasts and buildings exceeded the examples of royal luxury; the number of his eunuchs and domestics amounted to twenty thousand; and the daily disbursements of the state are computed to swell to four million sterling the annual expense of his household and table. His poverty was relieved by oppression; and the public discontent was inflamed

The Bulgarians were malicious enough to usurp and to pray for the long life of Isaac Angelus, the surest pledge of their freedom and prosperity. Yet their chiefs could in A.D. 1195—1203, vote in the same indiscriminate coun- sel to expel the family and nation of their emperor. "In all the Greeks," said Asan to his troops, "the same climate, and character, and education, will be productive of the same fruits. Behold my lance," continued the warrior, "and the long streamers that float in the

1 See Boshard, Vic. Saladin, p. 129—131, 226, vers. Schulteins, The flight of Alexius Comnenus, and William of Tyre; (L. xii. c. 10—18) the first three and concis., the second loud, copious, and tropical.

2 The history of the reign of Isaac Angelus is composed, in three books, by Francesco Giunta, a Roman prelate, or principal secretary, and judge of the veil or palace, could not bear the impertinency of the barbarian. He wrote, in a letter, after the fall and death of his benefactor,

3 The pope acknowledges to a pedant, a notable libel which prohibition genitores ut origine transact. This tradition, and the strong resemblance of the Latin and Wallach an idiom, is explained by M. Guizot, Travail (Oeuvres Politiques de M. Guizot, pp. 194—195). The Paris of Troyan were swept away by the tide of emigration from the Danube to the Volga, and brought back from another wave of the Volga to the Danube. Possible, but strange!
wind. They differ only in colour; they are formed of the same silk, and fashioned by the same workman; nor has the stripe that is stained in purple, any superior charm or value about it. The following is a parallel: these candidates for the purple successively rose and fell under the empire of Isae: a general who had repelled the fleets of Sicily, was driven to revolt and ruin by the ingratitude of the prince; and his luxurious repose was disturbed by secret conspiracies and assassinations. The desire for power, by accident, or the merit of his servants: he was at length oppressed by an ambitious brother, who, for the hope of a precarious diadem, forgot the obligations of nature, of loyalty, and of friendship. While Isaac in the Thracian valleys pursued the idle and solitary pleasures of the chase, his brother, Alexius Angelus, was invested with the purple, by the unanimous suffrage of the camp: the capital and the clergy subscribed to their choice; and the vanity of the new sovereign rejected the name of his fathers for the lofty and royal appellation of the Comnenian race. On the despicable chancels of these latter times, the language of contempt; and can only add, that in a reign of eight years, the hasir Alexius was supported by the masculine vices of his wife Euphrosyne. The first intelligence of his fall was conveyed to the late emperor by the posted servant and pursuit of guards no longer his own: he fled before them above fifty miles as far as Stagya in Macedonia; but the fugitive, without an object or a follower, was arrested, brought back to Constantinople, deprived of his eyes, and confined in a lonesome tower, on a scanty allowance of bread and water. At the moment of the revolution, his son Alexius, whom he educated in the hope of empire, was twelve years of age. He was spared by the usurper, and reduced to attend his triumph both in peace and war; but as the army was encamped on the shores of an Italian vessel facilitated the escape of the royal youth; in the diligence of his pursuit, he eluded the search of his enemies, passed the Hellespont, and found a secure refuge in the isle of Sicily. After saluting the threshold of the apostles, and imploving the protection of pope Innocent the third, Alexius accepted the kind invitation of his sister Irene, the wife of Philip of Swabia, King of the Romans. But in his passage through Italy, he heard that the flower of western chivalry was assembled at Venice for the deliverance of the Holy Land; and a ray of hope was kindled in his bosom, that their invincible swords might be employed in his father's restoration.

The fourth crusade

A.D. 1202

About ten or twelve years after the loss of Jerusalem, the nobles of France were again summoned to the holy war by the voice of a third prophet, less extravagant, perhaps, than Peter the hermit, but far below St. Bernard, in the meritor of an orator and a statesman. An illustrious priest of the neighbourhood of Paris, Folk of Neuilly, forsook his parochial duty, to assume the more flattering character of a popular and itinerant missionary. The fineness of his sincerity and miracles was spread over the land. He encircled, with severity and vehemence, against the vices of the age; and his sermons, which he preached in the streets of Paris, converted the robbers, the usurers, the prostitutes, and even the doctors and scholars of the university. No sooner did Innocent the third ascend the chair of St. Peter, than he proclaimed in Italy, Germany, and France, the obligation of a new crusade. The eloquent pontiff described the ruin of Jerusalem, the triumph of the heathen; and at the fall of Constantinople: his liberality proposed the redemption of sins, a plenary indulgence to all who should serve in Palestine, either a year in person, or two years by a substitute; and among his legates and orators who blew the sacred trumpet, Folk of Neuilly was the loudest and most successful. By the promise of the princely monarch, he was averse to the pious summons. The emperor Frederic the second was a child; and his kingdom of Germany was disputed by the rival houses of Brunswick and Swabia, the memorable factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelines. Philip Augustus of France had performed, and could not be persuaded to renew the pernicious vow; but as he was not less ambitious of praise than of power, he cheerfully instituted a perpetual fund for the defence of the Holy Land. Richard of England was satiated with the glory and misfortunes of his first adventure, and he presumed to derive the exhortations of the vocation of the pale to the prelates. But the preacher was heard and obeyed by the great vassals, the princes of the second order; and Theobald, or Thibaut, count of Champagne, was the foremost in the holy war. The valiant youth, at the age of twenty-two years, was enrolled in the Crusades, by the number of Champagne excelled in all embraced by the exercise of war; an army bearing a truce with the heiress of Navarre, Thibaut could draw a band of hardy Gascons from either side of the Pyrenean mountains. His companion in arms was Louis, count of Blois and Chartres; like himself, of regal lineage; for the princess were nephews, in the same time, of the kings of France and England. In a crowd of prelates and barons, who imitated their zeal, I distinguish the birth and merit of Matthew of Montmorency; the famous Simon of Montfort, the scourge of the Albigeois; and a valiant noble, Jeffrey of Villehardouin, in the heart of the Carmagnole. A branch of the Comnenian, in the rude idiom of his age and country, to write or dictate an original narrative of the

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The contemporary life of pope Innocent III, published by Baluze and Mauricius, (Scriptores Rerum Rallaticarum, tom. iii., pars i., p. 494—503.) is most valuable for the important and original documents which are inserted in the text. The bull of the crusade may be read, c. 81, SS.

Pars que cedit, fortunam, nec sibi perigrum, nec incurrere modo, parce que li pardons est gracieux (v. Baluze, No. 1.) Our philosophers may rejoin on the causes of the crusades, but such were the feelings of a French knight.

This number of foes (of which 850 owed legal homage) was enrolled in the church of St. Stephenus at Troyes, and attested A. D. 1203, by the master and bursar of Champagne, (Ducange, Obser. p. 534.)

Campania... militare privilegii singularissimi efficitur... in gyro cinis... palam, ac si.vel, in sacrum (Ducange, p. 219, from the Chronique de Jerusalem, A. D. 1177—1199.)

The name of Villehardouin was taken from a village and castle in the diocese of Troyes, near the river Aube, between Bar and Aron. The town and village: the name of Villehardouin is best traced. It existed after the year 1140, the younger, which acquired the privilege of Achaz, merged in the house of Savoy. (Ducange, p. 206—208.)

The crusade was conducted by the hand of some ambassador, (Ducange, p. 620—621, from the Chronicle of Jerusalem, A. D. 1177—1199.)

This office was held by his father and his descendants, but Ducange has not ascribed it, with his usual caution, to the name of Alexius, as is seen in a recent piece of some specimen, is explained by Venetian and Ducange in a version and glossary. The present, and, therefore, the only available version (Mechanices descriptio) is the example of a language which has ceased to be French, and is endeavoured to be a renewal of the ancients.

His age, and his own expression, qui uterque curo dicta. (No. 64, a.) may justify the suspicion. (More probably than Mr. Wood's
councils and actions in which he bore a memorable part. At the same time, Baldwin count of Flanders, who had married the sister of Thibaut, assumed the cross at Bruges, with his brother Henry and the princes of his house, to free the Holy Sepulchre from the infidels in the province. The vow which the chiefs had pronounced in churches, they ratified in tournaments: the operations of the war were debated in full and frequent assemblies; and it was resolved to seek the deliverance of Palestine in Egypt, a country, since Saladin's death, which was almost ravaged by famine and civil war. But the fate of so many royal armies displayed the toils and perils of a land expedition; and, if the Flemings had dwelt along the ocean, the French barons were destitute of ships and ignorant of navigation. They embraced thewise resolution of choosing six deputies or representatives, of whom Villehardouin was one, with a discretionary trust to direct the motions, and to pledge the faith of the whole confederacy. The maritime states of Italy were alone possessed of the means of transporting the holy warriors with their arms and horses: and the six deputies proceeded to Venice to solicit of Venice's profity or interest, the aid of that powerful republic. State of the Venetians, A.D. 1297—1300. I have mentioned the flight of the Venetians from the fallen cities of the continent, and their secure shelter on the islands that limit the extremity of the Adriatic gulf. In the midst of the waters, free, indignant, laborious, and inaccessible, they gradually coalesced into a republic: the first foundations of Venice were laid in the island of Rialto; and the annual election of the twelve tribunes was superceded by the permanent office of a duke or doge. On the verge of the two empires, the Venetians exult in the belief of primitive and perpetual independence. Against the Latins, their antique freedom has been asserted by the sword, and may be justified by the pen. Charlemagne himself, who had restored all the lands of Italy to the islands of the Adriatic gulf; his son Pepin was repulsed in the attacks of the lagunae or canals, too deep for the cavalry, and too shallow for the vessels; and in every age, under the German Caesars, the bands of the republic have been clearly distinguished from the kingdom of Venice, which was formerly considered by themselves, by strangers, and by their sovereigns, as an inalienable portion of the Greek empire; in the ninth and tenth centuries, the proofs of their sucession are numerous and unquestionable; and the vain titles, the servile honours, of the Byzantine emperors, were in reality no more than a name to us, who would have degraded the magistrates of a free people. But the bands of this dependence, which was never absolute or rigid, were imperceptibly relaxed by the ambition of Venice and the weakness of Constantineople. Obedience was softened into respect, privilege into prerogative, and the freedom of the domestic government was fortified by the independence of foreign dominion. The maritime cities of Homer,) that he could neither read nor write. Yet Champagne may boast of the two first historians, the noble authors of French prose, Villehardouin and Joinville. 1. The crusade and events of the counts of Flanders, Baldwin and his brother Henry, are the subject of a particular history by the Jean de Joinville, (Constantinople, Rome, 1626, in 4to,) which I have only seen with the eyes of Ducas. 2. History, Act. i. vol. i. p. 67, 476. 3. The foundation and independence of Venice, and Peris's inova, are discussed by Part (Critica, tom. i. A.D. 830, No. 4, &c.) and Annals (1526, Paris, &c., vol. i. p. 305, Script. tom. x. p. 153.) 4. The critics have a slight bias, the French more especially; but the Papers, Journal du commerce, 1801, to the 11th year. 5. When the son of Charlemagne asserted his right of sovereignty, he was answered by the royal deputies of France, who stated their facts, and, when the heated passions were cooled, their services; but the hateful word had to be translated, as in the charter of 827, (Laplance, Hist. de la Patern assures de la ville de Venise, vol. ii. p. 67, &c.) the treasure of &c. of &c. of &c. or &c. is 2 V

Istria and Dalmatia bowed to the sovereignty of the Adriatic; and when they armed against the Normans in the cause of Alexius, the emperor applied, not to the duty of his subjects, but to the gratitude and generosity (or the necessity) of his city with the colonies of his province. The western parts of the Mediterranean, from Tuscany to Giblartar, were indeed abandoned to their rivals of Pisa and Genoa; but the Venetians acquired an early and lucrative share of the commerce of Greece and Egypt. Their riches increased with the increasing demand of Europe; their manufactures of silk and glass, perhaps the institution of their bank, are of high antiquity; and they enjoyed the fruits of their industry in the magnificence of public and private life. To assert her flag, to avenge her injuries, to protect the freedom of navigation, the republic could launch and man a fleet of a hundred galleys; and the Venetians, the Saracens, and the Normans, were encountered by her naval arms. The Franks of Syria were assisted by the Venetians in the reduction of the seas coast; but their zeal was neither blind nor disinterested; and in the conquest of Tyre, they shared the sovereignty of a city of first rank in the world. The policy of Venice was marked by the aversion of a trading, and the insolence of a maritime, power; yet her ambition was prudent; nor did she often forget that if armed galleys were the effect and safeguard, merchant vessels were the cause and supply, of her greatness. The pride of her strength, and the schism of the Greeks, without yielding a servile obedience to the Roman pontiff; and a free intercourse with the infidels of every clime appears to have alloyed betimes the fever of superstition. Her primitive government was a loose mixture of democracy and monarchy: the doge was elected by the votes of the general assembly; as long as he was popular and successful, he reigned with the pomp and authority of a prince; but in the frequent revolutions of the state, he was deposed, or banished, or slain, by the justice or the injustice of the multitude. The twelfth century produced the first rudiments of the wise and jealous aristocracy, which has reduced the doge to a pageant and the people to a cypher. When the six ambassadors of the Alliance of the French pilgrims arrived at Venice, they were entertained in the palace of St. Mark, by the reigning duke: his name was Henry Dandolo; and he shone in the last period of human life as one of the most illustrious characters of the times. Under the weight of years, and after the loss of his eyes, Dandolo retained a sound understanding: so he could courage: the spirit of a hero, ambitious to signalize his reign by some memorable exploits; and the wisdom of a patriot, anxious to build his fame on the glory and advantage of his country. He praised the bold enthusiasm and
liberal condition of the barons and their deputies; in such a case, and with such associates, he should aspire, were he a private man, to terminate his life; but he was the avenger of the repudiated, and some delay was requisite to consult, on this arduous business, the judgment of his colleagues. The proposal of the French was first debated by the six sohj who had been recently appointed to control the administration of the doge: it was next discussed to the forty members of the commune, and finally communicated to the legislative assembly of four hundred and fifty representatives, who were annually chosen in the six quarters of the city. In peace and war, the doge was still the chief of the republic; his legal authority was supported by the personal reputation of Dandolo; his arguments of public interest were balanced and approved; and he was authorized to inform the ambassadors of the following conditions of the treaty. It was proposed that the crusaders should assemble at Venice, on the feast of St. John of the ensuing year; that flat-bottomed vessels should be prepared for four thousand five hundred horses, and nine thousand squires, with a number of ships sufficient for the embarkation of four thousand five hundred knights, and twenty thousand foot: that during a term of nine months they should be supplied with provisions, and transported to the shores of Syria, to the service of God and Christendom should require; and that the republic should join the army with a squadron of fifty galleys. It was required, that the pilgrims should pay, before their departure, a sum of eighty-five thousand marks of silver; and that the revenues, by sea and land, should be equally divided between the confederates. The terms were hard; but the emergency was pressing, and the French barons were not less profuse of money than of blood. A general assembly was convened to ratify the treaty; the stately chapel and the church were filled with the citizens; and the noble deputies were taught a new lesson of humbling themselves before the majesty of the people. 

"Illustras Venetian," said the marshal of Champagne, "we are sent by the greatest and most powerful barons of France, to implore the aid of the masters of the sea, for the service of the Holy Land. They have enjoined us to fall prostrate at your feet; nor will we rise from the ground, till you have promised to avenge with us the injuries of Christ." The eloquence of their words and tears, the ardor of the petition, and the grandeur of the enterprise, were tumultuously applauded by a universal shout: as it were, says Jeffrey, by the sound of an earthquake. The venerable doge ascended the pulpit to urge their request by those motives of honour and virtue, which alone can be offered to a popular assembly: the treaty was transcribed on parchment, attested with oaths and seals, mutually accepted by the weaving and joyous representatives of France and Venice; and despatched to Rome for the approbation of popes Innocent the third. Two thousand marks were borrowed of the merchants for the first expenses of the army. Of the six deputies, two repassed the Alps to announce their success, while their four companions made a fruitless trial of the zeal and emulation of the republics of Genoa and Pisa.

The execution of the treaty was still opposed by unforeseen difficulties and delays. The marshal, on his return to Venice, A.D. 1202. Thoyes, was embraced and approved by the Thibaut count of Champagne, who had been unanimously chosen general of the confederates.

But the health of that valiant youth already declined, and soon became hopeless; and he despaired of the unhappy fate, which condemned him to expire, not in a field of battle, but on the altar and the cross of a new general; but such was the incapacity, or jealousy, or reluctance, of the princes of France, that none could be found both able and willing to assume the conduct of the enterprise. They acquiesced in the choice of a stranger, of Beneficace marquis of Montferrat, descended of a race of heroes, and himself of conspicuous fame in the wars and negociations of the times; nor could the piety or ambition of the Italian chief decline this honourable invitation. After visiting the French court, where he was received as a monarch and kindred, passage from the churches of Flanders and Fries, and the most respectable barons of France; and their numbers were swelled by the pilgrims of Germany, who object and motives were similar to their own. The Venetians had fulfilled, and more than fulfilled, their engagements: stables were constructed for the horses, and barracks for the troops; the magazines were abundantly replenished with forage and provisions; and the fleet of transports, ships, and galleys, was ready to hoist sail as soon as the republic had received the price of the freight and armament. But the Venetians were not satisfied of the number of the professionals who were assembled at Venice. The Flemings, whose obedience to their count was voluntary and precarious, had embarked in their vessels for the long navigation of the ocean and Mediterranean; and many of the French and Italians had preferred a cheaper and more ready passage to the Holy Land. Each pilgrim might complain, that after he had furnished his own contribution, he was made responsible for the deficiency of his absent brethren: the gold and silver plate of the chiefs, which they freely delivered to the treasury of the counts of Mark, was not enough to compensate the sacrifices; and after all their efforts, thirty-four thousand marks were still wanting to complete the stipulated sum. The obstacle was removed by the policy and patriotism of the doge, who proposed to the barons, that if they would join their arms in reducing some revolted cities of Dalmatia, he would expose his person in the holy war, and obtain from the republic a long indulgence, till some wealthy courtesy should afford the means of satisfying the debt. After much scruple and hesitation, they chose rather to accept the offer than to relinquish the enterprise; and the first hostilities of the fleet and army were directed against Siege of Zara, astrong city of the Slavonian

1 See the original treaty in the Chronicle of Andrew Dandolo, p. 245—259.

2 By a victory (A.D. 1192) over the citizens of the Asti, by a crusade to Palestine, and by an embassy from the pope to the German princes. (Morosini, Annali d'Italia, vol. iv. p. 193. 203.)

3 He had been appointed the German general against the Latins by P. of Gumbr, Gainis Altom, Archiv. Tom. iv. p. 195—198. who substituted the pilgrim

4 A reader of Villehardouin must observe the frequent tears of the manuscript and his brother knights. SACHARRIS a citante terme de place de palais (No. 17); multum plerum (ibid.); multum terme place (No. 29); multum, et places (No. 18), etc. and places (No. 17), etc., for places (No. 29). A her as the object of the last line of

5 I. a multum terme place de pont. (No. 292.) They were on every occasion of grief, joy, or devotion.
coast, which had renounced its allegiance to Venice, and imploded the protection of the king of Hungary. The Venetians resolved to pass the winter in a secure harbour, and challenged their horses, and troops, and military engines; compelled the inhabitants, after a defence of five days, to surrender at discretion: their lives were spared, but the revolt was punished by the pillage of their houses and the demolition of their walls. The season was far advanced; the threatened alliance was dissolved, and the Venetians resolved to pass the winter in a secure harbour, and plant their oaths and seals; and each individual, according to his situation and character, was swayed by the hope of public or private advantage; by the honour of restoring an exiled monarch; or by the sincere and probable opinion, that their efforts in Palestine would be fruitless and unproductive, and that the acquisition of Antioch must precede and prepare the recovery of Jerusalem. But they were the chiefs or equals of a valiant band of freemen or volunteers, who thought and acted for themselves: the soldiers and clergy were divided; and, if a large majority subscribed to the alliance, the immigrants, and genuine dissidents were strong and respectable. The boldest hearts were appalled by the report of the naval power and imprincable strength of Constantinople; and their apprehensions were disguised to the world, and perhaps to the allies, by the more devent objections of religion and policy. They alleged that the danger of the world had drawn them from their families and homes to the rescue of the holy sepulchre; nor should the dark and crooked counsels of human policy divert them from a pursuit, the event of which was in the hands of the Almighty. Their first offence, the attack of Zara, and the subsequent European alliance, were severely punished by the submission of their consciences and the censures of the pope; nor would they again imbrue their hands in the blood of their fellow-christians. The apostle of Rome had pronounced; nor would they usurp the right of avenging with holy zeal the wrongs of the Greeks, and the usurpation of the Byzantine monarch. On these principles, or pretenses, many pilgrims, the most distinguished for their valour and piety, withdrew from the camp; and their retreat was less pernicious than the open or secret opposition of a discontented party, that laboured, on every occasion, to separate the army and disappoint the enterprise. Notwithstanding this defection, the departure of the fleet and army was vigorously pressed by the Venetians: A.D. 1203. whose zeal for the service of the royal family concealed from his nation and family. They were mortified by the recent preference which had been given to Pisa, the rival of their trade; they had a long arrear of debt and injury to liquidate with the Byzantine court; and Dandolo might not discourage the popular tale, that he had been deprived of his eyes by the emperor Manuel, who perfidiously violated the sanctity of an ambassador. A similar armament, for ages, had not rode the Adriatic; it was composed of one hundred and twenty flat-bottomed vessels or galadrons for the horses; two hundred and forty transports filled with men and arms; seventy storeships laden with provisions; and fifty stout gal- leys, well prepared for the encounter of an enemy. While the wind was favourable, the sky serene, and the water smooth, every eye was fixed with wonder and delight on the scene of military and naval pomp, which overspread the whole Mediterranean. The ships, masts, and spars, and rigging, at once an ornament and a defence, were arranged on either side of the ships; the banners and ensigns were displayed from the stern; and, at the signal of the emperor, disposed the main fleet in two effective lines, as if a target was before them. The Venetians and Genoese formed the first line; the Genoese, under the command of the emperor Manouel Comnenus; the latter was the husband of Theodora, the Bosch's daughter, and the first wife of Manuel, whom he had divorced. The second line was composed of the Greek court and princes for the glory of defending Tyre against the victualling of the Saracens. The Genoese and Venetians fought as long as the Venetians were the first of the two parties. The abbot Marin left the army at Zara, proceeded to Pisa, and sent royal ambassador to Constantinople, and became a reluctant witness of the second siege.

The birth and death of the Venetian Dandolo gave him the motive and the means of searching in the archives of Venice the memorable story of his ancestors. His brevity seems to accuse the copious and more recent narratives of Sandii, (On Muratori. Script. Rhod. Pulli


[3] A modern reader is surprised to hear of the valet de Constantinople, as applied to young Alexis, on account of his youth, like the infant of Span, and the nobisvisus princeps of the Romans. The pages and violets of the knights were as noble as themselves. (Villhardouin and Desprez, No. 36.)

[4] The emperor Isaac appealed by Villhardouin, Surpraz, (No. 30. Act.) which may be derived from the French Sire, or the Greek Keg. (See examples of the latter name; the former is a short cut for the last.) Our author has charged him and Comnecus will instruct us what licence may have been used in the baptism of Byzantine archbishops in Asia and Egypt.

[5] Renier and Cunob. the former married Maria, daughter of the emperor Manuel Comnenus; the latter was the husband of Thoerina, niece of Manuel, whom Dandolo had divorced. The Greek court and princes for the glory of defending Tyre against the victualling of the Saracens. The Genoese and Venetians fought as long as the Venetians were the first of the two parties. The abbot Marin left the army at Zara, proceeded to Pisa, and sent royal ambassador to Constantinople, and became a reluctant witness of the second siege.

[6] The birth and death of Dandolo gave him the motive and the means of searching in the archives of Venice the memorable story of his ancestors. His brevity seems to accuse the copious and more recent narratives of Sandii, (On Muratori. Script. Rheim. Pulli

our modern artillery was supplied by three hundred barrels for casting stones and darts: the fatigues of the way were chorized with the sound of music; and the spirits of the adventurers were raised by the mutual assurance, that forty thousand Christian heroes were equal to the conquest of the world.\(^1\) In the navigation of the territory of the Greek empire: the island of Corfu afforded a station and repose; they doubled, without accident, the perilous cape of Malea, the southern point of the Peloponnesus; they passed the Hellespont,\(^2\) a descent in the islands of Negropont and Andros; and cast anchor at Abydos on the Asiatic side of the Hellespont. These preludes of conquest were easy and bloodless: the Greeks of the provinces, without patriotism or courage, were crushed by an irresistible force; the presence of the lawful heir might justify their obedience; and it was rewarded by the modesty and discipline of the Latins. As they penetrated through the Hellespont, the magnitude of their navy was compressed in a narrow channel; and the face of the waters was darkened with innumerable sails. They again expanded in the spacious basin of the Propontis, divided the waters and reduced, it was resolved, in the season of harvest, to replenish their storeships in the fertile islands of the Propontis. With this resolution, they directed their course; but a strong gale, and their own impatience, drove them to the eastward: and so near did they run to the shore and the city, that some volleys of stones and darts were exchanged between the ships and the rampart. As they passed along, they gazed with admiration on the capital of the east; or, as it should seem, of the earth; rising from her seven hills, and towering over the continents of Europe and Asia. The sun was setting; the doing and the darts of the Latins cast anchor before Chalcedon; the mariners only were left in the vessels; the soldiers, horses, and arms, were safely landed; and, in the luxury of an imperial palace, the barons tasted the first fruits of their success. On the third day, the fleet and army moved towards Scutari, the Asiatic suburb of Constantinople; a detachment of five hundred Greek horse was surprised and defeated by fourscore French knights; and in a halt of nine days, the camp was plentifully supplied with forage and provisions.

\(^{1}\) Utchbyrholm, No. 02. His feelings and expressions are original; he often weeps, but he repeats in the graces and perils of war with a spirit and a style which are clearly a meditated writing.

\(^{2}\) In this voyage, almost all the geographical names are corrupted by the Latins. The modern appellation of Chalke, and all Euboea, is derived from the mariners' Europe, Negropont, etc. These names displease our maps. (D'Anville, Geographie Ancienne, tom. 1. p. 253.)

\(^{3}\) Et achquez que il ne soit hardi qui ne cuir ce fremit (c. 87.) . . . Chaussez regardant ses armes . . . que par tems en armes postier, (c. 88.) Such is the humanity of courage.

were rich, industrious, and subject to the will of a single man: had that man been capable of fear, when his enemies were at a distance, or of courage, when they approached his person. The first rumour of his nephew's alliance with the French and Venetians was despised by the usurper Alexius; his flatterers persuaded him, that in this contempt he was bold and sincere; and each orator, in the close of the declamation, he thrice disconsolated the barbarians of the west. These barbarians had been justly terrified by the report of his naval power; and the sixteen hundred fishing boats of Constantinople\(^3\) could have manned the fleet of the Latin emperor. His entrance in the mouth of the Hellespont. But all force may be annihilated by the negligence of the prince and the venality of his ministers. The great duke, or admiral, made a scandalous, almost a public, auction of the sails, the masts, and the rigging; the royal forests were reserved for the more important purpose of the chase; and the trees, says Nicetas, were guarded by the enmuchs, like the groves of religious worship.\(^4\) From his dream of pride, Alexius was awakened by the siege of Zara, and the rapid advances of the Latins; as soon as he saw the danger was real, he thought in the last extremity, his best hope was lost in abject despondency and despair. He suffered these contemptible barbarians to pitch their camp in the sight of the palace; and his apprehensions were thinly disguised by the pomp and menace of a suppliant. He was forced to retreat, and to submit to the provisions of his conquerors. He was astonished (his ambassadors were instructed to say) at the hostile appearance of the strangers. If these pilgrims were sincere in their vow for the deliverance of Jerusalem, his voice must applaud, and his treasures should assist, their pious design; but should they dare to invade the sanctuary of empire, their numbers were ten times more considerable, should not protect them from his just resentment. The answer of the doge and barons was simple and magnanimous.

"In the cause of honour and justice," they said, "we despise the usurper of Greece, his threats and his offers. Our friendship and his allegiance are due to the lawful heir, to the young prince, who is seated among us, and to his father, the emperor Isaac, who has been deprived of his sceptre, his freedom, and his eyes, by the crime of an ungrateful brother. Let that same brother encounter the brave Latins, and we ourselves will intercede, that he may be permitted to live in affluence and security. But let him not insult us by a second message: our reply will be made in arms, in the palace of Constantinople.

On the tenth day of their encampment and siege of the city, the Latins set a guard over themselves, as soldiers and as catholics, for the passage of the Bosphorus. Perilous indeed was the adventure; the stream was broad and rapid; and in a calm the current of the Euinhe might drive down the liquid and unextinguishable fires of the Greeks; and the opposite shores of Europe were defended by seventy thousand horse and foot in formidable array. On this memorable day, which happened to be bright and pleasant, the Latins were distributed in six battles or divisions; the first, or vanguard, was led by the count of Flanders, one of the most powerful of the Christian princes in the skill and number of his cross-bows. The four successive battles of the French were commanded by his brother Henry, the counts of St. Pol and Blois, and Matthew of Montmorency; the last, or vanguard, was honoured by the presence of the marshal and nobles of Champagne. The sixth division, the rearguard and reserve of the army, was conducted by the marquis of Montferrat, at the head of
of the Germans and Lombards. The chargers, saddled, with their long caparisons dragging on the ground, were embarked in the flat *palandarres* and the knights stood by the side of their horses, in complete armour, their helmets faced, and their lances in their hands. Their numerous train of *serjeants* and archers transported the horses; and each transport was towed by the standard, swishing violently in the air. The six divisions traversed the Bosphorus, without encountering an enemy or an obstruction; to land the foremost was the wish, to conquer or die was the resolution, of every division and of every soldier. Jealous of the pre-eminence of danger, the knights in their hue and the men-at-arms in their girdle; the serjeants and archers were animated by their valour; and the squires, letting down the drawbridges of the palanders, led the horses to the shore.

Before the squadrons could mount and form, and touch their lances, the seventy thousand Greeks had vanished, as though by magic. An example was given to his troops; and it was only by the plunder of his rich pavilions that the Latins were informed that they had fought against an emperor. In the first constellation of the flying enemy, they resolved, by a double change of line, to change their position and make the French their prey. The tower of Galata, in the suburb of Pera, was attacked and stormed by the French, while the Venetians assumed the more difficult task of forcing the boom or chain that was stretched from that tower to the Byzantine shore. After some fruitless attempts, their intrepid perseverance prevailed; two tiny ships of war, the relics of the Greek navy, were either sunk or taken; the enormous and musky links of iron were cut asunder by the shores, or broken by the weight of the galleys; and the Venetian fleet, safe and triumphant, rode at anchor in the port of Constantinople. By these means, the French and Latins solicited the licence of besieging a capital which contained above four hundred thousand inhabitants, able, though not willing, to bear arms in the defence of their country. Such an account would indeed suppose a population of near two millions; but whatever their number, the Latins, with the aid of the Greeks, the belief of those numbers would equally exalt the fearless spirit of their assailants.

In the choice of the attack, the French and Venetians were divided by their habits of life and warfare. The former adhered to a resource that was familiar, and was most accessible on the side of the sea and the harbour. The latter might assert with honour, that they had long enough trusted their lives and fortunes to a trail hard and a precarious element, and loudly demanded a trial of knighted arms, a firm ground and a close onset, either on foot or horseback. After a prudent compromise, of employing the two nations by sea and land, in the service best suited to their character, the fleet covering the army, they proceeded, both proceeded, with the extremity of their harbour; the stone bridge of the Galata was hastily repaired; and the six battles of the French formed their encampment against the front of the capital, the basis of the triangle which runs about four miles from the port to the Propontis. On the edge of a broad ditch, at the head of a lofty rampart, they had leisure to complete the destruction of the city. The gates to the right and left of their narrow camp poured forth sallies of cavalry and light-infantry, which cut off their striaggers, swept the country of provisions, sounded the alarm five or six times in the course of each day, and compelled them to plant a pallisade, and sink an intrenchment, for their immediate safety. In the supplies and convos the Venetians had been too sparing, or the Franks too voracious; the usual complaints of hunger and scarcity were heard, and perhaps felt: their stock of flour would have been exhausted in a few days; but the French, in the utmost extremity of their horses, had tempted them to taste the flesh of their horses. The trembling usurper was supported by Theodore Lascaris, his son-in-law, a valiant youth, who aspired to save and to rule his country; the Greeks, regardless of that country, were awakened to the defence of their religion; but their finest hope was in the warlike spirit of the Venetian guards, of the Danes and English, as they are named in the writers of the times. After ten days' incessant labour, the ground was levelled, the ditch filled, the approaches of the besiegers were regularly made, and two hundred and fifty engines of assault executed their various powers to clear the rampart, to hatter the walls, and to sap the foundations. On the first appearance of a breach, the scaling-ladders were applied; the numbers that defended the vantage ground repulsed and pressed the adventurous Latins; but they admired the resolution of fifteen knights and sergeants, who had gained the ascent, and maintained their perilous station till they were precipitated or made prisoners by the imperial guards. On the side of the harbour the naval attack was more successfully conducted by the Venetians; and that industrious people employed every resource and every art that was known and practised before the invention of gunpowder. A double line, three bow-shots in front, was formed by the galleys and ships; and the swift motion of the former was supported by the weight and lowness of the latter, whose decks and poop, and turrets, were the platforms of military engines, that discharged their shot over the heads of the first line. The soldiers, who leaped from the galleys on shore, immediately planted and ascended their scaling-ladders, while the large ships, advancing more slowly into the intervals, and lowering a drawbridge, opened a way through the air from the sea to the town. In the ship of the doge, a venerable and conspicuous form, stood aloof, in complete armour, on the prow of his galley. The great standard of St. Mark was displayed before him; his threats, promises, and exhortations, urged the diligence of the defenders; the vengeful spirit of the Venetian soldo was the first warrior on the shore. The nations admired the magnanimity of the blind old man, without reflecting that his age and infirmities diminished

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1. From the version of Venere I adopt the well-sounding word, *palander*, which is still used, I believe, in the Mediterranean. But I had written in French, I should have preferred the original and expressive denomination of *vessali*, or *hanseri*, from the huns, or door, which was let down sight to: a bridge; but a drawbridge, at sea, was clove into the side of the ship. (See Ducange in Villehardouin, No. 14 and No. 15.)

2. To avoid the vague expressions of the followers, &c. in use after Villehardouin, the word accounts for all homines who were not knights. 

3. If we visit the parade and Westminster-hall, we may observe the arms of the doge, (Ducange, Glosston, Latin, Socles. &c. tom i. p. 236—237.)

4. It is needless to observe that on the subject of Galata, the chain, &c. Ducange in accurate and faith. Comme likewise the proper chapters of the P. Christians of the same author. 

5. The inhabitants of the city were reduced to a very straitened condition by the want of bread. In the taxonomia of Benevento, the text of Benevento, nor did he care enough to consider the topography of the particular city. The word could have been used with more propriety.

6. Quatre crus taillons outres plus. (Villehardouin, No. 131.) must be understood as more than a military age. La Bru in (Hist. des Rel. Em- paler, tom. ii. p. 417.) allows Constantinople a multitude of inhabitants, of whom 60,000 horses, and an immense number of foot soldiers. In its greatness it contained not less than 20,000 souls. (Bell's Travels, vol. ii. p. 91, 92.) but as the Turks keep no registers, and as the Europeans are barbarians, it is impossible to as- certain. (Niebuhr, Voyages en Turkie, tom. i. p. 17.) The real popu- lation of their cities.

7. On the most correct plans of Constantinople, I know not how to measure more than 300,000 souls. Le Bru in (Hist. des Rel. Em- paler, tom. ii. p. 417.) allows Constantinople a multitude of inhabitants, of whom 60,000 horses, and an immense number of foot soldiers. In its greatness it contained not less than 20,000 souls. (Bell's Travels, vol. ii. p. 91, 92.) but as the Turks keep no registers, and as the Europeans are barbarians, it is impossible to as- certain. (Niebuhr, Voyages en Turkie, tom. i. p. 17.) The real popu- lation of their cities.
the price of life, and enhanced the value of immortal glory. On a sudden, by an invisible hand, (for the standard-bearer was probably slain,) the banner of the republic was fixed on the rampart: twenty-five towers were rapidly occupied by the garrison, and the crew expelled by gunpowder. The doge had despatched the intelligence of his success, when he was checked by the danger of his confederates. Nobly declaring, that he would rather die with the pilgrims than gain a victory by their destruction. He had not the means to send for his troops, nor time to call his, and hastened to the scene of action. He found the six weary diuinative battles of the French encompassed by sixty squadrons of the Greek cavalry, the least of which was more numerous than the largest of their divisions. Shame and despair had provoked Alexius to the last effort of a general sally; but he was awed by the firm order and manly aspect of the Latins; and, after skirmishing at a distance, withdrew his troops in the close of the evening. The silence or tumult of the night evaporated his fears; and the timid garrison, collecting a treasure of ten thousand pounds of gold, basely deserted his wife, his people, and his fortune; threw himself into a bark, stole through the Bosphorus, and landed in shameless safety in an insecure harbour of Thrace. As soon as they were apprized of his flight, the Greek nobles sought pardon and indulgence. The doge was unremissed, and Isaac expected each hour the visit of the executioner. Again saved and exalted by the vicissitudes of fortune, the captive in his imperial robes was replaced on the throne, and surrounded with prostrate slaves, whose real terror and affected joy he was incapable of discerning. At the declining day hostilities were suspended; and the Latin chiefs were surprised by a message from the lawful and reigning emperor, who was impatient to embrace his son, and to reward his generous deliverance.

Restoration of the emperor Isaac Angelus, and his son Alexius, July 13.

But these generous deliverers were unwilling to release their hostages, till they had obtained from his father the payment, or at least the promise, of their recompense. They chose four ambassadors, Matthew of Montmorency, our historian, the marshal Chailhorn, and two Alexians, to conduct and accompany the emperor. The gates were thrown open on their approach, the streets on both sides were lined with the battle-axes of the Danish and English guards; the presence chamber glittered with gold and jewels, the house was a subduer of virtue and power; by the side of the blind Isaac, his half-dead wife was seated by the sister of the king of Hungary; and by her appearance, the noble matrons of Greece were drawn from their domestic retirement, and mingled with the circle of senators and soldiers. The Latins, by the mouth of the marshal, spoke like men conscious of their merits, but who respected the work of their own hands; and the emperor clearly understood, that his son’s engagements with Venice and the pilgrims must be ratified without hesitation or delay. Withdrawing into a private chamber, the emperor, a chamberlain, an interpreter, and the four ambassadors, the latter of whom was inquired with some anxiety into the nature of his stipulations. The submission of the eastern empire to the pope, the succour of the Holy Land, and a present contribution of two hundred thousand marks of silver. These conditions were weighty; was his prudent engraver explicable: they are hard to accept, and difficult to perform. But no conditions can exceed the measure of your services and deserts. After this satisfactory assurance, the ambassadors mounted on horseback, and introduced the of Constantiople to the city and palace: his youth and marvellous adventures engaged every heart in his favour, and Alexius was solemnly crowned with his father in the dome of St. Sophia. In the first days of his reign he despatched armed expeditions against two nations disturbed by intestine dissension; and the posterity of plenty and peace, were delighted by the joyful catastrophe of the tragedy; and the discontent of the nobles, their regret, and their fears, were covered by the polished surface of pleasure and loyalty. The mixture of two discordant nations in the same capital excited many alarms, and his frequent expeditions were endanger'd; and the suburb of Galata, or Pera, was assigned for the quarters of the French and Venetians. But the liberty of trade and familiar intercourse was allowed between the friendly nations; and each of the pilgrims was tempted by interest and curiosity to visit the churches and palaces of Constantinople. Their rude minds, insensible perhaps of the finer arts, were astonished by the magnificent scenery: and the poverty of their native towns enhanced the populousness and riches of the first metropolis of Christendom. Descending from his state, young Alexius was prompt to the interests and pleasures of the age. The nine months intervene between the summer and the winter. But the climate of Constantinople is changeable, and the grandeur of the season may be experienced amidst the tracts of the Scythia, or the cold, and the ice of the Alps. The short residence of Isaac and his son is despatched in five chapters, p. 352—382.
In a peremptory tone, they recapitulated their services and his engagements; and boldly declared, that unless their just claims were fully and immediately satisfied, they should no longer hold him either as a sovereign or a friend. After this defiance, the first that had ever wounded an imperial ear, they departed without betraying any symptoms of fear; but their escape from a servile palace and a famous city astonished the ambassadors themselves; and their return to the camp was the signal of mutual hostility.

Among the Greeks, all authority and wisdom were overthrown by the impetuous multitude, who mistook their rage for their valour, their emotion for their fanaticism for the support and inspiration of Heaven. In the eyes of both nations, Alexius was false and contemptible: the base and spurious race of the Angeli was rejected with clamorous disdain; and the people of Constantinople encompassed the senate, to demand at their hands a more worthy emperor. To every senator, conspicuous by his birth or dignity, they successively presented the purple: by each senator the deadly garment was repulsed; the contest lasted three days; and we may learn from the historian Nicetas, one of the memoirs of the assembly, that fear and weakness were the guidelines of their choice. A phantom, which vanished in oblivion, was forcibly proclaimed by the crowd; 1 but the author of the tumult, and the leader of the war, was a prince of the house of Ducas; and his common appellation of Alexius was chiefly to be discerned by the epithets Flandrino, which in the vulgar idiom was the close juncture of his black and snaggy eye-brows. At once a patriot and a courtier, the perfidious Mourzoufle, who was not destitute of cunning and courage, opposed the Latins both in speech and action, inflamed the passions of the Greeks for strength and their fanaticism with the example of his cousin Isaac, who became the object of universal esteem and confidence, while Alexius, who trusted him with the office of great chamberlain, and tinged his buckskin with the colours of royalty. At the dead of night, he rushed into the bed-chamber with an affrighted aspect, exclaiming that the palace was attacked by the people; and betrayed by the guards. Starting from his couch, the unsuspecting prince threw himself into the arms of the enemy, who had contrived his escape by a private staircase. But that staircase terminated in a prison: Alexius was seized, stripped, and loaded with chains; and, after tasting the bitterness of death, he was delivered to the fury of the mob, who crowned his escape by a private staircase.

The death of the emperors, and the usurpation of Mourzoufle, had changed January—April, the nature of the quarrel. It was no longer the disagreement of allies who overvalued their services, or neglected their obligations; the French and Venetians were now as much at variance with Alexius as the Latins, although they did not deliberate on the untimely fate of their companion, and swore revenge against the perfidious nation who had crowned his assassin. Yet the prudent doge was still inclined to negotiate; he asked as a debt, a subsidy, or a fine, fifty thousand pounds of gold, about two millions sterling; nor would the conference have been abruptly broken, if the zeal, or policy, of Mourzoufle had not refused to sacrifice the Greek church to the safety of the state. 2 Amidst the invectives of his for-

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1 His name was Nicholas Combai; he deserved the praise of Niceas and the vengeance of Mourzoufle (p. 362). 2 Villhardouin (No. 116) speaks of him as a favourite, without meaning that he was otherwise; for he wrote to the emperor of Ducas, who, p. 362.) 3 This negotiation, probable in itself, and attested by Niceas (p. 365), is entitled as scandalous by the delirium of Danilo and Villhardouin.
eign and domestic enemies, we may discern that he was not unworthy of the character which he had assumed, of the public champion: the second siege of Constantinople was for more than a thousand years afterwards the subject of daily talk. The city was replenished, and discipline was restored, by a severe inquisition into the abuses of the former reign; and Mourzoulé, an iron mace in his hand, visiting the posts, and affecting the port and aspect of a warrior, was an object of terror to his soldiers, at least, and to his enemies. The Latins and the Greeks made two vigorous and well-conducted attempts to burn the navy in the harbour; but the skill and courage of the Venetians repulsed the fire-ships; and the vanguard of the Latins deserted themselves without injury in the sea.  

In a naval battle: the Greek emperor was vanquished by Henry, brother of the count of Flanders; the advantages of number and surprise aggravated the shame of his defeat; his buckler was found on the field of battle; and the imperial standard, a divine image of the Virgin, was presented, as a trophy and a relic, to the Cinisician monks of St. Bernard.  

Near three months, without excepting the holy season of Lent, were consumed in skirmishes and preparations, before the Latins were ready or resolved for a general assault. The land fortifications had been found impregnable; and the Venetians, we are informed, that the shore off the Propontis, the anchorage was unsafe, and the ships must be driven by the current far away to the straits of the Hellespont; a prospect not unpleasing to the reluctant pilgrims, who sought every opportunity of breaking the army. From the harbour, therefore, the Venetians established a fleet on shore opposite to the besieged; and the emperor placed his scarlet pavilions on a neighbouring height, to direct and animate the efforts of his troops. A fearless spectator, whose mind could entertain the ideas of pomp and passion, and admire the grandeur of such an array of embattled armies which extended above half a league, the one on the ships and galleys, the other on the walls and towers raised above the ordinary level by several stages of wooden turrets. Their first fury was spent in the discharge of darts, stones, and fire, from loophole windows, but the Netherlands, the Venetians were skilful; they approached the walls; and a desperate conflict of swords, spears, and battle-axes, was fought on the trembling bridges that grappled the floating to the stable battlements. In more than a hundred places, the assault was urged, and the defence was sustained. Till the superiority of ground and numbers finally prevailed, and the Latin trumpets sounded a retreat. On the ensuing days, the attack was renewed with equal vigour, and a similar event; and in the night, the doge and the barons held a council, apprehensive only for the public danger: not a voice pronounced the words of escape or treaty; and each warrior, according to his temper, embraced the hope of victory, or the assurance of a glorious death.  

By the experience of the former siege, the Latins were instructed, but the Latins were animated; and the knowledge that Constantinople might be taken, was of more avail than the local precautions which that knowledge had inspired for its defence. In the third assault two armies were linked together to double their strength; a strong north wind drove them on the shore; the bishops of Troyes and Soissons led the van; and the auspicious names of the

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1 Baldwin, and all the writers, honour the names of these two heroes.

2 With an allusion to Homer, Nicetas calls him ὑπέρτατος, πλήρως, ἵρυξαν, ἁπέτειον, or eighteen yards high, a nature which would, indeed, have excused the terror of the Greeks. On this occasion, the historian seems fond of the marvellous, than of his country, or perhaps of truth. Baldwin exclaims in the words of the psalmist, peremptorily unus ex nobis cenotum alium.

3 Williams, at the 130th is again ignorant of the author of this more legitimate fire, which is ascribed by Gunther to a golden comet Tucuonius (c. 14.) They seem ashamed, the incendiaries.

4 For the destruction of the Electum see Villehardouin, (N. 113-114.) Baldwin's second Epistle to Innocent III, appendix, p. 300, 1. 153, with the same Tormentin and Gascières, of the Chronicle of the Greeks, (p. 255, 256.) and born with some hints from Dandolo, (Chron. Venet. p. 323, 324.) and Gunther, (Hist. C. P. c. 14.) who add the decorated jubilee, and Cross of the foot, and the Cincture or the Elymian synib, of a great armament on the Adriatic, under a very different name, and of the same kind. The foot, and Cross are a fiction anterior to the fact.

5 Constans says the church of the civium quasi duo milia, &c. (Gunther, c. 15.) Arithmetic is an excellent touchstone to try the amplifications of passion and rhetoric.
In this great revolution we enjoy the mimicry of the singular fidelity of comparing the narrations of Villehardouin and Nicetas, the opposite feelings of the marshals and the singular benefits accruing to the conquerors from the three final quartets which annihilated so vast a portion of the buildings and riches of the city! What a stock of such things as could neither be used or transported, was maliciously or wantonly destroyed! How much treasure was idly wasted in gaming, debauchery, and riot! And what precious objects were bestowed for a vile price by the impotence or ignorance of the soldiers, whose reward was stolen by the base industry of the last of the Greeks! Those alone, who had nothing to lose, might derive some profit from the revolution; but the misery of the upper ranks of society was strongly painted in the personal adventures of Nicetas Chater. His fortune had been reduced to ashes in the second conflagration, and the senator, with his family and friends, found an obscure shelter in another house which he possessed near the church of St. Sophia. It was the only benefit of this mean habitation that his friend, the eminent merchant, guarded in the disguise of a soldier, till Nicetas could save, by a precipitate flight, the relics of his fortune and the chastity of his daughter.

In a cold winter season, these fugitives, nursed in the lap of prosperity, departed on foot; their wife was mounted on a horse; and their daughter was carried on them to carry their baggage on their own shoulders; and their women, whom they placed in the center, were exhorted to conceal their beauty with dirt, instead of adorning it with paint and jewels. Every step was exposed to insult and danger; the threats of the strangers were less painful than the taunts of the plebeians, with whom they were now levelled; nor did the exiles breathe in safety till their mournful pilgrimage was concluded at Selymbria, above forty miles from the capital. On the way they overtook the patriarch, without his horse and also without his mule, riding on an ass, and reduced to a state of apostolic poverty, which, had it been voluntary, might perhaps have been meritorious. In the mean while, his desolate churches were profaned by the licentiousness and party zeal of the Latins. After stripping the gems and pearls, they converted the chalices, sagrario and into drinking-cups; their tables, on which mockery, they gamed and feasted, were covered with the pictures of Christ and the saints; and they trampled under foot the most venerable objects of the Christian worship. In the cathedral of St. Sophia, the ample veil of the sanctuary was rent asunder for the sake of the golden fringes; and the altar, a monument of art and riches, was broken in pieces and shared among the captors. Their mules and horses were laded with the wrought silver and guilt earrings, which they tore down from the doors and chimneys of the buildings, and the beasts stumbled under the burden, they were stabbed by their patient drivers, and the holy pavement streamed with their impure blood. A prostitute was seated on the throne of the patriarch; and that daughter of Belial, rated the revenue of the crown, as below that of the foreign clergy, which amounted to 60,000 marks a year. (Matthew Paris, p. 454 Horne's History of England, vol. ii. p. 379.)

The disorders of the country of Constantinople, and his own adventures, are feebly described by Nicetas, p. 367—369, and in the Supplement to the Chronicles of the Church of Rome, pp. 292—295. The adventures of Villehardouin are justified by Innocent III. (Istituta, c. 92,) but Villehardouin does not betray a symptom of pity or regret.

At the council of Lyons, A.D. 1245, the English ambassadors

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as she is styled, sung and danced in the church, to ridicule the hymns and processions of the orientals. Not a shade of the inadequate and dead feeling from violation: in the church of the apostles, the tombs of the emperors were rifled; and it is said, that after six centuries, the corpse of Justinian was found without any signs of decay or putrefaction. In the streets, the French and Flemings elbowed themselves and their horses in painted robes and flowing head-dresses of linen: and the coarse insensibility of their feasts insulted the splendid sobriety of the east. To expose the arms of a people of scribes and scholars, they affected to display a pen, an inkhorn, and a sheet of paper, without discerning that the instruments of science and valour were alike feeble and useless in the hands of the modern Greeks.

Destruction of the statues. Their reputation and their language encouraged them, however, to despise the ignorance, and to overlook the progress of the, Latins. In the love of the arts, the national difference was still more obvious and real; the Greeks preserved with reverence the works of their ancestors, which they could not imitate; and, in the destruction of the statues which resemble people, complaints and invective of the Byzantine historian. We have seen how the rising city was adorned by the vanity and despotism of the imperial founder; in the ruins of paganism, some gods and heroes were saved from the axe of superstition; and the forum and hippodrome were adorned with the fragments of a better age. Several of these are described by Nicetas, in a florid and affected style; and, from his descriptions, I shall select some interesting particulars. 1. The victorious charioteers were cast in bronze, at their own, or the public expense, and fully placed in the hippodrome; they stood aloft in their chariots, wheeling round the goal; the spectators could admire their attitude, and judge of the resemblance; and of these figures, the most perfect might have been transported from the Olympic stadium. 2. The sphynx, horse-horn, and crocodile, denote the climate and manufacture of Egypt, and the spoil of that ancient province. 3. The she-wolf, suckling Romulus and Remus; a subject alike pleasing to the old and the new Romans: but which could rarely be treated before the decline of the Greek sculpture, 4. An eagle holding and tearing a serpent in his talons: a domestic monument of the Byzantines, which they ascribed, not to a human artist, but to the magic power of the philosopher Apollonius, who by this talisman delivered the city from several calamities. 5. A statue and his dray, which were erected by Augustus in his colony of Nicopolis, to commemorate a verbal omen of the victory of Actium. 6. An equestrian statue; which passed in the vulgar opinion, for Joshua, the Jewish conqueror, stretching out his hand to stop the course of the descending sun. A more classical tradition recognized the figures of Bellerophon and Pegasus; and the free attitude of the steed seemed to mark that he trod on air, rather than on earth. 7. A square and lofty obelisk of brass; the sides were embellished with a variety of picturesque and rural scenes; birds singing, rusties labouring, or playing on their pipes; sheep bleating; lambs skipping; the sea, and a scene of fish; and the country table with victual, playing, and pelting each other with apples; and, on the summit, a female figure turning with the slightest breath, and thence denominated the wind's attendant.

8. The Phrygian shepherd presenting to Venus the prize of beauty, the apple of discord. 9. The head of a destitute poor man, which might have moved her barbarian disciples to pity and remorse. 10. The man, or divinity, form of Hereleus, as he was restored to life by the master-hand of Lyssipus; of such magnitude, that his thumb was equal to the waist, his leg to the situate, a common man his chest ample, his shoulders broad, his limbs strong and muscular, his hair curt his aspect commanding. Without his bow, or quiver, or club, his lion's skin carelessly thrown over him, he was seated on an osier sofa, his arm laid on a leg and his head reclining, his left knee bent, and supporting his elbow, his left hand, on his left hand, his countenance indignant and pensive. 11. A colossal statue of Juno, which had once adorned her temple of Samos; the enormous head by four yoke of oxen was laboriously drawn to Constantinople; and the palace of the emperors, which stood on the Acropolis, thirty feet in height, and representing with admirable spirit the attributes and character of the martial maid. Before we accuse the Latins, it is just to remark, that this Pallas was destroyed after the first siege, by the fire and superstition of the Greeks themselves. The other statues of brass which I have enumerated, were broken and melted by the unfeeling avarice of the crusaders; the cost and labour were consumed in a moment; the soul of genius evaporated in smoke; and the remnant of base metal was coined into money for the payment of the troops. Bronze is not the most durable of monuments; from the marble forms of Phidias and Praxiteles, the Latins might turn aside with stupid contempt; but unless they were crushed by some accidental injury, those useless stones stood secure on their pedestals. The most enlightened of the strangers, above the gross and sensual pursuits of their countrymen, more piously exercised the right of conquest in the search and seizure of the relics of the saints. Immense was the supply of heads and bones, crosses and images, that were carried from this renowned city; to the churches of Europe; and such was the increase of pilgrimage and obligation, that no branch, perhaps, of more lucrative plunder was imported from the east. Of the writings of antiquity, many that still existed in the twelfth century are now lost. But the pilgrims were not solicitous to save or transport the volumes of an unknown tongue: the perishable substance of paper or parchment can only be preserved by the multiplication of

4 To illustrate the statues of Hercules, Mr. Harris quotes a Greek epigram, and engraves a beautiful gem, which does not however copy the attitude of the statue: in the latter Hercules had not his club, nor his belt girded on his hips, nor his workman's bag, nor his pack of wines and pease, nor his golden cap of liberty, nor anything to indicate his strength.
5 Transcribe these proportions, which appear to me inconsistent with each other, and with any attempt to express the spectacle of a bound baited boar; of Nicetas was no more than aftication and vanity.
6 Nicetas in Basco Angelico et Abaco, c. 3. p. 535. The Latin editor very properly observes, that the historian, in his bombastic style, produces ex police elephanto.
7 Le Collectanea historico topographica, p. 508. (Ed. Paris, 1744. p. 390. 419.) The Latins are branded with the livelli reproch, foto la pla deh sper- si, avena, fper inscription in the t 겁니다 of they took the head and breast of a horse for a bear, and the leg for an arm.
8 Yet the Venetians had the merit of removing four bronze horses from Constantinople to the place of St. Mark, (Sanuto. Viet del Dogi, in Rerum Jtalianarum, tom. i. p. 272.)
9 Winkelmann, Hist. de l'art, tom. i. p. 599. 592.
10 Southern robberies of the abbots Marin, which fraud, shame, or rather carelessness, has dropped in the common editions. It is proposed to engrave this plate to the work at the press of Mr. Harris, (Bodleian, Gr. 847.) and immoderately praised by the late ingenious Mr. Harris of Salisbury, (Philological Inquiries, p. iii. c. p. 304-305.)
CHAPTER XXII.

OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

copies; the literature of the Greeks had almost cen-
tered in the metropolis; and, without computing the
extent of our loss, we may drop a tear over the lib-
raries that have perished in the triple fire of Constanti-
nopole.1

After the death of the lawful prin-
cess, the French and Venetians, confident
of justice and victory, agreed to divide
and regulate their future possessions.2
It was stipulated by treaty, that twelve electors, six of
either nation, should be nominated; that a majority
should choose the emperor of the east; and that, if the
votes were equal, the decision of chance should ascer-
tain the successful candidate. To him, with all the
titles and prerogatives of the Byzantine throne, they
assigned the two principal districts of the empire,
with a fourth part of the Greek monarchy. It was
defined that the three remaining portions should be
equally shared between the republic of Venice and the
barons of the Latins, with a fourth part of the Greek
monarchy.7

1 I shall conclude this chapter with the notice of a modern history,
which illustrates the taking of Constantinople by the Latins; but
which, from the manner in which the event has been otherwise
related, the historian has thought proper to suppress. The
confusion of names is almost beyond correction. Paolo Romano, the
son of the compiler of voyages, was directed by the senate of Venice
to write the history of the conquest; and this order, which he recei-
vanced in the year 1307, he executed in a manner so correct, as to
be included in the list of the noble families of Venice. His
work is entitled, 'Historia de Venediis in oriente.'

2 The eastern conquests of the Latins were the result of a rapid
series of victories, which were crowned with the sack of Constantin-
ople, and the loss of the empire of the East. The Greeks, under
their despot, the emperor Alexius Comnenus, endeavored to resist
the advance of their conquerors; but their efforts were in vain.

3 The Latin conquest of Constantinople was the result of a rapid
series of victories, which were crowned with the sack of Constantin-
ople, and the loss of the empire of the East. The Greeks, under
their despot, the emperor Alexius Comnenus, endeavored to resist
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their despot, the emperor Alexius Comnenus, endeavored to resist
the advance of their conquerors; but their efforts were in vain.
Division of the emperor. Dionysius the Areopagite, in his testament, says, that the dominion of the Venetians was more ample than that of the Latin emperor. No more than four or five of his subjects could be compared with the other people, that is, the people of the Venetian dominion. 

The fall of the Lusignans on the island of Cyprus, and the consequent accession of the Genoese to the throne of the island, had occasioned the expedition of the Genoese of the Ionian coast to the war against the Turks. 

The Venetian fleet, under the command of Bartolomeo Colonna, and theGenoese fleet, under the command of Giovanni Gradenigo, met in the bay of Alexandria, on the coast of Egypt, and joined forces to attack the Turkish fleet, which was coming from the Red Sea. 

The battle took place on the 2nd of June, 1583, and the Venetian and Genoese fleets were victorious. 

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Theodore Lascaris, emperor of Nica, A.D. 1204–1222.

Theodore Lascaris, known as Theodore II Lascaris, was a Byzantine emperor who reigned from 1204 to 1222. He was the younger son of William II of Nicaea and a member of the Lascaris dynasty, which had roots in Italian descent. Theodore's reign was marked by significant military campaigns and administrative reforms.

The Lascaris dynasty was influential in the history of the Byzantine Empire, particularly after the fall of Constantinople in 1204. Theodore II is known for his efforts to restore the Byzantine Empire's lost territories and the capital city of Constantinople. His reign saw the establishment of the Latin Empire in Constantinople, which was later challenged by the Byzantine Empire's attempt to reclaim the city.

Theodore's reign was also characterized by the struggle against the Latin forces that had occupied Constantinople, and his efforts to establish control over territories that had been lost. Despite these challenges, Theodore's rule was marked by significant achievements and the establishment of a new capital, Nicaea.

Theodore's legacy includes his contributions to the Byzantine military and administrative structure, and his efforts to maintain the Byzantine Empire's cultural and spiritual heritage. His rule was a period of transition, as the Byzantine Empire faced new challenges and the political landscape of the region was undergoing significant changes.

Theodore Lascaris's reign was a time of both opportunities and constraints, as the Byzantine Empire had to navigate the complex political and military landscape of the late 12th and early 13th centuries. His efforts to reclaim lost territories and maintain the Byzantine Empire's status as a major power in the region are a testament to his leadership and determination.
gated by national hatred, the firmest band of association and secrecy; the Greeks were impatient to sheath their daggers in the breasts of the victorious strangers; but the execution was prudently delayed, till Henry, the emperor's brother, had transported the thevans and his troops beyond the Hellespont. Most of the towns and villages of Thrace were true to the moment and the signal: and the Latins, without arms or suspicion, were slaughtered by the vile and merciless revenge of theirkinsmen. From Demotica, the first scene of the massacre, the surviving vassals of the count of St. Pol escaped to Adrianople; but the French and Venetians, who occupied that city, were slain or expelled by the furious multitude; the garrisons that could effect their retreat fell back on each other towards the metropolis; and the fortress to which they repaired, was taken by surprise, its garrison, who drank, as it was said, the blood of their captives, and sacrificed the christians on the altars of their gods. Alarmed by the sudden and growing danger, the emperor despatched a swift messenger to recall envoys from Henry and his troops; and had Baldwin expected the return of his gallant brother, with a supply of twenty thousand Armenians, he might have encountered the invader with equal numbers and a decisive superiority of arms and discipline. But the spirit of chivalry could seldom discriminate caution from cowardice: and the emperor took the field with a hundred and forty knights, and their train of archers and sergeants. The marshal, who dissuaded and obeyed, led the van guard in their march to Adrianople; the main body was held behind the count of St. Pol, who, when the trumpet's sound, the cavalry should mount and form; but that none, under pain of death, should abandon themselves to a desultory and dangerous pursuit. This wise injunction was first disobeyed by the count of Brienne, who involved the only road against the royal captives, in his rashness and ruin. The Comans, of the Poutrian or Tartar school, fled before their first charge; but after a career of two leagues, when the knights and their horses were almost breathless, they suddenly turned, rallied, and encompassed the heavy squadrons of the Franks. Peter and Capet, with the count, were slain on the field; the victory of Baldwin, A.D. 1205, was not decided one disdained to fly, if the other refused to yield, their personal bravery made a poor atonement for their ignorance, or neglect, of the duties of a general. Proud of his victory and his royal prize, the Bulgarian advanced to relieve Adrianople and achieve the destruction of the Latins. They must inevitably have been destroyed, if the marshal of Romania had not dis played a cool courage and consummate skill; uncommon in all ages, but most uncommon in those times, when war was a passion, rather than a science. His grief and fears were poured into the firm and faithful bosom of the doge; and while in the camp he diffused an assurance of safety, which could only be realized by the general belief. All day he maintained his perilous station between the city and the barbarians. Villehardouin decamped in silence at the death of St. Pol; and the masterly reason of three days would have deserved the praise of Xenophon, and the ten thousand. In the rear, the marshal supported the weight of the pursuit; in the front, he moderated the impatience of the fugitives; and wherever the Comans approached, they were repelled by a line of im penetrable spears. On the third day, the weary troops beheld the sea, the solitary town of Rodosto, and their friends, who had landed from the Asiatic shore. They embraced, they wept; but they united their arms and counsels; and, in his brother's absence, count Henry assumed the regency of the empire, at once in a state of calamity. The Venetians drew from the summer heats, seven thousand Latins, in the hour of danger, deserted Constantinople, their brethren, and their vows. Some partial success was overbalanced by the loss of one hundred and twenty thousand Comans. The Venetian and Genoese lines were unequal to the main, no more was left than the capital, with two or three adjacent fortresses on the shores of Europe and Asia. The king of Bulgaria was resistless and inexorable; and Calo-John respectfully eluded the demands of the pope, who conjured his new proleyle to restore peace and the emperor to the afflicted Latins. The deliverance of Baldwin, he said, was no longer in the power of man: that prince had died in prison; and the manner of his death is various related—

Death of Baldwin.

Alarmed by ignorance and credulity. The lovers of peace imputed the death of the aged king to the perversity of the aged captives, who, in the generosity of the emperor, was tempted by the amorous queen of the Bulgarians; that his chaste refusal exposed him to the falsehood of a woman and the jealousy of a savage; that his hands and feet were severed from his body; that his bleeding trunk was cast among the carcasses of dogs and horses; and that he breathed three days, before he was devoured by the birds of prey. About twenty years afterwards, in a wood of the Netherlands, a hermit announced himself as the true Baldwin, the emperor of Constantinople, and lawless champion of the Latins. The pope, hearing of his escape, his adventures, and his penances, among a people prone to believe and to rebel; and, in the first transport, Flanders acknowledged her long-lost sovereign. A short examination before the French court detected the impostor, who was punished with an ignominious death; but the Flemings still adhered to the pleasing error; and the countess Jane is accused by the gravest historians of sacrificing to her ambition the life of an unfortunate father.

In all civilized hostility, a treaty is established the exchange or ransom of prisoners: and if their captivity be prolonged, their condition is known, and they are treated according to their rank with humanity.

The Comans were a Tartar or Turkmen horse, which encompassed in a Tartar or Turkmen horse, which encompassed in 

A.D. 1205, place Rondato three days' journey town, from Adrianople: but Vigierans, in his version, has most abundantly substituted the three days to this error, which, as Vigierans has has entrapped several moderns, whose names I shall spare. A.D. 1205, place Rondato three days' journey, town, from Adrianople: but Vigierans, in his version, has most abundantly substituted the three days for this error, which, as Vigierans has has entrapped several moderns, whose names I shall spare.

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ty or honour. But the savage Bulgarian was a stranger to the laws of war; his prisoners were involved in darkness and silence; and above a year elapsed before the Latins could be aroused to guard the peace of the throne. Before his brother, the regent Henry, would consent to assume the title of emperor. His moderation was applauded by the Greeks as an act of rare and inimitable virtue. Their light and perfidious ambition was eager to seize or anticipate the moment of a vacancy, while in Bulgaria, a people, who found in their arms and people, was gradually defined and confirmed in the monarchies of Europe. In the support of the eastern empire Henry was gradually left without an associate, as the heroes of the crusades retired from the world or from the war. The doge of Venice, the venerable Dardelo, in the diminished republic, and the Frank sunk into the grave. The marquis of Montferrat was slowly recalled from the Peloponnesian war to the revenge of Baldwin and the defense of Thessalonica. Some nice disputes of feudal homage and service were reconciled in a personal interview between the emperor and the king: they were arranged by mutual esteem and the common danger; and their alliance was sealed by the nuptials of Henry with the daughter of the Italian prince. He soon deplored the loss of his friend and father. At the persuasion of some faithful Greeks, Boucicace made a bold adventure and went to the aid of Henry, who was at that time engaged in the war against the Bulgarians. On the king of Thessalonica was presented to Calo-John, who enjoyed the honours, without the merit, of victory. It is here, at this melancholy event, that the pen or the voice of Jeffrey of Villehardouin seems to drop or to expire; and if he still exercised his military oaths, it was with murmurs and reproaches. The mind of the emperor was still more disheartened by his son's death. The character of Henry was not unequal to his arduous situation: in the siege of Constantinople, and beyond the Hellespont, he had deserved the fame of a valiant knight and a skilful commander; and his courage was tempered with a degree of prudence and mildness unknown to his impetuous brother. In the double war against the Greeks of Asia and the Bulgarians of Europe, he was ever the foremost on shipboard or on horseback; and though he cautiously provided for the success of his arms, the drooping Latins were not equal to them. Of the Latins, described as the second fearless emperor. But such efforts, and some supplies of men and money from France, were of less avail than the errors, the cruelty, and death, of their most formidable adversary. When the despaire of the Greek subjects invited Calo- John as their deliverer, they hoped that he would protect their liberty and adopt their laws: they were soon taught to compare the degrees of national ferocity, and to execute the savage conqueror, who no longer deserved his intention of dispossessing Thrace, of demolishing the cities, and massacring the Latins was extinguished. Many towns and villages of Thrace were already evacuated; a heap of ruins marked the place of Philippopolis, and a similar calamity was expected at Demotika and Adrianoopolis, by the first authors of the revolt. They raised a cry of grief and repentance to the throne of Henry: the emperor alone had the magnanimity to forgive and trust them. No more than four hundred knights, with their sergeants and archers, could be assembled under his banner; and with this slender force

he fought and repulsed the Bulgarian, who, besides his infantry, was at the head of forty thousand horse. In this expedition, Henry felt the difference between a hostile army and the discipline and valor of the Latins, preserved by his arms; and the savage, with shame and loss, was compelled to relinquish his prey. The siege of Thessalonica was the last of the evils which Calo- John inflicted or suffered; he was stabbed in the night in his tent; and the general, perhaps the assassin, found him weltering in his blood, satirized the blow with general applause to the lance of St. Demetrius. After several victories, the prudence of Henry concluded an honourable peace with the successor of the tyrant, and with the Greek princes of Nice and Epifro. If he ceased some doubtful limits, an ample victory was gained for him, his followers; and his reign, which lasted only ten years, afforded a short interval of prosperity and peace. Far above the narrow policy of Baldwin and Boniface, he freely trusted to the Greeks the most important offices of the state and army: and this liberality of sentiment and practice was the more reasonable, as the princes of Nice and Epifro had already learned to seduce and employ the mercenary valour of the Latins. It was the aim of Henry to unite and reward his deserving subjects of every nation and language; but he appeared to be less solicitous of returning to Europe, than to unite the two churches. Polagius, the pope'slegate, who acted as the sovereign of Constantinople, had interdicted the worship of the Greeks, and sternly imposed the payment of tithes, the double procession of the Holy Ghost, and a blind obedience to the Roman pontiff. As the weaker party, they pleased the duties of conscience, and implored the rights of toleration: "Our bodies," they said, "are Caesar's, but our souls belong only to God." The persecution was checked by the firmness of the emperor; and if we can believe that the same prince was poisoned by the Greeks themselves, what may we not surmise of the idea of the sense and gratitude of mankind. His valour was a vulgar attribute, which he shared with ten thousand knights; but Henry possessed the superior courage to oppose, in a superstitious age, the pride and avarice of the clergy. In the cathedral of St. Sophia he po sumed to place his throne on the right hand of the patriarch; and this presumption excited the sharpest censure of pope Innocent the third. By a salutary edict, one of the first examples of the laws of mortmain, he prohibited the alienation of fields: many of the Latins, desiring to sell or exchange their estates to the church for a spiritual or temporal reward; these holy lands were immediately discharged from military service; and a colony of soldiers would have been gradually transformed into a colony of priests. The virtuous Henry died at Thessalonica, in the defence of that kingdom, and of an infant, the son of his friend Boniface. In the two first emperors of Constantinople, the male line of the counts of Flanders, was extinguished. Many towns and villages of Thrace were already evacuated; a heap of ruins marked the place of Philippopolis, and a similar calamity was expected at Demotika and Adrianoopolis, by the first authors of the revolt. They raised a cry of grief and repentance to the throne of Henry: the emperor alone had the magnanimity to forgive and trust them. No more than four hundred knights, with their sergeants and archers, could be assembled under his banner; and with this slender force

\footnote{3 Villehardouin, No. 237. I quote, with regret, this lamentable conclusion, where we lose at once the original history, and the richest source of information may be drawn. See Henry's two Enquiries to Innocent III. (Gesta, c. 106, 107.)}

\footnote{4 See the treaty and league of Pepper and the popes; De la Barre, p. 234, 251-252.}

1 The church of this patron of Thessalonica was served by the monks of the holy sepulchre, and contained a divine ointment which distilled daily and was the most abundant and miraculous of all the church of Constantinople. (c. 17.) J. Barbet (Hist. du Bas Empire, tom. xxii. p. 120—122.) has found, perhaps in Serdica, some of the remains of this church, which determined the service of the holy sepulchre, and the prerogative of the emperor.}

Peter of Courtenay, emperor of Constantinople, A. D. 1217. April 9.
the princess Yolande, with her husband Peter of Courtenay, count of Auxerre, was invited by the Latins to assume the empire of the East. The royal birth of his father, the noble origin of his mother, recommended to the barons of France the first cousin of their customary greatness. To assert and adorn this title he was reduced to sell or mortgage the best of his patrimony. By these expedients, the liberality of his royal kinsman Philip Augustus, and the national spirit of chivalry, he was enabled to pass the Alps at the head of one hundred and forty knights, and five thousand five hundred sergeants and archers. After some hesitation, pope Honorius the third was persuaded to crown the successor of Constantine: but he performed the ceremony in a church without the walls, lest he should seem to imply or to bestow any right of sover- eignty on a war, who was regarded as the enemy of the Latins. The Venetians had engaged to transport Peter and his forces beyond the Adriatic, and the emperor, with her four children, to the Byzantine palace; but they required, as the price of their service, that he should respect Durazzo from the deposit of Epirus. Michael Angelus, or Courtenay, the first of the dynasty that besieged the succession of his power and ambition to Theodore, his legitimate brother, who already threatened and invaded the establishments of the Latins. After discharging his debt by a fruitless assault, the emperor raised the siege to prosecute a long and perilous journey over land from Durazzo to Thessalonicæ. He was soon lost in the mountains of Epirus: the passes were fortified; his provisions exhausted: he was delayed and deceived by a treacherous negociation of peace and, after Peter of Courtenay and the Roman legate had been arrested in A.D. 1217-1219, a banquet, the French troops, without leaders or hopes, were eager to exchange their arms for the delusive promise of mercy and bread. The Vatican thundered; and the impious Theodore was threatened with a war, who was engaged to sustain the emperor. But the captives emperor and his soldiers were forgotten, and the reproaches of the pope are confined to the imprisonment of his legate. No sooner was he satisfied by the deliverance of the priest and a promise of spoliating the town, than he paralyz'd the despot of Epirus. His peremptory commands suspended the armour of the Venetians and the king of Hungary; and it was only by a natural or untimely death that Peter of Courtenay was released from his hopeless captivity. 

Robert emperor of Constantinople. 

A.D. 1221-1228. 

Yolande, his wife or widow, delayed the proclamation of a new emperor. Before her death, and in the midst of her grief, she was deliv- ered of a son, who was named after his mother. He was the last and most unfortunate of the Latin princes of Constantinop- le. His birth endeared him to the barons of Roman- nia; but his childhood would have prolonged the troubles of a minority, and his claims were superseded by the elder claims of his brethren. The first of these was Philip of Courtenay, who derived from his mother the inheritance of Namur, had the wisdom to prefer the substance of a marquisate to the shadow of an empire; and on his refusal Robert, the second of the sons of Peter and Yolande, was called to the throne of Con- stantinople. Warned by his father's mischance, he pursued his slow and secure journey through Germa- ny and along the Danube: a passage was opened by his sister's marriage with the king of Hungary; and in 1221-1228, the emperor of the Latins crowned in the cathedral of St. Sophia. But his reign was an era of calamity and disgrace: and the colony, as it was styled, of New France, yielded on all sides to the Greeks of Nice and Epirus. After a victory, which he owed to his perfidy rather than his courage, Theodore Angelus entered the kingdom of Thessalonicæ, expelled the feeble Demetrius, the son of the mar- quis Boniface, erected his standard on the walls of Adrianople; and added, by his vanity, a third or fourth name to the list of rival emperors. The relics of the Es, once so decorously swept away by John Vataees, the son-in-law and successor of Theodore Lascaris, and who, in a triumphant reign of thirty-three years, displayed the virtues of both peace and war. Under his discipline the swords of the French mercenaries were the most effectual instrument of his conquests, and of the empire. He was not at once a symptom and a cause of the rising ascendant of the Greeks. By the construction of a fleet, he obtained the command of the Hellespont, reduced the islands of Lesbos and Rhodes, attacked the Vene- tians of Candia, and intercepting their commerce, swept the whole of the Aegean. Once more, the Latin emperor sent an army against Vataees; and in the defeat of that army, the veteran knights, the last of the original conquerors, were left on the field of battle. But the success of a foreign enemy was less painful to the pusillanimous Robert than the insouciance of his Latin subjects, who confounded the weakness of the emperor and the empire. His personal misfor- tunes will prove the anarchy of the government and the fœtidness of the times. The amorous youth that neglected his Greek bride, the daughter of Vataee, to introduce into the palace a beautiful maid, of a private, though noble, family of Artois; and her mother had been tempted by the lustre of the purple to forfeit her engagements with a gentleman of Burgundy. His love was converted into rage; he assembled his friends, forced the palace gates, threw the mother into the sea, and inhumanly cut off the nose and lips of the wife or concubine of the emperor. Instead of punishing the offender, the barons avowed and applauded the savage deed, which as a prince and as a baron he ought to have prevented. He escaped from the guilty city to implore the justice or compassion of the pope: the emperor was coolly exorted to return to his station; before he could obey, he sunk under the weight of grief, shame, and impo- liti<ref>see</ref>ence. 

It was only in the age of chivalry that Baldwin II. and value could ascend from a private station to the thrones of Jerusalem and Constantino- ple. The titulare kingdom of Je- A.D. 1226-1254. rusalem had devolved to Mary, the daughter of Isabela, a and of Foulques de Montfort, and granddaughter of Almeric or Amoury. She was given to John of Brienne, of a noble family in Champagne, by the public voice, and the judgment of Philip Augustus, who named him as the most worthy champion of the Holy Land. In the fifth crusade, he led a hundred thousand and Latins to the conquest of Egypt; by the siege of Damiette was achieved; and the subsequent

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Footnotes:

1. Apollonius (c. 1. 1) affirms, that Peter of Courtenay died by the sword (σταυροτυμός), but from his dark expressions, I should prefer to bequeathed (φαντασάμενος). The chronicle of Auxerre describes the emperor's death till the year 1219; and Auxerre is in the neighbourhood of Courtenay.

2. See the reign and death of Peter of Courtenay, in Ducange. (Hist. de C. P. I. ii. c. 22-33.) who feebly strives to excuse the neglects of the emperor by Honorius III.
failure was justly ascribed to the pride and aversion of the Legate. After the marriage of his daughter with Frederic the second, he was provoked by the emperor's ingratitude to accept the command of the army of the church; and though advanced in life, and despised of royalty, the sword and spirit of John of Brienne were still ready for the service of christendom. In the reign of his great-uncle Baldwin of Courtenay had not emerged from a state of childhood, and the barons of Romania felt the strong necessity of placing the sceptre in the hands of a man and a hero. The veteran king of Jerusalem might have disdained the name and office of regent; they agreed to invest him for his loyalty and prowess. In the regency of emperor, on the sole condition, that Baldwin should marry his second daughter, and succeed at a mature age to the throne of Constantinople. The expectation, both of the Greeks and Latins, was heightened by the renowned, the choice and the presence of John of Brienne: and they admired his martial aspect, his green and vigorous age of more than fourscore years, and his size and stature, which surpassed the common measure of mankind. But averseness, and the love of ease, appear to have chilled the ardour of enterprise: his troops were dis-band, and two years rolled away without actual resistance of Rome. The dangerous alliance of Vataes emperor of Nice, and of Azan, king of Bulgaria. They besieged Constantinople by sea and land, with an army of one hundred thousand men, and a fleet of three hundred ships of war; while the entire force of the Latin emperor was reduced to one hundred and sixty knights and a small addition of sergeants and archers. 'I tremble to relate, that instead of defending the city, the hero made a sally at the head of his cavalry; and that of forty-eight squadrons of the enemy, no more than three escaped from the edge of his invincible sword. Fired by his example, his soldiers, with an arm of fifty thousand men that anchored close to the walls; and twenty-five were dragged in triumph into the harbour of Constantinople. At the summons of the emperor, the vassals and allies armed in his defence; broke through every obstacle that opposed their passage; and in the succeeding year obtained a second victory over the same enemies. By the rude poets of the age, John of Brienne is compared to Hector Roland, and Judas Macabæus: but their credit and glory, receives some abatement from the silence of the Greeks. The empire was soon deprived of the last of her champions: and the dying monarch, was directed to enter paradise in the habit of a Franciscan friar.  

Baldwin II. In the double victory of John of Brienne, I cannot discover the name or exploits of his pupil Baldwin, who had attained the age of military service, and who succeeded to the imperial dignity on the decease of his adoptive father. The royal youth was employed on a commission more suitable to his temper; he was sent to visit the western courts, of the pope more especially, and of the king of France; to excite their pity by the view of his innocence and distress; and to obtain some supplies of men or money for the relief of the sinking empire. He thrice repeated these mendiant visits, in which he seemed to prolong his stay, and postpone his return; of the five and twenty years that number were spent abroad than at home; and in no place did the emperor deem himself less free and secure than in his native country and capital. On some public occasions, his vanity might be soothed by the title of Augustus, and by the honours of the purple; and at the general council of Lyons, when Frederick was deposed, and deposed, his oriental colleague was enthroned on the right hand of the pope. But how often was the exile, the vagrant, the imperial beggar, humbled with scorn, insulted with pity, and degraded in his own eyes and those of the nations! In his first visit to England, he was stopped at Dover by a severe remon- strand, that he should presume, without leave, to enter an independent kingdom. After some delay, Baldwin, however, was permitted to pursue his journey, was entertained with cold civility, and thankfully departed with a present of seven hundred marks. From the emperor he was careful of his sight, and of the proclaima- tion of a crusade, and a treasure of indulgences: a coin, whose currency was depreciated by too frequent and lusierisamine abuse. His birth and misfortunes recommended him to the generosity of his cousin Louis the ninth; but the martial zeal of the saint was diverted from Constantinople to Egypt and Palestine; and the public and private property of Baldwin was alleviated, for a moment, by the abatement of the mar- quisate of Namur and the lordship of Courtenay, the last remains of his inheritance. By such shameful or ruinous expediens, he once more returned to Roma- nia; and thirty thousand of his adherents, whose numbers were doubled in the apprehension of the Greeks. His first despatches to France and Engild announced his victories and his hopes; he had reduced the country round the capital to the distance of three days' journey; and if he succeeded against an impor- tant though nameless city, (most probably Chitori,) the frontier would be safe and the passage accessible. But these expectations (if Baldwin was sincere) quickly vanished like a dream; the troops and treasures of France melted away in his unskillful hands; and the throne of the Latin emperor was protected by a dishon-  

able and servile alliance with the emperor of Rome. To secure the former, he consented to bestow his niece on the unbelieving sultan of Cogni: to please the latter, he complied with their pagan rites; a dog was sacrificed between the two armies; and the contracting parties tasted each other's blood, as a pledge of their fidelity. In the palace, or prison, of Constanti- nople the successor of Augustus demolished the vacant houses for winter-fuel, and stripped the lead from the churches for the daily expense of his family. Some usurious loans were dealt with a scanty hand by the imperial Phalangistes of Hungary; and the Franks of Comanas wereawaned at Venice as the security for a debt. Thirst, hunger, and nakedness, are positive evils; but wealth is relative; and a prince, who would be rich in a private station, may be exposed by the increase of his wants to all the anxiety and bitterness of poverty.

1 Giaimoane (istoria Civile, tom. ii. liv. p. 390—395) discourses the matter in his history, and the double union of the crowns of Naples and Jerusalem.

2 Acaphela, c. 27. The historian was at that time a boy, and resided at Constantinople. In 1223, when he was eleven years old, his father bought the Latin crown, left it a splendid fortune, and escaped to the Greek court of Nice, where his son was raised to the highest honours.

3 Philip Monkas, bishop of Tournay, (A. D. 1271—1282.) has composed a poem, or rather a string of verses, in bad old French, on the Latin emperors of Constantinople, which Ducange has published at the end of his work; see p. 234. For the reign of John of Brienne.

N'Aye, Ector, Roll' no Ogles Ne Jades Machaon no fera Tan ma fit (arpens en service) Com de J.-Es for la traiton. Est il defait et il declarut Est il tout droit et il hardiment qu'il avot.

4 See the reign of John de Brienne, in Ducange, Hist. de C. P. i. liv. c. 15—20.

5 See the reign of Baldwin II. till his expedition from Constantin-opolis, in Ducange, Hist. de C. P. i. iv. c. 1—34, the end, i. v. c. 32.

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The holy crown But in this abject distress the empe- ror and empire were still possessed of an ideal treasury, which drew its fantastic value from the supposed merit of the true cross. This treasure was somewhat impaired by its frequent division; and a long captivity among the infidels might have placed some suspicion on the fragments that were prod- uced in the east and west. But another relic of the Passion was preserved in the imperial chapel of Con- stantinople, the crown of thorns, of which had been placed on the head of Christ was equally precious and authentic. It had formerly been the practice of the Egyptian debtors to deposit, as a security, the mummy of their parents; and both their honour and their religion were bound for the redemption of the pledge. In the same manner, and in the absence of the emperor, the barons of Romanover borrowed the sum of thirteen thousand one hundred and thirty-four pieces of gold, on the credit of the holy crown: they failed in their performance of the contract, and a rich Venetian, Nicholas Querini, undertook to satisfy their impatient creditors, on condition that the relic should be lodged at Venice, to become his absolute property, if it were not redeemed within a short and definite term. The barons apprized their sovereign of the hard treaty and impending loss; and as the empire could not afford a ransom, the sovereign pontiff pontificating, Baldwin was anxious to snatch the prize from the Venetians, and, in a more honour and emolument in the hands of the most Christian king. Yet the negotiation was attended with some delicacy. In the purchase of relics, the saint would have started at the guilt of usury; but if the manner of expression had been changed, he might lawfully repay the debt, accept the gift, and acknowledge the obligation. His ambassadors, two Dominicans, were despatched to Venice, to redeem and receive the holy crown, which had escaped the dangers of the sea and the galleys of Venice. On their return, they recognized the crown of thorns, the doge and barons, which were applied on a shrine of silver: and within this shrine the monument of the Passion was enclosed in a golden vase. The reluctant Venetians yielded to justice and power; the emperor Frederick granted a free and honourable pass- age of France advanced as far as Troyes in a chariot; to meet with devotion this inestimable relic; it was borne in triumph through Paris by the king himself, barefoot, and in his shirt; and a free gift of ten thousand marks of silver reconciled Baldwin. The sovereign pontiff threatened the Latin emperor to offer with the same generosity the remaining furniture of his chapel; a large and authentic portion of the true cross, the baby-doll of the Son of God; the lance, sponge, and the chain, of his Passion; the rob of Moses; and part of the skull of St. John the baptist. For the reception of these spiritual treasures, twenty thousand marks were expended by St. Louis on a statly foundation, the holy chapel of Paris, on which the museum of Boileau has bestowed a comic immortality. The truth of such crowns and relics cannot be denied by any human testimony, must be admitted by those who believe in the miracles which they have performed. About the middle of the last age, an in- veterate ulcer was touched and cured by a holy prickle of the holy crown;4 the prodigy is attested by the most

4 Under the words Perpurras, Perperras, Hyperpereras, Ducange is short and vague: Monistum persus. From a corrupt passage of Guette- ron, Ducange corrected the form of Persus. It is known that a piece of the auric, the fourth part of a mark of silver, or about ten shillings and sixpence, was used as money in the Commune of Paris as late as 1345. for ecclesiastical purposes, and need not be considered miraculous. For the translation of the holy crown, &c. from Constantinople to Paris, see Ducange (Hist. de la P. L. en, 11-12, 22-23) and Fleurie, Hist. Eccle., tom. xxi. p. 231-234.

5 belly and flaws, a generous and large measure, as the name is derived from the Sainte Chapelle; and many facts relative to the institution are collected and explained by his commentators, Brunet and de St. Marc.

6 It was performed A. D. 1608. March 31, on the feast of Fasci;

ious and enlightened christians of France; nor will the fact be easily disproved, except by those who are armed with a general antido to against religious cred- 

4 The Latio of Constantinople were on all sides encompassed and pressed: their sole hope, the last delay of their ruin, was in the division of their Greek and Bulgarian enemies, and of this hope they were able to avail themselves by the defection of Venetian emperor of Nice. From the Propontis to the rocky coast of Pamphylia, Asia was peaceful and prosperous under his reign; and the events of every campaign extended his influence in Europe. The strong cities of the hills of Macedonia and Thrace were rescued from the Bulgarians; and the ambition of the empire was circumscribed by its present and proper limits, along the southern banks of the Danube. The sole emperor of the Romans could no longer brook that a lord of Epirus, a Comnenian prince of the west, should presume to dispute or share the honours of the pur- ple; and the humble Demetrius changed the colour of his buskins, and accepted with gratitude the appella- tion of despot. His own subjects were exasperated by his baseness and incapacity: they implored the protection of their supreme lord. After some resis- tance, the emperor of Nice capitulated to the emperor of Nice; and Vatertes resigned without a com- petitor from the Turkish borders to the Adriatic gulf. The princes of Europe revered his merit and power, and had he subscribed an orthodox creed, it should seem that the pope would have abandoned without re- buttance the Latin throne of Constantinople. After the death of Vatertes, the short and busy reign of Theodore his son, and the helpless infancy of his grandson John, suspended the restoration of the Greeks. In the next chapter, I shall explain their domestic revolu- tions; in this place, it will be sufficient to observe that the young prince was oppressed by the ambition of his guardian and colleague Michael Pal- palo-logos, who displayed the virtues and services that belong to the founder of a new dynasty. The emperor Baldwin of the first prelude of his arms. A victory was followed by a defeat; if the race of the Comneni or Angeli survived in these mountains his efforts and his reign; and that superior genius, with Arnaud, Nicole, &c. were on the spot, to believe and attend a miracle which confused the Jesuits, and the Bishop of Nantes, Dom Gervais de Racine, tom. vi. p. 175-187, in his eloquent History of the Popes. Vol. I., p. 127. In 1637, just before the publication of his work, he described the military and religious manifestations of this historical year 1634 with more skill and success, seized the battery, and turned the scales in favour of the controversial Bernardin. The gradual losses of the Latins may be traced in the third, fourth, and fifth books of the compilation of Ducange; but of the Greek conquest he has dropped many circumstances, which may be recovered from the large history of George Apollodorus, and the third book of the Commonwealth of Greece, written in the same year 1639, and published by the same series, who have had the good fortune to meet with learned editors, Capodecastro, and John Bovius in the Academia of Inscriptio-
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the captivity of Villehardouin, prince of Achaia, deprived the Latins of the most active and powerful vessel of their expiring monarchy. The republics of Venice and Genoa disputed, in the first of their naval wars, the command of the sea and the commerce of the east. Pride and interest attached the Venetians to the defence of Constantinople; their rivals were tempted to the same adventure by the glory of victory, and the alliance of the Genoese with the schismatic conqueror provoked the indignation of the Latin church.

Constantinople. Intent on this great object the Emperor Michael visited in person and

A.D. 1254. strengthened the troops and fortifications of the city. His generals and officers were driven from their last possessions: he assaulted without success, the suburb of Galata; and corresponded with a perilous baron, who proved unwilling or unable to open the gates of the metropolis.

The next spring, his favourite general Alexius Strategopulus, whom he had decorated with the title of Caesar, passed the Hellespont with eight hundred horses and some infantry, on a secret expedition. His instructions enjoined him to approach, to listen, to watch, but not to risk any doubtful or dangerous enterprise against the city. The adjacent territory between the Black sea and Sardis was infested by a hardy race of peasants and outlaws, exercised in arms, uncertain in their allegiance, but inclined by language, religion, and present advantage, to the party of the Greeks. They were styled the volunteers, and by their free service the army of Alexius, with the regular troops, was augmented to the number of five and twenty thousand men. By the ardour of the volunteers, and by his own ambition, the Caesar was stimulated to disobey the precise orders of his master, in the just confidence that success would plead his pardon and reward. The wild but audacious design was entertained by the Latins, were familiar to the observation of the volunteers; and they represented the present moment as the most propitious to surprise and conquer. A rash youth, the new governor of the Venetian colony, had sailed with thirty gallies, accompanied by the best of the French knights, on a wild expedition to Daphnusis, a town on the Black sea, at the distance of forty leagues; and the remaining Latins were without strength or suspicion. They were informed that Alexius had passed the Hellespont; but their apprehensions were nullified by the smallness of his original numbers; and their imprudence had not watched the subsequent increase of his army. If he left his main body to second and support his operations, he might advance unperturbed in the night with a chosen detachment. While some applied scaling-ladders to the lowest part of the walls, they were secure of an old Greek, who could introduce their companions through a subterraneous passage into his house; they could soon on the inside break an entrance through the golden gate, which had been long obstructed; and the conqueror would be in the heart of the city, before the Latins could recover from the surprise. Some debate, the Caesar resigned himself to the faith of the volunteers; they were trusty, bold, and successful; and in describing the plan, I have already related

The execution and success. But no sooner had Alexius passed the threshold of the golden gate, than he trembled at his own rashness; he hesitated; till the desperate volunteers urged him forward, by the assurance that in a retreat lay the greatest and most inevitable danger. Whilst the Caesar kept his regulars in firm array, the Comans dispersed themselves, alarmed for their own safety; an alarm was sounded, and the threats of fire and pilage compelled the citizens to a decisive resolution. The Greeks of Constantinople remembered their native sovereigns; the Genoese merchants their recent alliance and Venetian foes; every quarter was in arms; and the air resounded with the name of "Long life and victory to Michael and John, the august emperors of the Romans." Their rival, Baldwin, was awakened by the sound; but the most pressing danger could not prompt him to draw his sword in the defence of a city which he desirous, perhaps, with more pleasure than regret; he fled from the palace to the seashore, where he described the welcome sails of the fleet returning from the vain and fruitless attempt on Daphnusis. Constantinople was irrecoverably lost: but the Latin emperor and the principal families embarked on board the Venetian galleys, and steered for the Isle of Euboa, where they were entertained by the pope and Sicilian king with a mixture of contempt and pity. From the loss of Constantinople to his death, he consumed thirteen years, soliciting the Catholic powers to join in his restoration: the lesson had been familiar to his youth; nor was his language more remote: he still expected an outcome of the former pilgrimages to the courts of Europe. His son Philip was the heir of an ideal empire; and the pretensions of his daughter Catharine were transported by her marriage to Charles of Valois, the brother of Philip the Fair, king of France. The house of Courtenay, in the form of alliances, till the title of emperor of Constantinople, too bulky and sonorous for a private name, modestly expired in silence and oblivion.

After the narrative of the expeditions of the Latins to Palestine and Constantinople I cannot dismiss the subject without reviving the general consequences on the countries that were the scene, and on the nations that were the actors, of these memorable crusades. So soon as the arms of the Franks were withdrawn, the Saracens, who had not the anxiety, were raised in the powerful realms of Egypt and Syria. The faithful disciples of the prophet were never tempted by a profane desire to study the laws or language of the idolaters; nor did the simplicity of their primitive manners receive the slightest alteration from their intercourse in peace and war with the unknown strangers of the west. The Greeks, who thought themselves proud, but who were only vain, showed a disposition somewhat less inflexible. In the efforts for the recovery of their empire, they emulated the valour, discipline, and tactics, of their antagonists. The modern Latins, they might have taught them, if its free spirit would instruct them in the rights of man; and some institutions of public and private life were adopted from the French. The corresponding knowledge of Constantinople and Italy diffused the knowledge

1 The Greeks, ashamed of any foreign aid, disavow the alliance and succour of the Genoese; but the fact is proved by the testimony of J. Villani, (Chron. i. vi. c. 7, in Muratori, Script. rerum italic. comment. 1, p. 362. During the Progress of Baldwin into Asia, in the year 1204, William de Saulieu, who had been in St. Louis, p. 254, in the Loivre (Ixx.), two imaginary saviors; and U. d. L. (xxiv.), who says, as some preconceived notions must be used in reconciling the discordant opinions of Nicolaus of Lyra and Spanish and Italian Dugan, i. e. c. 21) the Greeks and Seyrathia of Arcapetra, and the numerous army of Michael, in the Epitome de pop. urb. IV. c. 42, &c.)

2 They are described and named by Pachymer, (G. ii. c. 26, &c.)

3 It is needless to seek these Comans in the deserts of Tartary, or even in Moldavia. A part of the hordes had submitted to John Vatha, and was probably united as a nursery of soldiers on some waste lands of Thrace, (Cautan, l. i. c. 2.)
of the Latin tongue; and several of the fathers and classics were at length honoured with a Greek version.\(^5\) But the national and religious prejudices of the orientals were inflamed by persecution; and the reign of the Latins confirmed the separation of the two churches.

If we compare, at the era of the crusades, the Latins of Europe with the Greeks and Arabians, their respective degrees of knowledge, industry, and art, our rude ancestors must be content with the third rank in the scale of nations. Their successive improvements of superiority more and more ascended the peculiar energy of character, to an active and imitative spirit, unknown to their more polished rivals, who at that time were in a stationary or retrograde state. With such a disposition, the Latins should have derived the most early and essential benefits from a series of events which opened to their eyes the prospect of the world, and introduced them to a long and frequent intercourse with the more cultivated regions of the east. The first and most obvious progress was in trade and manufactures, in the arts which are strongly promoted by the thirst of wealth, the calls of utility, and the gratification of the sense of vanity. Among the crowd of unthinking fanatics, a captive or a pilgrim might sometimes observe the superior refinements of Cairo and Constantinople: the first importer of wind-mills was the benefactor of nations; and if such a sight could have been enjoyed without they grateful and transported, the memory, history has condescended to notice the more apparent luxuries of silk and sugar, which were transported into Italy from Greece and Egypt. But the intellectual wants of the Latins were more slowly felt and supplied: the ardour of studious energy was awakened in Europe by different causes and more recent events; and, in the age of the crusades, they viewed with careless indifference the literature of the Greeks and Arabians. Some rudiments of mathematical and medicinal knowledge might be imparted in practice and in figures; necessity might produce some interpreters for the grosser business of merchants and soldiers; but the commerce of the orientals had not diffused the study and knowledge of their languages in the schools of Europe.\(^6\) If a similar principle of religion repulsed the idiom of the Koran, it should have had a preservative existence and currency in the original text of the gospel; and the same grammar would have unfolded the sense of Plato and the beauties of Homer. Yet in a reign of sixty years, the Latins of Constantinople disdained the speech and learning of the ancients, and those manuscripts were the only treasures which the natives might enjoy without rapine or envy. Aristotle was indeed the oracle of the western universities, but it was a barbarous Aristotle; and, instead of ascending to the fountain head, his Latin votaries humbly accepted a corrupt and remote version from the Jews and Moors of Andalusia. The principle of the crusade was a savage fanaticism; and the most important effects were analo
gous to the cause. Each pilgrim was assigned to return with his sacred spoils, the relics of Greece and Paris: the results of his return were made and followed by a train of mischiefs and visions. The belief of the Catholics was corrupted by new legends, their practice by new superstitions; and the establishment of the inquisition, the mendicant orders of monks and friars, the last abuse of indulgences, and the final progress of idolatry, flowed from the baleful fountain of the holy war. The active spirit of the Latins preyed on their laziness, and the years of the ninth and tenth centuries were the times of darkness, the thirteenth and fourteenth were the age of absurdity and fable.

In the profession of Christianity, in the cultivation of a fertile land, the northern conquerors of the Roman empire continued to labour, and ascribed the most signal exceptions of providence and miracles, and rekindled the embers of the arts of antiquity. Their settlements about the age of Charlemagne had acquired some degree of order and stability, when they were overwhelmed by new swarms of invaders, the Normans, Saracens, and Hungarians, who re
defeated the western countries of Europe into their former state of anarchy and barbarism. About the eleventh century, the second tempest had subsided by the expulsion or conversion of the enemies of chris
tendom: the tide of civilization, which had so long been checked, set in with a steady and un
course; and a fairer prospect was opened to the hopes and efforts of the rising generations. Great was the increase, and rapid the progress, during the two hundred years of the crusades; and some philosophers have applauded the propitious influence of these holy wars, as an essential period of the progress of mankind. But towards the maturity of Europe, \(^7\) the lives and labours of millions, which were buried in the east, would have been more profitably employed in the improvement of their native country: the accumulated stock of industry and wealth would have overflowed in navigation and trade; and the Latins would have been enriched and enlightened by a pure and friendly correspondence with the eminates of the east. In one respect I can indeed perceive the accidental operation of the crusades, not so much in producing a benefit as in removing an evil. The larger portion of the in
habitants of Europe were chained to the soil, without freedom, or property, or knowledge; and the two orders of ecclesiastics and nobles, whose numbers were comparatively small, alone deserved the name of citizens and men. This oppressive system was supported by a period of barbarism, that was far to understand the arts of the clergy and the swords of the barons. The authority of the priests operated in the darker ages as a salutary antidote: they prevented the total extinction of letters, mitigated the fierceness of the times, shielded the poor and defenceless, and pro
cested the arts. But the independence, rapine, and discord, of the feudal lords were unmix'd with any semblance of good; and every hope of industry and improvement was crushed by the iron weight of the martial aristocracy. Among the causes that undermined that Gothic edifice, a conspicuous place must be allowed to the crusades. The estates of the barons were dissipated, and their race was often extinguished, in these costly and perilous expeditions. Their poverty extorted from their pride those charters of freedom which unlocked the chains of stony letters. Their制度s and followings were dispersed, and the shop of the artificer, and gradually restored a substance and a soul to the most numerous and useful part of the community. The configuration which destroyed the tall and baren trees of the forest gave air and scope to the vegetation of the smaller and nutritive plants of the soil.

\(^{5}\) A short and superficial account of these versions from Latin into Greek, is given by Huet, de Interpretatione et de claris Interpretibus, b. p. 131—153. Maximos Flavolus, a monk of Constantinople, (A. D. 1143.) with the consent of the Emperor Alexius Comnenus, the son of Constantine, was entitled Bibliothecarum, the Metamata, the Metaraepe, and Hercules of Ovid, (A. F. Breydel, tom. i. p. 553.)

\(^{6}\) Wind-mills, first identified in the dry country of Asia Minor, were used in Normandy as early as the year 1165, (Jos. Prives de Francia, t. ii. p. 474.)

\(^{7}\) See the complaints of Roger Bacon, (Scopiosis Britannica, vol. i. chap. xiv.) Yet if Bacon lamented, under whatever name, the loss of Greece, they were prodigies, and owed nothing to the commerce of the east.

\(^{8}\) See the opinion of the great Leibnitz, (Guerre de Fontenelle, tom. i. p. 242.) a master of the history of the middle ages, I shall only instance the pedagogy of the gymnastic, and the flight of the house of Lorena, which were both derived from Palatinus.

\(^{9}\) If I rank the Saracens with the barbarians, it is only relative to their wars, or rather insurrections, in Italy and France, where their sole purpose was to plunder and destroy.

\(^{10}\) On this interesting subject, the progress of society in Europe, a nation of barbarians, which has preserved in a very strong and flourishing state its valour, its freedom, and its constitution, under the same religious name, 200 years has been known Scotland in the times; and it is as private, as well as public, regard, that I repeat the names of Humfry, Robertson, and Adam Smith.

\(^{11}\) Desirous of subject a work by Herenn, entitled Essai sur l'Inter
ces des Crusades, (Paris, 1828.) in which the beneficial, though late, results of those holy wars are developed with as much philoso
pic sagacity as erudition. — G. T.
Dissertation on the Family of Courtenay.

The purple of three emperors, who have reigned at Constantinople, will authorize me to excuse a dissertation on the origin and singular fortunes of the house of Courtenay, in the three principal branches, I. Of Edessa; II. Of France; and, III. Of England; of which the last only has survived the revolutions of eight hundred years.

Origin of the Family of Courtenay.
A.D. 1029.

I. Before the introduction of trade, which scatters riches, and of knowledge, which dispels prejudice, the prerogative of birth is most strongly felt and most humbly acknowledged. In every age, the laws and manners of the Germans have discriminated the ranks of society: the dukes and counts, who shared the empire of Charlemagne, converted their office to an inheritance; and to his children, each feudal lord bequeathed his honour and his sword. The proudest families are content to lose, in the darkness of the middle ages, the tree of their pedigree, which, however deep and lofty, must ultimately rise from a plebeian root; and their historians must descend ten centuries below the christian era, before they can ascertain any linear succession by the evidence of surnames, of arms, and of authentic records. With the first rays of light, we discern the nobility and opulence of Atho, a French king, whose descendant we now see stripped and dishonoured, without father; his opulence, in the foundation of the castle of Courtenay in the district of Gâtinois, about fifty-six miles to the south of Paris. From the reign of Robert, the son of Hugh Capet, the barons of Courtenay are conspicuous among the immediate vassals of the crown; and Joscelin, the grandson of Atho and a noble dame, is enrolled among the heroes of the first crusade. A domestic alliance (their mothers were sisters) attached him to the standard of Baldwin of Bruges, the second count of Edessa; a prince of inestimable value, which he was worthy to defend, and receive, and able to maintain, an account of the number of his martial followers: and after the departure of his cousin, Joscelin himself was invested with the county of Edessa on both sides of the Euphrates. By the economy in peace, his territories were replenished with Latin and Syrian subjects; his magnificence, of the ancient, double form, with gold and silver, with arms and horses. In a holy warfare of thirty years, he was alternately a conqueror and a captive: but he died like a soldier, in a horse-litter at the head of his troops; and his last glance beheld the flight of the Turkish invaders who had professed him, and left him, in his age and infirmity. His son and successor, of the same name, was less deficient in valor than in vigilance; but he sometimes forgot that dominion is acquired and maintained by the same arts. He challenged the hostility of the Turks, without securing the friendship of the prince of Antioch; and, amidst the painful luxury of Trebizond, in Syria, Joscelin neglected the defence of the christian frontier beyond the Euphrates. In his absence, Zenghi, the first of the Abbeks, besieged and stormed his capital, Edessa, which was feebly defended by a timorous and disaffected cross-keeper; the Franks were oppressed in a bold attempt for his recovery, and Courtenay ended his days in the prison of Aleppo. He still left a fair and ample patrimony. But the victorious Turks were oppressed on all sides the weakness of a widow and orphan; and, for the equivalent of an annual pension, they resigned to the Greek emperor the charge of defending, and the revenue of his territories, which had been lost by the Latin conquest. The count as dowager of Edessa retired to Jerusalem with her two children; the daughter, Agnes, became the wife and mother of a king, the son, Joscelin the third, accepted the office of seneschal, the first of the kingdom, and held his new estates in Palestine by the service of fifty knights. His name appears with honour in all the transactions of peace and war; but he finally vanishes in the fall of Jerusalem; and the name of Courtenay, in this branch of Edessa, was lost by the marriage of his two daughters with a French and German baron.

II. While Joscelin reigned beyond the Euphrates, his elder brother Milo, the son of Joscelin, the son of Atho, continued, near the Seine, to possess the castle of their fathers, which was at length inherited by Rainaud, or Reginald, the youngest of his three sons. Examples of genius or virtue must be rare in the annals of the old families: and, in a remote age, their pride will embrace a deed of rapine and violence; such, however, as could not be perpetrated without some superiority of courage, or, at least, of power. A descendant of Reginald of Courtenay may blush for the public robber, who, several times, threatened to repeat the pursuit, which they had satisfied the king's duties, at Sens and Orleans. He will glory in the offence, since the bold officer could not be compelled to obedience and restitution, till the regent and the count of Champagne prepared to march against him at the head of an army. Reginald bestowed his estates on his eldest daughter, and his daughter on the wife of the royal seventh son of king Louis the Fat; and, A.D. 1193, their marriage was crowned with numerous offspring. We might expect that a private should have merged in a royal name; and that the descendants of Peter of Courtenay, who would have enjoyed the title and honours of princes of the blood. But this legitimate claim was long neglected and finally denied; and the cause of their disgrace will represent the story of this second branch. I. Of all the families now extinct, the most celebrated and the bloodiest is that of the house of France, which has occupied the same throne above eight hundred years, and descends, in a clear and lineal series of miles, from the middle of the ninth century. In the age of the crusades, it was already revered both in the east and west. But from Hugh Capet to the present, the sires or reigns or generations have elapsed; and so precarious was their title, that the eldest sons, as a necessary precaution, were previously crowned during the lifetime of their fathers. The princes of France have long maintained their precedence before the younger branches of the royal line, nor had the princes of the blood, in...
the twelfth century, acquired that hereditary lustre which is now diffused over the remote candidates for the succession. 2. The barons of Courtenay must have held their high position, as they continued to do in the rest of the world, since they could impose on the son of a king the obligation of adopting for himself and all his descendants the name and arms of their daughter and his wife. In the marriage of an heiress with her inferi or or her equal, such exchange was often required and allowed a higher position, as they continued to do in the regal stem, the sons of Louis the Fat were incessantly confounded with their maternal ancestors; and the new Courtenays might deserve to forfeit the honour of their birth, which a motive of interest had tempted the Duke of France. 3. The shiner was far more permanent than the reward, and a momentary blaze was followed by a long darkness. The eldest son of these nuptials, Peter of Courtenay, had married, as I have already mentioned, the sister of the counts of Flanders, the two first emperors of Constantinople, he rashly accepted the invitation of the princes of Romania: his two sons, Robert and Baldwin, successively held and lost the remains of the Latin empire in the east, and the grand-daughter of Baldwin the second again mingled her blood with the blood of France and of Valois. To support the expenses of a truce at Constantinople, during the reign of Baldwin the first, the lands were mortgaged or sold; and the last emperors of Constantinople depended on the annual charity of Rome and Naples.

While the elder brothers dissipated their wealth in romantic adventures, and the castle of Courtenay was prolonged by a public loan in brown, the title of that adopted name were propagated and multiplied. But their splendour was clouded by poverty and time: after the decease of Robert, great butcher of France, they descended from princes to barons; the next generations were confounded with the simple gentry; the descendants of Hugh Capet, could no longer be visible in the rural lords of Touraine and of Champignolles. The more adventurous embraced without dishonour the profession of a soldier: the least active and equable might sink, like their cousins of the branch of Bourgogne, in the obscurity of the countship of the Courtenays of France.

The right of wardship enabled a feudal lord to reward his vassal with the marriage and estate of a noble heiress; and Reginald of Courtenay acquired a fair establishment in Devonshire, where his posterity has been seated above six hundred years.

From a Norman baron, Baldwin the Britton, the English conqueror, Hawise, the wife of Reginald, derived the honour of Okew, which was held by the service of ninety-three knights; and a female might claim the only offices of hereditary viscount or sheriff, in the fashionable house of the royal castle of Exeter. Their son Robert married the heiress of Devon; at the end of a century, on the failure of the family of Rivers, his great-grandson, Hugh the second, succeeded to a title which was still considered as a territorial dignity; and twelve earls of Devonshire have flourished in a period of two hundred and twenty years. They were ranked among the chief of the barons of the realm; nor was it till after a strenuous dispute, that they yielded to the feet of Aundel the first place in the parliament of England.

The twelfth century, acquired that hereditary lustre which is now diffused over the remote candidates for the succession. 2. The barons of Courtenay must have held their high position, as they continued to do in the rest of the world, since they could impose on the son of a king the obligation of adopting for himself and all his descendants the name and arms of their daughter and his wife. In the marriage of an heiress with her inferior or her equal, such exchange was often required and allowed a higher position, as they continued to do in the regal stem, the sons of Louis the Fat were incessantly confounded with their maternal ancestors; and the new Courtenays might deserve to forfeit the honour of their birth, which a motive of interest had tempted the Duke of France.

III. According to the old register of III. The Courte Ford Abbey, the Courtenays of Devonshires are descended from prince Florus, the second son of Peter, and the grandson of Louis the Fat. Their family has been, great and richly distinguished, and respectably entertained by our antiquaries, Camden, and Dugdale: b but it is so clearly repugnant to truth and time, that the rational pride of the family now refuses to accept this imaginary founder. The most faithful historians believe, that after giving his daughter, the queen of Rome, to the emperor of the East, he left a descent to the family, by his son, who was raised to the dukedom.

Principia nomum suaeam in Gallia tributum, nisi ille qui par turbae; sed cum esse angare, omnem reputant; adeo, ut est minus suo nomine, plus minus memoriae commemoratus; nam Corneliae et Doctores, a cunctis literis, universitate, de privilegio nobis comprehensius, et de honoribus, quae in archetypis sibi accepserunt, nullius literae, manu, spectabilis ornamentum. Nuper, et in vobis, Claudii, et nostris annis, editor valetudinis, de regibus, et de regina, etc., in libris editis, et ab aliis transmissis, reponi, et reponere de rebus, quae praeceperunt, et praebuerunt, in una collecta, et sistematis, libento inter eo minime reconsideratis, et neque ab alienis, neque ab autrique, praebentur, et in unum redactis, et reductis, satisfaciens vobis, et omnibus, qui in hac Heredis, et Regulis suis, sanctitatem, et gloria adhibere festim desiderat. 

Dugdale, Monumentum Anglicanum, vol. i. p. 756. Yet this table must not be inferred before the reign of Edward III. The fullest devotion of the three first generations to Ford Abbey, was followed by an acted abdication, and migration on the other; and in the sixth century, the monks ceased to register the births, actions, and deaths of their patrons. 

It is in my history of Pickering, p. 356. 

In his Baronage, p. 631, he refers to his own Monument, a MS. of the year 1620, which contains an account of the register of Ford Abbey, and ascertained the phantom Florus, by the unquestionable evidence of the French historians. 

He has published the third and most valuable book of Cleveland's History, I have consulted Dugdale, the father of our genealogical business, Barlow, and the Monument of the Courtenays. 

This great family, of Ripurarior, or of Redvers, of Rivers, ended in Edward the third's time, in Isabella of Ferrara, a famous and potent dowager, who left a son, with her brother and husband (Dugdale, Baronage, p. 1. p. 516. 517. 518.)
their alliances were contracted with the noblest families, the Veres, Despensers, St. Johns, Talbots, Bohuns, and even the Plantagenets themselves; and in a contest with John of Lancaster, a Courtenay, bishop of London, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, might be accused of profane confidence in the strength and number of kindred. In peace, the earls of Devon resided in their numerous castles and mansions of the west; their ample revenue was appropriated to devotion and hospitality; and the epitaph of Edward, surmounted, from his misfortune, the blind, from his virtues, the good, eulogized with much ingenuity a man serene of spirit; he may however be thoughtless generosity. After a grateful commemoration of the fifty-five years of union and happiness, which he enjoyed with Mabel his wife, the good earth thus speaks from the tomb:

What we gave, we have;
What we spent, we had;
What we left, we lost.8

But their houses, in this sense, were far superior to their gifts and expenses; and their heirs, not less than the poor, were the objects of their paternal care. The sums which they paid for livery and esculin, attest the greatness of the family; and several estates have remained in their family since the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In war, the Courtenays of England fulfilled the duties, and deserved the honours, of chivalry. They were often intrusted to levy and command the militia of Devonshire and Cornwall; they often attended their supreme lord to the borders of Scotland; and in foreign service, for a stipulated price, they sometimes maintained fourscore men at arms and as many archers. By sea and land they fought under the standards of the Edwards and Henrys: their names are conspicuous in battles, in tournaments and in the list of the order of the Garter; three brothers shared the Spanish victory of the Black Prince; and in the lapse of six generations, the English Courtenays had learned to despise the nation and country from which they derived their origin. In the quarell of the two roses, the earls of Devon adhered to the house of Lancaster, and three brothers successively died, either in the field or on the scaffold. Their honours and estates were restored by Henry the seventh; a daughter of Edward the fourth was not disgraced by the nuptials of a Courtenay; their son, who was created marquis of Exeter, enjoyed the favour of the king, quietly the eighth, and in the camp of Cloth of Gold, he broke a lance against the French monarch. But the favour of Henry was the prelude of disgrace; his disgrace was the signal of death; and of the victims of the jealous tyrant, the marquis of Exeter is one of the most noble and guiltless. His son Edward lived a prisoner in the Tower, and died an exile at Padua; and the secret love of Queen Mary, whom he slighted, perhaps for the princess Elizabeth, has shed a romantic colour on the story of this beautiful youth. The relics of his patrimony were conveyed into strange families by the marshal's order of the eighteenth; but if they had been legally extinct, were revived by the patents of succeeding princes. But there still survived a lineal descendant of Hugh the first earl of Devon, a younger branch of the Courtenays, who have holden the ancient castle above four hundred years, from the reign of Edward the third to the present hour. Their estates have been increased by the grant and improvement of lands in Ireland, and they have been recently restored to the honours of the peerage. Yet the Courtenays still retain the plaintive motto, which appeared on the east front of their ancient house,9 while they sigh for their

past greatness, they are doubtless sensible of present blessings; in the long series of the Courtenay annals, the most splendid era is likewise the most unfortunate; nor can an opulent peer of Britain be inclined to envy the emperors of Constantinople, who wanted over Europe the support of their dignity and the defence of their capital.

Chap. XXIII.

The Greek emperors of Nice and Constantinople. — Elevation and reign of Michael Palaeologus. — His false union with the pope and the Latin church. — Hostile designs of Charles of Anjou. — Revolt of Sicily. — War of the Latin Kings in Asia and Greece. — Revolution and present state of Athens.

The loss of Constantinople restored a remonstrance to the momentary vigour to the Greeks. From Greek empire, their palaces, the princes and nobles were driven into the field; and the fragments of the falling monarchy were grasped by the hands of the most vigorous or the most skilful candidates. In the long and barren banquets which the restoration of the empire was made easy task to equal the two characters of Theodore Lascaris and John Ducus Vatatzes,1 who Theodore Lascaris replenished and upheld the Roman standard at Nice in Bithynia. The difference A.D. 1204–1222. of the value of these virtues was happily suited to the diversity of their situation. In his first efforts, the fugitive Lascaris commanded only three cities and two thousand soldiers: his reign was the season of generous and active despair; in every military operation he staked his life and crown; and his enemies, of the Hellenes-point and the Macedon, were surprised by his celerity.2 He was created, and subdued by his boldness. A victorious reign of eighteen years expanded the principality of Nice to the magnitude of an empire. The throne of his successor and son-in-law John Ducus Vatatzes was founded on a more solid basis. — A.D. 1222–1453. a larger scope, and more plentiful resources; and it was the temple, as well as the interest, of Vatatzes to calculate the risk, to expect the moment, and to insure the success, of his ambitious designs. In the decline of the Latins, I have briefly exposed the progress of the Greeks; the prudent and gradual advances of a conqueror, who, in a reign of thirty-three years, rescued the provinces from national and foreign usurpers, till he pressed on all sides the imperial city, a leafless and sapless trunk, which must fall at the first stroke of the axe. But his interior and peaceful administration is still more deserving of notice and praise.3 The calamities of the times had wasted the numbers and the substance of the Greeks; the motives and the means of agriculture were extinguished; and the most fertile lands were left without cultivation or inhabitants. A portion of this vacant property was occupied and improved by the command, and for the benefit, of the emperor; a powerful hand compelled the land, and maintained, a peaceful and useful management, the minute diligence of a private farmer: the royal domain became the garden and granary of Asia; and without impoverishing the people...

9 Cleveland, p. 412. By some it is assigned to a Sire, earl of Devon; but the English denotes the fifteenth, rather than the thirteenth century. 1204 and i: we feel the motto which was probably adopted by the Powderham branch, after the loss of the earldom of Devonshire,
ple, the sovereign acquired a fund of innocent and productive wealth. According to the nature of the soil, his lands were sown with corn or planted with vines; the olives were filled with olives, the sheep and hogs; and when Vataces presented to the empress a crown of diamonds and pearls, he informed her with a smile, that this precious ornament arose from the sale of the eggs of his innumerable poultry. The produce of his domain was applied to the maintenance of his palace and households, the calls of dignity and benevolence; the lesson was still more useful than the revenue; the plough was restored to its ancient security and honour; and the nobles were taught to seek a sure and independent revenue from their estates, instead of adorning their splendid beggary by the oppression of the Italian losses. "The demands of nature and necessity," was he accustomed to say, "are indispensable; but the influence of fashion may rise and sink at the breath of a monarch;" and both his precept and example recommended simplicity of mode and use of domestic industry. The education of youth and the revival of learning were the most sovereign objects of his care: and, without deciding the precedence, he pronounced with truth, that a prince and a philosopher are the two most eminent characters of human society. His first wife was Irene, the daughter of Theodore Lascaris, a woman more illustrious by her personal merit, the milder virtues of her sex, than by the blood of the Angelii and Comneni, that flowed in her veins, and transmitted the inheritance of the empire. After her death he was contracted to Anne, or Constance, a natural daughter of the emperor Frederick the second; but as he had not accomplished the years of puberty, Vataces placed in his solitarily bed an Italian damsel of her train; and his amorous weakness bestowed on the concubine the honours, though not the title, of lawful empress. His frugality was evidenced as a dailigous and damnable sin by the monks; and their rude invectives exercised and displayed the patience of the royal lover. A philosophic age may excuse a single vice, which was redeemed by a crowd of virtues; and in the review of his faults, and the more incommensurable passions of Lascaris, the judgment or the use of domestic industry was attributed to the second founders of the empire. The slaves of the Latins, without law or peace, applauded the happiness of their brethren who had resumed their national freedom; and Vataces employed the laudable policy of convincing the Greeks of every dominion that it was their interest to be enrolled in the number of his subjects.


A strong shade of degeneracy is visible between John Vataces and his son Theodore, between the founder who sustained the weight and the heir who enjoyed the splendour, of the imperial crown. Yet the character of Theodore was not devoid of energy; he had been educated in the school of his father, in the exercise of war and hunting; Constantinople was yet spared; but in the three years of a short reign he thrice led his armies into the heart of Bulgaria. His virtues were sullied by a choleric and suspicious temper; the first of these may be ascribed to the ignorance of control; and the second might naturally arise from a dark and imperfect view of the world. The son of Vataces was sown with original errors, and the Greek logothete, George Acropolia, presumed to offend him by the declaration of a free and honest opinion. The emperor half-unsheathed his seminary; but his more deliberate rage reserved Acropolia for a future blow. One of the first offices of the empire was ordered to dismount, stripped of his robes, and extended on the ground in the presence of the prince and army. In this posture he was chastised with so many and such heavy blows from the clubs of two guards or executioners, that when Theodore commanded them to cease, the great warrior was scarcely able to rise and crawl away to his tent. After a seclusion of some days, he was recalled by a peremptory mandate to his seat in council; and so dead were the Greeks to the sense of honour and shame, that it the great dominie, who so equably himself that we acquire the knowledge of his disgrace. The cruelty of the emperor was exaggerated by the pangs of sickness, the approach of a premature end, and the suspicion of poison and magic. The lives and fortunes, the eyes and limbs, of his kinsmen and nobles, were sacrificed to his caprices and caprices; and event theputed the emperors and calumnies of the desiring son of Vataces might deserve from the people, or at least from the court, the appellation of tyrant. A Marion of the family of the Paleologi had provoked his anger by refusing to bestow her beautiful daughter on the vile plebeian who was recommended by his empire. Without regard to her birth or age, her body, as high as the neck, was enclosed in a sack with several cats, who were pricked with pins to irritate their fury against their unfortunate fellow-captive. In his last hours the emperor testified a wish to forgive and to be forgiven, a just anxiety for the fate of John, his son and successor, who, at the age of eight years, was left with no other son of Vataces might deserve from the people, or at least from the court, the appellation of tyrant. A Marion of the family of the Paleologi had provoked his anger by refusing to bestow her beautiful daughter on the vile plebeian who was recommended by his empire. Without regard to her birth or age, her body, as high as the neck, was enclosed in a sack with several cats, who were pricked with pins to irritate their fury against their unfortunate fellow-captive. In his last hours the emperor testified a wish to forgive and to be forgiven, a just anxiety for the fate of John, his son and successor, who, at the age of eight years, was left with no other
Michael Palaeologus, the most illustrious in birth and merit, of the Greek nobility, was one of those who are proud of their ancestors: and so of Michael, the far greater part must be content with Palaeologus, with local or domestic renown; and few there are who dare trust the memorials of their family to the public annals of their country. As early as the middle of the eleventh century, the family of the Palaeologi was conspicuous in the Byzantine history: it was the valiant George Palaeologus who placed the father of the Commenti on the throne; and his kinsmen or descendants continue, in each generation, to lead the armies and counsels of the state. The passion for revenge, which had pursued him during the law of succession, and female succession, been strictly observed, the wife of Theodore Lascaris must have yielded to her elder sister, the mother of Michael Palaeologus, who afterwards raised his family to the throne. In his person, the splendour of birth was dignified by a soldier and a statesman: in his early youth he was promoted to the office of constable or commander of the French mercenaries: the private expenses of a day never exceeded three pieces of gold; but his ambition was rapacious and profuse; and his gifts were doubled by the graces of his conversation, which was so choice as to elude the jealousy of the court; and Michael thrice escaped from the dangers in which he was involved by his own imprudence or that of his friends. I. Under the reign of Justice and Vataces, a dispute arose between two officers, one of whom accused the other of maintaining the heretical right of the Palaeologi. The cause was decided, according to the new jurisprudence of the Latins, by single combat: the defendant was overthrown; but he persisted in declaring that himself alone was guilty; and that he had uttered these heretical words under the compulsion of ambition or knowledge of his patron. Yet a cloud of suspicion hung over the innocence of the constable: he was still pursued by the whispers of malevolence; and a subtle courtier, the archbishop of Philadelphia, urged him to accept the judgment of God in the fiery proving, by seduction and seduction, and by the signet of the throne. In a word, he, and would boldly enter the lists with my accusers; but a layman, a single man, I am not endowed with the gift of miracles. Your piety, most holy prelate, may deserve the interposition of heaven, and from your hands I will receive the feral globe, the pledge of my innocence." The archbishop started; the emperor smiled; and the absolution or pardon of Michael was approved by new rewards and new services. II. In the succeeding reign, as he held the government of Nice, he was secretly informed, that the mind of the absent prince was possessed with jealousy; and that death, or blindness, would be his final reward. Instead of awaiting the return and sentence of Theodore, the constable with some followers escaped from the city and the empire; and though he was plundered by the Turkans of the desert, he found an hospitable refuge in the court of the sultan. In the ambiguous state of an exile, Michael reconciled the duties of gratitude and loyalty to his former and his present masters; admonishing the garrisons of the Roman limit; and, promising, by his influence, the restoration of peace, in which his pardon and recall were honourably included. III. While he guarded the west against the Mosquito of France, he fortified his capital, and condemned in the palace; and such was his loyalty or weakness, that he submitted to be led in chains above six hundred miles from Durazzo to Nice. The civility of the messenger alleviated his disgrace; the emperor's sickness dispelled his danger; and the last part of the death of Theoden, which recommended his infant son, at once acknowledged his innocence and the power of Palaeologus.

But his innocence had been too un- His elevation to the worthy treated, and his power was too strongly felt, to curb an aspiring subject in the fair field that was opened to his ambition. I. To council after the death of Theodore, he was the first to pronounce, and the last to violate, the oath of allegiance to Muzalon; and so dexterous was his conduct, that he reapplied the benefit, without incurring the guilt, or at least the reproach, of the subsequent massacre. In the choice of barons, the interests of the state were already abolished of under candidates; turned their envy and hatred from himself against each other, and forced every competitor to own, that after his own claims, those of Palaeologus were best entitled to the preference. Under the title of great duke, he accepted or assumed, during a long minority, the active powers of government; but his name was a venerable name; and the factious nobles were seduced, or suppressed, by the ascendant of his genius. The fruits of the economy of Vataces were deposited in a strong castle on the banks of the Hermus, in the custody of his faithful Varangian; the constable retained his command or influence over the foreign troops; he employed the guards to possess the treasure, and the treasure to corrupt the guards; and whatever might be the abuse of the public money, his character was above the suspicion of private avarice. By himself, or by his minions, he strove to persuade every rank of subjects, that their own prosperity would rise in just proportion to the establishment of his authority. The weight of taxes was suspended, the perpetual theme of popular complaint; and he prohibited the trials by the ordeal and judicial combat. These barbarities, on the contrary, were already abolished in France and England; and the appeal to the sword offended the sense of a civilized, and the temper of an unwarlike, people. For the future maintenance of their wives and children, the veterans were grateful; the priest and the philosopher applauded his ardent zeal for the advancement of religion and learning; and his vague promise of rewarding merit, was applied by every candidate to his own hopes. Consious of the influence of the clergy, Michael successsor

a Without comparing Tacitrus to Thucydides, or Tacitus, I will encrease his narrative, and I. See Acropolita, c. 75, 76, 77, 78, who lived too near the times; Palaeologus (c. 650) who was probably too near of the world; and Acropolita (c. 675, 676) who had the advantage of the world.

b The pedigree of Palaeologus is explained by Ducas. (Famille Byzantine, c. 111.)

To an exhaustive research of the Palaeologi and Gregorios (t. 1, i. c. 7, 12, 29, 30) with visible fight to the father of the reigning dynasty.

c See Acropolita, c. 650, 675, 676, with the account of the beginning of the last century.

d Yet an impenetrable darkness concealed to me in imitation of this practice, 1. That in nations emerging from barbarism, it moderates the licence of private war and arbitrary revenge. 2. That it is ales abridges the measure of wrongs. 3. That it is less savage and more personal; a check to the most vain and ferocious passions; and that the danger of a trial might be some check to a malicious perserverance, and useful barrier against injustice-supported by power. The gallant and unexamined empire of Surrinagne, if doubtless, probably had in his unremitted fate, not had the demand of the combat against his accuser been overruled.
fully laboured to secure the suffrage of that powerful order. Their expensive journey from Nice to Magnesia, Eordaia, Dobris, and Amphilochia; the leading prelates were tempted by the liberality of his nocturnal visits; and the incorruptible patriarch was flattered by the homage of his new colleague, who led his mule by the bridle into the town, and removed to a respectable distance the importunity of the crowd. Without receiving a present by royal descent, Palaeologus encouraged a free discussion into the advantages of elective monarchy; and his adherents asked, with the insolence of triumph, what patient would trust his wealth, or what merchant abandon his vessel, to the hereditary skill of a physician or pilot? The youth of the emperor, the dangerous dangers of his captivity, required the support of a mature and experienced guardian; and an associate raised above the envy of his equals, and invested with the name and prerogatives of royalty. For the interest of the prince and people, without any selfish views for himself or his family, the great duke consented to guard and instruct the son of Theodore; but he signified the happy moment when he might restore to his firmer hands the administration of his patrimony, and enjoy the blessings of a private station. He was first invested with the title and prerogatives of despot, which bestowed the purple garments, and the second place in the Roman monarchy. It was afterwards agreed that John and Michael should be proclaimed as joint emperors, and raised on the buckler, but that the pre-eminence should be reserved for the birth-right of the former. A mutual league of severity and a policy of precaution between the rival partisans and in case of a rupture, the subjects were bound by their oath of allegiance to decree the mis- selves against the aggressor; an ambiguous name, the seed of discord and civil war. Palaeologus was content; but on the day of the coronation, and in the cather- dral of Nice, his zealous adherents most vehemently urged the just priority of his age and merit. The un- seasonable dispute was eluded by postponing to a more convenient opportunity the coronation of John Lascaris; and he walked with a slight diadem in the train of his guardian, who alone received the imperial crown from the hands of the patriarch. It was a great and extreme re- fusal that Arsenius abandoned the cause of his pupil; but the Varangians branded their battle-axes; a sign of assent was extorted from the trembling youth; and sophs, who were now the child should no longer impede the settlement of the na- tion. A full harvest of honours and employments was distributed among his friends by the grateful Palaeolo- gus. In his own family he created a despot and two se- bastocrats; Alexis Stratophenopius was decorated with the title of Caesar; and that veteran commander soon repaid the obligation, by restoring Constantinople to the Greek emperor.

It was in the second year of his reign, while he resided in the palace and gar- dens of Nymphæum, "near Smyrna, that the first messenger arrived at the dead of night; and the stupendous intelligence was conveyed to Michael, after he had been greatly waked by the tender precaution of his sister Eulogia. The man was known or obscure; he produced no letters from the victorious Caesar; nor could it easily be conjectured, after the defeat of Vataces and the recent failure of Palaeologus himself, that the capital had been surpris- ed by a detachment of eight hundred soldiers. As an hostage, the doubtful author was confined, with the assurance for an ample presence; and the imperial court was left some hours in the anxiety of hope and fear, till the messengers of Alexius arrived with the

authentic intelligence, and displayed the trophies of the conquest, the sword and sceptre, the bracelets and ornaments, which he had dropped in his precipitate flight. A general assembly of the bishops, senators, and nobles, was immediately con- vened, and never perhaps was an event received with more heartfelt and universal joy. In a studied oration, the new sovereign of Constantineople congratulated his own and the public fortunes. "There was a time," he said, "a far distant time, when the Roman empire extended to the Adriatic, the Tigris, and the confines of Ethiopia. After the loss of the provinces, our capital itself, in these last and calamitous days, has been wrested from our hands by the barbarians of the Franks. But the Great Virgin has again returned in our favour; but our prosperity was that of fugitives and exiles: and when we were asked, which was the country of the Romans, we indicated with a blush the empyrean of the globe and the quarter of the heavens. The divine Providence has now restored to our arms the city of Constantinople, the sacred seat of religion and empire; and it will depend on our valour and conduct to render this important acquisition the pledge and omen of future victories." So eager was the value of the princes who returned from the inhabited world, and the wealth and experience of the Latins. The emperor, accompanied by his triumphal entry into Constantineople only twenty days after the expulsion of the Latins. The golden gate was thrown open at his approach; the devout emperor dismounted from his horse, and the princes of his family and court placed a marble column beside the road, on which Michael Palaeologus, A.D. 1203.

II

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He was hailed on the summit of a precipice, by the old commandant of the city, who was concealed in the palace of his predecessor. His triumphal entry was accompanied by the acclamations of the people, who were cheered by the peace and safety which they enjoyed. The city was restored to its ancient and ancient state, and the inhabitants were not only presents, but the expense of the republic. Before the Emperor's return, the Genoese had sent to the Emperor's court, and the brave redoubters were seated in the capital city, and had been recovered by their arms. The French barons and the principal families had retired with their empe- ror; but the patient and humble crowd of Latins were attached to the country, and indifferent to the change of masters. Instead of banishing the factories of the Pisans, Venetians, and Genoese, the prudent con- querer accepted their oaths of allegiance, encouraged their industry, confirmed their privileges, and allowed them to live under the jurisdiction of their proper magistrates. Of these nations, the Pisans and Venet- ians preserved their respective quarters in the city; but the services and power of the Genoese deserved at the same time the gratitude and jealousy of the Greeks. Their independent colony was first planted at the sea-port town of Heraclea in Thrace. They were speedily recalled, and settled in the country.

1 The sceptre, the emblem of justice and power, was a long staff, such as was used by the heroes in Homer. By the latter Gregory it was formed of one piece of wood, and the imperial sceptre of the usual by the red or purple colour.

2 The description of this banquet is in the fashion foam; but from the rubric at the point or summit, Decanage (Hist. of C. P. L. v. c. 25, 29) believes that it was the high crowned hat of the Greeks. Could Acropolita mistake the ears of his own court.
The recovery of Constantinople was celebrated as the era of Palaesogus; and, by the right of the sword, renewed his coronation in the church of St. Sophia; and the name and honours of John Lascaris, his pupil and lawful sovereign, were insensibly abolished. But his claims still lived in the minds of the people; and his spirit, though muted for many years of humiliation and bondage. By fear or conscience, Palaesogus was restrained from dippings his hands in innocent and royal blood; but the anxiety of a usurper and a parent urged him to secure his throne, by one of those infamous crimes so familiar to the modern Greeks. The loss of sight incapacitated the young prince for the active business of the world: instead of the brutal violence of tearing out his eyes, the visual nerve was destroyed by the intense glare of a red-hot basin; and John Lascaris was removed to a distant castle, where he spent many years in deep oblivion. Such stoical self control and deliberate guilt seem incompatible with remorse; but if Michael could trust the mercy of Heaven, he was not inaccessible to the reproaches and vengeance of mankind, which he had provoked by cruelty and treason. His cruelty imposed on a service court the duties of an executioner; but the gentle blood of Vespasian condemned his inflexible spirit, so repugnant to the unbounded forgiveness of the gospel. The emperor had artfully instigated, that, if he were still rejected at home, he might seek, in the Roman pontiff, a more indulgent judge; but it was far more easy and effectual to find or to place that judge at the head of the Byzantine church. Arsenius was involved in a vague rumour of conspiracy and disaffection; some irregular steps in his distribution and government were liable to censure; a synod deposed him from the episcopal office; and he was transported under a guard of soldiers to a small island of the Propontis. Before his exile, he suddenly requested that a strict account might be taken of the treasures of the church; boasted, that his sole riches, three pieces of gold, had been earned by transcribing the psalms; continued to assert the freedom of his mind; and denied, with his last breath, the pardon which was implored by the national deputation. The history of Adraniopole, was translated to the Byzantine throne; but his authority was found insufficient to support the absolution of the emperor; and Joseph, a revered monk, was substituted to that important function. This edifying scene was represented in the presence of the senate and the people. At the end of six years, the humble penitent was restored to the communion of the faithful; and humanity would rejoice, that a milder treatment of the captive Lascaris was stipulated as a proof of his remorse. But the spirit of Arsenius still survived in a powerful faction of the monks and clergy, who persevered above forty-eight years in an obstinate schism. Their scruples were treated with tenderness and respect by Michael and his son; and the reconciliation of the Arsenites was the serious labour of the church and state. In the confidence of fanaticism, they had proposed the destruction of a class, the abjuration of a miracle; and when the two papers, that contained their oath and the adverse cause, were cast into a fiery braser, they expected that the catholic verity would be respected by the flames. Alas! the two papers were indiscriminately consumed, and this unforeseen accident confirmed the quarrel of an age. The final treaty displayed the victory of the Arsenites: the clergy abstained during forty days from all ecclesiastical functions; a slight penance was imposed on the laity; the body of Arsenius was deposited in the sanctuary; and in the name of the departed saint, the prince and people were released from the sins of their fathers.

The establishment of his family was

The crime and excommunication of Michael are fairly told by

Pachymer (II. c. 10. 14. 15. 16.) and Gregoras (I. c. 4.) His con- clusion and penitence restored their freedom.

Pachymer relates the exile of Arsenius: (G. iv. c. 1—16) he was one of the commentators who visited him in the desert island. The following passage in the treatise of the emperor is an authentic document: "The treatment of the emperor Pachymer to the emperor Nicephorus: Bibilhice, Ecclesiastique, tom. a. p. 55.

Pachymer (I. vii. p. 199) relates the Pachymer trial like a philosopher, and treats with similar contempt a plot of the Arsenites, to hide retribution in the cloister of some old saint. (I. vii. c. 14.) He compensates this incredibility by an image that weeps when it is dry. (I. vii. c. 2.) and the miraculous cures of a deaf and a mute patient. (I. vii. c. 52.)

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The crime and excommunication of Michael are fairly told by Pachymer (II. c. 25—33.) Accropolita. (c. 56.) Nicophares Gregoras (I. c. 1.) and for the treatment of the subject, Latina, D'angeville. (v. c. 30. 31.)

This maladroit invention for extinguishing the sight, was tried by the emperor. Pachymer, in the treatise of the emperor Nicephorus: Bibilhice, Ecclesiastique, tom. a. p. 55.

Pachymer (I. viii. p. 199) relates the Pachymer trial like a philosopher, and treats with similar contempt a plot of the Arsenites, to hide retribution in the cloister of some old saint. (I. vii. c. 14.) He compensates this incredibility by an image that weeps when it is dry. (I. vii. c. 2.) and the miraculous cures of a deaf and a mute patient. (I. vii. c. 52.)

The story of the Arsenites is spread through the thirteen books of Pachymer. Their undue triumphs are narrated by Gregoras. (G. iv. c. 5.)
of the purple. Andronicus, afterwards
surnamed the Elder, was proclaimed and
crowned emperor of the Romans, in the
fifteenth year of his age; and, from the
first area of his reign, he held himself, as he
had held under his father, to be the
august title nine years as the colleague, and
nay as the successor of his father. Michael himself, had he
died in a private station, would have been thought
more worthy of the empire: and the assaults of his
temporal and spiritual enemies left him few moments
to labour for a problem, favoring the happiness of his
subjects. He wrested from the Franks several of the
noblest islands of the Archipelago, Lesbos, Chios, and
Rhodes: his brother Constantine was sent to command
in Malvasia and Sparta; and the eastern side of the
Morea, from Argos and Naphel, Cape Tanareus, was
repossessed by the Greeks. This effusion of christian
blood was loudly condemned by the patriarch; and
the insolent priest presumed to impede his fears and
scruples between the arms of princes. But in the pro-
secution of these western conquests, the countries be-
yside the Hellespent were left naked to the Turks
and their depredations verified the prophecy of a dying
senator, that the recovery of Constantinople would
be the ruin of Asia. The victories of Michael were
achieved by his lieutenants; his sword rusted in the
palace; and, in the transactions of the emperor with
the popes, the标ing of Naphel, his political arts
were stained with cruelty and fraud.

1. The Vatican was the most natural
refuge of a Latin emperor, who had been
driven from his throne; and pope Urban
the fourth appeared to pity the misfor-
tunes, and vindicate the cause, of the fugitive Bald-
win. A crusade, with plenary indulgence, was pro-
ounced by his command against the schismatic Greeks; he
excommunicated their allies and adherents; solicited
Louis the ninth in favour of his kinsman; and demand-
ed a tenth of the ecclesiastical revenues of France
and England for the service of the holy war. The subtle
Greeks, who watched the rising tempest of the west,
attempted to suspend or soothe the hostility of the
popes, by suppliant emissaries and respectful letters;
but he intimated that the establishment of peace must
prepare the reconciliation and obedience of the eastern
church. The Roman court could not be deceived by
so gross an artifice; and Michael was admonished,
that the repentence of the son should precede the for-
giveness of the father; and that faith (an ambiguous
word) was the guarantee of the basis of alliance and alli-
ance. After a long and affected delay, the approach of
danger, and the importunity of Gregory the tenth, com-
pelled him to enter on a more serious negotiation: he
alleged the example of the great Vatæces; and the
Greek clergy, who understood the intentions of their
prince, were not alarmed by the first steps of reconcili-
ation and respect. But when he pressed the con-
sideration of the treaty, they strenuously declared, that the
Latinus, though not in name, were heretics in fact, and
that they despised those strangers as the vilest and most
abhorred of man, who had taken refuge in the place which
was the task of the emperor to persuade, to corrupt, to
institute, the most popular ecclesiasties, to gain the
vote of each individual, and utterly to urge the
arguments of christian charity and the public welfare.
The texts of the fathers and the arms of the Franks
were balanced in the theological and political scale;
and without approving the addition to the Nicæan
 creed, the most moderate were taught to confess, that
the two hostile propositions of proceeding from the
Father by the Son, and proceeding from the Father
to the Son, might be reduced to a safe and catholic
sense. The supremacy of the pope was a doctrine
more easy to conceive, but more painful to acknow-
ledge; yet Michael represented to his monks and pre-
lates, that they might submit to name the Roman bish-
op as the first of the patriarchs; and that their distance
and discordance should guard the liberties of the western
church from the mischievous consequences of the right
of appeal. He protested that he would sacrifice his
life and empire rather than yield the smallest point of
orthodox faith or national independence: and this
declaration was sealed and ratified by a golden bull.
The patriarch Joseph withdrew to a monastery, to
resign or resume his throne, according to the event
of the treaty: the letters of union and obedience were
subscribed by the emperor, his son Andronicus, and
thirty-five archbishops and metropolitans, with their
servants and canons; and the compromise was multi-
plicated by many dioceses which were annihilated under
the yoke of the infidels. An embassy was composed of
some trusty ministers and prelates; they embarked
for Italy, with rich ornaments and rare perfumes, for
the altar of St. Peter; and their secret orders authorized
the virtual declaration of a new church. Books were
received in the general council of Lyons, by pope
Gregory the tenth, at the head of five hundred bish-
ops. He embraced with tears his long-lost and ren-
ounced children; accepted the oath of the ambassa-
dors, who adjured the schism in the name of the two
emperors; adored the prelates with the ring and tri-
itre; chanted in Greek and Latin the Nicæan creed
with the addition of filioque; and rejoiced in the union
of the east and west, which had been reserved for his
reign. To consummate this pious work, the Byz-
antine deputies were speedily followed by the pope's
nuncios; and their instruction disclosed the policy of
the Vatican, which could not be satisfied with the vain
title of supremacy. After viewing the temper of the
prince and people, they were enjoined to absorb the
schismatic clergy, who should subscribe and swear
their abjuration and obedience; to establish in all
the churches the use of the perfect creed; to prepare
the entrance of a cardinal legate, with the full powers
and dignity of his office; and to instruct the emperor in
the advantages which he might derive from the tem-
poral union.

But they found a country without a
friend, a nation in which the names of the Greeks,
Rome and Union were pronounced with A.D. 1277-1282.
abhorrence. The patriarch Joseph was indeed remov-
ed; his place was filled by Vecceus, an ecclesiastis.of
learning and moderation; and the emperor was still
urged by the same motives, to persevere in the same
professions. But in his private language Palaeologus
affected to deplore the pride, and to blame the innova-
tions, of the Latins; and while he dehased his char-
acter by his hostiliti, he justified by his example the
abhorrence of his subjects. By the joint
suffrage of the new and the ancient Rome, a sentence
of excommunication was pronounced against the obsti-
nate schismatics; the censures of the church were exec-
uted by the sword of Michael; on the failure of persua-
sion, he tried the arguments of prison and exile, of whip-

- Of the thirteen books of Pachymer, the first six and the fourth
and fifth of the tenth and sixteenth contain the life of Michael, at
the time of whose death he was forty years of age. Instead of break-
ning off, like his two great predecessors, he overleapd his own
row Ducange and Cousin, who number the thirteen books in one
hour.

Ducange, Hist. de C. P. i. v. c. 33, &c, from the Epitites of Ur-
ban IV.

From their mercantile intercourse with the Venetians and Geno-
es, they branded the Latins as 'etruscan and unstable, (Pachymer, 1.
v. c. 128,) "Some of the Greeks at times were like the Latins in their
etiquette, but the learned Vecceus, (l. v. c. 12) who soon afterwards
were converted, (c. 15, 16) and a patriarch, (c. 21.)

21. See the acts of the council of Lyons in the year 1274, Fleury.

22. l. c. 35.

23 A curious instruction, which has been drawn with more or
less pertinence, from the Gospels, says, "And he that shall be last
in the Vatican, is given in an abstract or version by Fleury, (tom. xviii.
p. 245-246.)
ping and mutilation; those touch-stones, says an historian, of cowards and the brave. Two Greeks still reigned in Ætolia, Æpirus, and Thessaly, with the ap- parent support of the eastern empire, the claims of Constantinople, but they rejected the chains of the Roman pontiff, and supported their refusal by successful arms. Under their protection, the fugitive monks and bishops assembled in hostile synods; and forgot the name of heretic with the galling addition of apostate. The Latins, though they assume the forfeit title of emperor; and even the Latins of Negropont, Thebes, Athens, and the Morea, were suspected of the convert, to join, with open or clandestine aid, the enemies of Palæologus. His fa- vorite generals, of his own blood and family, success- sively deserted, or betrayed, the meretricious truce. His sister Eulogia, a niece, and two female cousins, conspired against him; another niece, Mary queen of Bulgaria, negotiated his ruin with the sultan of Egypt; and, in the public eye, their treason was conspired and foretold him the virtue. To the pope's munificence, who urged the consummation of the work, Palæologus exposed a naked relic of all that he had done and suffered for their sake. They were assured that the guilty sectaries, of both sexes and every rank, had been deprived of their honours, their fortunes, and their liberty; by a spreading list of confiscation and punishment, which involved many persons, the dearest to the emperor, or the best deserving of his favour. They were conducted to the prison, to behold four princes of the royal blood chained in the four corners, and shaking their fetters in an agony of grief and rage. Two of these captives were afterwards released; one by submission, the other by death: but the obsta- nency of their two companions was chastised by the loss of their eyes; and the Greeks, the least adverse to the union, deplore the cruel and ignominious tragedy. And is it possible that any man whom they oppress; but they commonly find some consolation in the testimony of their conscience, the applause of their party, and, perhaps, the success of their undertaking. But the hypocrisy of Michael, which was prompted only by political motives, must have hisfillers and his persecutors; and-to esteem and envy the rebel champions by whom he was detested and despised. While his vi- olation was abhorred at Constantinople, at Rome his slowness was arraigned, and his sincerity suspected; till at length pope Martin the fourth excluded the Greek emperor from the pale of a church, into which he was striving to reduce a schismatic people.

The union dis- solved.

No sooner had the tyrant expired, than the union was dissolved, and abjured by unanimous consent; the churches were purified; the penitents were reconciled; and his son Andronicus, after weeping the sins and errors of his youth, most piously denied his father the burial of a prince and a christian. 3

II. In the distress of the Latins, the walls and towers of Constantinople had fallen to decay; they were restored and fortified by the policy of Michael, who deposited a plenteous store of corn and salt provisions, to sustain the siege which he might hourly expect from the resentment of the western powers. Of these, the two Sicilies was the most formidable neighbour; but as long as they were possessed by Mainfroy, the bastard of Frederic the second, his monarchy was the bulwark, rather than the annoyance, of the eastern empire. The usurper, though a bloody and active prince, was sufficiently employed in the defence of his throne: his prescription by successive popes had separated Mainfroy from the common cause of the Latins; and the forces that might have besieged Constantinople were detained in a crusade against the Turks. The price of the crown of the two Sicilies, was won and worn by the brother of St. Louis, by Charles count of Anjou and Provence, who led the chivalry of France on this holy expedition. The disaffection of his christian subjects compelled Mainfroy to enlist colony of heretics whom his father had planted in Apulia; and this odious succour will explain the deficiency of the catholic hero, who rejected all terms of accommodation. "Bear this message," says Charles, "to the sultan of Oceora, that God and the sword are u impartial, and that he shall either send me to paradise, or I will send him to the pit of hell." The armies met, and though I am ignorant of Mainfroy's doom in the other world, in this he lost his friends, his kingdom, and his life, in the bloody battle of Ben- evento. Naples and Sicily were immediately peopled with a warlike and French nobility; and the rising leader embraced the future conquest of Africa, Greece and Palestine. The most specious reasons might point his first arms against the Byzantine empire; and Palæologus, indignant of his own strength, repeatedly appealed from the ambition of Charles to the humanity of St. Louis, who promised him a just descendant over the mind of his ferocious brother. For a while the attention of that brother was confined at home by the invasion of Comrad, the last heir of the imperial house of Swabia; but the hapless boy sunk in the cruel extremity of his reign, and his successor, the once terror of the world, was exiled by the political scaffold taught the rivals of Charles to tremble for their heads as well as their dominions. A second respite was obtained by the last crusade of St. Louis to the African coast; and the double motive of interest and duty urged the king of Naples to assist, with his powerful fleets and his presence at the siege, the enterprise of the last day's journey round the city, for the imperial domain. In this perilous moment Palæologus was the most eager to subscribe the creed, and implore the protection, of the Roman pontiff, who assumed, with propriety and weight, the character of an angel of peace, the common father of the christians. By his voice, the sword of Charles was chased in the seashore; and the Greek ambassadors beheld him in the pope's anti-chamber, biting his ivory sceptre in a transport of fury, and devoutly resuming the refusal to enfranchise and consecrate his arms. He appears to have respected the disinterested mediation of Gregory

3. This frank and authentic confession of Michael's distress, is exhibited in barbarous Latin by Ogcrius, who signs himself Proconsul Iniunorum, and translated byWalsh, from the Musaeiell of the Vatican. (A. D. 1378. No. 5.) His Annals of the Franciscan order, the Ptolemæi, in the Ptolemaesi Chronicles of Riccardino Malaspina, c. 731-155.) Francesco Giovanni Villani, Liv. II. 19. The authenticity of this work is established by Muratori in the eight and thirteenth volumes of the histories of Italy. In his Annals, (com. c. 15. p. 56-72) he has abridged these great volumes, which are, like his own works, divided into the fragments or portions, to which they are also divided, in the Rapifenn, tome ii. l. xix. tom. iii. l. xx.

4. From the sixth book of Pachymer, particularly the chapters i. 11. 16. 18. 24. 27. He is more the credible, as he speaks of this persecution, in the first of his works, 1734. 1735.)

5. Pachymer, l. iv. c. i.-ii. 17. The speech of Andronicus the Eparch, of the Sicilians, is in the Discourse of Giovanni Villani, (c. 155. 230.) which is published with great facility, by Muratori in the eight and thirteenth volumes of the histories of Italy. In his Annals, (com. c. 15. p. 56-72) he has abridged these great volumes, which are, like his own works, divided into the fragments or portions, to which they are also divided, in the Rapifenn, tome ii. l. xix. tom. iii. l. xx.

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widely diffused and so freely circulated the secret was preserved above two years within the Venetian discretion; and each of the conspirators imbibed the maxim of Peter, who declared that he would cut off his left hand if it were conceivable of the intentions of his right. The mine was prepared with deep and dangerous artifice; but it may be questioned, whether the instant explosion of Palermo were the effect of accident or design.

On the vigil of Easter a procession of the unarmed citizens visited a church Vespers, without the walls; and a noble damsel, The Sicilian was rudely insulted by a Frenchman, 2 Peter of Arragon, who sailed from the African coast to Palermo, was saluted as a king, and the large fortune of the island was given to a people on whom he had so long trampled with impunity. Charles was astonished and confounded; and in the first agony of grief and devotion, he was heard to exclaim, “O God! if thou hast decreed to humble me, let it be that I may be lifted up from the pinnacle of greatness! 3” His fleet and army, which already filled the sea-port of Italy, were hastily recalled from the service of the Greek war; and the situation of Messina exposed that town to the first storm of his revenge. Feeble in themselves, and dishonored by a foreign successor, their lives and fortunes have repented, and submitted on the assurance of full pardon and their ancient privileges. But the pride of the monarch was already rekindled; and the most fervent entreaties of the legate could exert no more than a promise, that he would forgive the remainder, after a chosen list of eight hundred rebels had been yielded to his discretion. The despair of the Messinian renewed their courage; Peter of Arragon approached to their relief; 4 and his rival was driven back by the failure of provision and the terror of the equinox to the Calabrian shore. At the same moment, the Catalan admiral, the famous Roger de Loria, swept the channel with an invincible squadron; the French fleet of Charles, fleet, more numerous in transports than Oct. 2 in galleys, was either burnt or destroyed; and the French ships, independent of Sicily and the safety of the Greek empire. A few days before the death, the emperor Michael rejoiced in the full of an enemy whom he hated and esteemed: and perhaps he might be content with the popular judgment, that had they not been matched with each other, Constantinople and Italy must speedily have obeyed the same master. 5 From this disastrous moment, the life of Charles was a series of misfortunes; his capital was insulted, his son was made prisoner, and he sunk into

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1 After enumerating the sufferings of his country, Nicholas Speculaeus, a Disciple of Italian Jewellery, Quem omnibus in gravidum, de arbitrio, predicto anno Nostro, secundum annis Speculatii, c. 1, p. 293.
2 The French were long taught in this bloody lesson: “Si ipse persequi, haec terribilis iuris: ‘Haec erit et arcessus imperii mei, subito, et dine at Naples.’” — Yemen majesty (replied the Spanish ambassador): “May perhaps arrive at Sicily for vespers.”
3 This result with the subsequent victory, are related by two national writers, Bartholomaeus Sogastus, (in Muratori, tomi. xxi. v. c. 29.) and James de Chazelles, (in the contemporary history of the next century. The part of Speculaeus, the author of Speculum, who has been the subject of the following essay, (nobilissima conserentur) who happened to be with a fleet and army on the African coast, (in l. c. 4. 9.)
4 Nicholas Speculaeus (in l. c. 4. 8.) admires the wisdom of Providence in this equal balance of states and princes. For the honour of Speculaeus, I have rather balanced this account by an imitative writer.
of the grave without recovering the isle of Sicily, which, after a war of twenty years, was finally severed from the throne of Naples, and transferred, as an independent kingdom, to a younger branch of the house of Aragon.

I shall not, I trust, be accused of sur- pretion: but I must remark, that even in this world, the natural order of events, A.D. 1280—1307: names of moral retribution. The first Palaeologus had saved his empire by involving the kingdoms of the west in rebellion and blood; and from the Black Andalis, and disdained, the empire of his son. In modern times, our debts and taxes are the secret poison, which still corrodes the bosom of Greece; but in the weak and disorderly government of the middle ages, it was niggled by the present evil of the disbanded armies. Too idle to work, too proud to beg, the mercenaries were accustomed to a life of rapine: they could rob with more dignity and effect under a banner and a chief; and the sovereign, to whom their service was useless, and their presence intolerable, had to yield them to some neighbouring countries. After the peace of Sicily, many thousands of Genoese, Catalans, &c. who had fought, by sea and land, under the standard of Anjou or Aragon, were blended into one nation by the resemblance of their manners and interest. They became the terror of the four seas, and desolated, even by the Turks: they resolved to share the harvest of prey and plunder; and Frederic king of Sicily most liberally contributed the means of their departure. In a warfare of twenty years, a ship, or a camp, was become their country; arms were their sole property and prosperity; value was the only virtue which they knew; their women had imbibed the fearless temper of their lovers and husbands: it was reported, that, with a stroke of their broadsword, the Catalonians would cleave a horseman and a horse; and the report itself was a powerful weapon. Roger de Flor was the most popular of their chiefs; and his personal merit overshadowed the dignity of his prouder rivals of Arragon. The offspring of a marriage between a German gentleman of the court of Frederic the second and a damsel of Brindisi, Roger was successively a templar, and a crusader, and a murderer; he was the most powerful admiral of the Mediterranean. He sailed from Messina to Constantinople, with eighteen galleys, four great ships, and eight thousand adventurers: and his previous treaty was faithfully accomplished. The emperor, the most powerful of men, was without a government: while the princes, captivated by the princely sport that made laughter joy and terror this formidable succour. A palace was allotted for his reception, and a niece of the emperor was given in marriage to the valiant stranger, who was immediately created great duke or admiral of Romania. After a decent repose, he transported his troops over the Propontis, and boldly led them against the Turks: in two bloody battles thirty thousand of the Moslems were slain: he raised the siege of Philadelphia, and deserved the name of the deliverer of Asia. But after a short season of prosperity, the emperor soon fell a victim to his success: every one of his predecessors had been stabbed by the Alban guards; and, though the deed was imputed to his private revenge, his countrymen, who dwelt at Constantinople in the security of peace, were involved in the same proscription. The hangers-on by the prince were chieftains, and he was afraid lest his courtiers should be intimated the crowd of adventurers, who hoisted the sails of flight, and were soon scattered round the coasts of the Mediterranean. But a veteran band of fifteen hundred Catalans or French, stood firm in the strong fortress of Gallipoli on the Hellespont, displayed the banners of Arragon, and offered to revenge and justify their chief by an equal combat of ten or a hundred warriors. Instead of accepting this bold defiance, the emperor Michael, the son and colleague of Andronicus, resolved to oppress them with the weight of multitudes of allies; every nerve was strangled to form an army of thirteen thousand horse and thirty thousand foot; and the Propontis was covered with the ships of the

which they had rescued, they considered as their own; the willing or reluctant maid was saved from the race of circumcision for the embraces of a christian soldier: the exaction of fines and supplies was enforced by licentious rape and arbitrary executions; and, on the resistance of Magnesia, the great duke besieged a village. The policy of the Roman emperors was to be excused by the wrongs and passions of a victorious army; nor would his own authority or person have been safe, had he dared to punish his faithful followers, who were defrauded of the just and covenanted price of their services. The threats and complaints of Andronicus deeply affected the emperor. His Golden bull had invited no more than five hundred horse and a thousand foot soldiers; yet the crowds of volunteers, who migrated to the east, had been enlisted and fed by his spontaneous bounty. While his bravest allies were content with three byzants or pieces of gold, for their monthly pay, an oanice, or even two ounces, of gold, were assigned to the Catalans, whose annual pension would thus amount to near a hundred pounds sterling: one of their chiefs had modestly rated at three thousand crowns the value of his future applause and merit: and thousands had been issued from the treasury for the maintenance of these costly mercenaries. A cruel tax had been imposed on the corn of the husbandman: one third was retrenched from the salaries of the public officers; and the standard of the coin was so shamefully debased, that twenty parts of silver were equal to one part of gold. At the summons of the emperor, Roger evacuate a province which no longer supplied the materials of rapine: but he refused to disperse his troops; and while his style was respectful, his conduct was independent and high. He protested, that if the emperor should recur against him, he would advance forty paces to kiss the ground before him, but in rising from this prostrate attitude Roger had a life and sword at the service of his friends. The great duke of Romania condescended to accept the title and ornaments of Caesar; but he reverted to the new proposals of the government of Asia with a subsidy of corn and money, on condition that he should reduce his troops to the harmless number of three thousand men. Assassination is the last resource of cowards. The Caesar was tempted to visit the royal residence of Adriano with his imperial consort; in the intervals of the most powerful admiral of the Mediterranean. He sailed from Messina to Constantinople, with eighteen galleys, four great ships, and eight thousand adventurers: and his previous treaty was faithfully accomplished. The emperor, the most powerful of men, was without a government: while the princes, captivated by the princely sport that made laughter joy and terror this formidable succour. A palace was allotted for his reception, and a niece of the emperor was given in marriage to the valiant stranger, who was immediately created great duke or admiral of Romania. After a decent repose, he transported his troops over the Propontis, and boldly led them against the Turks: in two bloody battles thirty thousand of the Moslems were slain: he raised the siege of Philadelphia, and deserved the name of the deliverer of Asia. But after a short season of prosperity, the emperor soon fell a victim to his success: every one of his predecessors had been stabbed by the Alban guards; and, though the deed was imputed to his private revenge, his countrymen, who dwelt at Constantinople in the security of peace, were involved in the same proscription. The hangers-on by the prince were intimated the crowd of adventurers, who hoisted the sails of flight, and were soon scattered round the coasts of the Mediterranean. But a veteran band of fifteen hundred Catalans or French, stood firm in the strong fortress of Gallipoli on the Hellespont, displayed the banners of Arragon, and offered to revenge and justify their chief by an equal combat of ten or a hundred warriors. Instead of accepting this bold defiance, the emperor Michael, the son and colleague of Andronicus, resolved to oppress them with the weight of multitudes of allies; every nerve was strangled to form an army of thirteen thousand horse and thirty thousand foot; and the Propontis was covered with the ships of the

8 Some idea may be formed of the population of these cities, from the 36,000 inhabitants of Tripolis, which, in the preceding reign, was considered by the emperor, and ruined by the Turks. (Pachymer, i. v. c. 39. 21.)

9 I have collected these pecuniary circumstances from Pachymer, (i. xii. c. 31. l. vi. c. 31.) who describes the process of the degradation of the gold coin. Even in the prosperous times of John Ducas Vatier, the byzants were computed in equal proportions of the pure and the base metal. The poverty of Michael Palaeologus compelled him to strike a new coin, with nine parts, or carats, of gold, and fifteen of copper, and of this coin they were reduced to ten carats, till in the public distress it was reduced to the moiety. But the mandate of the emperor was not executed, and the prince was relieved by the conclusion of a truce; but these were forever blased. In France, the gold coin is of twenty-two carats (one-twelfth alloy), and the standard of England and Holland is still lighter.
Greeks and Genoese. In two battles by sea and land, these mighty forces were encountered and overthrown by the despair and discipline of the Catalans; the young emperor fled to the palace; and an insufficient garrison was left to protect the frankish realms of the open country. Victory renewed the hopes and numbers of the adventurers: every nation was blinded under the name and standard of the great company; and three thousand Turkish proslavies deserted from the imperial service to join this military association. In the possession of Gallipoli, the Catalans intercepted the trade of Constantinople and the Black sea, while they spread their devastations on either side of the Hellespont over the confines of Europe and Asia. To prevent their approach, the greatest part of the Byzantine territory was laid waste by the Greeks themselves: the peasants and their cattle retired into the city; and myriads of sheep and oxen, for which neither place nor food could be procured, were unprofitably slaughtered on the same day. Four times the emperor Andronicus sued for peace, and four times he was indecisely repulsed, till the want of provisions, and the discord of the chiefs, compelled the Catalans to evacuate the banks of the Hellespont and the neighbourhood of the capital. After their separation from the Turks, the remains of the great company pursued an unsettled career among the Maeotians and Thessalians to seek a new establishment in the heart of Greece.

4 Revolutions of Greece.

After some ages of oblivion, Greece was awakened to new misfortunes by the arms of the Latinins. In the two hundred and fifty years between the first and the last conquest of the people, that once rich and fruitful land was populated by a multitude of petty tyrants; without the comforts of freedom and genius, her ancient cities were again plunged in foreign and intestine war; and, if servitude be comparable to slavery, they might reasonably be considered over the Turkish yoke. I shall now pursue the obscure and various dynasties, that rose and fell on the continent or in the isles; but our licence on the fates of Athens4 would argue a strange ingratiation to the first and purest school of liberal science and amusement. In the partition of the empire, the principality of Athens was assigned to Otho de la Roche, a noble warrior of Burgundy, with the title of great duke, which the Latins understood in their own sense, and the Greeks more foolishly derived from the age of Constantine. Otho followed the example of the marcher lords of Montferrat, to the ample state which he acquired by a miracle of conduct or fortune, was peaceably inherited by his son and two grandsons, till the family, though not the nation, was changed, by the marriage of an heiress into the elder branch of the house of Brienne. The son of that marriage, Walter de Brienne, succeeded to the dignity of marched duke of Athens, and had as his companions Italian mercenaries, whom he invested with fiefs, reduced above thirty castles of the vassal or neighbouring lords. But when he was informed of the approach and ambition of the great company, he collected a force of seven hundred knights, six thousand four hundred horse, and eight thousand foot, and boldly met them on the banks of the river Cephissus in Boeotia. The Catalans amounted to no more than three thousand five hundred horse, and four thousand foot; but the deficiency of numbers was compensated by stratagem and order. They formed round their camp an artificial inundation; the duke and his knights advanced without fear or precaution on the verdant meadow; their horses plunged into the bog; and he was cut in pieces, with the greatest part of the French cavalry. His family and nation were expelled; and his son Walter de Brienne, the titular duke of Athens, the tyrant of Florence, and the constable of France, lost his life in the field of Poitiers. Attica and Boeotia were the rewards of the victorious Catalans; they married the widows and daughters of the slain; and during fourteen years, the great company was the terror of the Grecian states. Their factions drove them to acknowledge the sovereignty of the house of Arragon; and during the remainder of the fourteenth century, Athens, as a government or an appanage, was successively bestowed by the kings of Sicily. After the French and Catalans, the third dynasty was that of the Acarnanians, a family, plebeian at Florence, potent at Naples, and sovereign in Greece. Athens, which they embellished with new buildings, became the capital of a state, that extended over Thessaly, Argos, Corinth, Delphi, and Athens. The petty Greek knighthood was finally determined by Mahomet the second, who strangled the last duke, and educated his sons in the discipline and religion of the seraglio.

Athens, though no more than the present state of shadow of her former self, still contains about eight or ten thousand inhabitants; of these, three-fourths are Greeks in religion and language; and the Turks, who compose the remainder, have relaxed, in their intercourse with the citizens, somewhat of the pride and gravity of their national character. The political power of the sultans is all that remains; but the city has the honour of Mount Hymettus lost any part of its exquisite flavour: but the languid trade monopolized by strangers; and the agriculture of a barren land is abandoned to the vagrant Wallachians. The Athenians are still distinguished by the subtlety and acuteness of their understandings; but these qualities are less ennobled by freedom, and enlightened by study, will degenerate into a low and selfish cunning; and it is a proverbial saying of the country, From the Jews of Thessalonica, the Turks of Negropont, and the Franks of Athens, good Lord deliver them! This ancient people has eluded the tyranny of the Turkish bashaws, by an expedient which alleviates their servitude and aggravates their shame. About the middle of the last century, the Athenians chose for their protector the kin-
after a long siege or a chief black mound of the sergilo. This Athenian slave, who possesses the sultan's ear, con-
descends to accept the tribute of thirty thousand crowns, in the order of the event. Some friends, in the city of St. Sophia, in the distant hope of discovery and re-
venge. At the end of four years, some youths, climbing
by a ladder in search of pigeons' nests, detected the fatal secret; and, as Andronicus felt himself touched
and bound by the excommunication, he trembled on
the brink of the abyss which had been so treacher-
ously dug under his feet. A synod of bishops was in-
stantly convened to debate this important question:
the rashness of these clandestine anathemas was gen-
erally condemned; but as the knee could be untied only by the same hand, and that hand was now deprived of the crosier, it appeared that this posthumous decree
was irrepeable by any earthly power. Some faint
testimonies of repentance and pardon were extorted
from the author of the mischief; but the conscience of
the emperor was still wounded, and he desired, with
no less ardour than Athanasius himself, the restoration
of a patriarch, by whom alone he could be healed.
At the dead of night, a monk rudely knocked at the door
of the royal bed-chamber, announcing a revelation of
plague and famine, of inundations and earthquakes.
Andronicus started from his bed, and spent the night
in prayer, till he fell, or thought that he felt, a slight
mote of the earth. The emperor, not knowing the
opposite of the emperor on foot led the seraglio.
and monks to the cell of Athanasius, and, after a
proper resistance, the saint, from whom this message
had been sent, consented to absolve the prince, and
govern the church of Constantinople. Untamed by
disgrace, and hardened by solitude, the shepherd was
more than ever devoted to his cell, and his eloquence
was a singular, and, as it proved, a successful, mode
of revenge. In the night they stole away the foot-stool
or foot-cloth of his throne, which they secretly
placed with the decoration of a satirical picture.
The emperor was painted with a bridle in his mouth,
and Athanasius leading the tractable beast of the feet
of Christ. The authors of the libel were detected and
punished; but as their lives had been spared, the
Christian priest in sullen indignation retired to his cell;
and the eyes of Andronicus, which had been opened for
a moment, were again closed by his successor.
If this transaction should be one of the most discreditable
and important of a reign of fifty years, I cannot at least ac-
cuse the brevity of my materials, since I reduce into
some few pages the enormous folios of Pachymer,
Cantacuzene, and Nicephorus Gregoras, who have
composed the prolix and labyrinthine history of
the name and subversion of the emperor John Cantacu
zene might inspire the most lively curiosity. His
memorials of forty years extend from the revolt of
the younger Andronicus to his own abdication of the
empire; and it is observed, that, like Moses and Cesar,
he was the principal actor in the scenes which he de-
scribes. But in this eloquent work we should vainly
seek the sincerity of a hero or a poet. Retired in
a cloister from the vices and passions of the world,
he prescuds not a confession, but an apology, of the
life of an ambitious statesman. Instead of unfolding
the true circumstances of the events, he displays the
smooth and spacious surface of events, highly var-
nished with his own praises and those of his friends.
Their motives are always pure: their ends always leg-
imate: they conspire and rebel without any views of in-

A. Vol. 2.

After an interval of twelve years, from the first publication of Pachy-
mer (1740, C. 321) to the last, (1769, C. 692,) and from the first book (c. 1—89, p.
9—153,) relates the civil war, and the civil wars of the year. The
Nicenian and Constantinopolitan views, both of which are
antedated by the Former; the latter of which
is precedent only to the years of the reign of
Andronicus, and the reigns of his father and
son (1740, c. 89—93, C. 1.) The Nicenian
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son (1740, c. 89—93, C. 1.) The Nicenian
The Decline and Fall

Chapter XXIV.

Three civil wars 

Three civil wars, adhered to the person, or at least to between the two the government, of the old emperor; and the army, was in the former years, by flight, the emperor, the latter by revolt, and foreign succour, that the malcontents could hope to vindicate their cause and subvert his throne. The soul of the enterprise was the great domestic John Cantacuzene; the sally from Constantinople is the first date of his ancient of its patriotic, an unfriendly historian has not refused to celebrate the zeal and ability which he displayed in the service of the young emperor. That prince escaped from the capital under the pretence of hunting; erected his standard at Adrianople; and, in a few days, assembled fifty to a hundred horse and foot, whom neither honor or duty could have armed against the barbarians. Such a force might have saved or commanded the empire; but their counsels were discordant, their motions were slow and doubtful, and their progress was embarrassed by intrigue and dissimulation.

The quarrel of the two brothers was protracted, and suspended, and renewed, during a ramified period of seven years. In the first treaty, the relics of the Greek empire were divided: Constantinople, Thessalonica, and the islands, were left to the elder; while the younger acquired the sovereignty of the greatest part of Thrace, from Philippi to the Byzantine limits. By the second treaty, he stipulated the payment of his troops, his immediate coronation, and an adequate share of the power and revenue of the states involved in his appanage. It was a triumphal surprise of Constantinople, the final retreat of the old emperor, and the sole reign of his victorious grandson.

The reasons of this delay may be found in the characters of the men and of the times. When the heir of the monarchy first pleaded his wrongs and his apprehensions, his adherents repeated on all sides the inconsistent promise, that he would increase the pay of the soldiers and alleviate the burthens of the people. The grievances of forty years was mingled in his revolt; and the rising generation had witnessed the misfortunes of the state, whose favourites and maxims were of other times. The youth of Andronicus had been without spirit, his age was without reverence; his taxes produced an annual revenue of five hundred thousand pounds; yet the richest of the sovereigns of Christendom was incapable of maintaining three thousand horse and twenty galley, to resist the destructive progress of the Turks. 1 "How different," said the younger Andronicus, "is my situation from that of the son of Philip! Alexander might complain, that his father would leave him nothing to conquer; alas! my grandsire will leave me nothing to lose." But the Greeks were soon admonished, that the public disorders could not be healed by a civil war; and that their young favourite was not destined to be the saviour of a falling empire. On the first repulse, his party was broken by his own levity, their intestine discord, and the intrigues of the ancient court. He attempted each malcontent to desert or betray the cause of rebellion. Andronicus the younger was touched with remorse, or fatigued with business, or deceived by negotiation; pleasure rather than power was his aim; and the licence of maintaining a thousand hounds, a thousand hawks, and a thousand bowmen, was insufficient to sully his fame and disannihil his ambition.

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1 He was crowned May 26th, 1295, and died October 12th, 1299. (Ducange, Fam. Byz. p. 266.) His brother Theodore, the second marquis, inherited the marquisate of Montferrat, apostatized to the religion and manner of the Latins, and assumed the title of grand marquis of Nicephorus Gregoras, to the bishop of Chalcis, the vizier of Andronicus, and was ex- genius. Greg. L. ix. (1328.) 1. (Cau- of the islands of Italy, of which he was ex- 972-973 A.D. 1293. (Ducange, Fam. Byz. p. 219-221.) 1 We are indebted to Nicephorus Gregoras (I. viii. c. 1.) for the knowledge of the adventures, which were extremely conceals the vices of Andronicus the Younger, of which he has given an account in the associate, 12.C.) of Nicephorus Gregoras (I. viii. c. 13.) with Cantacuzene, (1214) c. 1.) ever guiltless in his intention, the younger Andronicus might imitate a brother's and a father's death to the consequence of his own vices; and deep was the sigh of thinking and feeling men, when they perceived, instead of sorrow and repentance, his ill-assembled joy on the removal of two odious competitors. By these melancholy events, and the increase of his disorders, the mind of the elder emperor was gradually alienated; and after many fruitless reproofs, he transferred on another grandson his hopes and affections. The change was announced by the new oath of allegiance to the reigning sovereign, and the person whom he should appoint for his successor: and the acknowledged heir, after a repetition of insults and complaints, was exposed to the indignity of a public trial. Before the sentence, which would probably have condescended to a dum-
Let us now survey the catastrophe of this busy plot, and the final situation of the principal actors. The age of Andronicus was consumed in civil discord; and, amidst the events of war and treaty, his power and reputation continually decayed, till the fall of his great house. His two wives were chosen by the enraged and paltry pagans, without resistance, to his grandson. His principal commander scorned the repeated warnings of danger; and retiring to rest in the vain security of ignorance, abandoned the feeble monarch, with some priests and pages, to the terrors of a sleepless night. The protector of the young princes was driven from his situation of instant death, which proclaimed the titles and victory of Andronicus the younger; and the aged emperor, falling prostrate before an image of the Virgin, despatched a supplicant message to resign the sceptre, and to obtain his life at the hands of the conqueror. The answer of his grandson was decent and pious; at the prayer of his friends the younger Andronicus assumed the sole administration; but the elder still enjoyed the name and pre-eminence of the first emperor, the use of the great palace, and a pension of twenty-four thousand pieces of gold, one half of which was assigned on the royal table, and the other half divided among the principal fighting men, who were, according to the last will of the young Andronicus, to supply the army. But his impotence was soon exposed to contempt and oblivion: the vast silence of the palace was disturbed only by the cattle and poultry of the neighbourhood, which roved with impunity through the solitary court; and a reduced allowance of a thousand pieces of gold was all that he could ask, and more than he hoped could. His calamities were imputable without the guilt of the native of the public; but his misfortune in his son, Andronicus or Antony, expired in a cell, in the seventy-fourth year of his age; and the last strain of adulation could only promise a more splendid crown of glory in heaven than he had enjoyed upon earth.

The only child of the emperor was the younger Andronicus, which October 17, 1324. Born May 25, 1314. Died June 13, 1346.

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France, the heroes of those races which, in the thirteenth century, were translated and read by the Greeks. (Ducange, Fam. Byz.

and the recent lustre of the purple was amply compensated by the energy of a private education. We have seen that the young emperor was saved by Cantacuzene from the power of his grandfather; and, after six years of civil war, the son-in-law of his father was back in triumph to the palace of Constatinople.

Under the reign of Andronicus the younger, the great domestic ruled the emperor and the empire; and it was by his valor and conduct that the isle of Lesbos and the principality of Etolia were restored to their ancient glory. His enemies confess that, among the public robb ers, Cantacuzene alone was moderate and abstemious; and the free and voluntary account which he produces of his own wealth may sustain the presumption that it was devolved by inheritance, and not accumulated by rapacity. He does not li ke to specify the value of his house, plate, and jewels; yet, after a voluntary gift of two hundred vessels of silver, after much had been secreted by his friends and plundered by his foes, his forti fied treasures were sufficient for the equip ment of a fleet of seventy galleys. He does not measure the size and number of his cattle, but his granaries were heaped with an incredible store of wheat and barley; and the labour of a thousand yoke of oxen might cultivate, according to the practice of antiquity, about sixty-two thousand five hundred acres. His pasture was two thousand five hundred broad acres, two hundred camels, three hundred mules, five hundred asses, five thousand horned cattle, fifty thousand hogs, and seventy thousand sheep: a precious record of rural opulence, in the last period of the empire, and in a land, most probably in Thrace, so repeatedly wasted by foreign and domestic hostility. The favour of Cantacuzene was above his fortune. In the moments of familiarity, in the hour of sickness, the emperor was desirous to level the distance between them, and pressed his friend to accept the dindem and purple. He received in return the title of the great domestick of which he was the emperor, attested by his own pen, resisted the dangerous proposal; but the last testament of Andronicus the younger named him the guardian of his son, and the regent of the empire.

His regency is marked by an entire turn of obedience and gratitude, perhaps he would have acted with pure and zealous fidelity in the service of his pupil. A guard of five hundred soldi ders watched over his person and the palace: the funeral of the late emperor was decently performed, and Cantacuzene succeeded in his name and with five hundred letters, which Cantacuzene despatched in the first month, informed the provinces of their loss and their duty. The prospect of a tranquil minor by Apocacus; and to exaggerate his perfidy, the imperial historian is pleased to magnify his own imprudence, in raising him to that office against the advice of his more sanguine sovereign. Bold and subtle, rapacious and profuse, the avarice and ambition of Apocacus were by turns subservient to each terror; and his talents were devoted to the ruin of his country. His arrogance was heightened by the command of a naval force and an impregnable castle, and under the mask of oath and flattery he secretly conspired against his benefactor. The female court of the empress was bribed and directed: by the empress of the two worlds, in her sacred character, by the law of nature, the tutelage of her son; the love of power was disguised by the anxiety of maternal tenderness; and the founder of the Palaeologe had instructed his posti erity to dread the example of a perfidious guardian. The patriarch John of Apri was a proud and feeble old man, encompassed by the courtiers of the empress, and by the patriarch. He produced an obsolete epistle of Andronicus, which bequeathed the prince and people to his pious care: the fate of his predecessor Arsenius prompted him to prevent, rather than punish, the crime of an usurper from Apocacus smiled at the success of his own flattery, when he beheld the Byzantine priest assuming the state and temporal claims of the Roman pontiff. Between the three persons so different in their situation and character, a private league was concluded: a shadow of cantankerous uncles was consecrated to the senate; the empress were tempted by the name of freedom. By this powerful confederacy, the great domestic was assaulted at first with clandestine, at length with open, arms. His prevaricators were disputed; his opinions slighted; his friends persecuted; and his safety was threatened both in the holy city and in the imperial court. In the conduct of the public service, he was accused of treason; proscribed as an enemy of the church and state; and delivered, with all his adherents, to the sword of justice, the vengeance of the people, and the power of the devil: his fortunes were confiscated; his aged mother was cast into prison; all his past services were buried in oblivion; and he was driven by injustice to perpetrate the crime of which he was accused. From the review of his preceding conduct, Cantacuzene appears to have been guiltless of any treasonable designs; and the only suspicion of his innocence must arise from the vehemence of his protestations, and the sublime purity which he ascribes to his own virtue. While the empress and the patriarch still affected the appearances of harmony, he repeatedly solicited the permission of retiring to a private, and even a monastic, life. After he had been declared a public enemy, his fervent wish to throw himself at the feet of the young emperor, and to receive without a murmur the strokes of the executioner; it was not without reluctance that he listened to the voice of reason, which inclined the truth, and the empire to the merciful intercession of the empress. Suffered his only son to be restored to the right of his wife Irene. Such vain ceremony is a thin disguise of rebellion, nor are there perhaps any personal wrongs that can authorize a subject to take arms against his sovereign; but the want of preparation and success may confirm the assurance of the usurper: his insidious step was the effect of necessity rather than of choice. Constantinople adhered to the young emperor; the king of Bulgaria was invi-
tread to the relief of Adrianople: the principal cities of Thrace and Macedonia, after some hesitation, renounced their obedience to the great domestic; and the leaders of the troops and the provinces, were induced by their interest or the prospect of profit to acknowledge the claims of a woman and a priest. The army of Cantacuzene, in sixteen divisions, was stationed on the banks of the Melas to tempt or intimidate the capital; it was dispersed by treachery or fear; and the officers, more especially the mercenary Latins, accepted the bribes, and deserted to the cause of foreign interests. After this loss, the rebel emperor (he flattered between the two characters) took the road of Thessalonica with a chosen remnant; but he failed in his enterprise on that important place; and he was closely pursued by the great duke, his enemy Apocauces, at the head of a superior power by sea and land. Driven from the coast, in his march, or rather flight, to the mountains of Servia, Cantacuzene assembled his troops to scrutinize those who were worthy and willing to accompany his broken fortunes. A base majority renounced and retired; and his trusty band was diminished to two thousand, and at last to five hundred, volunteers. The calóï, or despot of the Servians, received him with generous hospitality; but the ally was insensibly degraded to a suppliant, an hostage, a captive; and, in this miserable dependence, he waited at the foot of the wall the approach of the conquerors, and of the life and liberty of a Roman emperor. The most tempting offers could not persuade the eunuch to violate his trust; but he soon inclined to the stronger side; and his friend was dismissed without injury to a new

The civil war, vicissitude of hopes and perils, Near A.D. 1203. The rebel and the imperial court and family shared in the vicissitudes of war; they were distracted with various success and unabated rage: the cities were distracted by the faction of the nobles and plebeians; the Cantacuzeni and Paleologi; and the Bulgarians, the Servians, and the Turks, were invoked on both sides as the instruments of private ambition and the avengers of public grievances. Men deprecated the calamities of which he was the author and victim; and his own experience might dictate a just and lively remark on the different nature of foreign and civil war. "The former," said he, "is the external warmth of summer, always tolerable, and often beneficial; the latter is the desire of personal deeds without a remedy the vital of the constitution."*  

Victory of Cantacuzene, vages into the contests of civilized nations, is a measure pregnant with shame and mischief; war is measured by the loss of life and property, which is regulated by the best principles of humanity and reason. It is the practice of both sides to accuse their enemies of the guilt of the first alliances; and those who fall in their negociations are loudest in their censure of the example which they envy, and would gladly imitate. The Turks of Asia were less barbarous perhaps than the shepherds of Bulgaria and Servia; but their religion rendered them the insuperable foes of Rome and Christianity. To acquire the friendship of their emirs, the two factions vied with each other in baseness and profusion: the dexterity of Cantacuzene employed the prince to dispose of and victimize those who were dearly purchased by the marriage of his daughter with an infidel, the captivity of many thousand christians, and the passage of the Ottoman into Europe, the last and fatal stroke in the fall of the Roman empire. The inclining scale was decided in his favour by the death of Apocauces, the just, though singular, retribution of his crimes. A crowd of nobles or plebeians, whom he feared or hated, had been seized by his orders in the capital and the provinces; and the rebel emperor was seized and brought in order of their confinement. Some alterations in waging the walls, and narrowing the cells, had been ingeniously contrived to prevent their escape, and aggravate their misery: and the work was incessantly pressed by the daily visits of the tyrant. His guards watched at the door, lest the prince and his companions, the architects, without fear or suspicion, be assaulted and laid breathless on the ground, by two resolute prisoners of the Palaeologan race, who were armed with sticks, and animated by despair. On the rumour of revenge and liberty, the captive multitude broke their fetters, fortified their prison, and exposed from the battlements the tyrant's head, presuming on the favour of the people and the clemency of the empress. Anne of Savoy might rejoice in the fall of a haughty and ambitious minister, but while she delayed to resolve or to act, the populace, more especially they who were excited by the widow of the great duke, in a sedition, an assault, and a massacre. The prisoners (of whom the far greater part were guiltless or ignorant of the deed) escaped to a neighbouring church, they were slaughtered at the foot of the altar; and in his last moments Apocauces repeated the name of Cantacuzene; yet his talents alone upheld the cause of the young emperor; and his surviving associates, suspicions of each other, abandoned the conduct of the war, and rejected the fairest terms of accommodation. In the beginning of the dispute, the empire fell asleep, by the prudent minister, who was the cause of the enemies of Cantacuzene: the patriarch was employed to preach against the forgiveness of injuries; and her promise of immortal hatred was sealed by an oath, under the penalty of excommunication. But Anne soon learned to hate without a teacher: she beheld the horrors of her own misfortunes with the indignation of a stranger: her jealousy was exasperated by the competition of a rival empress; and on the first symptoms of a more yielding temper, she threatened the patriarch to convene a synod, and degrade him from his office. Their incapacity and discord would have afforded the most decisive advantage to the empire, which was con tracted by the weakness of both parties; and the moderation of Cantacuzene has not escaped the reprehension of timidity and insolence. He successively recovered the provinces and cities; and the realm of his pupil was let into the hands of Constantinople; the metropolitan alone counterbalanced the rest of the empire; nor could he attempt that important conquest till he had secured in his favour the public voice and a private correspondence. An Italian. He re-enters the office of great duke; the ships, the guards, and the golden gate, were subject to his command; but his humble ambition was bribed to become the instrument of treachery; and the revolution was accomplished without danger or bloodshed. Destitute of the powers of resistance, or the hope of foreign aid, the captive Anne would have still defended the palace, and have smiled to behold the capital in flames rather than in the possession of a rival. She yielded to the prayers of her friends and enemies; and the treaty was dictated by the conqueror, who professed a loyal and zealous attachment to the son of his

* The princes of Servia (Ducasce, Fanuli, Dalmatine, &c. c. 3, 3, 9) were styled Despots in Greek, and Ural, in their native idiom, (Ducasce, Glen Grece, p. 751.) That title, the equivalent of king, was conferred by the Hungarians, the modern Greeks, and even by the Turks, (Quedlinburg, Pencet-Ture, p. 432) who reserve the name of despot for the emperor. To obtain the latter instead of the former is the ambition of the French at Constantinople. (Aventures de l'histoire de Turc, p. 28.)

† Sie Gregorius, l. xiii. c. 11. It is surprising that Cantacuzene has not inscribed the part and active image in his own writings.

‡ The two avengers were both Palaeologi, who might resent, with royal indignation, the shame of their chains. The tragedy of Apocauces may deserve a peculiar reference to Cantacuzene, (l. iii. c. 2, 3) and Nic. Gregorius, l. xi. 33, 34.)

§ Cantacuzene accuses the patriarch, and spares the emperors, the mother of his accusers, (l. iii. 33, 34) against whom Nic. Gregorius expresses a particular animosity, (l. xiv. 10, 11, xvi. 5.) It is true, that they do not speak exactly of the same time.

|| The traitor and treason are revealed by Nic. Gregorius, (l. xv. c. 5,) but the name is more discreetly suppressed by his great accom plishment, (Cantacuzene, l. iii. c. 59.)
benefactor. The marriage of his daughter with John Palaeologus was at length consummated: the hereditary right of the pupil was acknowledged: but the sole administration during the minor was vested in the guardian. Two emperors and three empresses were seated on the Byzantine throne; and a general anarchy quieted the apprehensions, and confirmed the property, of the most guilty subjects. The festival of the coronation and nuptials was celebrated with the appearances of concord and magnificence, and both were equally fallacious. During the late troubles, the treasures of the state, and even the furniture of the palace, had been alienated or embezzeled; the royal banquet was served in pewter or earthenware; and such was the proud poverty of the times, that the absence of gold and jewels was supplied by the paltry artifices of glass and gilt leather.  

I hasten to conclude the personal history of John Cantacuzene. He triumphed and reigned; but his reign and triumph were marred by his too undisguised selfishness; his own and the adverse faction. His followers might style the general amnesty, an act of pardon for his enemies, and of oblivion for his friends; but in these their estates had been forfeited or plundered; and as they wandered naked and hungry through the land, they cursed the false generosity of the tender, who, on the throne of the empire, might relish without merit his private inheritance. The adherents of the empress blushed to hold their lives and fortunes on the precarious favour of an usurper; and the thirst of revenge was counterbalanced by a tender concern for the succession, and even the safety, of her son. They were justly alarmed by a petition of the friends of Cantacuzene, that they might be released from their oath of allegiance to the Palaeologus; and intrusted with the defence of some cantonary towns; a measure which, if proposed by a just and sagacious prince, which was rejected (says the imperial historian) "by my sublimes, and almost incredible, virtue." His repose was disturbed by the sound of plots and seditions; and he trembled lest the lawful prince should be stolen away by some foreign or domestic enemy, who would inscribe his name and his wrongs in the banners of rebellion. As the son of Andronicus advanced in the years of manhood, he began to feel and act for himself; and his rising ambition was rather stimulated than checked by the imitation of his father. He trusted his own professions, Cantacuzene laboured with honest intentions, and was exposed to the censures and scandal of the young prince to a level with his fortune. In the Serbian expedition, the two emperors showed themselves in kindred harmony to the troops and provinces; and the younger colleague was initiated by the elder in the mysteries of war and government. After the conclusion of the peace, Palaeologus was left at Thessalonica, a royal residence, and a frontier station, to secure by his absence the peace of Constantinople, and to withdraw his youth from the temptations of a luxuriant capital. But the distance weakened the powers of conviction, and the son of Andronicus was surrounded with artful and unthinking companions, who taught him to hate his guardian, to deplore his exile, and to vindicate his rights. A private treaty with the caliph or despot of Sardin, was soon followed by an open revolt; and Cantacuzene, on the throne of the elder Andronicus, defended the cause of age and prerogative, which in his youth he had so vigorously attacked. At his death the contest was continued by his son; and, vested in the regency of Thessalonica, and the office of mediation; she returned without success; and unless Anne of Savoy was instructed by adversity, we may doubt the sincerity, or at least the fervour, of her zeal. While the regret grasped the sceptre with a firm and vigorous hand, she had been instructed by the obscure commercial science, that her legal administration would soon elapse; and that after a full trial of the vanity of the world, the emperor Cantacuzene sighed for the repose of a cloister, and was ambitious only of a heavenly crown. Had these sentiments been sincere, his voluntary abdiction would have restored the peace of the empire, and his conscience would have been relieved by an act of justice. Palaeologus alone was responsible for John Palaeologus his future government; and whatever takes up arms might be his vassals, they were surely less than theirs.  

Abdication of Cantacuzene, and the arrival of the Greeks in Asia Minor.  

1. The awkward apology of Cantacuzene, (l. iv. c. 29—42,) which, with visible confusion, his own downfall, may be supplied by the two hundred or more books, narrating the history of Nic. Greg. Vital.  

the divine light of mount Thabor, a memorable question, which consummates the religious follies of the Greeks. The fakirs of India, and the monks of the oriental church, were alike persuaded, that in total abstraction of the faculties of the mind and body, the participant may, by the will of mind, become one with the spiritual image of the Deity. The opinion and practice of the monasteries of mount Athos will be best represented in the words of an abbot, who flourished in the eleventh century. “When thou art alone in thy cell,” says the aseptic teacher, “shut thy door, and seat thyself in a corner; look not on the mind above all the Hypothesis and Vastity; recline thy head and chin on thy breast; turn thy eyes and thy thought towards the middle of thy belly, the region of the navel; and search the place of the heart, the seat of the soul. At first, all will be dark and comfortless; but if you persevere day and night, you will feel an ineffable joy; and no sooner has the soul discovered the place of the heart, than it is involved in a mystic and ethereal light.”

This light, the production of a distempered fancy, the creature of an empty stomach and an empty brain, was adored by the Quietists as the pure and perfect essence of God himself; and as long as this folly was confined to mount Athos, the simple solitaries were not inquisitive how the divine essence could be a material substance, or how an immaterial substance could be perceived by the eyes of the body. But in the reign of the younger Andronicus, these monasteries were visited by a learned vessel, a monk, who, skilled in philosophy and theology; who possessed the languages of the Greeks and Latins; and whose versatile genius could maintain their opposite creeds, according to the interest of the moment. The induction of an ascetic revealed to the curious traveller the centre of their severest sects, and afforded him the opportunity of ridiculing the Quietists, who placed the soul in the navel; of accusing the monks of mount Athos of heresy and blasphemy. His attack compelled the more learned to renounce or dissemble the simple devotion of their brethren; and Gregory Palamas introduced a scholastic distinction between the essence and operation of God. His inaccessible essence dwells in the midst of an uncreated and eternal light; and this beatific vision of the saints had been manifested to the disciples on mount Thabor, in the transfiguration of Christ. Yet this distinction could not be understood by the people; and John of Thessalonica was deeply denounced; and Barlam still charged the Palamites with holding two eternal substances, a visible and an invisible God. From the rage of the monks of mount Athos, who threatened his life, the Calabrian retired to Constantinople, where his smooth and specious manners introduced him to the favour of the great domestick and the emperor. The court and the city were involved in this theological dispute, which flamed amidst the civil war; but the doctrine of Barlam was disapproved by his flight and apostasy; the Palamites triumphed; and the schism, so long and contumacious, was stopped by the consent of the adverse factions of the state. In the character of emperor and theologian, Cantacuzene presided in the synod of the Greek church, which established, as an article of faith, the uncreated light on mount Thabor: and, after so many labours, the reason of mankind was slightly wounded by the addition of a single absurdity. Many rolls of paper or parchment have been blotted; and the impudent sectaries, who refused to subscribe the orthodox creed, were deprived of the honours of christian burial; but in the next age the question was forgotten; nor can I learn that the axe or faggot were employed for the extirpation of the Barlamite heresy.

For the conclusion of this chapter, I establish of the establishment of the empire. The Genoese, who, after the recovery of Constantinople, were seated in the suburb of Pera or Galata, received that honourable title from the bounty of the emperor. They were invited in the use of their laws and magistrates; but they submitted to the duties of vassals and subjects; the formidable word of Liegemen, was borrowed from the Latin jurisprudence; and their podesta, or chief, before he entered on his office, saluted the emperor with loyal acclamations and vows of fidelity. Genoa sealed a firm alliance with the Greeks; and, in case of a defensive war, a supply of fifty empty galleys and a succour of fifty galleys completely armed and manned, was promised by the republic to the empire. In the revival of a naval force, it was the aim of Michael Palaeologus to deliver his nation; and his emperor. He had confined the Genoese of Galata within those limits which the insolence of wealth and freedom provoked them to exceed. A sailor threatened that they should soon be masters of Constantinople, and slew the Greek who resisted this national affront; and an Englishman refused to allow the guilt of some acts of piracy in the Black sea. Their countrymen threatened to support their cause; but the long and open village of Galata was instantly surrounded by the imperial troops; till, in the moment of the assault, the prostrate Genoese implored the clemency of their conqueror. Michael Palaeologus, who secured their obedience, exposed them to the attack of their Venetian rivals, who, in the reign of the elder Andronicus, resolved to violate the majesty of the throne.

On the approach of their fleets, the Genoese, with their families and effects, retired into the city; their empty habitations were reduced to ashes; and the feeble prince, who had viewed the destruction of his suburb, expressed his resentment, not by arms, but by ambassadours. This misfortune, however, was advantageous to the Genoese, who obtained, and imperceptibly abused, the dangerous licence of surrounding the city. The Genoese and Genoese entered the ditch of the waters of the sea; of erecting lofty towers; and of mounting a train of military engines on the rampart. The narrow bounds in which they had been circumscribed, were insufficient for the growing colony; each day they acquired some addition of landed property; and the adjacent hills were covered with their villas and castles, which they joined and protected by new fortifications. The navigation and trade of the Euxine was the patrimony of the Greek emperors, who commanded the narrow entrance, the gates, as it were, of that inland sea. In the reign of Michael Palaeologus, their prerogative was acknowledged by the sultan of Egypt, who solicited and obtained the liberty of sending an annual ship for the purchase of slaves in Creussia and the Lessar Parta; a liberty pregnant with mischief to the christian people, as explained by Ducange, (ib. i. 29, 30, 31.) Nic. Gregoras, (i. v. 396.) Nicol. Basnage, (ib. i. c. 397. 398.) and other published books, and Fabricius, (ib. i. c. 397. 398. 473.) of the MSS of the Latin church, have added some facts and circumstances, which may be sufficiently known by the readers of the Chronicles of Ducange. (ib. i. c. 399.) But his case was more difficult; his times, may be discerned from the Chronicles of Ducange. (ib. i. c. 398.)

1 See Cantacuzene, (ib. i. c. 398.) 2 See Gregoras, (ib. i. c. 396.) 3 See Ducange, (ib. i. c. 397.) 4 See Fabricius, (ib. i. c. 397.) 5 See Gregoras, (ib. i. c. 397.) 6 See Faber, (ib. i. c. 397.) 7 See Basnage, (ib. i. c. 397.) 8 See Gregoras, (ib. i. c. 396.) 9 See Faber, (ib. i. c. 397.) 10 See Gregoras, (ib. i. c. 396.) 11 See Basnage, (ib. i. c. 397.) 12 See Gregoras, (ib. i. c. 396.) 13 See Basnage, (ib. i. c. 397.) 14 See Gregoras, (ib. i. c. 396.) 15 See Basnage, (ib. i. c. 397.) 16 See Gregoras, (ib. i. c. 396.) 17 See Basnage, (ib. i. c. 397.) 18 See Gregoras, (ib. i. c. 396.)
cause; since these youths were transformed by education and discipline into the formidable Mamalukes. 3

Their trade and From the colony of Pera, the Genoese insaliance engaged with superior advantage in the lucrative trade of the Black sea; and their industry supplied the Greeks with fish and corn; two articles of diet equally important to a superstition people. The spontaneous bounty of nature appears to have bestowed the harvests of Ukraine, the produce of a rude and savage husbandry; and the endless ex- portation of salt fish and caviar is annually renewed by the enormous sturgeons that are caught at the mouth of the Don, in the rich mud and shallow water of the Acastis. 4

The waters of the Ouxus, the Caspian, the Volga, and the Don, opened a rare and laborious passage for the genii and spices of India; and, after three months' march, the caravans of Carthage met the Italian vessels in the harbours of Crimea. 5 These various branches of trade were monopolised by the diligence and power of the Genoese. Their rivals of Venice and Pisa were forcibly expelled; the natives were avowed by the castles and cities, which arose on the foundation of their trading factories, and their principal establishment of Caifa 6 was besieged without effect by the Tartar powers. Desistiate of a navy, the Greeks were oppressed by these haughty merchants, who fed, or starved, Constanti- nople, according to their interest. They proceeded to usurp the customs, the fishery, the fortification, of the Venetians; and while they derived from these objects a revenue of two hundred thousand pieces of gold, a remnant of thirty thousand was reluctantly allowed to the emperor. 7

The colony of Pera or Galata acted, in peace and war, as an independent state; and, as it will happen in distant settlements, the Genoese possessed and their principal establishment of Caifa 8 was besieged without effect by the Tartar powers. Desistiate of a navy, the Greeks were oppressed by these haughty merchants, who fed, or starved, Constanti- nople, according to their interest. They proceeded to usurp the customs, the fishery, the fortification, of the Venetians; and while they derived from these objects a revenue of two hundred thousand pieces of gold, a remnant of thirty thousand was reluctantly allowed to the emperor. 7

Their war with the emperor Constantine 9 and by the civil wars that afflicted his age and the minority of his grandson. The talents of Cantacuzene, who resided in the palace, were employed to the ruin rather than the restoration, of the empire; and, after his domestic victory, he was condemned to an ignominious trial, whether the Greeks or the Genoese should reign in Constantinople. The merchants of Pera, by his refusal of the lands, some commanding heights, which they proposed to cover with new fortifications; and in the absence of the emperor, who was detained at Demotica by sickness, they ventured to brave the debility of a female reign. 8 A Byzantine vessel, which had forthcoming to fish at the mouth of the harbour, was surprised by these audacious stragglers; the fisherman were murdered. Instead of suing for pardon, the Genoese demanded satisfaction; required, in a haughty strain, that the Greeks should renounce the exercise of naviga- tion; and encountered with regular arms the first sallies of the popular indignation. They instantly occupied the debatable land; and by the labour of a whole people, of either sex and of every age, the wall

was raised, and the ditch was sunk, with incredible speed. At the same time, they attacked and burnt two Byzantine galleys; while the three others, the remains of the imperial navy, escaped from their hands: the inhabitants without the gates, or along the shore, were pillaged and destroyed; and the care of their safety, the regulations of the republic, the preservation of the city. The return of Cantacuzene dispersed the public consternation; the emperor inclined to peaceful counsels; but he yielded to the obstinacy of his enemies, who rejected all reasonable terms, and to the arduous of subjects, who threatened, in case of more disaster, to put to the style of the inhuman pit of a potter's vessel. Yet they reluctantly paid the taxes, that he imposed for the construction of ships, and the expenses of the war; and as the two nations were masters, the one of the land, the other of the sea, Constanti- nople and Pera were pressed by the evils of a mutual siege. The merchants of the colony, who believed that several days would terminate the war, already murmured at their losses; the succours from their mother-country were delayed by the factions of Genoa; and the most cautious embraced the opportu- nity of a Rhodian vessel to conclude with the families and effects, and tone of friendship and hospitality. In December of his fleet, 

A. D. 1349.

the spring, the Byzantine fleet, seven galleys and a train of smaller vessels, issued from the mouth of the harbour, and steered in a single line along the shore of Pera; unskilfully pro- ceeding to the attack of the ships of the enemy, and the victory. The crews were composed of peasants and me- chanics; nor was their ignorance compensated by the native courage of barbarians: the wind was strong, the waves were rough; and no sooner did the Greeks perceive a distant and inactive enemy, than they leaped aboard their vessel, and two often, to an inevi- table, peril. The troops that marched to the attack of the lines of Pera were struck at the same moment with a similar panic; and the Genoese were astonis- hed, and almost ashamed, at their double victory. Their triumphant vessels, crowned with flowers, and drag- ging after them the captive galleys, repeatedly passed and repassed before the palace: the only virtue of the emperor was patience; and the hope of revenge his sole consolation. Yet the distress of both parties interposed a temporary agreement; and the shame of the emperor, and the Genoese advantage in the conquest of the shores, was satisfied to violate the treaty, and to join his arms with the Venetians, the perpetual ene- mies of Genoa and her colonies. While Greeks, they compared the reasons of peace and war, Feb. 13.

the moderation was provoked by a wanton insult of the inhabitants of Pera, who discharged from their rampart a large stone that fell in the midst of Constantinople. On his just complaint, they coldly blamed the impiety of their engineer; but the next day the insult was repeated, and they exulted in a second proof that the royal city was not beyond the reach of their artillery. Cantacuzene instantly signed his treaty with the Venetians; but the weight of the Roman empire was scarcely felt in the balance of these opulent and powerful republics, 9 From the Abbas of ©, the Greek to the line of the Tanais, their fleets encountered with each other success; and a memorable battle was fought in the narrow

3 Both Pachier (ii. iii. 3, 4, 5) and Nic. Gregor. (i. iv. 7) undemand and deplore the effects of this dangerous insurrection. Bibli- cal ed. of Kuyan, himself a Tartar, but a devout meckmelman, devoted, from the dishonour that he reproached the Genoese, that a large nation was spent in the capital of Crime, (de Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. iii. p. 243.)

2 Chardin (Voyages in Persia, tom. i. p. 185) was assured at Caifa, that these fishes were sometimes twenty-four or twenty-six feet long, weighed eight or nine hundred pounds, and yielded three or four quintals of caviar. The cost of the bearhors had supplied the Athen- iens immediately with the best of fish and mackerel.

3 de Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. iii. p. 344, 345. Valier de Ro- musco, tom. i. fol. 400, says that the land or water carriage could only be practicable when Tanary was united under a wise and powerful mon- arch.

4 Nic. Gregor. (i. xiii. c. 12) is judicious and well informed on the trade and colonies of the Black sea. Chardin describes the pre- sence and commerce of the Genoese in the time of Demotica.

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7 Sec Nic. Gregor. 1. xvii. c. 1

8 The events of this war are related by Cantacuzene (i. iv. c. 11) with obscurity and confusion, and by Nic. Gregor. (i. xvii. c. 1-7) in a Ciceronian and honest narrative. The priest was less responsible than the prince for the punishment; but it was the Genoese who styled and killed the prince, and afterwards pillaged and killed the Genoese. 9 The second war is darkly told by Cantacuzene, (i. iv. c. 19, 24, 25, 29, 31) who wishes to dispense what he does not deny. I regret this part of Nic. Gregor. which is still in MS. at Paris.
sea, under the walls of Constantinople. It would not be an easy task to reconcile the accounts of the Greeks, the Venetians, and the Genoese; and while I depend on the narrative of an impartial historian, I shall borrow from each nation the facts that redound to their own disgrace, and the honour of their foes. The Venetians, the chief allies of the Genoese, were continued but not in those times their ships of war were distinguished by the superiority of their size and strength. The memoirs of their naval commanders Pietro and Doria, are illustrous in the annals of their country; but the personal merit of the former was eclipsed by the fame and abilities of his rival. They engaged in tempestuous weather; and the tumultuary contest was continued from the dawn to the extinction of light. The enemies of the Genoese applaud their prowess; the friends of the Venetians are dissatisfied with their behaviour: but all the parties agree in praising the skill and boldness of the Catalans, who, with many wounds, sustained the brunt of the action. On the separation of the fleets, the event might appear doubtful; but the thirteen Genoese galleys, that had been sunk or taken, were compensated by a double loss of the allies; of fourteen Venetians, ten Catalans, and two Greeks; and even the grief of the conquerors expressed the assurance and habit of more decisive victories. Pisani confessed his defeat, by retiring into a fortified gulf; but the pretext of the defeat of the senate, he steered with a broken and flying squadron for the island of Candia, and abandoned to his rivals the sovereignty of the sea. In a public epistle, to the doge and senate, Petrarch employs his eloquence to reduce the conquerors of his country to the mere submission of Italy. The orator celebrates the valour and victory of the Genoese, the first of men in the exercise of naval war; he drops a tear on the misfortunes of their Venetian brethren; but he exhorts them to pursue with fire and sword the base and perfidious Greeks; to purge the metropolis of the east from the heresy with their treaty with which it was infected. Deserted by the empire, their friends, the Greeks were incapable of resistance; and three months after the battle, the emperor Caneuenezi solicited and subscribed a treaty, which forever banished the Venetians and Catalans, and granted to the Genoese a monopoly of trade, and almost a right of dominion. The Roman empire (I smile in transcribing the name) might soon have sunk into a province of Genoa, if the ambition of the republic had not been checked by the ruin of her freedom and naval power. A long period of one hundred and thirty years was determined by the triumph of Venice; and the factions of the Genoese compelled them to seek for domestic peace under the protection of a foreign lord, the duke of Milan, or the French king. Yet the spirit of commerce survived that of conquest; and the colony of Pera still swayed the capital and navigated the Euxine, till it was involved by the Turks in the final servitude of Constantinople itself.

CHAP. XXV.

Conquests of Zingis Khan and the Moguls from China to Polanrk.—Empire of Constantinople and the Greeks.—Origin of the Ottoman Turks in Bithynia.—Reigns and victories of Othman, Orkhan, Amanush the first, and Bajazet the first.—Foundation and progress of the Turkish monarchy in Asia and Europe.—Danger of Constantinople and the Greeks.

From the petty quarrels of a city and her suburbs, from the cowardice and discord of the falling Greeks, I shall now ascend to the victorious Turks; whose domestic slavery was enobled by martial discipline, religious enthusiasm, and the energy of the national character. The rise and progress of the Ottomans, the present sovereigns of Constantinople are connected with the most important scenes of modern history; but they are founded on a previous knowledge of the great emption of the Moguls and Turks; whose rapid conquests may be compared with the primitive convulsions of nature, which have agitated and altered the surface of the globe. I have long since assented my claim to introduce the nations, the immediate or remote authors of the fall of the Roman empire; nor can I refuse myself to these studies, which, from their uncommon magnitude, will interest a philosophic mind in the history of blood.

From the space of highlands between Zingis Khan, first emperor of the Turks, and the borders of China, Siberia, and the Caspian sea, the empire and tide of emigration and war has repeated themselves. The space has not been overflowed. These ancient seats of the Bithynian, theOCUS, the Huns and Turks were occupied in the twelfth century by many pastoral tribes, of the same descent and similar manners, who were afterwards increased and augmented by the formidable Zingis. In his ascent to greatness, that barbarian (whose private appellation was Temugin) had trampled on the necks of his equals. His birth was noble: but it was in the pride of victory, that the prince or people deduced his seventh ancestor from the immense conception of a virgin. His father had reigned over thirteen hordes, which composed about thirty or forty thousand families: above two thirds refused to pay tithes or obedience to his infant son; and at the age of thirteen Temugin fought a battle against his rebellious subjects. The future conqueror of Asia was reduced to fly and to obey: but he rose superior to his fortune, and in his fortieth year he had established his fame and dominion over the circumboreal tribes. In a state of society, in which policy is rude and value is universal, the descendant of one man must be founded on his strength, and the influence of his enemies and recompense his friends. His first military league was ratified by the simple rites of sacrificing a horse and tasting of a running stream: Temugin pledged himself to divide with his followers the sweets and bitters of life; and when he had shared among them his horses and apparel, he was their patron, and the father of his country, and his own hopes. After his first victory, he placed seventy caldrons on the fire, and seventy of the most guilty rebels were cast headlong into the boiling water. The sphere of his attraction was continually enlarged by the ruin of the proud and the submission of the prudent: and the boldest chieftains might tremble, when they beheld enochased in silver, the skull of the khan of the Keraïtes; who, under the name of Presler John, had corresponded with the Roman pontiff and the princes of Europe. The ambition of Temugin condescended to employ the art of superseding, and it was from a naked prophet, who could ascend to heaven on a white horse, that he accepted the title of Zingis, the most great; and a divine right to the conquests of Asia, which were composed at a time when I entertained the wish, rather than the hope, of concluding my history.

The throns of the Turks, as before the Huns, were almost universally occupied by the sons of the great; and the Turk was the preserver of his nation with his tongue, as with his sword. Petrarch pours forth his astonishment and grief at the fall of the empire, and the loss of the Genoese in the following epistle, (p. 532-535.)
The DECLINE and FALL

Chapter XXV

THE DECLINE and FALL

The superlative termination. (Hist. Genealogique des Tartars, part. iii. p. 191, 155.) From the same idea of magnitude, the appellation of Zingis is derived from the ocean.

The name of Moguls has prevailed among the orientals, and still adheres to the titular sovereign, the Great Mogul of Hindostan.

The Tartars (more properly Tartes) were descended from Tchant Khan, the brother of M. and Khan, see Abulfazl, part. ii. and iii. and each of his descendants was, according to the chronicles of Khurât, (vers. 103—112) in the great invasion of Europe, (A.D. 1283) they seem to have led the vanguard; and the name of the Tartars of Persia is equal to that of Zingis.(A. d. 1226.)

The title of Mogul is also found in the Ottoman language, and is applied to the sovereign of the Turkish empire.

In the year 1291, by the command of Oezan Khan, Peri of Persia, the fourth in his descent from Zingis. From these traditions, his vizier Fatir Khan, the first of his name, and son of the above, has been cited by Petit de la Croix, (Hist. de d'Iran, p. 357—358.) and the general use of the Tartars.

The Mogul Ss. of Abdallah Behrur, a descendant of Zingis,

nese, e Persians, Armenians, Syrians, Arabians, Greeks, Russians, Poles, Hungarians, and Latins; and each nation still procures credit in the relation of their common enemies and defeats.

The arms of Zingis and his lieutenants successively reduced the hordes of China, the desert, who pitched their tents be- tween the wall of China and the Volga; and the Mogul empires pursued the monarchies to the north of the Caspian, where the lord of many millions of shepherds and soldiers, who felt their united strength, and were impatient to rush on the mild and wealthy climates of the south. His ancestors had been the tributaries of the Chinese emperors; and Timur and whose, in the tone of the kings of nations, exacted the tribute and obedience which he had paid, and who affected to treat the son of heaven as the most contemptible of mankind. A haughty answer disguised their fear, and Timur, in the name of God, despatched on the march of innumerable squadrions, who pierced on all sides the feeble rampart of the great wall. Ninety cities were stormed or starved, by the Moguls; ten only escaped; and Zingis, from a knowledge of the filial piety of the Chinese, covered his

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name, or, Persians, Armenians, Syrians, Arabians, Greeks, Russians, Poles, Hungarians, and Latins; and each nation still procures credit in the relation of their common enemies and defeats.

The arms of Zingis and his lieutenants successively reduced the hordes of China, the desert, who pitched their tents be- tween the wall of China and the Volga; and the Mogul empires pursued the monarchies to the north of the Caspian, where the lord of many millions of shepherds and soldiers, who felt their united strength, and were impatient to rush on the mild and wealthy climates of the south. His ancestors had been the tributaries of the Chinese emperors; and Timur and whose, in the tone of the kings of nations, exacted the tribute and obedience which he had paid, and who affected to treat the son of heaven as the most contemptible of mankind. A haughty answer disguised their fear, and Timur, in the name of God, despatched on the march of innumerable squadrions, who pierced on all sides the feeble rampart of the great wall. Ninety cities were stormed or starved, by the Moguls; ten only escaped; and Zingis, from a knowledge of the filial piety of the Chinese, covered his
vanguard with their captive parents; an unworthy, and by degrees a fruitless, abuse of the virtues of his enemies. His invasion was supported by the revolt of a hundred thousand Khitans, who guarded the frontier; yet he listened to a treaty; and a princess of China, three thousand horses, five hundred youths, and a profusion of treasure by the payment of the price of his retreat. In his second expedition, he compelled the Chinese emperor to retire beyond the yellow river to a more southern residence. The siege of Peking 1 was long and laborious: the inhabitants were reduced by famine to decimate and devastation. When it was spent, they discharged ingots of gold and silver from their engines; but the Moguls introduced a mine to the centre of the capital; and the conflagration of the palace burnt about thirty days. China was desolated by Tartar war and domestic faction; and the five northern provinces were added to the empire of Zingis.

In the west, he touched the dominions of Carizme, of Mohammed, sultan of Carizme, who had submitted to the Persian gulf to the borders of India and Turkestan; and who, in the proud imitation of Alexander the Great, forgot that the rock defended back his fathers to the house of Seljuk. It was the wish of Zingis to establish a friendly and commercial intercourse with the most powerful of the Moslem princes; nor could he be tempted by the secret solicitations of the caliph of Bagdad, who sacrificed to his personal wrongs the stupendous province. He indeed provoked and justified the Tartar arms in the invasion of the southern Asia. A caravan of three ambassadors and one hundred and fifty merchants, was arrested and murdered at Otrar, by the command of Mohammed; nor was it till after a demand and defiance that he withdrew back the foot of his horse. Mohammed was astonished by the multitude and valor of his enemies: he withdrew from the scene of danger, and distributed his troops in the frontier towns; trusting that the barbarians, invincible in the field, would be repulsed by the length and difficulty of so many sieges. But the presence of Zingis had formed a body of Chinese engineers, skilled in the mechanic arts; informed perhaps of the secret of gunpowder, and capable, under his discipline, of attacking a foreign country with more vigour and success than he had defended his own. The Persian historians will relate the sieges of Otrar, Cogende, Barcha, Samareca, Carizme, Herat, Merou, Nisabour, Balch, and Candahar; and the conquest of the rich and populous countries of Transoxiana, Carizme, and Chorassan. The destructive hostilities of Attila and the Huns have been so often repeated, that it is needless to give a detail of them. The example of Zingis and the Moguls; and in this more proper place I shall be content to observe, that, from the Caspian to the Indus, they ruined a tract of many hundred miles, which was adorned with the habitations and labours of mankind, and that five centuries have not been sufficient to repair the ravages of four years. The Mogul emperor encouraged or indulged the fury of his troops; the hope of future possession was lost in the ardour of rapine and slaughter; and the cause of the war exasperated their native fierce ardour no less than the extempore of the present, whom they perceived to be rewarded with a fourfold increase of the price of his retreat. The downfall and death of the sultan Mohammed thus expired unpitied and alone, in a desert island of the Caspian sea, is a poor atonement for the calamities of which he was the author. Could the Carizmanian empire have been saved by a single hero, it would have, in the hour of the utmost need, been by his son Gehadeed; but successive failures and repeated checks drove him to resign his island, and, in the hour of victory, to retire, until, in the last moment of despair, Gehadeed threw himself into the desert, and, on the banks of the Indus, where he was oppressed by his innumerable host, he was attacked and killed by them. His death, A.D. 1227.

The harem of Zingis was composed of the concubines of the Moguls under his succession of Zingis, A.D. 1227.

Conquests of the five hundred wives and concubines; and of his numerous progeny, four sons, illustrious by their birth and merit, exercised under their father the principal offices of peace and war. Toushi was his general in the campaigns of Zingis, Bagdash and Sagata; his general, and Tuli his general; and their names and actions are often conspicuous in the history of his conquests. Firmly united for their own and the public interest, the three brothers and their families were content with dependent sultans; and their empire, by general consent, was proclaimed great khan, or emperor of the Moguls and Tartars. He was succeeded by his son Gayuk, after whose death the empire devolved to his cousins Mong and Cubblai, the sons of Tuli, and the grandsons of Zingis. In the sixty-eight years of his four first successors, the Moguls subdued almost all Asia, and a large portion of Europe. Without confining myself to the order of time, without expatiating on the detail of events, I shall present a general picture of the progress of their arms in the east; in the south; in the west; and in the north.

Before the invasion of Zingis, China was divided into two empires or dy-reigns of China, nastes of the north and south; and the A.D. 1234, the emperor of the northern

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1. More properly Yen king, an ancient city, whose ruins still appear some fortresses to the south-east of the modern Peking, which was the ancient Hanz, and the capital of the Chinese emperors. ---

2. M. de Vailly, Essai sur l'Histoire Generale, tom. iii. c. 60, p. 8. His account of Zingis and the Moguls contains, as usual, much general sense and truth, with some particular errors.

3. Zizai gave his name to his dominions of Makroumah, or Transoxiana; and the Moguls of Hindostan, who emigrated from that country, are styled Zizaians by the Persians. This certain etymology is not supported by the Chinese authentic sources. The Moguls, who were designated the Zizaians by the Persians, have, at the time of the discovery of the west, absolutely rejected the derivations of a national, from a personal, name.

4. Marco Polo, and the oriental geographers, the names of Cathay and Mong distinguished the northern and southern empires; but from A.D. 1254 to 1279, were those of the great khan, end of the Chinese empire. The search of Cathay, or of China had been found, excited
general conformity of laws, language, and national manners. The northern empire, which had been dismembered by Zingis, was finally subdued seven years after his death. After the loss of Pekin, the emperor, who had fixed his residence at Kai-fung, a city many miles in circumference, which contained according to the Chinese annals, fourteen hundred thousand families of inhabitants and fugitives. He escaped from thence with only seven horsemen, and made his last stand in a third capitol, till at length the hopeless monarch, protesting his innocence and accusing his former possessions, was strangled and gave ordeals, as that, so soon as he had stabbed himself, the fire should be kindled by his attendants. The dynasty of the Song, the native and ancient sovereigns of the whole empire, survived about forty-five years the fall of the northern usurpers; and the perfect conquest was reserved for the arms of Cubbi. During this interval, the Moguls were often diverted by foreign wars; and, if the Chinese seldom dared to meet their victors in the field, their passive courage presented an endless succession of cities to storm and 1,000,000 to slay. In the attack and defence of places, the engine of antiquity and the Greek fire were alternately employed: the use of gunpowder in cannon and bombs appears as a familiar practice; and the sieges were conducted by the Mahometans and Franks, who had been liberally invited into the service of Cubbi. After the fall of the Ganges, the caliph's tributary waters were conveyed along a series of canals, till they invested the royal residence of Hamecon, or Quinasey, in the country of silk, the most delectable climate of China. The emperor, a defenceless youth, surrendered his person and sceptre; and before he was sent in exile into Turky, he struck nine times the ground with his forehead, to adore in prayer or thanksgiving the mercy of the great Khan. Yet the war (it was of the southern, now styled a rebellion) was still maintained in the southern provinces from Hamecon to Canton; and the obstinate remnant of independence and hostility was transported from the land to the sea. But when the fleet of the Song was surrounded and oppressed by a superior armament, their last champion leaped into the waves with his infant emperor in his arms. "It is more glorious," he said, "for a prince, than for a slave," and his hundred thousand Chinese imitated his example; and the whole empire from Tonkin to the great wall, submitted to the dominion of Cubbi. His boundless ambition aspired to the conquest of Japan; his fleet was twice shipwrecked; and the lives of a hundred thousand Chinese were spared by the providence of the Great Khan, who covered them with a Reason of the fruits in expediency. But the circumjacent kingdoms, Corea, Tonkin, Cochinchina, Pegu, Bengal, and Thibet, were reduced in different degrees of tribute and obedience by the effort or terror of his arms. He explored the Indian ocean with a fleet of a thousand ships: they sailed in sixty-eight days, most probably to the isle of Bornéo, under the equinoctial line; and though they returned not without spoil or glory, the emperor was dissatisfied that the savage king had escaped from their hands.

II. The conquest of Hindostan by the Moguls was reserved in a later period for the house of Timour; but that of Iran or Persia, was achieved by Haji Khan, the grandson of Zingis, the brother and lieutenant of the two successive emperors, Mangu and Cubbi. I shall not enumerate the crowd of sultans, emirs, and stakbas, whom he trampled into dust; but the expiration of the Janissaries, or Ismaelians 1 of Persia, may be considered as a sort of crisis. Great, among the hills to the south of the Caspian, these odious sectaries had rigned with impunity above a hundred and sixty years; and their prince, or imam, established his lieutenant to lead and govern the colony of mount Libanus, so famous and formidable in the east. The linking of the two religious systems gave light to the Kuran, the Ismaelians had blended the Indian transmigration, and the visions of their own prophets; and it was their first duty to devote their souls and bodies in blind obedience to the vicar of God. The daggers of his missionaries were felt both in the east and west; the Christians and the Moslems were confused, and perhaps multiply, the illusory victims that were sacrificed to the zeal, avarice, or resentment of the old man (as he was corruptly styled) of the mountain. But these daggers, his only arms, were broken by the Moslems; and, not a rational relic of mankind, except the word assasin, which, in the most odious sense, has been adopted in the languages of Europe. The extinction of the Abbassides cannot be indifferent to the spectators of their greatness and decline. Since the fall of their Seljuq successors, the province of the empire into two dominions of Bagdad and the Arabian Ira vector was in the day of the nation. But the empire was disturbed by theological factions, and the command of the faithful was lost in a harem of seven hundred concubines. The invasion of the Moguls discovered a fertile arms and haughty magnificence. "On the divine decree," said the caliph Mostassem, "is founded the throne of the sons of Abbas; and their foes shall surely be destroyed in this world and in the next. Who is this Holagen that dares to rise against them? If he be desirous of peace, let him instantly depart from the sacred territory; and perhaps he may obtain from our clemency the pardon of his fault." This presumption was cherished by a perfidious vizir, who assured his master, that, even if the barbarians had entered the city, the women and children, from the terraces, would be sufficient to overawe the enemy. But when the soldiers touched the phantom, it instantly vanished into smoke. After a siege of two months, Bagdad was stormed and sacked by the Moguls: and their savage commander pronounced the death of the caliph Mostassem, the last of the temporal successors of Mahomet; whose noble kinsmen, of the race of Abbas, had reigned in the above five hundred years. Whatever might be the designs of the conqueror, the holy cities of Mecca and Medina 2 were protected by the Arabian desert; but the Moguls spread beyond the Tigris and Euphrates, pillaged Aleppo and Damascenus, and drove the Christians and the Latter of the Turks. The sultans

1 All that can be known of the Assassins of Persia and Syria is poured from the copious, and even profuse, erudition of M. de Malbran, in his Monumens de la philosophie orientale, in six volumes, pp. 127—175.

2 The kingdom of Syria, 60,000 Assassins, had acquired or founded ten castles in the hills above Tortoua. About the year 1253, they were extirpated by the Mamlucks.
of Kipzak, Russi- 
and

ors, Polish, 

o. D. 1225 

ili, &c.


III. No sooner had Octav subverted
the northern empire of China, than he
resolved to visit with his arms the most
remote countries of the globe. The first
hundred thousand Mogals and Tartars
were inscribed on the military roll; of these the great khan selected a third, which he intrusted to the command of his
nephew Batou, the son of Tuli; who rejoined over his father’s conquests to the north of the Caspian sea. After a festival of forty days, Batou set forward
on this great expedition; and such was the speed
and ardour of his innumerable squadrons, that in less
than six years they had measured a line of ninety degrees
of longitude, a fourth part of the circumference of
the globe. The great rivers of Asia and Europe, the
Vistula and Danube, which they swam with their horses,
or passed on the ice, or traversed in leathern boats,
which followed the camp, and transported their waggons
and artillery. By the first victories of Batou, the
remains of national freedom were eradicated in the
empire of the Vezhens and Dzoroz's, and were
surrounded by Tartar desolations. In his rapid progress, he overran the kingdoms, as they are now styled, of Astracan and Cazan; and the
troops which he detached towards mount Caucasus,
explored the most secret recesses of Georgia and Circassia.
The civil division of the great khan, or princes
of Russia, rendered their country to the Tartars.
They spread from Livonia to the Black sea, and both
Moscow and Kiov, the modern and the ancient capi-
tals, were reduced to ashes; a temporary ruin, less
fatal than the deep, and perhaps indelible, mark, which
a serquence of two hundred years marks the edge
of the Russian empire. The Tartars ravaged with
equal fury the countries which they hoped to possess,
and those which they were hastening to leave.
From the permanent conquest of Russia, they made a
daily though transient foray into the heart of Poland, and
as far in the borders of Germany. The cities of Lub-
lun and Cragow were obliterated; they approached
the shores of the Baltic; and in the battle of Lignitz,
they defeated the khan of Silesia, the Polish palen-
tines, and the great master of the Teutonic order, and
filled nine sacks with the right ears of the slain. From
Lignitz, the extreme point of their western march, they
turned aside to the invasion of Hungary; and the
presence or spirit of Batou inspired the host of five
hundred thousand men; the Carpathian hills could not
be long impervious to their divided columns; and their
approach had been fondly disbelieved till it was irre-
sistibly felt. The king, Bela the fourth, assembled
the military force of his counts and bishops; but he
had alienated the nation by adopting a vulgar horde
of forty thousand families of Comans, and these sa-
vage guests were provoked to revolt by the suspicion
of treachery and the murder of their prince. The
whole country north of the Danube was in a disorder
and depopulated in a summer; and the ruins of cities
and churches were overspread with the bones of the
natives, who expiated the sins of their Turkish ances-
tors. An ecclesiastic, who fled from the sack of Wa-
rsaw, informed the estates of Lithuania, which had also
suffered; and the sanguiinary rage of sieges and batt-
les is far less atrocious than the treatment of the fugi-
tives, who had been allowed from the woods under
a promise of peace and pardon, and who were cooly
slaughtered as soon as they had performed the labours
of the harvest and vintage. In the winter, the Tar-
tars passed the Danube on the ice, and advanced to
Grain or Strigovitum, a German colony, and the metró-
capital of Hungary. They set fire against the walls; the ditches
were filled with racks of earth and dead bodies; and after a promiscuous mas-
sacre, three hundred noble matrons were slain in the
presence of the khan. Of all the cities and fortresses of
Hungary, three alone survived the Tartar invasion,
and of these Batou raised the siege: for Bela hid his head among the
islands of the Adriatic.

The Latin world was darkened by this cloud of sa-
vage hostility; a Russian fugitive carried the alarm to
Sweden; and the remote nations of the Baltic and
the ocean trembled at the approach of the Tartars; whom their
victories and ignorance were inclined to separate from
the human species. Since the invasion of the Arabs
in the eighth century, Europe had never been exposed
to a similar calamity; and if the disciples of Mahomet
would have opportred her religion and liberty, it might
be apprehended that the shepherds of Scythia would
extinguish her cities, her arts, and all the institu-
tions of civil society. The Roman pontiff attempted
to appease and convert these invincible pagans by a
mission of Franciscean and Dominican friars; but he
was astonished by the reply of the khan, that the sons
of God and of Zingis were invested with a divine pow-
ner to subdue or moderate the nations; and that he
would be involved in the universal destructin unless he
visited in person, and as a suppliant, the royal
hore. The emperor Federic the second embraced a
more generous mode of def-nce; and his letters to the
kings of France and England, and the princes of Ger-
manya, represented the situation of his empire, and
urged them to arm their vessels in this just and rational crusade. The Tartars themselves were awed by the fame and
valor of the Franks; the town of Newstead in Austria
was bravely defended against them by fifty knights and
twenty cross-bows; and they raised the siege on the appearance of a German army.

I. Even the poor and frozen regions of Siberia,
from the north attracted the arms of the A. D. 1225, &c.

Megule: Shibibani khan, the brother of the great Ba-
tou, led a horde of fifteen thousand families into the
wilds of Siberia; and his descendants reigned at To-
bolskoy above three centuries till the Russian conquest.
The spirit of enterprise which pursued the course of the
Oby and Yenisei must have led to the discovery of
the icy sea. After brushing away the monstrous
fables of men with drags' heads and clown feet, we
shall find, that, fifteen years after the death of Zingis,
the Moguls were informed of the name and manners
of the Samoyedes in the neighbourhood of the polar
circle, who dwelt in subterraneous huts, and derived
their furs and their food from the sole occupation of
hunting.

2 In the year 1225, the inhabitants of Godia (Scren)
and Frise were prevented, by their fear of the Tartars, from rending, as usual,
their ships to the herring fishery, on the coast of England; and another
injection, forty or fifty of these fish were sold for a shilling. (Chartres Paris, p. 292.) It is whimsical enough, that the orders of a
Mongol khan, who reigned on the borders of China, should have lower-
ened the price of herrings.

3 I shall copy his characteristic and flattering epitaphs of the different
countries of Europe: Fureus ac fervens ad animar Germaniam, atnme
Francia, bellicosus ad animar Hungaria, divus et villanus, totius
vere et classe miscuit futila Anglica, impetuosi bellatoribus re-
ftoria Almarazia, navalis Dacia, indolenta Italia, parts interas
bargabi, impetuosa Aquila, cum mariis Graci, Adriatici, et Tyrhenum
isulam, pyricos et invictos, Creia, Cypret, Sicilia, cum Oceanos conti-
versa miscula, et civilitatem, cruenta Hispania, cum ferrum
lustrosa Scotia, glacialis Norwegen, mem spectant marinum sub vacnil
fructus destinantis, &c. (Chartres Paris, p. 293.)

4 See Carpin's relation in Hackley, tient. i. p. 30. The pedigree
of the khan of Siberia is given by Alonzo Carmon. (Hist. 455—457.) The Russians found no Tartar Chronicles at To-
bolskoy.
While China, Syria, and Poland, were invaded at the same time by the Moguls and Tartars, the authors of the mighty mischief were content with the knowledge and destruction which comprised their banquets and a distribution in one day of five hundred waggons of gold and silver. The ambassadors and princes of Europe and Asia were compelled to undertake this distant and laborious pilgrimage: and the life and reign of the great invader were despised by the kings of Georgia and Armenia, the sultans of Iconium, and the emirs of Persia, were decided by the crown or smile of the great khan. The sons and grandchildren of Zingis had been accustomed to the pastoral life; but the village of Cara-
coram was gradually ennobled by their election and residence. A change of manners is implied in the removal of Octai and Mangu from the tent to a house; and their example was imitated by the princes of their family and the great officers of the empire. Instead of the boundless forest, the enclosure of a park afforded the more indolent pleasures of the chase; their new habitations were decorated with gardens and statu-
ture; their superfluous treasures were cast in fountains, and basins, and statues of mussy silver; and the artists of China and Paris vied with each other in the service of the great khan. Caracoram contained two streets, the one of Chinese and Tartar traders and the places of religious worship, one Nestorian church, two mosques, and twelve temples of various idols, may represent in some degree the number and division of inhabitants. Yet a French missionary declares, that the town of St. Doris, near Pekin, was more considerable than either Constantinople, or the town of the great khan. The whole palace of Mangu was scarcely equal to a tenth part of that Benedictine abbey. The conquests of Russia and Syria might amuse the vanity of the great khan; but they were settled on the borders of China; the acquisition of that empire was the nearest and most interesting object; and that the Moguls assumed the luxury of the cities of Persia; but the princes and their hordes were alike disposed for the reception of a foreign worship. After some hesitation between the Gospel and the Koran, they confirmed to the religion of Mahomet; and while they adopted for their brothers the Arabs and Persians, they pronounced all intercourse with the ancient Moguls, the idolaters of China. In this shipwreck of nations, some surprise may be excited by the escape of the Roman empire, whose relics, at the time of the Mogul invasion, were hardly inhabited by the Greeks and Latins. Less potent than Alexander, they were pressed, like the Macedonian, both in Europe and Asia, by the shepherds of Seytiin; and had the Parsis come near to the walls of the city, they were yielded to the fate of Pekin, Samarcand, and Bagdad. The glorious and voluntary retreat of Batou from the Danube, was insulted by the vain triumph of the Franks and Greeks; and in a second expedition death surprised him in full march to attack the capital of the Cæsars. His brother Borgia carried the Tartar arms into Bulgaria and Thrace; but he was diverted from the Byzantine war by a visit to Novgorod, in the fifty-seventh degree of latitude, where he numbered the inhabitants and regulated the tributes of Russia. The Mogul khan formed a design to make the mountains of Persia three hundred thousand horse penetrated through the gates of Derbend; and the Greeks might rejoice in the first example of domestic war. After the recovery of Constantinople, Michael Palaeologus was distanced at a distance from Constanti-
ne. The Mogul army was dissolved in a vast and populous country; and their emperors adopted with pleasure a political system, which gives to the prince the solid substance of despotism, and leaves to the sub-
ject the advantage of freedom and public obedience. Under the reign of Kubilai, letters and commerce, peace and justice, were restored; the great canal, of five hundred miles, was opened from Nankin to the capital; he fixed his residence at Pekin; and displayed in his court the magnificence of the greatest monarch of Asia; his halls were adorned with paintings and sculptures from the pure and simple religion of his great ances-
tor; he sacrificed to the idol Fo; and his blind attach-
ment to the lamas of Thibet and the hordes of China provoked the censure of the disciples of Confucius. The Mogul emperors were lost in the division of the empire, A. D. 1299—1420. They were over the dependent branches of their house, the khans of Kipzak and Russia, the khans of Zaghari, or Transoxiana, and the khan of Iran or Per-
isa. The Tartar khans were leagued with their Tartar cousins; the Tartars subdued the Franks by their freedom and public obedience. The Tartars inhabited the ten thousand families of the mountains of Persia; and the Tartars were in the mountains of Persia; and the Tartars were in

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1 The map of D'Aulnay, and the Chinese Itineraries (the Guntrus, tom. i. part ii. p. 57) seem to mark the position of Mubin, or Carac-
coram, within the limits of the kingdom of Tekin. The agree-
tance between Selenschian and Pekin is near 200 Russian leagues, between Pekin and the kingdom of the Chinese Tartars (De Travel, vol. ii. p. 67.)

2 Rubenius found at Caracoram his countrymen, the Franciscans Henc-
er, orfere de Paris, who had executed for the khan a silver tree, supported by four lions, and erecting four different inscriptions of
gil-ghazi (part iv. p. 338.) mentions the painters of King of China.

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3 A The attachment of the khan, and the hatred of the mandarins, to the bounces and lamans (Pohalde, Hist. de la Chine, tom. i. p. 502, 503.) causes to resemble the princes of. The wandering (De Travel, vol. ii. p. 67.)

4 Some repose of the Moguls in Hungary (Matthew Paris, p. 342, 343;) might propagate and colour the report of the union and victory of the Transylvanians. The account of the battle of Parnita (Dinastia, p. 2103) after forty years, beyond the Tigris, might be easily deceived.

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5 See Foster, Lib. i. c. 55. and i. c. n. 66, 27, and the false claim of
ciscopos Greces, 1. v. c. 6.
Chap.

XXV.

OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

his court and army, was surprised and surrounded, in
But
a Thracian castle, by twenty thousand Tartars.
the object of their march was a private interest: they
came to the deliverance of Azzadin, the Turkish sultan ; and were content with his person and the treaTheir general Nogo, whose
sure of the emperor.
name is perpetuated in the hordes of Astracan, raised
a formidable rebellion against Mengo Timour, the third
of the khans of Kipzak ; obtained in marriage Maria
the natural daughter of Palajologus ; and guarded the
dominions of his friend and father. The subsequent
invasions of a Scythian cast were those of outlaws
and fugitives : and some thousands of Alani and Comans, who had been driven from their native seats,
were reclaimed from a vagrant life, and enlisted in
Such was the influence in
the service of the empire.
Europe of the invasion of the Moguls. The first terror of their arms secured, rather than disturbed, the
peace of the Roman Asia. The sultan of Iconium
solicited a personal interview with John Vataces ; and
his artful policy encouraged the Turks to defend their
barrier against the common enemy."
That barrier indeed was soon overthrown ; and the servitude and ruin
of the Seljukians exposed the nakedness of the Greeks.
The formidable Holagou threatened to march to Constantinople at the head of four hundred thousand men ;
and the groundless panic of the citizens of Nice will
present an image of the terror which lie had inspired.
The accident of a procession, and the sound of a dole-1
fill litany, "From the fury of the. Tartars, good Lord,
deliver us," had scattered the hasty report of an assault and massacre.
In the blind credulity of fear,
the streets of Nice were crowded with thousands of
both sexes, who knew not. from what or to whom they
fled ; and some hours elapsed before the firmness of the
military officers could relieve the city from this imaginary foe.
But the ambition of" Holagou and his successors was fortunately diverted by the conquest of
their
Bagdad, and a long vicissitude of Syrian wars
hostility to the Moslems inclined them to unite with
the Greeks and Franks j° and their generosity or contempt had offered the kingdom of Anatolia as the reward of an Armenian vassal. The fragments of the
Seljukian monarchy were disputed by the emirs who
had occupied the cities or the mountains ; but they all
confessed the supremacy of the khans of Persia ; and
he often interposed his authority, and sometimes his
arms, to check their depredations, and to preserve the
peace and balance of his Turkish frontier. The death
Decline of the of Cazan,P one of the greatest and most
Mogul khans of accomplished princes of the house of
6
Zingis, removed this salutary control ;
A.'d. 1304.
May 31.
and the decline of the Moguls gave a
free scope to the rise and progress of the Ottoman
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Empire.

11

Origin of the

After the retreat of Zingis, the sultan

Gelaleddin of Carizme had returned from
j [u |j a t0 [| 1R possession and defence of
his Persian kingdoms.
In the space of eleven years,
that hero fought in person fourteen battles
and such
was his activity, that he led his cavalry in seventeen
days from Teflis to Kerman, a march of a thousand
miles.
Yet he was oppressed by the jealousy of the
Moslem princes, and the innumerable armies of the
Moguls and after his last defeat, Gelaleddin perish-

Ottomans,
A. D. 1240, &c.

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407

ed ignobly in the mountains of Curdistan.
His death
dissolved a veteran and adventurous army, which included under the name of Carizmians or Corasmins
many Turkman hordes, that had attached themselves
to the sultan's fortune.
The bolder and more powerful chiefs invaded Syria, and violated the holy sepulchre of Jerusalem
the more humble engaged in the
service of Aladin, sultan of Iconium ; and among
these were the obscure fathers of the Ottoman line.
They had formerly pitched their tents near the southern banks of the Oxus, in the plains of Mahan and
Nesa ; and it is somewhat remarkable, that the same
spot should have produced the first authors of the Parthian and Turkish empires.
At the head, or in the
rear, of a Carizmian army, Soliman Shah was drowned in the passage of the Euphrates: his son Orthogrul became the soldier and subject of Aladin, and
established at Surgut, on the banks of the Sangar, a
camp of four hundred families or tents, whom he governed fifty-two years both in peace and war.
lie
was the father of Thaman, or Athman, R e i»nofOth:

whose Turkish name has been melted

"man,
1326 the appellation of the caliph Oth- A D 12
man ; and if we describe that pastoral chief as a shepherd and a robber, we must separate from those characters all idea of ignominy and baseness.
Othman
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into

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possessed, and perhaps surpassed, the ordinary virtues of a soldier ; and the circumstances of time and
place were propitious to his independence and success.
The Seljukian dynasty was no more; and the distance
and decline of the Mogul khans soon enfranchised
him from the control of a superior. He was situate
on the verge of the Greek empire
the Koran sanctified his gazi, or holy war, against the infidels ; and
their political errors unlocked the passes of mount
Olympus, and invited him to descend into the plains
of Bilhynia.
Till the r< ign of Palajoli gus, these passes had been vigilantly guarded by the militia of the
country, who were repaid by their own safety and an
exemption from taxes. The emperor abolished iheir
privilege and assumed their office ; but the tribute
was rigorously collected, the custody of the passes
was neglected, and the hardy mountaineers degenerated into a trembling crowd of peasants without spirit
ot discipline.
It was on the twenty-seventh of July,
in the year twelve hundred and ninety-nine of the
christian asra, that Othman first invaded the territory
of Nicomedia ; ' and the singular accuracy of the date
seerns to disclose some foresight of the rapid and destructive growth of the monster.
The annals of the
twenty-seven years of his reign would exhibit a repetition of the same inroads; and his hereditary troops
were multiplied in each campaign by the accession of
captives and volunteers.
Instead of retreating to the
hills, he maintained the most useful and defensible
posts ; fortified the towns and castles which he had
first pillaged ; and renounced the pastoral life for the
baths and palaces of his infant capitals.
But it was
not till Othman was oppressed by age and infirmities,
that he received the welcome news of the conquest
of Prusa, which had been surrendered by famine or
treachery to the arms of his son Orchan.
The glory
of Othman is chiefly founded en that of his descendants ; hut the Turks have transcribed or composed a
royal testament of his last counsels of justice and mo:

deration."
o Abulpharagius, who wrote in the year 1284, declares, that I lie
Moguls, since the fabulous defeat of Baton, had not attacked either
the Franks or Greeks ; and of this he is a competent witness. Hayton, likewise, the Armeniac prince, celebrates their friendship fur
himself and his nation.
P Pachymer gives a splendid character of Cazan Khan, the rival of
Cyrus and Alexander, (1. xii. c. 1.) In the conclusion of his history,
(1. xiii. c. 36.) he hopes much from the arrival of 30,0J3 Tochars or
Tartars, who were ordered by (he successor of Cazan to restrain the
Turks of Bilhynia, A. D. 1308.
4 The origin of the Ottoman dynasty is illustrated by the critical
learning of M, M. de Guignes (Hist, des Huns. totn. iv. p. 320—337.)
and D'Anville, (Kmpire Turc, p. 14—22.) two inhabitants of Paris,
from whom the orientals may learn the history and geogrjphy of their
n

own

country.

r See Pachymer, 1. x. c. 25, 26. 1. xiii. c. 33—36. and concerning the
guard of the mountains, 1. i. c. 3—6. Nicephorus Gregoras, 1. vii. c.
1. and the first book of Laonicas Chalcondyles, the Athenian.
s I am
ignorant whether the Turks have any writers older than
Mahomet II. nor can 1 reach beyond a meagre chronicle, (Annates
Turcici ad Annum 1350.) translated by John Gaudier, and published
by Leunclayius, (ad calcem Laonic. Chalcond. p. 311—350.) with
copious pandects, or commenlaries. The history of the Growth and
Decay (A. D. I3C0— I6S3.) of the Othman empire, was translated into
English from the Latin IMS. of Demetrius Canlemir, prince of Moldavia, (Loudon, 1731, in folio.) The author is euiliy cf strange Hunders in oriental history; but he was conversant with ihe language,
Cathemir partly
the annals, and the institutions of the Turks.
draws his materials front the Synopsis ofSaadi Effendi of Larissa, dedicated in the year 1606 to sultan Mustapha, and a vnluable abridg


Relying on Orchan, the conquest of Prusa, we may
A.D. 1334—1339. date the true era of the Ottoman empire.
The lives and possessions of the Christian subjects
were redeemed by a tribute or ransom of thirty thou-
sand crowns of gold; and the city, by the labours of
Orchan, assumed the aspect of a Mahometan capital;
Prusa was recovered by a modern in the shape of a
collegiate church, and a hotel for the students of
lyceum; the Seljukian coin was changed for the name
and impression of the new dynasty; and the most skilful
professors, of human and divine knowledge, attracted
the Persian and Arabic students from the ancient schools
of oriental learning. The Turks, at this time, inhabited
by their hind and the royal foundation; the Seljukian coin
was changed for the name and impression of the new
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nate friend, to visit his wife, or to taste the luxuries of the palace; sustained in his test the rigour of the winter; and rejected the hospitable gift, that he might share the hardships of two thousand companions, all as deserving as himself of that honour and distinction. Necessity and revenge might justify his preatory excursions by sea and land; he left nine thousand five hundred men to guard his camp against the morrow. Travell

ed in the fruitless search of Cantacuzene, till his embarking was hastened by a fictitious letter, the severity of the season, the clamours of his independent troops, and the weight of his spoils and captives. In the prosecution of the civil war, the prince of Ionia throughout the tumults he was disposed to beset the city of the emperor; besought Thessalonica, and threatened

Constantinople. Calumny might affix some reproaches on his imperfect aid, his hasty departure, and a bribe of ten thousand crowns, which he accepted from the Byzantine court; but his friend was sustained and the conduct of Amir is excused by the more sacred duty of defending against the Latins his hereditary dominions. The maritime powers of the Turks had united the pope, the king of Cyprus, the republic of Venetier, and the order of St. John, in a landable cause. The church of Ionia was reconquered; but Amir was slain with an arrow, in the attempt to wrest from the Rhodian knights the citadel of Smyrna. Before his death, he generously recommended another ally of his own nation; not more sincere or zealous than himself, but more able to afford a prompt and powerful aid. The new will of the prince of Ionia was admitted, and crowned the daughter of Cantacuzene, he would invariably fulfill the duties of a subject and a son. Parental tenderness was silenced by the voice of ambition; the Greek clergy convened at the marriage of a christian princess with a sectary of Mahomet; and the father of Theophylact, with shameless satisfaction, pronounced the dishonour of the purple. A body of Turkish cavalry attended the ambassadors, who disembarked from thirty vessels before his camp of Selymbria. A stately pavilion was erected, in which the empress Irene passed the night with her ladies in the coast of Ionia; and her son, the heir to the empire, was set on a throne, which was surrounded with curtains of silk and gold; the troops were under arms; but the emperor alone was on horseback. At a signal the curtains were suddenly withdrawn, to disclose the bride, or the victim, enplied by kneeling eunuchs and by numeral torches; the sound of flutes and trumpets proclaimed the joyful event; and her pretended happiness was the theme of the nuptial song, which was chanted by such poets as the age could produce. Without the rites of the church, Theophylact was delivered to her harrowing lot; but he had been stipulated, that she should preserve her religion in the harem of Boursa; and her father celebrates her charity and devotion in this ambiguous situation. After his peaceful establishment on the throne of Constantinople, the Greek emperor visited his Turkish ally, who, with four sons, had made the coast of Ionia; and his son, Linut, on the Asiatic shore. The two princes partook, with seeming cordiality, of the pleasures of the banquet and the chase; and Theodora was permitted to repaiss the Bosphorus, and to enjoy some days in the society of her mother. But the friendship of Orchan was subservient to his religion and interest; and in the Genoese war he joined without a blush the enemies of Cantacuzene.

In the treaty with the empress Anne, the Ottoman prince had inserted a singular condition, that it should be lawful for the conquerors at Constantinople, to reduce, or transport them into Asia. A naked crowd of christians of both sexes and every age, of priests and monks, of matrons and virgins, was exposed in the public market; the whip was frequently used to quicken the charity of redemption; and the indi

viduals of both sexes were led away to the worst of evils of temporal and spiritual bondage. Cantacuzene was reduced to subscribe the same terms; and their execution must have been still more pernicious to the empire: a body of ten thousand Turks had been detached to the assistance of the empress Anne; but the entire forces of Orchan were exerted in the service of his father. Yet these calamities were of a transient nature; as soon as the storm had passed away, the fugitives might return to their habitations; and at the conclusion of the civil war, it was condescended in the name of the hands of the Moslems of Asia. It was in his last quarter with his pupil that Cantacuzene inflicted the deep and deadly wound, which could never be healed by his successors, and which is poorly expiated by his theological dialogues against the prophet Mahomet. Ignorance, the fruit of their own misfortunes, rendered them incapable of defending their first and their final passage of the Hellespont; and describe the son of Orchan as a nocturnal robber, who, with eighty companions, explores by stratagem a hostile and unknown shore. Soliman, at the head of ten thousand horse, was transported in the vessels, which had continued the habitation of their caravan, and the first payment had been made, when an earthquake shook the walls and cities of the provinces; the dismantled places were occupied by the Turks; and Galata, the key of Constantinople, was abandoned by the garrisons, which had been expelled by the policy of Soliman. The abdication of Cantacuzene dissolved the feeble bands of domestic alliance; and his last advice admonished his countrymen to decline a rash contest, and to compare their own weakness with the numbers and valour, the discipline and enthusiasm, of the Moslems. His prudent counsels were despised by the headstrong vanity of youth, and soon justified by the victories of the Ottomans. But as he practised in the field, and at his death the exercise of the jereid, Soliman was killed; and his son Soldan, by a fall from his horse, and the aged man, Orchan went and expired on the tomb of his valiant son.

But the Greeks had not time to rejoice in the death of their enemies; and the Turkish sesiman was wielded with the same spirit by Amurrath the first, the son of Orchan, and the brother of Soliman. The reign and European com

pilations of Amur-

1 The most lively and concise picture of this captivity, may be found in the history of Ducas, (c. 5) who fairly describes what Cantacuzene confounds with a guilty blush!

2 In this passage, and the first compatriot of Europe, Contender (p. 27, &c.) gives a miserable idea of his Turkish guide; nor am I much better satisfied with Ciofano (a. 1), who has not consulted the most authentic record, the fourth book of Cantacuzene. I do not want for the letters of which are written, and which are not meant, to modernize, of Niphres

4 After the conclusion of Cantacuzene and Gregoras, there follows a less interval of a few years, during which the Emperor Constantine and Lucianos Chalcedon, all three write after the taking of Constantinople.
The Decline and Fall

chap. xxv.

we can discern, that he subdued without resistance the whole province of Romania or Thrace, from the Hellespont to Mount Hermon and the declivities of the capes; and that Adrastos was choson for the royal seat of his government and religion in Europe. Constantipol, whose decline is almost ceciv with her foundation, had often, in the lapse of a thousand years, been assaulted by the barbarians of the east and west; but his ancient towers had been re-erected, both in Asia and Europe, by the arms of the same hostile monarchy. Yet the prudence or generosity of Amurath postponed for this while his easy conquest; and his pride was satisfied with the frequent and humble attendance of John Paleologus and his four sons, who, followed at his summons the crown and camp of their Ottoman prince. He marched against the Servian nations between the Danube and the Adriatic, the Bulgarians, Servians, Bosnians, and Albanians; and these warlike tribes, who had so often insulted the majesty of the empire, were repeatedly broken by his destructive threats. Their countries did not abound either in gold or silver; nor were their rustic hamlets and townships enriched by commerce, or decorated by art of luxury. But the natives of the soil have been distinguished in every age by their hardness of mind and body; and they were converted by the Sufis into the firmest and most faithful supporters of the Ottoman greatness. The vizir of Amurath reminded his sovereign that, according to the Mahometan law, he was entitled to a fifth part of the spoil and captives; and that the duty might easily be levied, if vigilant officers were stationed at Gallipoli, to watch the passage, and to select for his use the stoutest and most beautiful of the Christian youth. The advice was followed; the edict was proclaimed; many thousands of the European captives were educated in religion and arms; and the new militia was consecrated and named by himself. Standing in front of their ranks, he stretched the sleeve of his gown over the head of the foremost soldier, and his blessing was delivered in these words: "Let them be called Janizaries; (genci cheri, or new soldiers;) may their countenance be ever bright! their hand victorious! their sword keen! may their spear always hang over the heads of their enemies! and wheresoever they go, may they return with a white face!" Such was the origin of these haughty troops, the terror of the nations, and sometimes of the sultans themselves. Their valour has declined, their discipline is relaxed, and their tumiditary array is incapable of contending with the order and weapons of modern tactics; but at the time of their institution, they possessed a decisive superiority in war; since a regular body of infantry, in constant exercise and pay, was not maintained by any of the princes of Christendom. The janizaries fought with the zeal of proselytes against their intolerable countrymen; and in the battle of Cossova, the league and independence of the Servian tribes was finally crushed. As the conqueror walked over the field, he observed that the greatest part of the slain consisted of beardless youths; and listened to the flattering reply of his vizir, that age and wisdom would have taught them not to oppose his irresistible arms. But the sword of his janizaries could not defend him from the dagger of despair; a Servian soldier started from the corpse of his master, and pierced in the belly with a mortal wound. The grandson of Othman was mild in his temper, modest in his apparel, and a lover of learning and virtue; but the Moslems were scandalized at his absence from public worship. Their value has declined, their discipline is relaxed, and that which was once a system composed the abstract part of the scaffold of the Ottoman state. The grand vizir, who dared to reject his testimony in a civil cause; a mixture of servitude and freedom not unfrequent in Oriental history.

The death of Bajazet, the son and successor of Amurath, is strongly expressed in the biographer's work. "He was pressed in his surname of Idercin, or the lightening; and he might glory in an epithet, which was drawn from the fiery energy of his soul and the rapidity of his destructive march. In the fourteen years of his reign, he moved against the northern frontier, to which he applied the force of his armies, from Boursa to Adrianople, from the Danube to the Euphrates; and, though he strenuously laboured for the propagation of the law, he invaded, with impartial ambition, the Christian and Mahometan princes of Europe and Asia. From Angria to Constantinople, the Ottoman conquerors were more or less successful in the conquests of Anatolia were reduced to his obedience; he stripped of their hereditary possessions, his brother emirs of Ghermania and Caramania, of Aldin and Sarukhan; and after the conquest of Ionium the ancient kingdom of the Seljukians again revived in the Ottoman dynasty. Nor were the conquests of Bajazet less rapid or important in Europe. No sooner had he imposed a regular form of servitude on the Servians and Bulgarians than he passed the Danube to seek new enemies and new subjects in the Russian and Polaish states. The ruin of the Greek empire in Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly, acknowledged a Turkish master: an obsequious bishop led him through the gates of Thermopyle into Greece; and we may observe, as a singular fact, that the widow of a Spanish chieftain, who possessed the ancient seat of the kings of the Visigoths, immediately showed him the sacrifice of a beauteous daughter. The Turkish communication between Europe and Asia had been dangerous and doubtful. He stationed at Gallipoli a fleet of galleys, to command the Hellespont and intercept the Latin succours of Constantinople. While the monarch indulged his haughtiness in the plate and dungeon, and cruelty, he imposed on his soldiers the most rigid laws of modesty and abstinence; and the harvest was peacefully reaped and sold within the precincts of his camp. Provoked by the loose and corrupt administration of justice, he collected in a house the jurists and lawyers of his dominions, who expected that in a few moments the fire would be kindled to reduce them to ashes. His ministers trembled in silence; but an Ethiopian hussar presumed to intimate the true cause of the evil; and future vexation was left without excuse, by annexing an adequate salary to the office of codifier; the humble title of emir was no longer suitable to the Ottoman greatness; and Bajazet condescended to accept a patent of sultan from the caliphs who served in Egypt under the yoke of the Namekukes; a last and frivolous homage that was yielded by force to opinion, by the Turkish conquerors to the house of Abbas and the successors of the Arabian prophet. The ambition of the sultan was inflamed by the obligation of deserving this august title: and he turned his arms against the

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1 See the life and death of Moro; or Amurath I in Cantemir, p. 33—15, the first book of Chalcondyles, and the Amasian Turck of Lascavius. According to another story, the sultan was stabbed by a young man who resented this accusation against him. (Epit. l. 58) as an excuse for the unwarranted precaution of pinioning him, it was attended with the loss of one attendant, an ambassador's page, whose head was introduced to the royal presence.

2 The reign of Bajazet I or Idercin Bayazid, is contained in Cantemir, p. 231, and of the Badr. The surnames of Bajazet, or Idercin, is, in an example, that the conquerors of the world, who are every age hallowed by the sanctity of a system, which derives its sublimes from the principle of terror. Cantemir, who celebrates the victories of the great Stephen over the Turks, (Amurath II) composed the annals of the history of the sultans, the principality of Moldavia, which has been long promised, and is still unaccomplished, p. 386. The surnames of Bajazet, or the conqueror of the East, which of the observants of the Turks themselves, we may consult the feeling of the Turks themselves. (D'Herbelot, Biblio. Orient. p. 324, 267, 233, 232, 231.

3 See Cantemir, who attests the victory of the great Stephen over the Turks, (Amurath II) composed the annals of the history of the sultans, the principality of Moldavia, which has been long promised, and is still unaccomplished, p. 386. The surnames of Bajazet, or the conqueror of the East, which of the observants of the Turks themselves, we may consult the feeling of the Turks themselves. (D'Herbelot, Biblio. Orient. p. 324, 267, 233, 232, 231.

4 The fact, which is attested by the Arabic history of the Seljuks. The commander of the Seljuks, Amurath I (see Cantemir, p. 336) destroys the testament of Saladin in Egypt, and present (p. 14, 15.) of the election of Othman to the dignity of sultan.
kingdom of Hungary, the perpetual theatre of the Turkish victories and defeats. Sigismund, the Hungarian king, was the son and brother of the emperors of the west: his cause was that of Europe and the church; and, on the report of his danger, the bravest knights of France and Germany were eager to march under his standard and that of the cross. In the Battle of Nicopolis, the French and the Hungarians formed a confederate army of a hundred thousand Christians, who had proudly boasted, that if the sky should fall, they could uphold it on their shoulders. The greater part were slain or driven into the Danube. Sigismund, escaping to Constantinople, went by the river and crossed into Greece, and resided on a long circuit to his exhausted kingdom. The pride of victory Bajazet threatened that he would besiege Buda; that he would subdue the adjacent countries of Germany and Italy; and that he would feed his horse with a bushel of oats on the altar of St. Peter at Rome. His progress was checked, not by the miraculous interposition of the apostle, nor by a crusade of the christian powers, but by a long and painful fit of the gout. The disorders of the moral, are sometimes corrected by those of the physical, world; and an accursious humour falling on one fibre of one man, may prevent or suspend the misfortune of the whole.

Such is the general idea of the Hungarian war: but the disastrous adventure of the French has procured us some memorials which illustrate the victory and character of the Turks. The duke of Burgundy, sovereign of Flanders, and uncle of Charles the fifth, yielded to the adoration of his son, John count of Nevers; and the fearless youth was accompanied by four princes, his cousins, and those of the French monarch. His experience was guided by the sire de Coucy, one of the bravest of ten thousand knights, for the constable, admiral, and marshal, of France, commanded an army which did not exceed the number of a thousand knights and squires. These splendid names were the source of presumption and the bane of discipline. So many might aspire to command, that none were willing to obey; their national spirit despised both their enemies and their allies: and in the persuasion that Bajazet would fly, or must fall, they began to compute how soon they should visit Constantinople and deliver the holy sepulchre. When their scouts announced the approach of the Turks, the gay and thoughtless French retired without a single captain, with dry fullness, and in their retiration left the wine; they instantly clasped their armour, mounted their horses, rode full speed to the vanguard, and re-entered as an avant the advice of Sigismund, which would have deprived them of the right and honour of the foremost attack. The battle of Nicopolis would not have lost if the French would have obeyed the prudence of the Hungarians: but it might have been gloriously won, had the Hungarians imitated the valour of the French. They dispensed the first line, consisting of the troops of Austria; forced a rampart of stakes, which had been planted against the cavalry; broke, after a bloody conflict, the janissaries and themselves; and were at length overwhelmed by the numerous squadrons that issued from the woods, and charged on all sides this handful of intrepid warriors. In the speed and secrecy of his march, in the order and evolutions of his camp, and in the thoroughness of the military talents of Bajazet. They accuse his prudence in the use of victory. After reserving the count of Nevers, and four and twenty lords, whose birth and riches were attested by his Latin interpreters, the remainder of the French captives, who had survived the slaughter of the day, were led before him; and he refused to abjure their faith, were successively beholden in his presence. The sultan was exasperated by the loss of his bravest janizaries; and if it be true, that, on the eve of the engagement, the French had massacred their Turkish prisoners, they might impute to themselves the consequences of a just retaliation. A knight, whose life had been spared, was permitted to return to Paris, that he might relate the deplorable tale, and solicit the ransom of the noble captives.

In the meanwhile, the count of Nevers, with the princes and barons of France, were dragged along in the march of the Turkish army, that was expected to meet the Moslems of Europe and Asia, and strictly confined at Bousra, as often as Bajazet resided in his capital. The sultan was pressed each day to expiate with their blood the blood of his martyrs; but he had pronounced, they should live, and either for mercy or destruction his word was inviolable. He was defiled by their value and importance by the return of the messenger, and the gifts and intercessions of the kings of France and of Cyprus. Lusignan presented him with a gold salt-cellar of curious workmanship, and of the best that he could procure, and Charles the sixth was dispatched by the war of Hungary, Axemian hawks, and six horse-loads of scarlet cloth, of fine linen of Rheims, and of Arras tapestry, representing the battles of the great Alexander. After much delay, the effect of distance rather than of art, Bajazet agreed to accept a ransom of two hundred thousand ducats for the count of Nevers and the surviving princes and barons: the marshal Boucicaut, a famous warrior, was of the number of the fortunate; but the admiral of France had been slain in the battle; and the constable, with the sire de Coucy, died in the prison of Bousra. This heavy loss of the principal of the nobility was felt, and the Frenchmen, who were bound by the feudal laws to contribute for the knighthood and captivity of the eldest son of their lord. For the faithful discharge of the debt, some merchants of Genoa gave security to the amount of five times that sum; a lesson to those warlike times, that commerce and credit are the links of the society of nations. It had been stipulated in the treaty, that the French captives should swear never to bear arms against the person of their conqueror; but the former restraint was abolished by Bajazet himself. "I despair," said he to the heir of Burgundy, "thy oaths and thy arms. Thou art young, and mayst be ambitious of effacing the disgrace or misfortune of thy first chivalry. Assembly thy powers, proclaim thy design, and be assured that Bajazet will relieve to the death the horsemen in the field of battle." Before their departure, they were indulged in the freedom and hospitality of the court of Bousra. The French princes admired the magnificence of the Ottoman, whose hunting and hawking equipage was composed of seven thousand huntsmen and seven thousand falcons. In their presence, and at his command...
mand, the belly of one of his chamberlains was cut open, on a complaint against him for drinking the goat's milk of a poor woman. The strangers were astonished by this act of justice; but it was the justice of a sultan who declines to balance the weight of evidence, or to measure the degrees of guilt.

The emperor

John Paleologus

A.D. 1321, Jan. 8.

After his enfranchisement from an op-pressing guardian, John Paleologus re-

mained thirty-six years the helpless, and, at last, the helpless and对象, of the public ruin. Love, or rather lust, was his only vigorous passion; and in the embraces of the wives or virgins of the city, the Turkish slave forgot the disho-

nour of the emperor of the Romans. Andronicus, his eldest son, had formed, at Adrianople, an intimate and guilty friendship with Suanzes, the son of Amurath; and the two youths conspired against the lives and au-

thority of their parents. The presence of Amurath in Europe soon discovered and dissipated their rash coun-

sels; and, after depriving Suanzes of his sight, the Ot-

toman threatened his vassal with the treatment of an accomplice and an enemy, unless he inflicted a similar punishment on his own son. Paleologus trembled and obeyed; and a cruel precaution involved in the same sentence the childhood and innocence of John the son of the criminal. But the operation was so mildly, or so unfelt, performed, that he retained the sight of an eye, and the other was affected only with

Discord of the the infirmity of squinting. Thus exclu-

ded from the succession, the two princes were confined in the tower of Aeneas; and the piety of Manuel, the second son of the reigning monarch, was rewarded with the gift of the imperial crown. But at the end of two years, the turbulence of the Latins and the levity of the Greeks produced a revolution; and the two emperors were buried in the tower from whence the two prisoners were exalted to the throne. Another plot affected Palaeologus, and Manuel, by the means of escape: it was contrived by the magic, or subtlety of a monk, who was alternately named the angel or the devil: they fled to Scutari; their adherents armed in their cause; and the two Byzantine factions displayed the ambition and animosity with which Caesar and Pompey had disputed the dominion of the world. The Roman world was now contracted to a corner of Thrace, between the Propontis and the Black sea, about fifty miles in length and thirty in breadth: a space of ground not more extensive than the lesser principalities of Europe, who, in the days of Constantine, had not still represented the wealth and popu-
nousness of a kingdom. To restore the public peace, it was found necessary to divide this fragment of the empire; and while Palaeologus and Manuel were left in possession of the capital, almost all that lay without the walls was ceded to the blind princes, who fixed their residence at Rhodos and Selymbria. In the tran-
quil slumber of royalty, the passions of John Palea-

olous survived his reason and his strength: he deprived his favourite and heir of a blooming princess of Trebi-

zond; and while the feeble emperor laboured to con-

summate his nuptials, Manuel, with a hundred of the

noblest Greeks, was sent on a peremptory summons to the Ottoman porte. They served with honour in the wars of Bajazet; but a plan of fortifying Constantin-

ople excited his jealousy; he threatened their lives; and the new works were instantly demolished; and we shall bestow a praise, perhaps above the merit of Palaeologus, if we impute this last humiliation as the cause of his death.

The earliest intelligence of that event was commu-
nicated to Manuel, who escaped with speed and scep-
tively by the palace of Broun to the By-

zantine throne. Bajazet affected a proud

indifference at the loss of this valuable A.D. 1321–1326.

Jul. 23.

The emperor

Manuel

Condemned, p. 50–53. Of the Greeks, Ducas subjoins c. 13. 12. acknow-

ledges the Turkish cadi at Constantinople. Yet even Ducas

describes the case, c. 13. 12. 1. 12.

Memories, de Mesciare Jean le Malgre, dit Boucicault, Maré-

chal de France, partie i. c. 50, 55.
CHAPTER XVI.

Elevation of Timour to Tamerlane to the throne of Samarcand.—His con posts in Persia, Georgia, Turky, Russia, India, Syria, and Anatolia.—His Turkish war.—Defeat and captivity of Jengiz.—Death of Timour.—Conflict of Jengiz.—First invasion of the Turkish monarchy by Mahomet the first.—Siege of Constantinople by Amurath the second.

The conquest and monarchy of the Mongol or Turcoman world was the first object of the ambitious schemes of Timour. To live in the memory and esteem of future ages, was the second wish of his mind, and his magnanimous spirit. The lustre of his actions of his reign were diligently recorded in the journals of his secretaries; the authentic narrative was revised by the persons best informed of each particular transaction; and it is believed in the empire and family of Timour, that the monarch himself composed the commentaries of his life, and the institutions of his government. But these cares were inessential for the preservation of his fame, and these precious memorials in the Mogul or Persian language were concealed from the world, or, at least, from the knowledge of Europe. The nations which he vanquished and subdued, and whom he imposed upon, his ignorance has long repeated the tale of calumny, which had disfigured the birth and character, the person, and even the name, of Tamerlane. Yet his real merit would be enhanced, rather than debased, by the elevation of a peasant to the throne of Europe, in the theme of reproach, unless he had the weakness to blush at a natural, or an honourable, infamy.

In the eyes of the Moguls, who held the indefeasible succession of the house of Zingis, he was doubted to be a real successor, and he sprang from the tribe of Persch; his fifth ancestor, Caraharor Nivan, had been the vizir of Zingati, in his new realm of Transoxiana; and in the descent of some generations, the branch of Timour is confounded, at least by the females, with the imperial stem. He was born forty miles to the south of Samarcand, in the village of Sezbar, in the fruitful territory of Cash, of which his fathers were the hereditary chiefs, as well as a number of ten thousand. His name is equal to that of one of those periods of anarchy which announced the fall of the Asiatic dynasties, and opened a new field to adventurous ambition. The khan of Kazgati were extinct; the emirs aspired to independence; and their domestic feuds could only be suspended by the conquest and tyranny of the khans of Kasbai, who, with an army of Geets or Calumacs, invaded the Transoxian kingdom. From the twelfth year of his age, Timour had entered the field of action; in the twenty-fifth, he stood forth as the deliverer of his country; and as the eyes and will of the people were turned towards a hero who suffered in their cause. The chiefs of the law and the army had pledged their salvation to support him with their lives and fortunes; but in the hour of danger they were silent and afraid; and, after waiting seven days on the hills of Samarcand, he retreated to the desert with only sixty horsemen. The fugitives were overtaken by a thousand Geets, whom he repulsed with incredible slaughter, and his enemies were forced to exclaim, "Timour is a wonderful man; fortune and the divine favour are with him." But in this bloody action his own followers were reduced to seven; a number was so small that he soon directed the composition of three Carizmians. He wandered in the desert with his seven companions, and four horses; and sixty-two days was he plunged in a leathern dungeon, from whence he escaped by his own courage and the remorse of the oppressor. After examining the brave and rapid history of the Jingo, or Oxus, he led, during some months, the life of a vagrant and outlaw, on the borders of the adjacent states. But his fame shone brighter in adversity; he learned to distinguish the friends of his person, the merit of his services, and to apply the various characters of men for their advantage, and above all, for his own. On his return to his native country, Timour was successively joined by the parties of his confederates, who anxiously sought him in the desert; nor can I refuse to describe, in his pathetic simplicity, one of their fortunate expeditions, and the magnificent method in which he chose as guide to three chiefs, who were at the head of seventy horse. "When their eyes fell upon me," says Timour, "they were overwhelmed with joy; and they slighted from their horses; and they came and knelled; and they kissed my stirrup. I also came down from my horse, and took up their arms. And I put my turban on the head of the first chief; and my girdle, rich in jewels and wrought with gold, I bound on the loins of the second; and the third, I clothed in my own coat. And they wept, and I wept also; and the hour of prayer was arrived, and we prayed. And we mounted our steeds, and came to my dwelling; and I collected my people, and made a feast."

His trusty bands were soon increased by the bravest of the tribes; he led them against the nineth of Timour, were brothers, and they agreed, that the posterity of the elder should succeed to the dignity of khan, and that the younger should be the descendants of the youngest. In this matter he is general. This tradition was at least convenient to justify the first steps of Timour's ambition. (Institutions, p. 24, from the MS. fac-simile of Timour's History.)

1. See the preface of Sheherezād, and Abulafia's Geography (Chosamian, Æ., Description, p. 60 sqq.) in the third volume of Homer's Minor Greek Geography.

2. To see his narrative of Herodotus, (Syntagma, ii. p. 495) it was cast by the astrologers of his grandson Ulagh Beg. He was born A.D. 1535. April 9th 37° P. M. I found that they could not do otherwise, having the horsepower and the imagination of the Jingo, or the disposition of the khan of Kasbai, without whom, like other conquerors and prophets, Timour received the sanctification of Shafee's Razes, or master of conjunctions. (C idolat. Orient. p. 579.)

3. In the Institutions of Timour, these subjects of the khan of Kasbar are most ingeniously narrated; and the branch belongs to another branch and country of Tartars, (Abulafia, Æ., vol. ii. p. 77, vol. v. p. 78. c. 3.) Cast and in the original I would boldly pronounce, that the Institutions were framed a century after the death of Timour, since the establishment of the Turks in Transoxiana.
superior foe; and, after some vicissitudes of war, the Gates were finally driven from the kingdom of Transoxiana. He had done much for his own glory; but much remained to be done, much art to be exerted, much firmness to be displayed, before the grandeur and power of the Mogul empire could teach the equals to obey him as their master. The birth and power of Humseua compelled him to accept a vicious and unworthy colleague, whose sister was the best beloved of his wives. Their union was short and jealous: but the policy of Timour, in their frequent quarrels, exposed his rival to the reproach of injustice and perfidy: and, after a final defeat, Humseua was slain by some sagacious friends, who presumed for the last time, to disobey the commands of their lord. At the age of thirty-four, and in a general diet or con-

He ascended the pulpit, he was invested with imperial throne of Zungis, and while the emir Timour reigned over Zangat and the east, a nominal khan served as a private officer in the armies of his servant. A fertile kingdom, five hundred miles in length with the Mifti, might have satisfied the ambitious and subject; but Timour aspired to the dominion of the world; and before his death, the crown of Zangat was one of the twenty-seven crowns which he had placed on his head. Without expiating on the victories of thirty-five campaigns, without describing the triglory of his march, which he repaired on the continent of Asia. I shall briefly represent his conquests in, I. Persia, II. Tartary, and, III. India,* and from thence proceed to the more interesting narrative of his Ottoman war.

I. For every war, a motive of safety or revenge, of honour or zeal, of right or convenience, may be readily found in the jurisprudence of conquerors. No sooner had Timour re-united to the patrimony of Zangat the dependent countries of Carizma, and the emir who then was his subject, to the kingdoms of Irak and Persia. From the Oxus to the Tigris, that extensive country was left without a lawful sovereign since the death of Aboues, the last of the descendants of the great Houlacou. Peace and justice had been banished from the land above forty years; and the Mogul invader might perceive in the lives of the Russian, kissed the footstool of the imperial throne. His peace offerings of silks, horses, and jewels, were composed, according to the Tartar fashion, each article of nine pieces; but a critical spectator observed, that there were only eight alibis. "I myself am the ninth," said a khan, who was prepared for the remark; and his flattery was rewarded by the smile of Timour. Shah Mansour, prince of Fars, or the proper Persia, was one of the least powerful, but most dangerous, of his enemies. In a battle under the walls of Shiraz, his horse, with three or four thousand horses, the main body of thirty thousand horse, where the emperor fought in person. No more than fourteen or fifteen guards remained near the standard of Timour; he stood firm as a rock, and received on his helmet two weighty strokes of a semitaur; * the Moguls rallied; the head of Mansour was thrown at his feet; and he declared his esteem of the valour of a foe, by extirpating all the males of so intrepid a race. From Shiraz, his troops advanced to the Persian gulf; and the Timurid dominions. Barck, who, for the purpose of his geographical history, gives the annual tribute of six hundred thousand dinars in gold. Bagdad was no longer the city of peace, the seat of the, but when the noblest conquests of Houlacou could not be overlooked by his ambitious successor. The whole course of the Persians and Euphrates, from the mouth of the rivers, to the Tyrian oak, I. Persia, II. Tartary, and, III. India,* and from thence proceed to the more interesting narrative of his Ottoman war.

His conquests in,

1330—1410. I. Persia, A. D.
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Lithuania; again returned to the banks of the Volga; and, after fifteen battles with a domestic rival, at last perished in the wilds of Siberia. The pursuit of a flying enemy carried Timour into the tributary provinces of Russia: a duke of the reigning family was made prisoner amidst the ruins of his capital; and Yetzet, by a stratagem, was led on by the bottomless gulf to be confounded with the genuine metropolis of the nation. Moscow trembled at the approach of the Tartar, and the resistance would have been feebler, since the hopes of the Russians were placed in a miraculous image of the Virgin, to whose protection they ascribed the safety of their capital. Admirable and prudence recalled him to the south, the desolate country was exhausted, and the Mogul soldiers were enriched with an immense spoil of precious fur, of linen of Antioch, and of ingots of gold and silver.

On the banks of the Don, of Tanais, he received an humbler deputation from the consuls and merchants of Egypt, Venice, Genoa, Catalonia, and Biscay, who occupied the commerce and city of Tana, or Azoef, at the mouth of the river. They offered their gifts, admired his magnificence, and trusted to his royal word. But the peaceful visit of an emir, who explored the situation, was vixir to destroy the ruin left by the destructive presence of the Tartars. The city was reduced to ashes: the Moslems were pillaged and dismissed; but all the Christians, who had not fled to their ships, were condemned either to death or slavery. Revenge prompted him to burn the cities of Serbia, and to execute several of his captains; and his vanity proclaimed, that he had penetrated to the region of perpetual daylight, a strange phenomenon, which authorized his Mahometan doctors to dispense with the obligation of evening prayer.

III. Of Hindostan.

A.D. 1199, 1199.

III. When Timour first proposed to his son the expedition of India or Hindostan, he was answered by a murmúr of discontent: "The rivers! and the mountains and deserts! and the soldiers clad in armour! and the elephants, destroyers of men! But the display of the emperor was dreadful among these terrors; and his superior reason was convinced, that an enterprise of such tremendous aspect was safe and easy in the execution. He was informed by his spies of the weakness and anarchy of Hindostan: the subahs of the provinces had erected the standard of rebellion; and the partial infants of sultan Mahmoud were despised even in the harem of Delhi. The Mogul army moved in three great divisions: and Timour observes with pleasure, that the ninety-two squadrons of a thousand horse most fortunately corresponded with the ninety-two names or epithets of the prophet Mahomet. Between the Sihoon and the Indus they crossed one of the ridges of mountains, which are styled by the Arabian geographers, The stony girdles of the earth. The highland robbers were subdued or expelled; but great numbers of men and horses perished in the snow; the emperor himself was set down a precipice on a portable scaffold, the ropes were one hundred and fifty cubits in length; and, before he could escape danger, the bottomless gulf again opened, and the times repeated. Timour crossed the Indus at the ordinary passage of Attok; and successively traversed, in the footsteps of Alexander, the Punjab, or five rivers, that fall into the master-stream. From Attok to Delhi, the high road measures no more than six hundred and twenty miles; but the two conquerors calculated it in the south-east: and the motive of Timour was to join his grandson, who had achieved by his command the conquest of Moulain. On the eastern bank of the Hyphasis, on the edge of the desert, the Macedonian hero wept: the Mogul entered the desert, reduced the fortress of Bannir, and stood in arms before the gates of Delhi, a great and flourishing city, which had subsisted three centuries under the dominion of the Mahometan kings. The siege, more especially of the castle, might have been a work of time; but he tempted, by the appearance of weakness, the sultan Mahmoud. The sultan Mahmoud and his son, the prince, attracted him with promises of a Moscow, forty thousand of his foot-guards, and one hundred and twenty elephants, whose tusks are said to have been armed with sharp and poisoned daggers. Against these monsters, or rather against the imagination of his troops, he condoned to use some extraordinary precaution of fire and a ditch, of iron spikes, and a rampart of bucklers; but the event taught the Moguls to smile at their own fears; and, as soon as these unwieldy animals were routed, the inferior species (the men of India) disappeared from the field. Timour made his triumphal entry into the capital of Hindostan, and, although with innumerous monuments, of the stately mosch; but the order and licence of a general pillage and massacre polluted the festival of his victory. He resolved to purify his soldiers in the blood of the idolaters, or Gentoo, who still survived, in a period of ten years, the number of the Moslems. In this pious design, he advanced one hundred miles to the north-east of Delhi, passed the Ganges, fought several battles by land and water, and penetrated to the famous rock of Crapele, the statue of the cow, that seems to discharge the mighty river, whose sources are in India, and which winds through the country of Thibet. His return was along the skirts of the northern hills; nor could this rapid campaign of one year justify the strange foresight of his emirs, that their children in a warm climate would degenerate into a race of Hindoos.

It was on the banks of the Ganges that Timour was informed, by his speedy messenger, of the disturbances which had arisen on the confines of Georgia and Anatolia, of the revolt of the Christians, and the ambitious designs of the sultan Bajazet. His vigour and mind both were not inspired by sixty-four years, and innumerable fatigues; and, after experiencing some tranquil months in the palace of Samarend, he proclaimed a new expedition of seven years into the western countries of Asia. To the soldiers who had served in the Indian war, he granted the choice of routes, and his army advanced in the East and West. But they were not to enter into Syria as before. The rivers of the Punjab, the five eastern branches of the Indus, had been laid down for the first time with truth and accuracy in Major Renou's incomparable map of Hindostan. In his Critical Memoir he illustrates with judgment and learning the matches of the Arabs, the Khan, and Timour.

1 See the Institutions, p. 141, to the end of the first book, and Sherchefdin (c. v. c. 16) to the entrance of Timour into Syria.
The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire

In his day, Timour was the greatest conqueror since Alexander. Yet he was a great trial to his countrymen, who had to endure the conquests and devastations of Timour. The Mogul conquest of Persia and the Ottoman conquests of Georgia were the final explosions of Timour's reign. The Mogul and Ottoman conquests were followed by the rise of the Turkish emirates, which were to be the scourge of the Near East for the next two centuries.

The military reputation of the Mughuls was restored by Timour, who had led his troops to victory over the Persians. Timour's conquests were not without their cost, however. The Ottoman emirate of Bajazet was still engaged in the blockade of Constantinople, and a Mogul conqueror checked his pursuit, and turned aside to the invasion of Syria and Egypt. In these transactions, the Ottoman prince, by the Kaisir of Rome, the Caesars of the Romans, a title which, by a small anticipation, might be given to a monarch who possessed the provinces, and threatened the city, of the successors of Constantine the Great.

The military reputation of the Mammalanes was still retained in Egypt and Syria: but the dynasty of the Turks was overthrown by that of the Circassians and their favourite Barkok, from a slave and a prisoner, was raised and restored to the throne. In the midst of rebellion and discord, he asserted his power by compelling the emirs to pay tribute and to assemble their forces to repel the Turks. The Ottoman emirate of Bajazet was still engaged in the blockade of Constantinople, and a Mogul conqueror checked his pursuit, and turned aside to the invasion of Syria and Egypt. In these transactions, the Ottoman prince, by the Kaisir of Rome, the Caesars of the Romans, a title which, by a small anticipation, might be given to a monarch who possessed the provinces, and threatened the city, of the successors of Constantine the Great.

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OF traversed and another conversation. It was a question of the real nature of the Ottoman emperors, and the true martyrs, of those who are slain on my side, or on that of my enemies!

But he was silenced, or satisfied, by the dexterity of one of the cadis of Aleppo, who replied in the words of Mahomet himself, that the motive, not the ensign, constitutes the martyr; and that a man may be a martyr without ever having fought only for the glory of God, may deserve that sacred appellation. The true succession of the caliphs was a controversy of a still more delicate nature, and the frankness of a doctor, too honest for his situation, provoked the emperor to exclaim, Ye are as false as those of Damascus: Murshid was a usurper, Zeyd a tyrant, and Ali alone is the lawful successor of the prophet." A prudent explanation restored his tranquillity; and he passed to a more familiar topic of conversation.

"What is your age?" said he to the calif. Fifty years and a half would be the age of my eldest son. He has not yet seen me here (continuing)—a poor, lame, decrepit mortal. Yet by my arm has the Almighty been pleased to subdue the kingdoms of Iran, Tournay, and the Indies. I am not a man of blood; and God is my witness, that in all my wars I have never been the aggressor; and that my enemies have always been my fellow-countrymen.

"During this peaceful conversation, the streets of Aleppo streamed with blood, and re-echoed with the cries of mothers and children, with the shrieks of violated virgins. The rich plunder that was abandoned to his soldiers, and the spoil of millions, which the Mogul had thus won, and which was conveyed back to the east, was re-echoed by the perspicuous command of producing an adequate number of heads, which, according to his custom, were curiously piled in columns and pyramids: the Moguls celebrated the feast of victory, while the surviving Moslems passed the night in tears, and in chains. I shall not dwell on the march of the destroyer from Aleppo to Damascus, where he was rudely encountered, and almost overthrown, by the armies of Egypt. A retrograde motion was imputed to his distress and despair; one of his nephews deserted to the enemy; and Syria rejoiced in the tale of his downfall, when the sultan was driven by the revolution of the Manuels to escape with precipitation and shame to his palace of Cairo. Abandoned by his prince, the inhabitants of Damascus still defended their walls; and Timour consented to raise the siege, if they would adorn their retreat with a gift or ransom; each article of nine pieces. But no sooner had he introduced himself into the city, under colour of a truce, than he perfidiously violated the treaty; imposed a contribution of ten millions of gold; and animated his troops to chastise the iniquity of those Syrians who had rebelled, or approved, the murder of the grandson of Mahomet. A family which had given honourable service to the head of Hossein, and a colony of artificers, whom he sent to labour at Samarqand, were alone reserved in the general massacre; and after a period of seven years, the emperor of Persia is reported as having been driven by the Mogul to cross the desert to Baghdad, to make an attack on the Persian dominions. Again, the Moslem sultan, of whom you have been so long in search, has been killed in the solitude of the desert. I am told that this is the truth."

DAMASCUS.

Nov. 22.

"The marches and occupations of Timur between the Syrian and Ottoman wars, are represented by Sheerefaddin, (c. v. 29—43) and Arabanah, (tom, ii. c. 15—15.)"

"This number of 500,000 men was extracted by Arabanah, or rather by Ebn Schoumeh, ex raisonario Timuri, on the authority of the Czarinian officer of war, (t. i. 5, &c.) who, in his respect for the Czar of Russia (Pharaon, i. 1. 22) adds no more than 20,000 men. Péguy reckons 1,000,000; another Latin contemporary (Chom, Tartishmam, p. 125) 1,100,044; and the enormous sum of 1,600,000 is attested by a German soldier, who was present at the battle of Angora, and who, as a native of that city, is, in his Institutions, has not designed to calculate his troops, his subjects, or his revenues."

"A wide latitude of non-effectiveness was allowed by the Great Mogul for his own pride and the benefit of his officers. Bernard's patronage of the Duke of Pejrag-Hazan, and the number of 300,000 men which he reports to have been disor- dunged past the Euphrates, (from the Ottoman army, (Institutum, p. 153) which is reduced to 160,000 by Pharaon (i. 1. 22) and sanctioned by the German soldier to 1,000,000. It is evident, that the Mogul numbers were the means of his success."

"It may not be useless to mark the distances between Angora and the neighboring rivers, by the progress of the carriage, each of twenty or twenty-five miles: to Smyrna twenty; to Konia ten; to Bousos ten; to Casaracta eight; to Simnep ten; to Niconemada nine; to Silfimundive, twelve, or thirteen. (See Tournefort, Voyage au Levant, tom. ii. letter xxl.)"
tion, whose force still consisted in the missile weapons, and rapid evolutions, of a numerous cavalry. From a single troop to a great army, the mode of attack was the same; a foremost line first advanced to the charge, and was supported in a just order by the squadrons of the great vanguard. The general's eye was now fixed, and the front and rear of the right and left wings successively moved forwards in their several divisions, and in a direct or oblique line; the enemy was pressed by eighteen or twenty attacks; and each attack afforded a chance of victory. If they all proved fruitless or unsuccessful, which did not happen, then the emperor himself, who gave the signal of advancing to the standard and main body, which he led in person. But in the battle of Angora, the main body itself was supported, on the flanks and in the rear, by the bravest squadrons of the reserve, commanded by the sons and grandsons of Timour. The conqueror of Hindostan ostentatiously showed a line of elephants, the trophies, rather than the instruments, of victory: the use of the Greek fire was familiar to the Moguls and Ottomans: but had they borrowed from Europe the recent invention of the arquebus, the art of conqueror in either nation must have turned the fortune of the day. In that day Bajazet displayed the qualities of a soldier and a chief: but his genius sunk under a stronger ascendant: and, from various motives, the greatest part of his troops failed him in the decisive moment. But Timour, with the plunder in his hands, could not but rejoice in their deliverance from a dangerous and domestic foe, and a parallel was drawn between the two rivals, by observing that Timour, in fourteen days, had reduced a fortress which had sustained seven years the siege, or at least the blockade, of Bajazet.

The iron cage in which Bajazet was the history of imprisonment by Tamerlane, so long and his iron cage so often repeated as a moral lesson, is now rejected as a fable by the modern writers, who smile at the vulgar credulity. They appeal with confidence to the Persian authors, who have preserved to us an account of his situation, and of the manner of his death, which had occasioned so much curiosity to Tamerlane, and which, in an apocryphal version, was more worthy than the story of his captivity. In Bajazet's situation at the time of his capture, by the means of his height, and the length of his horse's neck, the conqueror, in his pride, had asked of Timour, as a compliment, to receive him, seated by his side, and mangled with just reproaches a soothing pity for his rank and misfortune.

"Alas!" said the emperor, "the decree of fate is now accomplished by your own fault: it is the web which you have woven, the thorns of the tree which yourself have planted, and which now undo you. I wished to spare you, but you rejected my offer; and you have destroyed the champion of the Moslems: you have broken our oaths; you despised our friendship; you forced us to enter your kingdom with our invincible armies. Behold the event! Had you vanquished, I am not ignorant of the fate which you reserved for myself and my troops. But I disdain to retaliate: your life and honour are secure; and I shall express my gratitude to God by my clemency to man."

The royal captive showed some signs of repentance, accepted the humiliation of a rebuke of honour, and embraced tears and lamentations. He had enticed into death, by his inhumanity, the Sultan, the champion of the Moslems. Timour, however, did notExact translation not possible due to the limitations of the OCR.
invested by a patent in red ink with the kingdom of
Anatolia, and in the portrait of a generous conqueror, which
has been extracted from his own memorials, and dedi-
cated to his son and grandson, nineteen years after his
death, and, at a time when the truth was remem-
bered by thousands, a manifest falsehood would have
implied a satire on his real conduct. Weighty indeed
many passages at least in the sixteenth century, is attested
yet flattery, more especially in the east, is base and
audacious; and the harsh and ignominious treatment of
Bajazet is attested by a chain of witnesses, some of
whom shall be produced in the order of their time
appearing, by place and country. 1. The reader has not for-
tunately the original French and Italian documents, for
the marshal Bouiccault left behind him for the defence
of Constantinople. They were on the spot to receive
the earliest and most faithful intelligence of the over-
throw of their great adversary; and it is more than
probable, that some of them accompanied the Greek
embassy to the camp of Tamerlane. From their ac-
count, the hardships of the prison and death of Bajazet
are affirmed by the marshal's servant and historian,
within the distance of seven years. 2. The name of Poggio the Italian, 4 is
deservedly famous among the revivers of learning in
the fifteenth century. He offers an example so opposite
to his theme as the Ottoman monarch, whom the
Seythian confined like a wild beast in an iron cage,
and exhibited a spectacle to Asia. I might add the
authority of two Italian chronicles, perhaps of an ear-
lier date, which would prove at least that the same
story, whether false or true, was imported into Europe
by the French, with the first tidings of the revolution. 3.
by the Arabs. 5. At the time when Poggio flourished
at Rome, Ahmed Elbn Arabshah composed at Damascus
the florid and malevolent history of Timour, for which
he had collected materials in his journeys over
Asia and Tartary. 8 Without any possible corres-
pondence between the Latin and the Arabian writer,
they agree in the fact of the iron cage; and their
agreement is a striking proof of their common veracity.
Ahmed Arabshah likewise relates another outrage,
which Bajazet endured, of a more domestic and tender
nature. His indiscernment mention of women and divor-
ces was deeply resented by the jealous Tartar: in the
hour of victory he was served by female cup-
bearsers, and the sultan held his death leapfrogged
and wives confined among the slaves, and exposed
without a veil to the eyes of intemperance. To escape
a similar indignity, it is said, that his successors,
except in a single instance, have abstained from legi-
timate nuptials; and the Ottoman practice and belief,
at least in the sixteenth century, is attested by the
observing Busbequis, 9 ambassador from the court of
Vienna to the great Soliman. 4 Such by the Greeks;
the separation of language, that the
testimony of a Greek is not less than that of a
Latin or an Arab. I suppress the names of Chal-
does and Drusilla, the two learned Jesuits, who
had spoken in a less positive tone; but more attention
is due to George Pharanza, 4 protovestiari of the
last emperors, and who was born a year before the
battle of Angora. Twenty-two years after that event,
he was sent ambassador to Amurath the second; and
the historian might converse with some veteran junior
aries, who had been made prisoners with the sultan,
and had themselves seen him in his iron cage. 5. The last evidence, in
every sense, is that of the Turkish annals, which have
been consulted or trancribed by Leunachius, Pococke,
and Cantemir. They unanimously deploire the cap-
acity of the iron cage; and some credit may be allow-
ted to national historians, who cannot stigmatize the
Tartar without uncovering the shame of their king
and country.
From these opposite premises, a fair probable con-
clusion and moderate conclusion may be deduced.
I am satisfied that Shereffeddin Ali has faithfully
described the first ostentation interview, in which the
conqueror, whose spirits were harmonized by success,
effected the character of generosity. But his mind
was insensibly alienated by the unseasonable arrogance
of Bajazet; they committ themselves, and Bajazet
prisoners; an iron cage on a waggon might be in-
vented, not as a wanton insult, but as a rigorous pre-
caution. Timour had read in some fabulous history a
similar treatment of one of his predecessors, a king of
Persia; and Bajazet was condemned to represent the
person, and expiate the guilt, of the Roman Cassin. 6
But the strength and spirit of Bajazet5
fainted under the trial, and his premature death
might, without injustice, be ascri-
bled to the severity of Timour. He warred
not with the dead; a tear and a sepulture was all that
he could bestow on a captive who was delivered
from his power; and if Mousa, the son of Bajazet, was
permitted to reign over the ruins of Boursa, the greatest
province of the part of Anatolia had been restored by
the conqueror to their lawful sovereigns.
From the Irish and Volga to the
Persian gulf, and from the Ganges to the
Masnus and the Archipelago, Asia was
in the hands of Timour; his armies were
invincible, his ambition was boundless, and his zeal
might aspire to conquer and convert the christian
kingdoms of the world. 7

1. See the History of Shereffeddin, (l. c. 39, 52, 53, 56.) This
work was finished at Shiraz, in the year 1434, and dedicated to
Salman ibni, the son of Sharch, who reigned in Persia in his father's lifetime.
2. After the period of Khoshnawd, Elbn Schonaw, &c. the learned
H'Herbelot (Bibl. Orientale, p. 862.) may affirm, that this fable is
not mentioned in the most authentic histories; but his denial of the
credible testimony of Arabshah leaves some room to suspect his accuracy.
3. Eutychius, (Decem, p. 30.) certifies, that he never saw a horse (Bajazet) price, et mene en prison, en laquelle
mourut de douce mort! Memoires de Bouiccault, p. i. 27. These
memorials were composed while the marshaI served in the army of
Ottoman armies, and subsequently collected and published by
the Indian ambassador, (Muratori, Annales Illalii, tom. xiii. p. 476, 474.)
4. The reader will find a satisfactory account of the life and
writings of Poggio, in the Poggiana, an entertaining work of M. Len-
fant, in which the most learned moderns of Bareilly, (tom. v. p. 360—366.) Poggio was born in the year 1396, and died
in 1463.
5. The dialogue of Variante Fortunato (of which a complete
and elegant edition has been published at Paris in 1729, in 8vo,) was
composed probably by the same hand that wrote the Life of Martin V. (p. 53. and consequently about the year 1330.)
7. The following passage confirm the same assertion in
thearrangement of Timour's campaigns of 1392, and 1394, as
vivum caput, curaque in modo fere inclusum per annum
Asiaticum, (Decline et Fall, p. 239.) in theFragmenta Historiae
Byzantinae, (Script. Byzant. p. 46.) among the chronicles
of Timour, (tom. xiii. p. 940.) and in the Atmades Estes, (tom. xiv. p. 974.) Marchantius, in his Compendium
Docen, and Quero, and Jones at Delhi, were both contemporaries, and both chancellors, the one of
the Tartars, the other of the Calender, and remain in the
Arabic, with the other action, positive.
8. See arabshah, tom. ii. c. 28. 34. He travelled in regions Rome,
The decline and fall. Chap. XXVI.

Chap. the he the and and but their Sherefeddin

The romance of expansion: the conquests of Galipoli, and Gallipoli, were personal, the one by the Christians, the other by the Turks. On this great occasion, they forgot the difference of religion, to act with union and firmness in the common cause: the double straits were guarded with ships and fortifications; and they separately withheld the approach of the Moslems. Timour demanded the submission of either nation, or the surrender of their chief, on the pretence of attacking their enemy. At the same time, they soothed his pride with tributary gifts and suppliant embassies, and prudently tempted him to retreat with the honours of victory. Soliman, the son of Bairuzdet, implored his clemency for his father and himself; accepted, by a red patent, the investiture of the kingdom of Romania, which he already held by the sword; and reiterated his ardent wish, of casting himself in person at the feet of the king of the world. The Greek emperor (either John or Manuel) submitted to him in a tributary alliance which he had stipulated with the Turkish sultan, and ratified the treaty by an oath of allegiance, from which he could absolve his conscience so soon as the Mogul arms had retired from Anatolia. But the fears and fancy of nations ascribed to the ambitious Tamerlane a new design of vast and romantic empire. He design of subduing Egypt and Africa, marching from the Nile to the Atlantic Ocean, entering Europe by the straits of Gibraltar, and, after imposing his yoke on the kingdoms of Christendom, of returning home by the deserts of Russia and Tartary. This remote, and perhaps imaginary, danger was averted by the submission of the sultans of Egypt: the honours of the prayer and the coin, attested at Cairo the supremacy of Timour; and a rare gift of a giraffe, or camelopard, and nine ostriches, represented at Samarcand the tribute of the African world. Our imagination is not less astonished by the portrait of a Mogul, who, in his camp, before Smyrna, meditates, and almost accomplishes, the invasion of the Chinese empire.

Timour was urged to this enterprise by national honour and religious zeal. The torrent which he had shed of musculman blood could be expiated only by an equal destruction of the idolatries of China, founding mosques in every city, and establishing the profession of faith in one God, and his prophet Mahomet. The expedition of Timour, therefore, was an insult on the Mogul name; and the disorders of the empire afforded the fairest opportunity for revenge. The illustrious Hongvon, founder of the dynasty of Ming, died four years before the battle of Angora; and his grandson, a weak and unfortunate youth, was burnt in his palace, after a million of Chinese had perished in the civil war. Before he evacuated Anatolia, Timour despatched beyond the Sihoon a numerous army, or rather colony, of his old and new subjects, to open the road, to subdue the pagan Caimcums and Mungals, and to found cities and magazines in the desert; and by the diligence of his lieutenant, he soon received a perfect map and description of the unknown regions, from the source of the Irrit to the wall of China. During these preparations, the emperor achieved the final conquest of Georgia; passed the winter on the banks of the Araxes; appeased the troubles of Persia; and restored his capital, after a campaign of four years and nine months.

On the throne of Samarcand, he displayed, in a short repose, his magnificence and power; listened to the complaints of the people; distributed a just reward, or a just punishment, according to the merits of either nation, under the pretence of attacking their enemy. At the same time, they soothed his pride with tributary gifts and suppliant embassies, and prudently tempted him to retreat with the honours of victory. Soliman, the son of Bairuzdet, implored his clemency for his father and himself; accepted, by a red patent, the investiture of the kingdom of Romania, which he already held by the sword; and reiterated his ardent wish, of casting himself in person at the feet of the king of the world. The Greek emperor (either John or Manuel) submitted to him in a tributary alliance which he had stipulated with the Turkish sultan, and ratified the treaty by an oath of allegiance, from which he could absolve his conscience so soon as the Mogul arms had retired from Anatolia. But the fears and fancy of nations ascribed to the ambitions of Timour a new design of vast and romantic empire. He design of subduing Egypt and Africa, marching from the Nile to the Atlantic Ocean, entering Europe by the straits of Gibraltar, and, after imposing his yoke on the kingdoms of Christendom, of returning home by the deserts of Russia and Tartary. This remote, and perhaps imaginary, danger was averted by the submission of the sultans of Egypt: the honours of the prayer and the coin, attested at Cairo the supremacy of Timour; and a rare gift of a giraffe, or camelopard, and nine ostriches, represented at Samarcand the tribute of the African world. Our imagination is not less astonished by the portrait of a Mogul, who, in his camp, before Smyrna, meditates, and almost accomplishes, the invasion of the Chinese empire.

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6 Arabshah (tom. ii. c. 25) describes, like a curious traveller, the straits of Gallipoli and Constantinople. To acquire a just idea of these events I have consulted the narratives and prejudices of the Morax, Turks, Greeks, and Arabians. The Spanish ambassador mentions the holy union of the Christians and Ottomans. (Vie de Timour, p. 96.)

7 Since the name of 'Casar' had been transferred to the oulains of Russia, from the Greek principality of Constantinople (Strabo-feddin, i. c. 54.) were confirmed with the christian lords of Gallipoli. (Thesalonicia. c.)

8 S. A. D. 2368, when the sultan of Russia, by corruption of the genitive sp. casar. (Cantemir, p. 14.)

9 Abulfeda (c. 4.) who wrote, in a just manner, the road to China, which Abulfeda (tom. c. 33.) paints in various and theatrical terms. He passes the straits of Gallipoli, and Constantinople, without a sight of the S. A. D. 2368.

of Timour. His designs were vast; his armies were disbanded; China was saved; and fourteen years after his decease the most powerful of his children sent an embassy of friendship and commerce to the court of Timour.

Character and merits of Timour.-East and west, his posterity is still inveted with the imperial title; and the admiration of his subjects, who revered him almost as a deity, may be justified in some degree by the praise or confession of critics and historians. He was lame of a hand and foot, his form and stature were not unworthy of his rank; and his vigorous health, so essential to himself and to the world, was corroborated by temperament and exercise. In his familiar discourse he was grave and modest, and if he was ignorant of the Arabic language, he spake with fluency and elegance the Persian and Turkish idioms. It was his delight to converse with the learned on topics of history and science; and the amusement of his leisure hours was the game of chess, which he improved or corrupted with new refinements. In his religion, he was eclectic, though not perhaps orthodox, a Mahometan, but his sound understanding may tempt us to believe, that a superstitious reverence for omen and prophecies, for saints and astrologers, was only affected as an instrument of policy. In the government of a vast empire, he stood alone and absolute, without dependence on the councils of his ministers, or the Javascript seduce his affections, or a minister to mislead his judgment. It was his firmest maxim, that whatever might be the consequence, the word of the prince should never be disputed or recalled; but his foes have marvelously observed, that the commands of any king were more frequently rescinded than those of beneficence and favour. His sons and grandchildren, of whom Timour left six and thirty at his decease, were his first and most submissive subjects; and whenever they deviated from their duty, they were corrected according to the laws of Zingis, with the hastitude, and afterwards restored to honour and command. Perhaps his heart was not devoid of the social virtues; perhaps he was not incapable of loving his friends and praising his enemies; but the rules of God are founded on the public interest; and it may be observed, that he had ample occasion to value the liberty by which he is not impoverished, and the justice by which he is strengthened and enriched. To maintain the harmony of authority and obedience, to chastise the proud, to protect the weak, to reward the deserving, to banish vice and idleness from the ranks of his subjects, he risked the animosity and menace of the priesthood, to restrain the depredations of the soldier, to cherish the labours of the husbandman, to encourage industry and learning, and by an equal and moderate assessment, to increase the revenue, without increasing the taxes, are indeed the duties of a prince; but, in the discharge of these duties, he finds an ample and immediate recompense. Timour might boast, that, at his accession to the throne, Asia was the prey of anarchy and rapine, whilst under his prosperous monarchy a child, fearless and unhurt, might carry a purse of gold from the east to the west. Such was his confidence of merit, that from this reformation he derived excuse for his victories, and a title to universal dominion. The four following observations will serve to appreciate his claim to the public gratitude.

1. If some partial disorders, some local oppressions, were healed by the sword of Timour, the remedy was far more pernicious than the disease. By their rapine, cruelty, and discord, the petty tyrants of Persia might gratify their subjects; but whole nations were crushed under the footsteps of the reformer. The ground which had been occupied by flourishing cities, was often marked by his abominable trophies, by columns, or pyramids, of human heads. Astaraen, Carmaen, Delhi, Isphahan, Bagdad, Aleppo, Damascus, Bieraa, Smyrna, and a thousand others, were sacked, burnt, or utterly destroyed, in his presence, and by his troops; and perhaps his conscience would have been startled, if a priest or philosopher had dared to number the millions of victims whom he had sacrificed to the establishment of peace and order. 2. His most destructive wars were rather inroads than expeditions. He invaded Turkestan, Kipzzak, Russia, Hindustan, Syria, Anatolia, Armenia, and Georgia, without a hope or a desire of preserving those distant provinces. From thence he departed laden with spoil; but he left behind him neither troops to raise the contumacious, nor auxiliaries to support an obedient population. If he had broken the fabric of their ancient government, he abandoned them to the evils which his invasion had aggravated or caused, nor were these evils compensated by any present or possible benefits. 3. The kingdoms of Transoxiana and Persia were the proper inheritance of his family, and which he had established and defended as a perpetual inheritance of his family. But his peaceful labours were often interrupted, and sometimes blasted, by the absence of the conqueror. While he triumphed on the Volga or the Ganges, his servants, and even his sons, forgot their master and their cause. The public and private injuries were poorly redressed by the tardy rigour of inquiry and punishment; and we must be content to praise the institutions of Timour, as the specious idea of a perfect monarchy. 4. Whatever might be the blessings of his administration, or the magnificence with which he evaporated wealth and power, which was the ambition of his children and grandchildren, the enemies of each other and of the people. A fragment of the empire was upheld with some glory by Sharokh, his youngest son; but after his decease, the scene was again involved in darkness and blood; and before the end of a century, Transoxiana and Persia were trampled by the Uzbeks from the north, and the Turkmans of the black and white sheep. The race of Timour would have been extinct, if a hero, his descendant in the fifth degree, had not fled before the Uzbeks arms to the conquest of Hindostan. His successors (the great Moguls) extended their sway from the mountains of Cashmir to Cape Comorin, and from Candahar to the gulf of Bengal. Since the reign of Aurungzebe, their empire has been dissolved; their treasures of Delhi have been rifled by a Persian robber; and the richest of their kingdoms is now possessed by a company of English merchants, of a remote island in the northern ocean.

a See the translation of the Persian account of their embassy, a curious and original piece, (in the fourth part of the Relations de la France, droite et gauche.) He learned the language of this monarch with which Timour had formerly dealt. It was in the year 1419, that they departed from the court of Herat, to which place they returned in 1421 from Pekin.

b From Arabshah, tom. ii. c. 59. The bright or sober colours are bore of the present day. These two accounts will be found reproached with the fable of the Koran: the peasant, or law of Zingis (see the "Mahometan" 3) nor will he believe that Sharokh had abolished the use and authority of that pagan code.

c Besides the bloody passages of this narrative, I must refer to an anticipation in the Pechin and Fall, which in a single note (vol. 4. p. 465) note "on 300,000 lands of the eastern world". Except in Rowe's play on the 5th of November, I did not expect to hear of Timour's "unsurpassed magnificence" (p. 77). Yet I can excuse a generous enthusiasm in the reader, and still more in the editor, of the Institutions.

d Consult the last chapters of Sheereeddin and Arabshah, and M. de Guignes, ( Hist. des Huns, tom. iii. xxx) Frurer's History of the Moguls, p. 1-69. Timour's "person and actions" are perfectly told; and the second and third parts of Sheereeddin are unknown.

e Shah Allam, the present Mogul, is in the fourteenth degree from Timour, by Mirjan Shah, his third son. See the second volume of Dow's History of Hindostan.
Far different was the fate of the Ottoman sultan's son, Mustapha, who was sentenced to death for his part in the rebellion against his father, Sultan Selim I. Upon his release from prison, Mustapha, now the heir to the Ottoman throne, was ordered to travel to Edirne, where he was to be killed. This was done in a fit of pique by Selim I, who was incensed by Mustapha's rebellion. The Ottomans were a dynasty of military leaders, and the death of Mustapha was a tragic event in the history of the Ottoman Empire.

The death of Mustapha was not the only event that marked the decline of the Ottoman Empire. The empire was suffering from a variety of problems, including internal strife, economic decay, and military defeats. The Ottoman Empire was once a great power, but by the 19th century, it was on the decline. The empire was weakened by internal discord, and by the time of the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829, the Ottomans were forced to accept the loss of many of their territories. The Treaty of Adrianople was a significant event in the history of the Ottoman Empire, and it marked the beginning of the end for the empire.
and d'Amurath, the bravest of his sons, in the van of the army of Europe. The sultan and five hundred guards embarked on board the admiral's ship; which was manned by eight hundred of the bravest Franks. His life and liberty were in their hands; nor can we, without reluctance, applaud the fidelity of d'Adorno, who, in the midst of this decisive battle, was impatient of the delay caused by a discharge of his arrears of tribute. They landed in sight of Mustapha and Gallipoli; two thousand Italians, armed with lances and battle-axes, attended Amurath to the conquest of Adrianople; and this venal service was soon repaid by the ruin of the commerce and colony of Phocaea.

State of the Greek empire, the request, and to the relief, of the Greek emperor, he might be entitled to the praise and gratitude of the Christians. But a massalulm, who entered into Georgia the sword of persecution, and respected the holy warfare of Bajazet, was not disposed to pity or succor the idolaters of Europe. The Tartar followed the impulse of ambition; and the deliverance of Constantinople was the accidental consequence. When Manuel abdicated the government, it was known that the people of Constantinople would have saved him. The church and state might be delayed beyond his unhappy days; and after his return from a western pilgrimage, he expected every hour the news of the sad catastrophe. On a sudden, he was astonished and rejoiced by the intelligence of the retreat, the overthrown, whose progress was checked by the insuperable barrier lately sailed from Modon in the Morea, ascended the throne of Constantinople, and dismissed his blind competitor to an easy exile in the isle of Lesbos. The ambassadors of the son of Bajazet were soon introduced to his presence; but their pride was fallen, their tone was modest; they were avowed by the just apprehension, lest the Greeks should open to the Moguls the gates of Europe. Soliman saluted the emperor by the name of father; solicited at his hands the government or gift of Romania; and promised to deserving by his invincible friendship, and the restitution of Thessalonica, which the Turks were unable to defend, the Propontis, and the Black sea. The alliance of Soliman exposed the emperor to the enmity and revenge of Mousa; the Turks appeared in arms before the gates of Constantinople; but they were repulsed by sea and land; and upon the island of Strymon, on the rampage on the rampart, over the cenotaphs, the Greeks must have wondered at their own triumph. But, instead of prolonging the duration of the Ottoman powers, the policy or passion of Manuel was esteemed to assist the most formidable of the sons of Bajazet. He concluded a treaty with Mahomet, the champion of our heterodoxy, who was beloved by Gallipoli; the sultan and his troops were transported over the Bosphorus; he was hospitably entertained in the capital; and his successful sally was the first step to the conquest of Romania. The ruin was suspended by the prudence and moderation of the conqueror: he faithfully discharged his own obligations and those of Soliman, respected the laws of gratitude and peace; and left the emperor guardian of his two young sons, the heir-presumptive of Europe, and the fiendish cruelty of their brother Amurath. But the execution of his last testament would have offended the national honour and religion; and the divan unanimously pronounced, that the royal youths should never be abandoned to the custody and education of a christian dog. On this refusal, the sultan regarded it as a insult but the age and caution of Mahomet yielded to the supposition of his son John; and they unhesitatingly a dangerous weapon of revenge, by dismissing the true or false Mustapha, who had long been detained as a captive and a hostage, and for whose maintenance they received an annual pension of three hundred thousand aspers.

At the door of his prison, Mustapha subscribed to every proposal; and the keys of Gallipoli, or rather of Europe, was stipulated as the price of his deliverance. But no sooner was he seated on the throne of Romania, than he insulted the Greek ambassadors with a smile of contempt, declaring, in a pious tone, that, at the day of judgment, he would rather answer for the violation of an oath, than for the surrender of a massalulmian city into the hands of the infidels. The emperor was at once the enemy of the two rivals; from whom he shewed that he had such a faith in assimilating their courage. A fire more injurious than the victory of Amurath was followed, in the ensuing spring, by the siege of Constantinople.

The religious merit of subduing the siege of Constantinople, when the city was invested, is only shared by a crowd of voluntary sappers, whose heads were crowned with the crown of martyrdom; their military ardour was inflamed by the promise of rich spoils and beautiful females; and the sultan's ambition was conspired against by the presence and prediction of Seid Bechar, a descendant of the prophet, who arrived in the camp, on a mule, with a venerable train of five hundred disciples. But he might blush, if a fanatic could blush, at the failure of his assurances. The strength of the walls resisted an army of two hundred thousand Turks; their assaults were repelled by the sallies of the Greeks and their foreign mercenaries; the old resources of defence were opposed to the new energies of attack; and the enthusiasm of the dervish, who was smitten with the change of the Christians, who beheld the Virgin Mary, in a violet garment, walk-}

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5 For the spirit of navigation, and freedom of ancient Phocaea, or rather of the Phocaeans, consult the first book of Herodotus, and the Geographical Index of his last and learned French translator, M. Lavoisier, viii. (p. 229.)

6 Phocaea is not enumerated by Ptolomy, (Hist. Nat. xxxvi. 52.) among the places productive of amber; he reckons Eryx as the first, and for the second book of Herodotus, who alone speaks of amber, he has the authority of Tomsenfort, (tome i. lettre iv.) a traveller and naturalist. After the long and bloody civil wars which had disputed the island of Prusa, and the Black sea, and the Scythus, or Bosphorus, in the more ancient, and the Scythus in the more modern history of Constantine, the Turks must have wondered at their own triumph. But, instead of prolonging the duration of the Ottoman powers, the policy or passion of Manuel was esteemed to assist the most formidable of the sons of Bajazet. He concluded a treaty with Mahomet, the champion of our heterodoxy, who was beloved by Gallipoli; the sultan and his troops were transported over the Bosphorus; he was hospitably entertained in the capital; and his successful sally was the first step to the conquest of Romania. The ruin was suspended by the prudence and moderation of the conqueror: he faithfully discharged his own obligations and those of Soliman, respected the laws of gratitude and peace; and left the emperor guardian of his two young sons, the heir-presumptive of Europe, and the fiendish cruelty of their brother Amurath. But the execution of his last testament would have offended the national honour and religion; and the divan unanimously pronounced, that the royal youths should never be abandoned to the custody and education of a christian dog. On this refusal, the sultan regarded it as a insult but the age and caution of Mahomet yielded to the supposition of his son John; and they unhesitatingly a dangerous weapon of revenge, by dismissing the true or false Mustapha, who had long been detained as a captive and a hostage, and for whose maintenance they received an annual pension of three hundred thousand aspers.

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THE DECLINE AND FALL

CHAP. XXV.

Hereditary acc. In the establishment and restoration of the Turkish empire, the first merit must doubtless be assigned to the personal qualities of the sultans; since, in human life, the most important results will depend on the character of a single actor. By some shades of wisdom and virtue, they may be discriminated from each other; but, except in a single instance, a period of nine reigns, and two hundred and sixty-five years, is occupied, from the elevation of Othman to the death of Soliman, by a rare series of warlike and active princes, who impressed their subjects with obedience and their enemies with terror. Instead of the slavish luxury of the seraglio, the heirs of royalty were educated in the counsel and the field; from early youth they were instructed by their fathers with the command of provinces and armies; and this manly institution, which was often productive of civil war, must have essentially contributed to the discipline and vigour of the monarchy. "The Ottomans cannot style themselves, like the Arabian caliphs, the descendants or successors of the apostle God; and the sultans, or divines, are Tatars." The house of Zingis, appear to be founded in flattery rather than in truth. Their origin is obscure; but their sacred and indestructible right, which no time can eraze, and no violence can infringe, was soon and unalterably fixed in the minds of the subjects. An active or vicious sultan may be deposed and strangled; but his inheritance devolves to an infant or an idiot; nor has the most daring rebel presumed to ascend the throne of his lawful sovereign. * While the transient dynasties of Asia have been continually unsubdued by a crafty visit in the palace, or a victorious general in the camp, the Ottoman succession has been confirmed by the practice of five centuries, and is now incorporated with the vital principle of the Turkish nation.

Education and discipline of the sultan, a strong influence on Turks. To the spirit and constitution of that body, a strong influence may however be ascribed. The primitive subjects of Othman were the four hundred families of wandering Turkmans, who had followed his ancestors from the Oxus to the Sangar; and the plains of Anatolia are still covered with the white and black tents of their rustic brethren. But this original drop was dissolved in the mass of voluntary and vanquished subjects, who, under the name of Turks, are united by the common ties of religion, language, and manners. In the cities, from Erzeroum to Belgrade, that national assembly of men, to all intents the first and most honourable inhabitants; but they had preserved their air of distinction, at least in Romania, the villages, and the cultivation of the land, to the christian peasants. In the vigorous age of the Ottoman government, the Turks were themselves excelled from all civil and military honours; and a servile class, an artificial people, was raised by the discipline of education to obey, to conquer, and to command. * From the time of Orchan and the first Amurath, the sultans were persuaded that a government of the sword must be renewed in each generation with new soldiers; and that such soldiers must be sought, not in effeminate Asia, but among the hardy and warlike natives of Europe. The provinces of Thrace, Macedonia, Albania, Bulgarin, and Servia, became the perpetual seminary of the Turkish army; and when the royal fathers of the captives was diminished by conquest, an inhuman tax, of the fifth child, or of every fifth year, was rigorously levied on the christian families. At the age of twelve or fourteen years, the most robust youths were torn from their parents; their names were enrolled in a book; and from that moment they were clothed, taught, and maintained, for the public service. While the exigencies of the state required their strength; they learned to wrestle, to leap, to run, to shoot with the bow, and afterwards with the musket; till they were drafted into the chambers and companies of the janizaries, and severely trained in the military or monastic discipline of the observant. The youths most conspicuous for birth, talents, and beauty, were admitted into the inferior class of agiamogluans, or the more liberal rank of ichogluans, of whom the former were attached to the palace, and the latter to the person of the prince. In four successive schools, under the discipline of the Tartar khan. See p. 321. In the fifth, the training the youth, the fifth, was rigorously conducted the young khan. The Ottomans were taught, in the school of the jehviel, their daily work, while those of a more studious cast applied themselves to the study of the Koran, and the knowledge of the Arabic and Persian tongues. As they advanced in seniority and prudence, they were admitted to the council of the civil, and even ecclesiastical employments; the longer they stay, the higher was their expectation; till, at a mature period, they were admitted into the number of the Forty agas, who stood before the sultan, and were promoted by his choice to the government of provinces and the first honours of the empire. Such a mode of institution was admirably adapted to the form and spirit of a despotic monarchy. The ministers and generals were, in the strictest sense, the slaves of the emperor, to whose bounty they were indebted for their independence; but their rank, like that of the soldiers, was based on the principle of hereditary tenure, and suffered their beards to grow as the symbol of enslavement, they found themselves in an important place, without faction or friendship, without parents and without heirs, dependent on the hand which had raised them from the dust, and which, on the slightest displeasure, could break in pieces those statues of glass, as they are aptly termed by the Turkish proverb. In the slow and painful steps of education, their character and talents were unfolded to a discerning eye: the man, naked and alone, was reduced to the standard of his personal merit; and, if the fifteenth son possessed a more active and boundless liberty of choice. The Ottoman candidates were trained by the virtues of abstinence to those of action; by the habits of submission to those of command. A similar spirit was diffused among the troops; and their silence and sobriety, their patience and modesty, have extorted the reluctant praise of their christian enemies. Nor can the victory appear doubtful, if we compare the discipline and exercise of the janizaries with the pride of birth, the independence of chivalry, the ignorance of the moderns, the mutual contempt of the veterans, and the vices of intemperance and disorder, which do long united the armies of Europe.

The only hope of salvation for the Turkish and the Greek empire, and the adjacent kings of the vonderen, would have been some more powerful weapon; some discovery in the art of war, that should give them a decisive superiority over their Turkish foes. Such a weapon was in their hands; such a discovery had been at this critical period of their fate. The chemists of China or Europe, had found, by casual or accidental means, a method to increase the power and efficacy of gunpowder. The letter to the pope was written on the 23rd of December, 1327, and confirmed, or, as the Turks say, the pope's name was written on the same page; but the letter and spectacle of the redcap had no effect on the Ottoman policy, and the transmission of christan children into Turkish soldiers.

* See Ricaut. (I. c. 13.) The Turkish sultans assume the title of khan, or master of the world, in imitation of their Asiatic cousins.
* The third grand vizier of the name of Kupreli, who was slain at the battle of Varna. In 1401. (Castro, p. 372) presumed to say that all the success of Julian had been fools or tyrants, and that it was true to say, "he was the race. (Mansuzi Stato Militare, &c. p. 252.)
* This political heretic was well received by the French ambassador the revolution of England. (Mignet, Hist. des Ottomans, &c. p. 517.) His enemies condemned the singularity of his position as an exception of arbitrary office in the same family.
* A description of the janizaries, p. 298. In the Turkish university, the name of the students were written in the redcap of the Ottoman policy, and the transmission of christan children into Turkish soldiers.

1 This description of the Turkish education and discipline is chiefly borrowed from Ricaut's State of the Ottoman empire, the State Militaire of the Turks, &c. (p. 318, &c.) A Description of the Seraglio, approved by Mr Graves himself, (Facsimile of the Text, 2vo.)
2 From the series of one hundred and fifteen verses, till the siege of Vienna, and the account of the capture of Constantinople. (p. 13, &c.) Their place may be valued at three years, or a half purchase.
3 See the entertaining and judicious letters of Basquepoint.
elaborate experiments, that a mixture of saltpetre, sulphur, and charcoal, produces, with a spark of fire, a tremendous explosion. It was soon observed, that if the expansive force were compressed in a strong tube, a ball of stone or iron might be expelled with irresistible and destructive velocity. The precise area of the invention and application of gunpowder is involved in doubtful traditions and equivocal language; yet we may clearly discern, that it was known before the middle of the fourteenth century; and that before the end of the same, the use of artillery in battles and sieges, by sea and land, was familiar to the states of Germany, Italy, Spain, France, and England. The priority of nations is often obscured by the reflection of modern success; but in the common improvement, they stood on the same level of relative power and military silence. It was not possible to circumscribe the secret within the pale of the church; it was disseminated to the Turks by the treachery of apostates and the selfish policy of rivals; and the sultans had sense to adopt, and wealth to reward, the talents of a Christian engineer. The Genoese, who transported Amurath into Europe, must be accused as his preceptors; and it was probably by their hands that his cannon was east and directed at the siege of Constantinople. The success of the first assault and investment was not altogether successful; but in the general warfare of the age, the advantage was on their side who were most commonly the assailants: for a while the proportion of the attack and defence was suspended; and this thundering artillery was pointed against the walls and towers which had been erected only to resist the less potent engines of antiquity. By the Venetians, the use of gunpowder was communicated without reproach to the sultans of Egypt and Persia, their allies against the Ottoman power; the secret was soon propagated to the extremities of Asia; and the advantage of the European war was transferred to the advantage of the new world. If we contrast the rapid progress of this mischievous discovery with the slow and laborsome advances of reason, science, and the arts of peace, a philosopher, according to his temper, will laugh or weep at the folly of mankind.

Applications of the eastern emperors to the west.—Visits to the west, of John the first, Manuel, and John the second, Palaeologus.—Union of the Greek and Latin churches, promised by the third council of Basil, and concluded at Paris and Florence.—State of literature at Constantinople.—Its revival in Italy by the Greek fugitives.—Curiously and eminently of the Latins.

In the four last centuries of the Greek emperors, their friendly or hostile aspect towards the pope, and the Latins may be observed as the thermometer of their prosperity or distress; as the scale of the rise and fall of the barbarian dynasties. When the Turks of the house of Seljuk pervaded Asia, and threatened Constantinople, we have seen at the council of Piacenza, the suppliant ambassadors of Alexius importing the protection of the common father of the Christians. No sooner had the army of the French pilgrims removed the sultan from Nice to Jerusalem, than the Greeks would, if not avowed, their genuine hatred and contempt for the schismatics of the west, which precipitated the first downfall of their empire. The date of the Mogul invasion is marked in the soft and charitable language of John Vates. His measure, on the recovery of Constantinople, the throne of the first Paleologi, the house of Philotheus endangered by foreign and domestic enemies: as long as the sword of Charles was suspended over his head, he basely courted the favour of the Roman pontiff; and sacrificed to the present danger his faith, his virtue, and probably his soul. For the independence of Michael, the prince and people asserted the independence of the church, and the purity of their creed: the elder Andronicus neither feared nor loved the Latins; in his last distress pride was the safeguard of superstition; nor could be decently retract in his age the firm and orthodox declarations of his youth. His grandson, the younger Andronicus, was less a slave in his temper and situation; and the conquest of Bithynia by the Turks, admonished him to seek a temporal and spiritual alliance with the western princes. After a separation and silence of fifty years, a secret agent, the monk Barlaam, was dispatched by the sultan of the twelfth; and his artful instructions appear to have been drawn by the master-hand of the great domestic.*

Chap. xxvii.

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ty. Under his reign Avignon was the seat of pomp and pleasure; in his youth he had surpassed the licentiousness of a baron; and the palace, my, the bedchamber, of the pope, was adorned, or polluted, by the visits of his female favourites. The wars of France and England, of the House of Anjou and the Ghibelines, in which his vanity was amused by the splendid idea; and the Greek ambassadors returned with two Latin bishops, the ministers of the pontiff. On their arrival at Constantinople, the emperor and the nuncios admired each other's piety and eloquence; and all their frequent conferences were the object of public promises, by which both parties were amused, and neither could be deceived. "I am delighted," said the devout Cantacuzene, "with the project of our holy war, which must redound to my personal glory, as well as to the public benefit of Christendom. My dominions will give a free passage to the armies of France: my troops, my galleys, my treasuries, shall be consecrated to the common cause; and happy would be my fate, could I deserve and obtain the crown of martyrdom. Words are insufficient to express the ardour with which I propose the re-union of the Eastern members of Christ. If my death could avail, I would gladly present my sword and my neck; if the spiritual phoenix could arise from my ashes, I would erect the pile, and kindle the flame with my own hands." Yet the Greek emperor presumed to observe, that the artisans of the empire would not fail to exceed, in the magnificence of their preparations, those introduced by the pride and precipitation of the Latins: he exclaimed the servile and arbitrary steps of the first Palaeologus; and firmly declared, that he would never submit his conscience unless to the decree of a free and universal synod. "The situation of the empire and the power are sufficient to assure me, by the undeviating influence of the gospels, that the emperor and myself to meet either at Rome or Constantinople; but some maritime city may be chosen on the verge of the two empires, to unite the bishops, and to instruct the faithful, of the east and west." The nuncios seemed content with the proposition; and Cantacuzene affects to excuse the failure of his hopes, which were soon overthrown by the death of Clement, and the different temper of his successor. His own life was prolonged, but it was prolonged in a cloister; and, except by his prayers, the humber monk was incapable of directing the counsels of his pupil or the state. Yet of all the Byzantine princes, that Treaty of John pupil, John Palaeologus, was the best Palaeologus I, with innocent and quiet, with an amiable obedience, the shepherd of the west. His was a soft and motherly influence, epitomized in the bosom of the Latin church: her marriage with Andronicus imposed a change of name, of apparel, and of worship, but her heart was still faithful to her country and religion; she had formed the infancy of her son, and she governed the emperor, after his mind, or at least his pleasure, was enlarged to the size of man. In the first year of his deliberation and restoration, the Turks were still masters of the Hellepont; the son of Cantacuzene was in arms at Arindropol; and Palaeologus could depend neither on himself nor on his people. By his mother's influence, however, and the help of foreign aid, he asserted the rights both of the church and state; and the act of slavery, subscribed in purple ink, and sealed with the golden bull, was privately intrusted to an Italian agent. The first article of the treaty is an oath of fidelity and obedience to Innocent X, the ninth successor of the pontiff who restored the Roman and catholic church. The emperor promises to entertain with due reverence their legates and nuncios; to assign a palace for their residence, and a

5 The ambiguity of this title is happy and ingenious; and modernly, it is synonymous to rector, governor, is a word of classical, and even of sacred meaning, which may be connected in the Olymic of Ducasrane, but in the Thesaurus of Robert Stephens.

6 The first epistle (nine apiece) of Petrarch exposes the danger of the monk, and the incapacity of the pedlar. Hor. iner, v, 116, 112, where the pedlar, person, dani, jones, buto, two persons, praece, auxes (utamam solius rot.,... Heu quarto felicis patro, turrmi solvenc subrat, quam scilbam pecuniarum ascend. set, this satire contains his biography to the virtues and virtues of Benedict XII, which have been exaggerated by Guelphs and Papists; (see the Memoires de l'Academie des Sciences. Mem. du Pierre, tom. i. p. 299, &c. of the same, p. 136. &c. He gave occasion to the saying, Romans conquer.

7 See the original Lives of Clement VI. in Muratori; (Script. Rerum Italicarum, iii. p. 530-350) Matteo Villani, (Chron. l. 22. vol. iii. p. 261) Giovanni Villani, (ibid.) Maffeo Ghiberti, (ibid.) Filippo Neri, (ibid.) cavallefino, poco religioso; Flory (Hist. Eccles. tom. xx. p. 126.) and Signore de Petrarca, (ibid. i. p. 152-153.) The Abbe de Sade treated him with the most indulgence; but he is a gentleman as well as a monster.

8 Her name (most probably corrupted) was Zampani. She had accompanied and alone remained with her mistress at Constantinople, where her prudence, address, and politeness, deserved the praises of the Greeks themselves (Cantacuzene. l. c. 42.)
selyte, Urban strove to rebuild the zeal of the French king, and the powers of the west; but he found them cold in the general cause, and some of them in their domestic quarrels. The last hope of the emperor was in an English mercenary, John Hawkwood,1 or Acuto, who with a band of adventurers, the white brotherhood, had ravaged Italy from the Alps to Calabria; sold his services to the hostile states; and incurred a just excommunication by a serious breach against the papal residence. A special licence was granted to negotiate with the outlaws, but the forces, or the spirit, of Hawkwood were unequal to the enterprise; and it was for the advantage, perhaps, of Paleologus to be delivered of a scourge that must have been costly, that could not be cured internally, and which might have been dangerous.2 The disconsolate Greek3 prepared for his return, but even his return was impeded by a most ignominious obstacle. On his arrival at Venice, he had borrowed large sums at exorbitant usury; but his coffers were empty, his creditors were impatient, and his person was detained as the best security for the payment. His eldest son Andronicus, the regent of Constantinople, was repeatedly urged to exhaust every resource; and, even by stripping the churches, to extricate his father from captivity and disgrace. But the unbounded youth and unsoundness of the disgrace, and secretly pleased with the captivity of the emperor; the state was poor, the clergy were obstinate; nor could some religious scruple be wanting to excuse the guilt of his indifference and delay. Such unprofitable neglect was severely reproved by the pious brother Manuel, who instantly sold or mortgaged all that he possessed, embarked for Venice, relieved his father, and pledged his own freedom to be responsible for the debt. On his return to Constantinople, the parent and king dis-tinguished his two sons with suitable rewards: but the colourless, smooth, and unprofitable Paleologus had not been improved by his Roman pilgrimage; and his apostasy or conversion, devoid of any spiritual or temporal effects, was speedily forgotten by the Greeks and Latins.4

Thirty years after the return of Paleologus, his son and successor, Manuel, peer of the Turks from a similar motive, but on a larger scale, again visited the countries of the west. In a preceding chapter I have related his treaty with Bajazet, the violation of that treaty, the siege or blockade of Constantinople, and the French successor under the command of the gal- lant Henry IV.1 He, with his ambassadors, Manuel had solicited the Latin powers; but it was thought that the presence of a distressed monarch would draw tears and supplies from the hardest barbarians; and the marshal who advised the journey, prepared the reception, of the Byzantine prince. The land was occupied by the Turks; but the navigation of Venice was


2广告 seu quisquam ad usitatem Romanorum. Yet his title of imperator Graecorum was no longer disputed. (Vit. Urban V. Palaeologus, c. xii.)

3 It was confined to the successors of Charlemagne, and to three other cases. On account of this signal and solemn step, these three emperors were content to serve the pope, as he said, with the book and the crozier. Yet the Abbe de Sade generously thinks that the me-

rants of Charles IV. might have entitled him, though not on the proper day (A. D. 1354, November 1.) to the whole privilege. He seems to

4 This torrent of English (by birth or service) overflowing from France into Italy after the death of Becket in 1520. Yet the exclusion of the English was not Mohun's; the true name of our adventurous countryman, (Thomas Walsingham, Hist. Anglic. Inter. Scriptores, 1581.) of the latter's name, Manuel had solicited the Latin powers; but it was thought that the presence of a distressed monarch would draw tears and supplies from the hardest barbarians; and the marshal who advised the journey, prepared the reception, of the Byzantine prince. The land was occupied by the Turks; but the navigation of Venice was
safe and open: Italy received him as the first, or at least as the second, of the christian princes; Manuel was pitied as the champion and confessor of the faith; and the dignity of his behaviour prevented that pity from sinking into contempt. From Venice, where he was conducted by Pio della Valle, and the duke of Milan, a secret ally of Bajazet, gave him safe and honourable conduct to the verge of his dominions. On the con-
to the court of France, the royal officers under-
took the care of his person, journey, and expenses; and a number of the richest and best citizens, in arms and on horseback, came forth to meet him as far as Charenton, in the neighbourhood of the capital. At the gates of Paris, he was saluted by the chancellor and the parliament; and Charles the sixth, attended by his princes and nobles, saluted his brother with a cordial embrace. The successor of Constantine was clothed in a robe of white silk, and mounted on a milk-white steed, a circum-
cumstance, in the French ceremonial, of singular im-
portance; the white colour is considered as the symbol of sovereignty; and, in a late visit, the German em-
peror, who, after a hearty demand and sweetish refusal, had been reduced to content himself with a black coat, Manuel was lodged in the Louvre; a succession of feasts and balls, the pleasures of the banquet and the chase, were ingeniously varied by the politeness of the French, to display their magnificence and sumptuousness; the grandeur of the house, the magnificence of the gardens, the ancient remains of the liberty of his chapel; and the doctors of the Sorbonne were astonished, and pos-
sibly scandalized, by the language, the rites, and the vestments, of his Greek clergy. But the slightest glance on the state of the kingdom must teach him the precariousness of an empire; and how easily the unfortunate Charles, though he enjoyed some lucid intervals, con-
tinually relapsed into furious or stupid insanity: the reins of government were alternately seized by his brother and uncle, the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, whose factional competition prepared the miseries of civil war. The former was a gay youth, dissolving in luxury and love; the latter was the father of John count of Nevers, who had so lately been ransomed from Turkish captivity; and, if the fearless son was ardent to revenge his defeat, the more prudent Burg-
dundy was content with the cost and peril of the first expedition. The emperor, Manuel, having prepared, and perhaps fatigued the patience, of the French, he resolved on a visit to the adjacent island. In his pro-
gress from Dover, he was entertained at Canterbury with due reverence by the archbishop; and Blackheath, king Henry the fourth, with the English court, saluted the Greek hero, (I copy our old histo-
rian,) who, during many days, was lodged and treated in London as emperor of the east. But the state of England was still more adverse to the design of the holy war. In the same year, the hereditary sovereign had been deposed and murdered: the reigning prince was a successful usurper, whose ambition was punish-
ed by jealousy and remorse; nor could Henry of Lan-
caster withstand his person or forces from the defence of a throne incessantly shaken by conspiracy and re-
bellion. He pitied, he praised, he feasted, the empe-
ror of Constantinople; but if the English monarch as-
sumed the cross, it was only to appease his people, and perhaps his conscience, by the merit or semblance of this pious intention. Satisfied, however, with this return, he reversed his route, and returned to Paris; and, after a residence of A.D. 1462, two years in the west, shaped his course through Ger-
many and Italy, embarked at Venice, and patiently ex-
pected, in the Morea, the moment of his ruin or deliv-
erance. Yet he had escaped the ignominious necessity of offering his submission to private zeal. The Latin church was distracted by the great schism: the kings, the nations, the universities, of Europe, were divided in their obedience between the popes of Rome and Avignon; and the emperor, anxious to con-
tinue the friendship of both parties, allowed him no corresponde with the indigent and unpopular rivals. His journey coincided with the year of the ju-
hile; but he passed through Italy without desiring, or
deserving, the plenary indulgence which abolished the guilt or penance of the sins of the faithful. The Rom-
ian pope, whoRgb by this neglect, hastened him to re-
verse the image to an image of Christ; and exhibited the princes of Italy to reject and abandon the obstinate schismatic.

During the period of the crusades, the Greek know-
ledges himself with astonishment and delight; he en-
joyed the benefits of the last visit of Constantine the second, and was admitted to the island of Corfu, to which he was conducted by the governor; but in the island of Corfu, to which he was conducted by the governor, but in the island of Corfu, to which he was conducted by the governor, but in the island of Corfu, to which he was conducted by the governor, but in the island of Corfu, to which he was conducted by the governor, but in the island of Corfu, to which he was conducted by the governor, but in

Shakespeare begins and ends the play of Henry IV, with that prince's vow of a crusade, and his belief that he should die in Jeru-

salem.

1 This fact is preserved in the Historia Polonica, A.D. 1591—1473.

2 This modern Turkish history of Lascaris Corfu, which the Greek emperor refused to worship, was probably a work of sculpture.

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4 This modern Turkish history of Lascaris Corfu, which the Greek emperor refused to worship, was probably a work of sculpture.
of France; II. The kingdom of France is spread above fifteen or twenty days' journey from Germany to Spain, and from the Alps to the British ocean; containing many distinct provinces, among these Paris, the seat of the king, which surpasses the rest in riches and luxury. Many princes and lords alternately wait in his palace, and acknowledge him as their sovereign; the most powerful are the dukes of Bretagne and Burgundy, of whom the latter possesses the wealthy province of Flanders, whose harbours are frequented by the ships and merchants of their own, and the more remote, seas. The French are an ancient and opulent people; and their language and manners, though somewhat different, are not dissimilar from the rest of those of the same origin. The city of Charlemagne, of their victories over the Saracens, and of the exploits of their heroes, Oliver and Rowland; they esteem themselves the first of the western nations; but this French arrogance has been recently humbled by the unfortunate events of their wars against the English, the first invasion of the British island. III. Britain, in the ocean, and opposite to the shores of Flanders, may be considered either as one or as three islands; but the whole is united by a common interest, by the same manners, and by a similar government. The measure of its extent is so great, and its provinces so extensive, that the land is overspread with towns and villages; though destitute of wine, and not abounding in fruit-trees, it is fertile in wheat and barley, in honey and wool; and much cloth is manufactured by the inhabitants. In populousness and power, in riches and extent of territory, there are few nations in the world that can compare with the French. From them the French language is derived. Its word order is different from that of the English, the use of the longbow is peculiar and decisive advantage of the English. Their language bears no affinity to the idioms of the continent: in the habits of domestic life, they are not easily distinguished from their neighbours of France; but the most singular circumstance of their manners is their disregard of conjugal honour and of female chastity. In their mutual visits, as the first acts of hospitality, the guest is welcomed in the embraces of their wives and daughters; among friends they are lent and borrowed without shame; nor are the islanders offended at this strange commerce, and its inevitable consequences. Informed as we are of the customs of old England, and assured of the virtue of our mothers, we may smile at the credulity, or resent the injustice, of the Greek, who must have confounded a modest salute with a criminal embroilment. But the Greek's enormity and injustice may teach us an important lesson; to suspend the accounts of foreign and remote nations, and to suspend our belief of every tale that deviates from the laws of nature and the character of man.

After his return, and the victory of Indulgence of Timour, Manuel reigned many years in peace and prosperity, and a great part of the islanders of his dominion solicited his friendship in 1412-1417, and spared his dominions, he was satisfied with the national religion; and his leisure was employed in composing twenty theological dialogues for its defence. The appearance of the Byzantine ambassadors at the council of Constance announced the restoration of the Turkish power, as well as of the Latin church; the conquest of the sultuns, Mahomet and Amurath, reconciled the emperor to the Vatican; and the siege of Constantiopolis almost tempted him to acquiesce in the double procession of the Holy Ghost. When Martin the fifth afterwards visited the emperor at the monastery of St. Peter, a friendly intercourse of letters and embassies was revived between A.D. 1417-1425. On one side, and distress on the other, dictated the same desirous language of charity and peace: the artful Greek expressed a desire of recovering his dominions by marrying his daughters princesses; and the Roman, not less artful, despatched the daughter of the marquis of Montfort, with a company of noble virgins, to soften, by their charms, the obstinacy of the schismatics. Yet under this mask of zeal, a discerning eye will perceive that all was hollow and insincere in the court and church of Constantinople. According to the vices and misanthrope, the emperor advanced or retreated; alternately instructed and disavowed his ministers; and escaped from an importunate pressure by urging the duty of inquiry, the obligation of observing the tone of his patriarchs and bishops, and the impossibility of convening them at a time when the Turkish arms were at the gates of his capital. From a review of the public transactions it will appear, that the Greeks insisted on three successive measures, a concord, a marriage, and an embassy. The Greek emperor, the second, and only promised the first, as a consequent and voluntary reward of the third. But we have an opportunity of unfolding the private most secret intentions of Manuel, as he explained them in a private conversation without artifice or disguise. In his declining age, the emperor had associated John Paleologus, the second of the name, and the eldest of his sons, on whom he devolved the greatest part of the authority and weight of government. One day, in the presence only of the historian Phranza, his favourite chamberlain, he opened to his
colleague and successor the true principle of his negotiations with the pope. 1 "Our last resource," said Manuel, "against the Turks is their fear of our union with the Latins, of the warlike nations of the west, who may arm for our relief and for their destruction. As often as they are threatened by the miscreants, they resent this danger before their eyes. Propose a council; consult on the means; but ever delay and avoid the convocation of an assembly, which cannot tend either to our spiritual or temporal advantage. The Latins and Greeks are obviously hostile; neither party will recede or retract; and the attempt of a peaceful union will confirm the schism, alienate the churches, and leave us, without hope or defense, at the mercy of the barbarians."

Impatient of this singular lesson, the royal youth arose from his seat, and departed in silence; and the wise monarch (continues Phranzes) casting his eyes on me, thus resumed his discourse: "My son deems himself a great and heroic prince; but, alas! our miserable age does not afford scope for heroism or greatness. His daring spirit might have suited the happier times of our ancestors; but the present age requires not an emperor; but a capable steward of the last relics of our fortunes. Well do I remember the lofty expectations which he built on our alliance with Mustapha; and much do I fear, that his rash courage will urge the ruin of our house, and that even religion may precipitate our downfall."

Yet he proposed the union and authority of Manuel presided over the peace, and eluded the council; till, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and in the habit of a monk, he terminated his career, dividing his precious movables among his children and the poor, and his physical remains among the Greeks. Of his six sons, Andronicus the second was invested with the principality of Thessalonica, and died of a leprosy soon after the sale of that city to the Venetians and its final conquest by the Turks. Some unfortunate incidents had restored Paleologus, or the Morea, to the empire; and in his more profligate days, he had fortified the narrow isthmus of six miles 1 with a stone wall and one hundred and fifty-three towers. The wall was overthrown by the first blast of the Ottomans: the fertile peninsula might have been sufficient for the four younger brothers, Theodore and Constantine, John and Theodore; but they who loved their own, and in domestic contests the remains of their strength; and the least successful of the rivals were reduced to a life of dependence in the Byzantine palace.

Of the eldest of the sons of Manuel, John Palaeologus II. Palaeologus the second, was acknowledged, after his death, as the sole emperor of the Greeks. He immediately proceeded to repudiate his wife, and to contract a new marriage with the princess of Trebizond: beauty was in his eyes the first qualification of an empress; and the clergy had yielded to his firm assurance, that unless he might be indulged in a divorce, he would retire to a cloister, and leave the throne to his brother Constantine. The first, and in truth the only, victory of Palaeologus, was over a Jew, 2 whom, after a long and learned dispute, he converted to the Christian faith; and this momentous occasion is carefully rec

1 See Phranzes, i. c. 13. While so many manuscripts of the Greek original are extant in the libraries of Rome, Milan, the Encyclopaedia, &c., it is in a matter of shame and regret, that we should be reduced to the Latin version, or abstract, of James Fontanus, (ad calendas Ianu.) and to these manuals, as to many others, we must recur in our manuscripts, for accuracy and elegance. (Fabric, Biblio, Graec. vol. vi. p. 615--620.)

2 Ducange, Fino, Byzanz. p. 243--245.

The value of the Hellenic manuscript, from sea to sea, was 3000 syri, or twice, of six Greek crowns. (Phranzes, i. c. 35.) which would produce a crown in gold, or sixteen times, that of six French francs, which is assigned by D‘Anville as still in use in Turkey. For the cost of the manuscripts, the monks were assessed for the benefit of the isthmus. See the Travels of Spurt, Wother, and Ch. meder.

The first objection of the Jews is on the death of Christ: if it were not for his death, there was a suicide, committed with a mystery. They then dispute on the conception of the Virgin, the person of the prophets, &c. (Phranzes, i. c. 17, a whole chapter.)

corded in the history of the times. But he soon resumed the design of uniting the east and west; and, regardless of his father’s advice, listened, as it should seem with sincerity, to the proposal of meeting the pope in a general council beyond the Adriatic. This vigorous project was encouraged by Martin V., and coldly entertained by his successor Eugenius, till, after a tedious negociation, the emperor received a summons from the Latin assembly of a new character, the independent prelates of Basil, who styled themselves the representatives and judges of the catholic church.

The Roman pontiff had fought and corruption of the conquered in the cause of ecclesiastical Latin church freedom; but the victorious clergy were soon exposed to the tyranny of their deliverer; and his sacred character was inviolable to those pretensions, so keen and effectual against the civil magistrate. Their great charter, the right of election, was annulled by appeals, evaded by trusts or commendams, disappointed by reverential grants, and superseded by previous and arbitrary reservations. 3 A public auction was instituted in the court of Rome: the cardinal and favourites were enriched with the spoils of nations; and every country might complain that the most important and valuable benefices were accumulated on the heads of aliens and absentees. During their residence at Avignon, the ambition of the popes was to arrogate to themselves the authority of an empire; they rigorously imposed on the clergy the tributes of first-fruits and tithes; but they freely tolerated the impunity of vice, disorder, and corruption. These manifold scandals were so severe, so new, and so wide-spread over the west, which continued above fifty years. In the furious contests of Rome and Avignon, the vices of the rival were mutually exposed; and their precarious situation degraded their authority, relaxed their discipline, and multiplied their wants and exactions. To heal the wounds, and restore the Council of Pisa, monarchy of the church, the syrods of Pisa and Constance 4 were successively convened; but these great assemblies, conscious of their strength, resolved to vindicate the privileges of the christian aristocracy. From a perceptible decline of both parties, the first was recovered, and a third, their acknowledged sovereign, whom they deposed, the fathers of Constance proceeded to examine the nature and limits of the Roman supremacy; nor did they separate till they had established the authority, above the pope, of a general council. But it was not in the ability of any one assembly, in the institution of the church, such assemblies should be held at regular intervals; and that each synod, before its dissolution, should appoint the time and place of the subsequent meeting. By the influence of the court of Rome, the next convocation at Sienna was easily eluded; but the hold and vigorous proceedings of the council of Basel 5 had almost been fatal to the reigning pontiff, Of Basle, A. D. 1431--1433.

3 In the treatise delle Materia Beneficarii di Fra Paolo, (in the teno, et, and Basel) the present system is deeply studied and freely described. Should Rome and its dignity be annihilated, this great volume may still survive, a philosophical history, and a faithful warning.

4 Pope John XXII. in (1334) left behind him, at Avignon, eighteen milliards of gold ducats, and the value of seven millions more in plate and jewels. See the Chronicle of John Villani, (xii. c. 23,) in Mura- lo, which states the property of the church to be sixty times the sum, which the papal treasurers were able to pay in the form of taxes, (as a tax paid to the papal treasurers. A treasure of six or eight millions survive in the fourteenth century in enormous, and almost incredible, sums. A large part of this wealth, and the loss of much of it, is due to the faulty history of the councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basel, in six volumes in quarto, but the last part 1 the most holy and imperial, exists, except the account of the troubles of Bohemia."

5 The representation of the six centuries of the council of Basel, are preserved in the public library, in twelve volumes in folio. Basil was a free city, conveniently situated on the Rhine, and bounded by the mountains of the Vosges. The church of Basel was founded by Pope Pius II. (Enneas Sylvius) who had been secretary to the council. But what is a council, or a university, to the purposes of 6 Elsa and the stories of Heraclius?"
Eugenius the fourth. A just suspicion of his design prompted the fathers to hasten the pronouncement of their first decree, that the representatives of the church militant on earth were invested with a divine and spiritual authority over all Christians; without pleasing the pope; and that a general council could not be dissolved, prorogued, or transferred, unless by their free deliberation and consent. On the notice that Eugenius had fulminated a bull for that purpose, they ventured to summon, to admonish, to threaten, to issue the council; the immediate successor of St. Peter. Their opposition many delays, to allow time for repen-
tance, they finally declared, that, unless he submitted within the term of sixty days, he was suspended from the exercise of all temporal and ecclesiastical authority. And to mark their jurisdiction over the prince as well as the priest, they assumed the government of Avignon, annulled the alienation of the sacred patrimony, and protected Rome from the imposition of new taxes. Their holdness was justified, not only by the general opinion of the clergy, but by the support and power of the first monarchs of Constantinople: the emperor Sigismund declared himself the servant and protector of the synod; Germany and France adhered to their cause; the duke of Milan was the enemy of Eugenius; and he was driven from the Vatican by an insurrection of the Roman people. Rejected at the same time by his temporal and spiritual subjects, submission was his only choice: by a most humiliating bull, the pope repealed his own acts, and ratified those of the council; incorporated his legates and cardinals with that venerable body; and seemed to resign himself to the decrees of the supreme legislature. Their fame pervaded the countries of the east and west; and the council united, within the pale of the church; and their deputies invited the emperor and patriarch of Constantinople to unite with an assembly which possessed the confidence of the western nations. Palaeologus was not averse to the proposal; and his ambassadors with the legates disputed the dispute, but were unsuccessful. But the choice of the place appeared to be an insuperable obstacle, since he refused to pass the Alps, or the sea of Sicily, and positively required that the synod should be adjourned to some convenient city in Italy, or at least on the Danube. The other articles of the conditional visitor were agreed to defy the travelling expenses of the emperor, with a train of seven hundred persons, to remit an immediate sum of eight thousand ducats for the accommodation of the Greek clergy; and in his absence to supply a grant of ten thousand ducats, with three hundred archeists and some galleys, for the protection of Constantinople. The city of Avignon advanced the funds for the preliminary expenses; and the embarkation was prepared at Marseilles with some difficulty and delay.

John Palaeologus. In his distress the friendship of Philip Megas was disputed by the ecclesiastical pope's allies, A.D. 1435, 1436. In the critical powers of the west; but the dexter-ous activity of a monarch prevailed over the slow debates and inflexible temper of a republic. The decrees of Basil continually tended to circumscribe the despotic power of the pope, and erect a supreme and perpetual tribunal in the church. Eugenius was impatient of the delay; and the Greeks might afford a decent pretext for translating a rebellious synod from the Rhine to the Po. The independence of the fathers was lost if they passed the Alps: Savoy or Avignon, to which they ascribed with reluctance, were described at Constantinople as a short distance far beyond the pillars of Hercules. The emperor and his clergy were apprehensive of the dangers of a long navigation; they were offended by a haughty declaration, that after suppressing the new heresy of the Bohemians, the council would soon eradicate the old heresy of the Greeks. On the side of Eugenius, all was smooth, and yielding, and respectful; and he invited the Byzantine monarch to heal by his presence the schism of the Latin, as well as of the eastern church. Ferrara, near the coast of the Adriatic, was proposed for their amicable interview; and with some indulgence of forgery and theft, a superscription decree was transferred to the pope, who was induced to give his own consent, to that Italian city. Nine galleys were equipped for this service at Venice, and in the isle of Candia; their diligence anticipated the slower vessels of Basil: the Roman admiral was commissioned to burn, sink, and destroy; and these priestly squanders might have been engaged against the Turks in the seas where Athens and Sparta had formerly contended for the pre-eminence of glory. Assailed by the impertiunity of the factions, who were ready to fight for the possession of his person, Palaeologus hesitated before he left his palace and country on a per- nicious adventure; his father's advice was impartial. Since he adhered to the majority, and it was enforced by the strange belief, that the German Caesar would nominate a Greek his heir and successor in the empire of the west. Even the Turkish sultan was a counsellor whom it might be unsafe to trust, but whom it was dangerous to confide. Anaurath was unskilled in the arts, but ambitious of the safety of the Christians. From his own treasures, he offered to relieve the wants of the Byzantine court; yet he declared with seeming magnanimity, that Constantinople should be secure and inviolate, in the absence of her sovereign. The resolution of Palaeologus was exceed by the magnanimous gifts of the emperor; who gave the council enormous promises; he wished to escape for a while from a scene of danger and distress; and after dismissing with an ambiguous answer the messengers of the council, he declared his intention of embarking in the Roman galleys. The age of the patriarch Joseph was more susceptible of fear than of hope; he trembled at the door of death.
the perils of the sea, and expressed his apprehension, that his feeble voice, with thirteen of his orthodox brethren, would be oppressed in a foreign land by their unfeeling masters. He yielded to the royal mandate, to the flattering assurance, that he would be heard as the oracle of nations, to and to the secret wish of learning from his brother of the west, to deliver the church from the yoke of kings. The five cross-bearers, or dignitaries, of St. Sophia, who attended the patriarch, were the great ecclesiarch or prelate, Sylvester Syropoulos, who composed a free and curious history of the false union. Of the clergy that reluctantly obeyed the summons of the emperor and the patriarch, submission was the first duty, and patience the most useful virtue. In the church of the metropolis, we discover the imperial titles of Heraclius and Cyriacus, Nice and Nice media, Ephesus and Trebizond, and the personal merit of Mark and Basarion, who, in the confidence of their learning and eloquence, were promoted to the episcopal rank. Some monks and philosophers were named to display the science and sanctity of the Greek church; and the service of the choir was performed by a select band of singers and musicians. The patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, appeared by their genuine and fictitious deputies; the primate of Russia reported the refusal of the more orthodox Greeks, in content with the Latins, in the extent of their spiritual empire. The precious vases of Sophia were exposed to the waves and waves, that the patriarch might officiate with becoming splendor; whatever gold the emperor could procure, was expended in the massy ornaments and chariots of the church and state, while they continued to strive for the ancient fortune, they quarreled for the division of fifteen thousand ducats, the first alms of the Roman pontiff. After the necessary preparations, John Palaeologus, with a numerous train, accompanied by his brother Demetrius, and the most respectable persons of the church and state, embarked in eight vessels with sails and oars, which steered through the Turkish straits of Gallipoli to the Archipelago, the Morea, and the Adriatic Gulf.

His triumph entered Venice, Feb. 9, 1439.

After a tedious and troublesome navigation of seventy-seven days, this religious squadron cast anchor before Venice; and their reception proclaimed the joy and magnificence of that powerful republic. In the command of the feeble world, the modest Augustus had never claimed such honors from his subjects as were paid to his feeble successor by an independent state.


The Pope, in the Council of Ferrara, passed an Edict of Excommunication against the Greeks, who were dissatisfied with their journey, with themselves, and with the pope. The excommunication was subsequently confirmed by another council at Sutri, and the patriarchs of Venice and Ferrara, But (sacramentum Imperatoris adoratus) which are more slightly modified by the Latin, (ii. i. c. 14—16.)

The Congress of Ferrara was held in the palace of a Greek prince, which had been converted into a French Ambassadors' lodge of Philippe de Comines, (i. v. c. 17.) at the sight of Venice, absolved the Emperor from his promise to the patriarchs, and most splendid of the Christian cities. For the spoils of Constantinople, the Greeks complained to the Syropoulos, (p. 87.)

The Greek Emperor, who was crowned and enthroned, on the 24th of May, 1449, was the last of the ancient emperors of the East. Nicholas III. of Italy, reigned for forty-eight years, (A.D. 1395—1444), and was lord of Ferrara, Modena, Reggio, Parma, Rovigo, and Mantua. The two Emperors, John and Manuel, were percussioned by the former, in the 90th year of their age, June 20, 1461.

The Latin vulgus was provoked to laughter at the strange dresses of the Greeks, and especially the handful of their garments, their hair, and their beards; nor was the emperor distinguished, except by the profane sight of his eyes and his diadem of crown and episcopal tiara.

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Yet another spectacle confutes, that the Greek Emperor was given up by the Turks to the pope and the Latins. (Verona, in Vita Eugenii IV. in Marzotti, tom. xxv. p. 261.)
est part of whom were the subjects or countrymen of the Italian pontiff. Except the duke of Burgundy, none of the pontificates of the west descended to a person, or by their ambassadors; nor was it possible to suppress the judicial acts of Basil against the dignity and person of Eugenius, which were finally concluded by a new election. Under these circumstances, a truce or delay was asked and granted, till Paleologus could expect an unfavourable tête-à-tête, recompensed with a reward for an unpopular union; and after the first session, the public proceedings were adjourned above six months. The emperor, with a chosen band of his favourites and janizaries, fixed his summer residence at a pleasant spacious monastery, six miles from Ferrara; formed a council of cardinals without the church and state; and persisted in destroying the game, without listening to the just complaints of the marquis or the husbandman. In the mean while, his unfortunate Greeks were exposed to all the miseries of exile and poverty; for the support of each stranger, a monthly allowance was assigned of three or four gold florins; and although the entire sum did not amount to seven hundred florins, a long arrear was repeatedly incurred by the indigence or policy of the Roman court. They sighed for a speedy deliverance; but their escape was prevented by the increased security of the emperor's forces, which was required at the gates of Ferrara; the government of Venice had engaged to arrest and send back the fugitives; and inevitable punishment awaited them at Constantinople: excommunication, fines, and a sentence, which did not respect the sacerdotal dignity, that they should be stripped and crucified, with that and what could be worse done. It was only by the alternative of hunger or dispute that the Greeks could be persuaded to open the first conference; and they yielded with extreme reluctance to attend from Ferrara to Florence the rear of a flying synod. This new translation was urged by inevitable necessity; and two questions of the very first importance to the dignity of the marquis might be suspected; the mercenary troops of the duke of Milan were at the gates; and as they occupied Romagna, it was not without difficulty and danger that the pope, the emperor, and the bishops, explored their way through the unfrequented paths of that kingdom.

Yet all these obstacles were surmounted by time and policy. The violence of the fathers of Basil rather promoted than injured the cause of Eugenius: the nations of Europe adhered to the schism, and disowned the election, of Felix the fifth, who was successively a dethroned pope, a prisoner, and a private individual, and a great prince was gradually reconciled by his competitor to a favourable neutrality and a firm attachment. The gates, with some respectable members, deserts to the Roman army, which insensibly rose in nine bishops, and three hundred of the inferior clergy: |

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1 For the emperor's hunting, see Syropulis, (p. 173, 114, 157.) The pope sent him eleven miserable hawks; but he bought a strong and swift horse that came from Russia. The name of janizaries may surprise; but the issue, rather than the institution, had passed from the sultan to the Byzantine court, and is often used in the last age of the empire.

2 The Greeks obtained, with much difficulty, that instead of provisions, they should be supplied with live hams, four florins per month to the persons of honorable rank, and three florins to their servants, with an addition of thirty over the marquis, twenty to the patriarch, and twenty to the prince, or despot, Demetrius. The payment of the first month amounted to 54,557 florins, from which will not allow us to reckon above 203 Gregori of equal condition. (Syropulis, p. 114, 147.) On the 20th of October 1415, there was an arrest of four months: in April 1416, there was another, and a half in May; and finally a perpetual union, (p. 172, 223, 271.)

3 The residence of it lasted from 1417 to 1421, 231, 221.) deprives the imputation of the Greeks, and the tyranny of the emperor and patriarch.

4 The wars of Italy are not clearly represented in the Chronicle of the Annalio of Byzantium. The historian of Syropulis, (p. 113.), appears to have exaggerated the force and disorder of the pope in his retreat from Ferrara to Florence, and this impression might have been somewhat more discreet and deliberate.

5 The union was signed by the patriarchs in a single council of Basel. The error is manifest, and perhaps voluntary. That extraordinary number could not be supplied by all the ecclesiastics of every degree who were present at the council, nor by all the absent bishops of the west, who, expensively or tacitly, might adhere to its decrees.

6 The Greeks, who disliked the union, were unwilling to salute from it the new pontiff, (p. 175, 183, 195, 206, of Syropulis.) The name of the Latins was aggrandized by their producing an old MS. of the first council of Nice, with filioque in the Nicene and Arian formula, (p. 172.)

7 See the perplexity of the Greeks, (p. 217, 225, 226, 355, 273.)
alone accomplish the purposes of their interview; and the obstinacy of public dispute was softened by the arts of private and personal negotiation. The patriarch Joseph had sunk under the weight of age and infirmities; his dying voice breathed the consolations of charity and concord, and his vacant benedict might tempt the hopes of the elect. The ready and active obedience of the archbishops of Russia and Nice, of Isidore and Bessarion, was prompted and recompensed by their speedy promotion to the dignity of cardinals. Bessarion, in the first debates, had stood forth the most strenuous and eloquent champion of the Greek cause, and had been��en by the Greeks, and by the bishopric of his country, he appears in ecclesiastical story a rare example of a patriot who was recommended to court-favour by loud opposition and well-timed compliance. With the aid of his two spiritual conductors, the emperor applied his arguments to the general situation and personal characters of the bishops, and each was successively moved by authority and example. Their revenues were in the hands of the Turks, their persons in those of the Latins; an episcopal treasure, three robes and forty ducats, was soon exhausted: the hopes of deposition still depended on the plunders of office and the alms of Rome; and such was their indigence, that their arrears, the payment of a debt, would be accepted as a favour, and might operate as a bribe. The danger and relief of Constantinople might excite some prudent and pious disquisition, and the Greeks was insinuated, that the application of strategies who should resist the consent of the east and west, would be abandoned in a hostile land to the revenge or justice of the Roman pontiff. In the first private assembly of the Greeks, the formulary of union was approved by twenty-four, and rejected by twelve, members; but the five 

Charles-Michel de Saint-Simon. 

a Syropulus, a remarkable passage of Ducas, (c. 31.) One had possessed, for his whole property, three old gowns, &c. By teaching one and twenty years in his monastery, Bessarion himself had collected forty gold ducats; but of these, the archbishop had expended twenty-eight in his voyage from Peloponnese, and the remainder as an act of身上fate to the Latins. Syropulus denotes that the Greeks received any money before they had subscribed the union (p. 683.) Syropulus, however, and to his enemies, was a restraint, and a pledge. Syropulus, rather than subscribe, would have assisted, as the least evil, at the ceremony of the union. He was compelled to do both; and the great ecclesiarch poorly excused his submission to the emperor, (p. 299-322.) 

5 None of these original acts of union can at present be produced. Of the two copies of the act of union preserved, (Syrop. p. 652, 653.) one is at Florence, Bologna, Venice, Paris, and London) nine have been examined by the present commission. The other is executed in the Greek characters for the variety and imperfections of the Greek signatures. Yet scarce an hundred and fifty copies were preserved as originally subscribed at Florence, before 20th August 1439, the final separation of the pope and emperor. (Memoire de l’Academie des Inscriptions, vol. iii.) 

6 In the original lives of the Popes, in Muratori’s Collection, (com. lib. p. tom. xxvi. the name of Eugene II. appears to have been corrected, and patriarchy. He was, however, the successor of Eugene, and to his enemies, was a restraint, and a pledge. Syropulus, rather than subscribe, would have assisted, as the least evil, at the ceremony of the union. He was compelled to do both; and the great ecclesiarch poorly excused his submission to the emperor, (p. 299-322.) 

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8 In the original lives of the Popes, in Muratori’s Collection, (com. lib. p. tom. xxvi. the name of Eugene II. appears to have been corrected, and patriarchy. He was, however, the successor of Eugene, and to his enemies, was a restraint, and a pledge. Syropulus, rather than subscribe, would have assisted, as the least evil, at the ceremony of the union. He was compelled to do both; and the great ecclesiarch poorly excused his submission to the emperor, (p. 299-322.) 

9 None of these original acts of union can at present be produced. Of the two copies of the act of union preserved, (Syrop. p. 652, 653.) one is at Florence, Bologna, Venice, Paris, and London) nine have been examined by the present commission. The other is executed in the Greek characters for the variety and imperfections of the Greek signatures. Yet scarce an hundred and fifty copies were preserved as originally subscribed at Florence, before 20th August 1439, the final separation of the pope and emperor. (Memoire de l’Academie des Inscriptions, vol. iii.)
kiss the feet of the Roman pontiff, and to announce the obedience and the orthodoxy of the east. These oriental embassies, unknown in the countries which they presumed to represent,1 diffused over the west the fame of Eugenius; and a clamour was artfully propagated against the remnant of a schism in Switzerland and Spain, which so much excited the admiration of the Christian world. The vigour of opposition was succeeded by the histrionic desire: the council of Basil was silently dissolved, and Felix, renouncing the tiara, again withdrew to the devout or diligent hermitage of Ripalle.5 A general peace was secured by these concessions, but it was at the expense of a complaint; all ideas of reformation sub- jected: the popes continued to exercise and abuse their ecclesiastical despotic; nor has Rome been since disturbed by the mischiefs of a contested election.5

Final peace of the Greek Church at Constantinople.

A.D. 1439.

State of the Greek Church at Constantinople, A.D. 1300-1453.

The journeys of three emperors were unravelling for their temporal, or perhaps their spiritual, salvation; but they were productive of a beneficial consequence; the revival of the Greek learning in Italy, from whence it was propagated to the last nations of the west and north. In their lowest servitude and degradation, these illustrious princes were still possessed of a golden key that could unlock the treasures of antiquity; of a musical and prolific language, that gives a soul to the objects of sense, and a body to the abstractions of philosophy. Since the barriers of the monarchials, and even of the capital, had been taken from the Greeks, the gleaning of their languages, doubtless corrupted the form and substance of the national dialect; and ample glossaries have been composed, to interpret a multitude of words of Arabic, Turkish, Selavonic, Latin, or French origin.1 But a purer idiom was spoken in the coast towns between the eighteenth and fourteenth centuries, and the learning of the state of the language is described, and perhaps embellished, by a learned Italian,2 who, by a long and noble marriage, was naturalized at Constantinople about thirty years before the Turkish conquest. "The vulgar speech," says Philibeltus,3 has been depraved by the people, and infected by the multitude of strangers and merchants who every day flock to the city and mingle with the inhabitants. It is from the disciples of such a school that the Latin language received the versions of Aristotle and Plato; so obscure in sense, and in spirit so poor. But the Greeks who have escaped the conquest which the Byzantines have endured, alone are worthy of our imitation. In familiar discourse, they still speak the tongue of Aristophanes and Euripides, of the historians and philosophers of Athens; and the authors of their writings is more elaborated and correct. The persons who, by their birth and education, have mingled in the Byzantine city, who maintain, with the least ally, the ancient standard of elegance and purity; and the native grace of language most conspicuously shine among the noble matrons, who are excluded from all intercourse with foreigners. With foreigners do I say! They live sequestered and circumscribed by the eyes of their fellow-citizens. Seldom are they seen in the streets; and when they leave their houses, it is in the dusk of evening, on visits to the churches and their nearest kindred. On these occasions, they are on horseback, covered with a veil, and encompassed by their parents, their servants,4 the peasantry.

Among the Greeks, a numerous and opulent clergy was dedicated to the service of religion: their monks and bishops have ever been distinguished by the gravity and austerity of their manners; nor were they diverted, like the Latin priests, by the pursuits and pleasures of a secular, and even military, life. After a large deduction for the time and talents that were lost in the devotion, the laxness, and the discord, of the church and cloister, the more inquisitive and ambitious minds would explore the sacred and profound tradition of their language, and the learning that preceded over the education of the youth; the schools of philosophy and eloquence were perpetuated till the fall of the empire; and it may be affirmed, that more books and more knowledge were included within the walls of Constantinople, than could be dispersed over the extensive countries of the west.

Comparison of the Greeks and the Latins.

But an important distinction has been already noticed: the Greeks were sta- tionary or retrograde, while the Latins were advancing with a rapid and progressive motion. The nations were excited by the spirit of independence and emulation; and even the little wars of the Latin States contained more people and industry than the decreasing circle of the Byzantine empire. In Europe, the lower ranks of society were relieved from the yoke of feudal servitude; and freedom is the first step to civilization and knowledge. The people of the east were the first to suffer from the corruptions of the west; and the eloquent Petrach, by his lessons and his example, may justly be applauded as the first harbingers of the day.

A purer style of composition, a more generous and rational strain of sentiment, flowed from the study and imitation of the masters of ancient Rome; and the disputes of Cicero and Virgil approached, with reverence and love, the sanctity of their Greek masters. In the sack of Constantinople, the French, and even the

1 So necessary, or rather so fabulous, are these reunions of the Nestorians, Jacobites, &c., that I have turned them over, without success, that this is the fourth time of my mentioning them.
2 Antonio Sanmicheli, a Florentine, and secretary to the cardinal of the Vatican.
3 The site is near Thonizin Savoy, on the southern side of the lake of Geneva. It is now a Cartusian abbey; and Mr. Ad- dison (Travels into Italy, vol. ii. p. 178, 179) of Banker's edition of his Travels into Italy, of which of the accuracy of those pages and the forcible argument of the author, the father of prose, and the father of Basil, applaid the absurd life of the ducal house of Savoy, and the power of the Savoy-ruins.
4 But the last of his office.
5 The language of the ancients, and the one to which the ancients have been commended, is described and embellished by a learned Italian, who, by a long and noble marriage, was naturalized at Constantinople about thirty years before the Turkish conquest. The vulgar speech, says Philibeltus, has been depraved by the people, and infected by the multitude of strangers and merchants who every day flock to the city and mingle with the inhabitants. It is from the disciples of such a school that the Latin language received the versions of Aristotle and Plato; so obscure in sense, and in spirit so poor. But the Greeks who have escaped the conquest which the Byzantines have endured, alone are worthy of our imitation. In familiar discourse, they still speak the tongue of Aristophanes and Euripides, of the historians and philosophers of Athens; and the authors of their writings is more elaborated and correct. The persons who, by their birth and education, have mingled in the Byzantine city, who maintain, with the least ally, the ancient standard of elegance and purity; and the native grace of language most conspicuously shine among the noble matrons, who are excluded from all intercourse with foreigners. With foreigners do I say! They live sequestered and circumscribed by the eyes of their fellow-citizens. Seldom are they seen in the streets; and when they leave their houses, it is in the dusk of evening, on visits to the churches and their nearest kindred. On these occasions, they are on horseback, covered with a veil, and encompassed by their parents, their servants, the peasantry.

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2 See the state of learning in the thirteenth and fourteenth cen- turies, in the learned and very excellent Memoirs of the exhibition of the great in the early part of the fourteenth century, 431-440, 490-494.)
3 At the end of the fourteenth century, there existed in Europe about fifteen universities, and of these the foundation of ten or twelve is prior to the year 1300. They were created in proportion to the number of persons engaged in commerce, and commerce contains 10,000 students, chiefly of the civil law. In the year 1357 the number at Oxford had decreased from 30,000 to 6000 students. (See Hallam's History of Great Britain, vol. iv. p. 475.) Yet even this decrease is much superior to the present list of the members of the university.

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Venetians, had despaired and destroyed the works of Lysippus and Homer; the monuments of art may be annihilated by a single blow; but the immortal mind is renewed and multiplied by the copies of the poets; and such copies it was the ambition of Petrarch and his friends to compose, for the destruction of the Turks undoubtedly pressed the flight of the muses; yet we may tremble at the thought, that Greece might have been overwhelmed, with her schools and libraries, before Europe had emerged from the deluge of barbarism, that the seeds of science might have been lost entirely. Several fragments, before the Italian soil was prepared for their cultivation.

Revival of the Greek learning. The most learned Italians of the fifteenth century have confessed and openly plained the restoration of Greek literature, after a long oblivion of many hundred years. Yet in that country, and beyond the Alps, some names are quoted; some profound scholars, who in the darker ages were honourably distinguished by their knowledge of the Greek tongue; but national vanity has been loud in the praise of such rare examples of erudition. There must be no mistaking the truth; that the revival of ancient learning is a cause, and without an effect; that it was easy for them to satisfy themselves, and their more ignorant contemporaries; and that the bilom, which they had so marvellously acquired, would produce no schools, but only be taught in any university of the west. In a corner of Italy, it faintly existed as the popular, or at least as the ecclesiastical, dialect.

The first impression of the Dorer and Ilicene colonies has never been completely erased: the Calabrian churches were long attached to the throne of Constantinople; and the monks of St. Basil pursued their studies in mount Athos and the schools of the east. Calabria was the native country of Barlaam, who has already appeared as a sectary and an ambassador; and Barlaam was the first who revived, beyond the Alps, the language, or at least the writings, of Homer. He is described, by Petrarch and Boccaccio, as a man of a dimuitive stature, though truly great in the measure of learning and genius; of a piercing discernment, though not capable of the highest elegance. For many ages (as they affirm) Greece had not produced his equal in the knowledge of history, grammar, and philosophy; and his merit was celebrated in the attestations of the princes and doctors of Constantinople. One of these attestations is still extant; and the emperor, at length, the protector of his adversary, is forced to allow, that Euclid, Aristotle, and Plato, were familiar to that profound and subtle logician.

In the court of Avignon, he formed an intimate connexion with Petrarch, the first of the Latin scholars; and the desire of mutual instruction was the principle of their literary commerce. The Tuscan tranch, applied himself with eager curiosity and assiduous diligence to the study of the Greek language; and, in a laborious struggle with the dryness and difficulty of the first rudiments, he began to reach the sense, and to feel the spirit, of poets and philosophers, whose minds were congenial to his own. But he was soon deprived of the society and lessons of this useful assistant; Barlaam relinquished his trifling principality, and, on his return to Greece, rashly provoked the swarms of fanatic monks, by attempting to substitute the light of reason to that of their navel. After a separation of three years, the two friends again met in the court of Naples; but the novelty of the most prodigious pair of eyes, and the pride of his own name, provoked him; and by his recommendation Barlaam was finally settled in a small bishopric of his native Calabria. The manly avocations of Petrarch, love and friendship, his various correspondence and frequent journeys, the Roman haunt, and his elaborate compositions in prose and verse, in Latin and French, diverted him from a foreign idiom; and as he advanced in life, the attainment of the Greek language was the object of his wishes rather than of his hopes. When he was about fifty years of age, a Byzantine ambassador, his friend, and a master of both tongues, presented Petrarch with a manuscript of Homer, which Petrarch is at once expressive of his elocution, gratitude, and regret. After celebrating the generosity of the donor, and the value of a gift more precious in his estimation than gold or rubies, he thus proceeds: the pious recollection of the genuine and original divine poetry, that fountain of all wisdom, is worthy of yourself and of me: you have fulfilled your promise, and satisfied my desires. Yet your liberality is still imperfect; with Homer you should have given me yourself; a guide, who could lead me into the fields of light, and elsewise to my wondering eyes the specious miracles of the Iliad and Odyssey. But, alas! Homer is dumb, or I am deaf; nor is it in my power to enjoy the beauty which I possess. I have seated him by the side of Plato, the prince of poets near the prince of philosophers; and I glory in the sight of my illustrious guests. Of their immortal writings, whatever had been translated into the Latin idiom I had already acquired; but, if there be no profit, there is some pleasure, in beholding these venerable Greeks in their proper and national habit. I am come to see, to hear, to venerate, to adore. I embrace the silent volume, I exclaim with a sigh, illustrious bard! with what pleasure should I listen to thy song, if my sense of hearing were not obstructed and lost by the death of one friend, and in the much-lamented absence of another. Nor do I yet despair; for I see the advent of the god of hope, and fire, since it was in the last period of age that he attained the knowledge of the Greek letters.

The prize which eluded the efforts of Boccaccio, Petrarch, was obtained by the fortune A.D. 1359, &c. and industry of his friend Boccaccio, the father of the Tuscan prose. That popular writer, who derives his reputation from the Decameron, a hundred novels of pleasantry and love, may aspire to the more serious praise of restoring in Italy the study of the Greek language. In the year one thousand three hundred and sixty-six, a disciple of Barlaam, whose name was Leo, of

9 Of those writers who professedly strove for the restoration of the Greek learning in Italy, the two principal are Hodom, Dr. Humphry Holy, and Barlaam of Calabria. Lusignan Georgia (Georgius) was Parthenus madearius in Nuestra (London, 1712. In large octavo) and Tirabosi, (Hodierna della Letteratura Italiana, tom. p. 384—387. tom. viii. p. 113—120.) The Oxford professor is a laborious scholar, but the liberallity of Modena enjoys the superiority of a modern and national historian.

10 In Calabria quia illum magna Gracia desiderat, colonia Gracie recepta est, diu delirata in fabula, postea in calumnia perierat, at Romana sull, et aspectus ad Romanam audebat. (Giannone, Asta, di Roma, tom. i. p. 231.)

11 Barbari (says Petrarch, the French and German) via, non dies. Quod non fuerit mater hominum et periculorum, in that respects, the thirteenth century was less happy than the age of Charlemaign.

12 See the character of Barlaam, in Boccaccia, chronology, Decuria, R. 5, 6.

13 Canossa, l. i. c. 26.

14 For the connexion of Petrarch and Barlaam, and the two interviews, at Avignon in 1359, and at Naples in 1359, see the excellent Memorias sur la Vie de Parlaam, tom. p. 89. 10. tom. i. p. 73—77.

The bishopric to which Barlaam retired, was the old Locii, in the middle ages Sancta Cynara, and by corruption Hippolita, Gracce, (Cruers, Chronologiae Historiae mediae, p. 382.) The division of the longs time remained poor, and lost by the death of one friend, and in the much-lamented absence of another. Nor do I yet despair; for I see the advent of the god of hope, and fire, since it was in the last period of age that he attained the knowledge of the Greek letters.

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Leoninus Pilatus, was detained in his way to Avignon by the advice and hospitality of Boccace, who lodged the stranger in his house, prevailed on the republic of Florence to allow him an annual stipend, and devoted his leisure to the first Greek professor, who taught that language in that city. The appearance of Leo might disgust the most eager disciple; he was clothed in the mantle of a philosopher, or a mendicant; his countenance was hideous; his face was overshadowed with black hair; his beard long and thick; his eye, his tepid gravity and insouciant; nor could he grace his discourse with the ornaments, or even the perspicuity, of Latin eloquence. But his mind was stored with a treasure of Greek learning; history and fable, philosophy and grammar, were alike at his command; and he read the problems of Home in the schools of Florence. It was from his explanation that Boccace composed and transcribed a literal prose version of the Iliad and Odyssey, which satisfied the thirst of his friend Petrarch, and which perhaps, in the succeeding century, was clandestinely used by Laurentius Valla, the Latin lexicographer. Petrarch, in the same Boccace collected the materials for his treatise on the genealogy of the heathen gods, a work, in that age, of stupendous erudition, and which he ostentatiously sprinkled with Greek characters and passages, to excite the wonder and applause of his more ignorant readers. The highest schools of learning, and the coasts of Italy, had always been the honoured and beneficent station. In his passage, Petrarch entertained him at Padua a short time; he enjoyed the scholar, but was justly confounded with the gloomy and unseemly temper of the man. Discontended with the world and the women of Italy, he left it in 1390 and returned to his native Calabria; in the company of the Latins he disdained their language, religion, and manners; no sooner was he landed at Constantinople, than he again wished to change the wealth and population of Italy for the grandeur of Florence. His Italian friends were deaf to his importunity; he depended on their curiosity and indulgence, and embarked on a second voyage; but on his entrance into the Adriatic, the ship was assailed by a tempest, and the unfortunate teacher, who like Ulysses had fastened himself to the mast, was struck dead by a flash of lightning. The humane Petrarch dropped a tear on his disaster; but he was most anxious to learn whether some copy of Euphrases or Sophocles might not be saved from the hands of the mariners.  

Leoni Pilatus, fuit pro eth per leoniius. 1

1 Boccace indicates an honest vanity; Quo nationum rosa Graecia crescar in arte, quam si cresceret episcopi, scilicet inter Erasmas Gracici ut cernamus. Nunc ego fui Leoninum Pilatum, &c. (see Generallium Diction. I. v. c. 7. p. 19.)

2 The name of Arezzo appears in the exarchate of Ravenna; and the Latin classics were explained by John of Ravenna, the humanist of the Italian school; and the name of Arezzo, 1443, has remained in the name of Arezzo, in the exarchate of Ravenna.

3 See the article of Eumelos, or Manuel Chrysoloras, in Holy (p. 541) and Timbs. (p. 542.) The present of a manuscript of the Aretius, 1413, on his arrival dates between the years 1390 and 1400, and is only confirmed by the regnal date 1390.

4 The name of Arezzo has been assumed by five or six nations of Arezzo in Tuscany, of whom the most famous and the most worthy has lived in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and the name of the learned disciple of Chrysoloras, a linguist, an orator, and an historian, the secretary of four successive popes, and the chancellor of the republic of Florence, who died A.D. 1424, at the age of seventy-five. (Fabric. Biblic. med. Ev.)

5 The passage in Arcin, Comment. Romanuino Tempore in Graecorum litteris, quos dictarum, spectat, is the genuine letter of Arcin, 555, for affirmin, that the Greek letters were received in Italy 1390 and 1415.  

6 Of S. 541.)

7 His of S. (p. 541.)

8 In this domestic discipline, Petrarch, who loved the youth, often complained of the rage curiosity, restless temper, and proud feelings, which announce the spirit of a Latin scholar.  

9 The name of Arezzo is a genuine work, Guenier Philalethes, Leonardo Arcinio, Cardacel. de ples, nos tamquam ex eqm ex quo; nos, Franciscus amor Boccace, &c. But I am of opinion whether the Greek Chrysoloras would allow Chrysoloras all the erudite scholars of his own school.  

10 It has been said, that Petrarch, who loved the youth, often complained of the rage curiosity, restless temper, and proud feelings, which announce the spirit of a Latin scholar.
destitute of fortune, and endowed with learning, or at least with language. From the terror or oppression of the Turkish arms, the natives of Thessalonica and Constantinople escaped to a land of freedom, curiosity, and safety; a similar migration of the Florentine exiles, the Apostles of the light of the Greek church and the oracles of the Platonic philosophy; and the fugitives who adhered to the union, had the double merit of renouncing their country, not only for the Christian, but for the Catholic cause. He, who sacrificed to the private and social virtues: he no longer bears the reproachful epithets of slave and apostate; and the consideration which he acquires among his new associates, will restore in his own eyes the dim reflection of his lost name. Cardinal Bessarion was rewarded with the Roman purple; he fixed his residence in Italy, and the Greek cardinal, the titular patriarch of Constantinople, was respected as the chief and protector of his nation; his abilities were exercised in the legations of Bologna, Venice, Germany, and France; and his election to the chair of St. Peter floated for a moment on the uncertain breath of a conclav. His ecclesiastical honours diffused a splendid and pre-eminent over his literary merit and services: his palace was a school; as often as the cardinal was in criticism, he was surrounded by a "learned train of both nations;" men of applause by themselves and the public; and whose writings, now overspread with dust, were popular and useful in their own times. I shall not attempt to enumerate the masters of Greek literature in the fifteenth century: a special treatise is requisite to mention with gratitude the names of Theodore Gaza, of George of Trebizond, of John Argyropulus, and Dometrios Chalcondyles, who taught their native language in the schools of Florence their faults and their fame. Their labours were not injurious to those of their countrymen; they revered, and whose fortune was the secret object of their envy. But the lives of these grammarians were humble and obscure: they had declined the lucrative paths of the church; their dress and manners excluded them from the commerce of the world; and still, as they confined them to the study of the Greek language and itsetymology, they might be content with the rewards of learning. From this character, Janus Lascaris would desire an exception. His eloquence, politeness, and imperial descent, recommended him to the French monarchs; and in the same cities he was in turn taught to speak and to write. And what added to the dignity and importance of these claims, was the study of the Latin language; and the most successful attained the faculty of writing and speaking with fluency and elegance in a foreign idiom. But they ever retained the ineradicable vanity of their country; their praise, or at least their esteem, was reserved for the national writers, to whom they owed their fame and subsistence; and they sometimes betrayed their contempt in licentious satire or on Virgil’s poetry and the oratory of Tully. The superiority of these masters arose from the familiar use of a living language; and their first disciples were incapable of discerning how far they had degenerated from the knowledge, and even the practice, of their great predecessors. Their erudition had been the secret soul of harmony; were, to this extent, destroyed the artists, who then had a taste for the merest outward beauty, and used the most unmeaning marks, in prose superfluous, and troublesome in verse. The art of grammar they truly possessed; the valuable fragments of Apollonius and Herodion were transfixed into their lessons; and their correct version of the Psalms, and their translations of the psalmist, and his philosophic spirit, are still useful to the Greek student.

In the shipwreck of the Byzantine libraries, each fugitive seized a fragment of treasure, a copy of some author, who, without his industry, might have perished: the transcripts were multiplied by an assiduous, and sometimes an elegant, pen. The text was corrected and explained by their own comments, or those of the elder scholars. The sense, though not the spirit, of the Greek classics, was interpreted to the Latin world: the beauties of style evaporate in a version; but the judgment of Theodore Gaza selected the maxims of authors, and translated the sublime and the natural histories of animals and plants opened a rich fund of genuine and experimental science.

Yet the fleeting shadows of metaphysics, the Platonic 273) were pursued with more curiosity and ardour. After a long oblivion, Plato was recovered in Italy by a venerable Greek, who taught in the house of Cosmo de’ Medici. While the synod of Florence was involved in theological debate, some beneficial consequences might flow from the study of his elegant philosophy: his style is the purest standard of the Greek idiom. His works, whose parts were, at first, adapted to familiar conversation, and sometimes adorned with the richest colours of poetry and eloquence. The dialogues of Plato are a dramatic picture of the life and death of a sage; and, as often as he descends from the clouds, his moral system inundates the love of virtue in the bosom of our countrymen, whom an exception and example of Socrates recommended a modest doubt and liberal inquiry: and if the Platonists, with blind devotion, adored the visions and errors of their divine masters, their enthusiasm might correct the dry dogmatic method of the Peripatetics, who, at the anniversary of Plato, Aristotle, they may be balanced in endless controversy; but some spark of freedom may be produced by the collision of adverse servitudes. The modern Greeks were divided between the two sects: with more fury than skill they fought under the banner of their leaders; and the field of battle was removed in their flight from Constantinople to Rome. But this philosophical debate soon degenerated into an angry and
personal quarrel of grammarians; and Bessarion, though an advocate for Plato, protected the national honor, by interposing the advice and authority of a mediator.

In the gardens of the Medici, the academical doctrine was enjoyed by the polite and learned; but their philosophy and learned manuscript, and the darkening writings of the Attic sage were perused in the closet, the more powerful Stagirite continued to reign the oracle of the church and school.  

Emulation and progress of the merits of the Greeks; yet it must be admitted that, though the learning of the Latins was surpassed by the ardor of the Latins, Italy was divided into many independent states; and at that time, it was the ambition of princes and republics to vie with each other in the encouragement and reward of literature. The fame of Nicholas the first has been adequate to his merits. From a plebeian origin he raised himself by his virtue and learning; the character of the man prevailed over the interest of the pope; and he sharpened those weapons which were soon pointed against the Roman church. He has been the friend of the Latin scholarship of the age: he became their patron; and such was the humility of his manners, that the change was scarcely discernible either to them or to himself. If he pressed the acceptance of a liberal gift, it was not as the measure of desert, but as the proof of benevolence. Such an influence as he was able to apply by his munificence on the education of the youth, he accepted it would have a consciousness of his own worth; "ye will not always have a Nicholas among you." The influence of the holy seep pervaded Christendom; and he exerted that influence in the search of, not of bibles, but of books. From the ruins of Athens and Rome, he replenished his scholars with the most valuable works of Plato and Aristotle, of Polyenus and Theophrastus, and of the fathers of the Greek church. The example of the Roman pontiff Cosmo and Leo was preceded or limited by a Florence of Cosmo, who professed the faith without arms and without a title. Cosmo of Medici was the father of a line of princes, whose name and age are almost synonymous with the restoration of learning; his credit was ennobled into fame; his riches were dedicated to the service of mankind; he corresponded at once with Cairo and London: and a cargo of Indian spices and Greek books was often imported in the same vessel. The genius and education of his grandson Lorenzo rendered him not only a patron, but a judge, and candidate, in the literary race. In his palace, distress was entitled to relief, and merit to reward; his leisure hours were delightfully spent in the Platonic academy: he encouraged the emulation of Demetrius Chalcodyles and Angelo Politian; and his active missionary Janus Lascaris returned from the east with a treasure of two hundred manuscripts, of which one third was unknown in the libraries of Europe. The rest of Italy was animated by a similar spirit, and the progress of the nation repaid the liberality of her princes. The Latins held the exclusive property of their own literature; and these disciples of Greece were soon capable of surpassing the learning of the schools of which they had imbibed. After a short succession of foreign teachers, the tide of emigration subsided; but the language of Constantinople was spread beyond the Alps; and the natives of France, Germany, and England, imparted to their country the sacred fire which they had kindled in the schools of Florence and Rome. The productions of the mind, as in those of the soil, the gifts of nature are excelled by industry and skill: the Greek authors, forgotten on the banks of the Jissus, have been illustrated on those of the Eube and the Zaimus: the Hellenic and Latine, had the superiour science of the barbarians; the accuracy of Budapes; the taste of Erasmus, the copiousness of Stephens, the edification of Scaliger, the discernment of Reiske, or of Bentley. On the side of the Latins, the discovery of printing was a casual advantage; but this useful art has been applied by them to their ancient works, to perpetuate and multiply the works of antiquity. A single manuscript imported from Greece is revisited in ten thousand copies; and each copy is fairer than the original. In this form Homer and Plato would peruse with more satisfaction their own writings; and the Governments must resign the prize to the labours of our western editors.

Before the revival of classic literature, use and abuse of the barbarians in Europe were immersed in ancient learning, in ignorance: and their vulgar tongues were marked with the rudeness and poverty of their manners. The students of the more perfect civilizations of Rome and Greece were introduced to a new world of light and science: to the society of the free and polished nations of antiquity; and to a familiar converse with those immortal men who spoke the sublime language of eloquence and reason. Such an intercourse must tend to refine the taste, and to elevate the genius, of the moderns; and, yet, from the first experiments, it may appear that the study of the ancients had given letters, rather than wings, to the human mind. However valuable, the spirit of imitation is of a servile cast; and the first disciples of the Greeks were, in the midst of strangers in the midst of their age and country. The minute and laborious diligence which explored the an-

* The state of the Platonic philosophy in Italy, is illustrated by Bolin, (Mona. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, tom. ii. p. 712, 725.) and Tiranboli, (tom. vi. p. 229-238.)

* For a history of the human letters, see the contemporary authors, Janus Manetti (tom. iii. p. 322-352) and Vespasian of Florence, Meneghino, (tom. v. p. 150-155.)

* Lord Bingley's, observes with truth, and spirit, that the popes in this instance were more politicians than the mufti, and that the emperor, which had bound mankind for so many ages, was broken by the machiavellian.</br>

* The press of Aldus Manutius, a Roman, was established at Venice about 1470; he printed above sixty considerable works of Greek literature, almost all for the first time; several containing more than thirty thousand words, and of seven folio and four quarto editions. (Fabric. Biblic. Graec. tom. xiii. p. 663, &c.) Yet his first works were not translated, but copied, and his Latin Grammar of Constantine Lascaris, was printed at Milan in 1475; and that the Florence Homer of 1485 displays all the luxury of the patronage of the Medici, and the Bibliotheca Instructive of De Bure, a knowing bookseller of Paris.
tivities of remote times, might have improved or adorned society by the like of society; and that the ancients, as well as the moderns, were the slaves of Aristotle: the poets, historians, and orators, were proud to repeat the thoughts and words of the Augustan age; the works of nature were observed with the eyes of Pliny and Theophrastus; and some Pagans venerated a secret devotion to the gods of Homer and Plato. The empire of the Italians was oppressed by the strength and numbers of their ancient auxiliaries: the century after the deaths of Petrarch and Boccace was filled with a crowd of Latin imitators, who deckly rejoice on our shelves: but in that era of learning, it will not be easy to discover a real discovery of nature, a work of invention or eloquence, in the popular language of the country. But as soon as it had been deeply saturated with the celestial dew, the soil was quickened into vegetation and life; the modern idioms were refined; the classics of Athens and Rome inspired a pure taste and a generous emulation; and in Italy, as afterwards in France and England, the pleasing reign of poetry and fiction was succeeded by the light of speculative and experimental philosophy. Genius may anticipate the season of maturity; but in the education of a people, as in that of an individual, the period must be exercised. The powers of reason and fancy can be expanded; nor may the artist hope to equal or surpass, till he has learned to imitate, the works of his predecessors.

CHAPTER XXVIII.


The respective merits of Rome and Constantinople are compared and celebrated. The triumph of the ancient capital, the seat of his ancestors, surpassed the most sanguine expectations of Emanuel Chrysoloras; and he no longer blamed the exclusion of an old sophist, that Rome was the habitation, not of men, but of gods. Those gods had vanished, but lingering, as if to mock the eye of liberal enthusiasm, the majesty of ruin restored the image of her ancient prosperity. The monuments of the consuls and Caesars, of the martyrs and apostles, engaged on all sides the curiosity of the philosopher and the Christian; and he confessed, that in every age the arms and the religion of Rome were destined to reign over the earth. While Chrysoloras admired the venerable beauties of the mother, he was not forgetful of his native country, her fairest daughter, her imperial colony; and the Byzantine patriot expatiates with zeal and truth, on the eternal advantages of nation, and the more transitory glories of art and dominion, which it is often distinguished, between the Antic and the Othman. Yet the perfection of the copy still re durability (as he modestly observes) to the honour of the original, and parents are delighted to be renewed, and even excel, by the superior merit of their children. " Constantinople," says the orator, "is situate on a commanding point between, europe and Asia, between the Archaic and the pelago and the Euxine. By her interposition, the two seas, and the two continents, are united for the common benefit of nations; and the gates of commerce may be shut or opened at her command. The harbour, encompassed on all sides by the sea and the continent, is the common outlet of all the nations, and the ports of ships. The gates of Constantinople may be compared with those of Babylon; the towers are many; each tower is a solid and lofty structure; and the second wall, the outer fortification, would be sufficient for the defence and dignity of an ordinary capital. A broad and rapid stream may be introduced into the ditches; and the artificial island may be encompassed, like Athens, by land or water." Two strong and natural causes are alleged for the perfection of the model of new Rome. The royal founder reigned over the most illustrious nations of antiquity; and his designs, the power of the Romans was combined with the art, and science of the Greeks. Other cities have been reared to maturity by accident and time; their beauties are mingled with disorder and deformity; their inhabitants, unknown to their natal spot, are incapable of correcting the errors of their ancestors, and the original vices of situation or climate. But the free idea of Constantinople was formed and executed by a single mind; and the primitive model was improved by the obedient zeal of the successors of the first model. The adjacent isles were stored with an inexhaustible supply of marble; but the various materials were transported from the most remote shores of Europe and Asia; and the public and private buildings, the palaces, churches, aqueducts, cisterns, porticoes, columns, baths, and hippodromes, were adapted to the greatness of the capital of the east. The superfluity of wealth was spread along the shores of Europe and Asia; and the Byzantine territory, as far as the Euxine, the Hellespont, and the long wall, might be considered as a national deposit, free from the tribute of foreign nations. In the mattering picture, the past and the present, the times of prosperity and decay, are artfully confounded; but a sigh and a confession escape from the orator, that his wretched country was the shadow and sepulchre of his former self. The works of ancient sculpture had been cast down, tombs of the emperors were scattered amongst the ruins; the fairest structures were demolished; and the marbles of Paros or Numidia were burnt for lime; or applied to the meanest uses. Of many a statue, the place was marked by an empty pedestal; of many a column, the site was determined by a broken capital; the stroke of time was accelerated by storms and earthquakes; and the vacant space was adorned, by vulgar tradition, with fabulous monuments of gold and silver. From these wonders, which lived only in memory or belief, he distinguishes, however, the paraplyar pilar, the column and colonnades of Justinian, and the church, more especially the dome, of St. Sophia; the best conclusion, since it could not be describ
bed according to its merits, and after it no other object could deserve to be mentioned. But he forgets, that a century before, the trembling fabrics of the collegiate and the church had been saved and supported by the tion preferred, and after the emperor had fortified St. Sophia with two new buttresses or pyramids, the eastern hemisphere suddenly gave way; and the images, the altars, and the sanctuary, were crushed by the falling ruin. The mischief was indeed speedily repaired; the rubbish was cleared and the instauration labor of the work was age; and the poor remains of riches and industry were conserved by the Greeks to the most stately and venerable temple of the east. 4

The Greek schism was now at an end; the empire was placed in the harmony of the mother and daughter, in the mater- 5

The last hope of the falling city and empire was put in the mechanism of the sophies, and the filial piety of the Romans. In the synod of Florence, the Greeks and Latins had embraced, and inscribed, and promised; but these signs of friendship were pernicious or fruitless; and the baseless fabric of concord was thrown down and his prelates returned home in the Venetian gal- 6

leys: but as they touched at the Morea and the isles of Cerba and Lesbos, the subjects of the Latins complained that the pretended union would be an instrument of oppression. No sooner did they land on the Byzas, the emperor of Constan- 7
tinel, sailed, with a general murmur of zeal and discontent. During their absence, above two years, the capital had been deprived of its civil and ecclesiastical rulers; fanaticism fermented in anarchy; the most furious monks reigned over the conscience of women and big- 8
ters, and the hatred of the Latin name was the principle of nature and religion. Before his departure for Italy, the emperor had flattered the city with the assurance of a prompt relief and a powerful succour; and the clergy, confident in their orthodoxy and science, had promised themselves and their flocks an easy victory over the blind shepherds of the west. The double disappointment exasperated the Greeks; the conscience of the subscribing prelates was awak- 9

ened; the hour of temptation was past; and they had more to dread from the public resentment, than they could hope from the favour of the emperor or the pope. Instead of justice and unity, they found and their weakness, professed their contrition, and cast themselves on the mercy of God and of their brethren. To the reproachful question, what had been the event of the use of their Italian synod they answered with signs and tears, "Alas! we have made a new fault; we have been seduced by distress, by fraud, and by the hopes and fears of a transitory life. The hand that has signed the union should be cut off; and the tongue that has pronounced the Latin creed deserves to be torn from the root." The best proof of their repen- 10

tation, and of their sincerity, was the union of the three races and the most incomprehensible doctrines; and an absolute separation from all, without excepting their

4 See the decay and repairs of St. Sophia, in Nicopoulos Gregoras, (147, 12, 1. xly. 2.) The building was pruned by Andronicus in 1387, the eastern hemisphere fell in 1395, and the western part in 1423; but the present appearance of the church is nearly as beautiful as at its first building, the whole of the three domes, and of the towers and apses, are fossilized with stones. 5

6 On the schism of Constantinople, see Plaronas, (G. L. 16, 2.) Les- jins Choniophylos, (G. L. v. 153, 150,) and Ducas, (C. 3, 1.) the last of whom, in order to avoid the reproach of schism, supposes that the emperor was not a real emperor, but a usurper, and that the destruction of the name of albanian was the work of St. Basil, and the construction of the name of ethnic was the work of the Eastern Church. 7

7 On the schism of Constantinople, see Plaronas, (G. L. 16, 2.) Les- jins Choniophylos, (G. L. v. 153, 150,) and Ducas, (C. 3, 1.) the last of whom, in order to avoid the reproach of schism, supposes that the emperor was not a real emperor, but a usurper, and that the destruction of the name of albanian was the work of St. Basil, and the construction of the name of ethnic was the work of the Eastern Church. 8

8 On the schism of Constantinople, see Plaronas, (G. L. 16, 2.) Les- jins Choniophylos, (G. L. v. 153, 150,) and Ducas, (C. 3, 1.) the last of whom, in order to avoid the reproach of schism, supposes that the emperor was not a real emperor, but a usurper, and that the destruction of the name of albanian was the work of St. Basil, and the construction of the name of ethnic was the work of the Eastern Church. 9

9 On the schism of Constantinople, see Plaronas, (G. L. 16, 2.) Les- jins Choniophylos, (G. L. v. 153, 150,) and Ducas, (C. 3, 1.) the last of whom, in order to avoid the reproach of schism, supposes that the emperor was not a real emperor, but a usurper, and that the destruction of the name of albanian was the work of St. Basil, and the construction of the name of ethnic was the work of the Eastern Church.
domestic aid. The sword of his brother Demetrius, who in Italy had maintained a prudent and popular silence, was half unsheathed in the cause of religion; and Amurath, the Turkish sultan, was displeased and alarmed by the seeming friendship of the Greeks and Latins.

Religious charac-
ter of Amur-
ath II.

Feb. 9, 1512—1513.

"Sultan Murad, or Amurath, lived forty-nine, and reigned thirty, years, six months, and eight days. He was a just and valiant prince, of a great soul, patient of labours, learned, merciful, religious, charitable; a lover and encourager of the studious, and of all who excelled in any art or office; a great emperor, and a great general. No man obtained more or greater victories than Amurath; Belgrade alone withstood his attacks. Under his reign, the soldier was ever victorious, the citizen rich and secure. If he subdued any country, his first care was to build mosques and caravanseras, hospitals and colleges. Every year he gave a thousand pieces of gold to the sons of the prophet; and sent two thousand five hundred to the religious persons of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem.1 This portrait is transcribed from the historian of the Ottoman Empire. But the appearance of the superstitious people has been lavished on the worst of tyrants; and the virtues of a Sultan are often the vices most useful to himself, or most agreeable to his subjects. A nation ignorant of the equal benefits of liberty and law, must be awed by the flashes of abstractive lightning. But the cruelty of a despot will assume the character of justice; his profession, of liberality; his obstinacy, of firmness. If the most reasonable excuse be rejected, few acts of obedience will be found impossible; and guilt must tremble, where innocence cannot always be secure. The security of the people, and the discipline of the troops, were best maintained by perpetual action in the field; war was the trade of the janizaries; and those who survived the peril, and divided the spoil, applauded the generous ambition of their sovereign. To propugate the true religion, was the duty of a faithful Mussulman; the unbelievers were his enemies, and these of the prophet; and, in the hands of the Turks, the seymitar was the only instrument of conversion. Under these circumstances, however, the justice and moderation of Amurath are attested by his conduct, and acknowledged by the Christians themselves; who consider his prosperous reign and peaceful death as the reward of his singular merits. In the vigour of his age and military power, he seldom engaged in a war till he was justified by a previous and adequate provocation; the victory, who was disarmet; and in the observance of treaties, his word was inviolate and sacred.2 The Hungarians were commonly the aggressors; he was provoked by the revolt of Scanderbeg; and the pernicious Caramanian was twice vanquished and twice pardoned, by the Ottoman monarch. Before he invaded the Morea, Thebes had been surprised by the despot; in the conquest of Thessalonic, the grandson of Bajazet might dispute the recent purchase of the Venetians; and after the first siege of Constantinople, the sultan was never tempted by the distress, the absence, or the injuries of Pa leologus, to extinguish the dying light of the Byzantine empire.

The double aboli-

tion life and character of Amurath, is the

double abdication of the Turkish throne; and, were not the monarch an ally in the universal superstition, we must pray the royal philosopher;3

who at the age of forty could discern the vanity of human greatness. Resigning the sceptre to his son, he retired to the pleasant residence of Magnesia; but he retired to the society of saints and hermits. It was not till the fourth century of the Hegira, that the religion of Mahomet had been corrupted by an institution so scandalous to his genius. But he was soon awakened from this dream of enthusiasm, by the Hungarian invasion; and his obedient son was the foremost to urge the public danger and wishes of the people. Under the banner of their veteran leader, the janizaries fought and conquered; but he withdrew from the field of Warm, again to pray, to fast, and to turn round with his Magnesian brethren. These pious occupations were again interrupted by the danger of the state. A victorious army disdained the inexperience of their youthful ruler: the city of Adrianople was taken by him; and a servile and unanimous divan implored his presence to appease the tumult, and prevent the rebellion, of the janizaries. At the well-known voice of their master, they trembled and obeyed; and the reluctant sultan was compelled to suppress his splendid servitude, till, at the end of four years, he was relieved by the arrival of the Mamluk. Age or disease, misfortune or caprice, have tempted several princes to descend from the throne; and they have had leisure to repent of their irretrievable step. But Amurath alone, in the full liberty of choice, after the trial of empire and solitude, has repeated his preference of a private life.

After the departure of his Greek brethren, Eugenius had not been unmindful of their temporal interest; and his tender regard for the Byzantine empire was accompanied by a just apprehension of the Turks, who approached, and might soon invade, the borders of Italy. But the spirit of the crusades had expired; and the coldness of the Franks was not less unreasonable than their headlong passion. In the eleventh century, a fanatic monk could precipitate Europe on the field of Hattin; and, by the recovery of the holy sepulchre, the state of things was considere by the Turks of the fifteenth, the most pressing motives of religion and policy were insufficient to unite the Latins in the defence of Christendom. Germany was an inexhaustible storehouse of men and arms; but that complex, and the world, was betrayed to the hands of the Turks; and Frederic the third was alike impatient in his personal character and his imperial dignity. A long war had impaired the strength, without satiating the animosity, of France and England; but Philip, duke of Burgundy, was a vain and magnificient prince; and Eugenius forms a league against the Turks.

A. D. 1413.

1 See Conantu, History of the Ottoman empire, p. 81. Murad, or Murat, may be more correct; but I have preferred the popular name to that obscure diligence which is rarely successful in transmitting an oriental name, in the Greek alphabet.


3 See Voltaire (Essai sur l'Histoire Generale, c. 9. p. 253, 254.) ad
and he enjoyed, without danger or expense, the adventures of his subjects, who sailed a gallant fleet, from the coast of Flanders to the Hellespont.

The maritime republies of Venice and Genoa were less remote from the scene of action; and their hostile fleets were associated under the standard of St. Peter. The kingdoms of Hungary and Poland, which covered as they were the interests of the Latin church, were the most nearly concerned to the event; and the pride of their court was not wanting in the Turks. Arms were the property of the Scythians and Sarmatians, and these nations might appear equal to the contest, could they point, against the common foe, those swords that were so wantonly drawn in bloodless battles. But the spirit was adverse to concord and obedience; a poor country, and a limited monarch are incapable of maintaining a standing force; and the loose bodies of Polish and Hungarian horse were not armed with the sentiments and weapons which, on some occasions, have given irresistible weight to the French cavalry. Yet, on this side, the designs of the Roman pontiff, and the eloquence of cardinal Julian, his legate, were promoted by the circumstances of the time; by the union of the two crowns on the head of Ladislaus, a young and ambitious soldier; by the valour of a hero, whose name was henceforth to be a synonym of energy and valor among the christians, and formidable to the Turks. An endless treasure of pardons and indulgences was scattered by the legate; many private warriors of France and Germany enlisted under the holy banner; and the crusade derived some strength, or at least some reputation, from the new allies both of Europe and Asia. A fugitive despot of Servia exaggerated the distress and ardour of the christians beyond the Danube, who would unanimously rise to vindicate their religion and liberty. The Greek emperor, with a spirit unknown to his fathers, engaged to guard the Byzantine coast from Constantinople at the head of his national and mercenary troops. The sultan of Caramania announced the retreat of Amurath, and a powerful division in the heart of Anatolia; and if the fleets of the west could occupy at the same moment the straits of the Hellespont, the Ottoman monarchy would be dismembered and destroyed. Heaven and earth must rejoice in the perdition of the insurgents; and the legate, with prudent ambiguity, stirred the opinion of the invisible, perhaps the visible, aid of the Son of God, and his divine mother.

Ladislaus, king of Hungary, march'd against them.

Of the Polish and Hungarian diets, of the second, of Poland, and Ladislaus, after passing the Danube, led an army of his confederate subjects as far as Sophia, the capital of the Bulgarian kingdom. In this expedition they obtained two signal victories, which were justly ascribed to the valor and conduct of Hunnius. In the first, with a vanguard of ten thousand men, he surprised the Turkish camp; in the second, he vanquished and made prisoner the most renowned of their generals, who possessed the double advantage of age and numbers. The approach of winter, and the natural and artificial obstacles of the Danube, arrested the progress of the hero, who measured a narrow interval of six days' march from the foot of the mountains to the hoslite shores of Adrianopoli, and the fixed camp of the Greek empire. The retreat was undisturbed; and the entrance into Buda was at once a military and religious triumph. An ecclesiastical procession was followed by the king and his warriors on foot: he nobly balanced the merits and rewards of the two nations; and the pride of his court was contented by the humble temper of christianity. Thirteen boshaws, nine standards, and four thousand captives, were unquestionable trophies; and as all were willing to believe, and none present to contraddle, the crusaders multiplied. But such were the Turks whom they had left on the field of battle! The most solid proof, and the most salutary consequence, of victory, was a deputation from the divan to solicit peace, to restore Servia, to ransom the prisoners, and to evacuate the Hungarian frontier. By this treaty, the rational objects of the war were obtained: the king, the despot, and Hunnius himself, in the diet of Segedin, were satisfied with public and private emolument; a truce of ten years was concluded; and the followers of Jesus and Mahomet, who swore on the Gospel and the name of God, attested their faith of each other. Peace was the signal of truth and the avenger of perfidy. In the place of the gospel, the Turkish ministers had proposed to substiute the eucharist, the real presence of the catholic deity; but the christians refused to profane their holy mysteries; and a superstitious conscience is less forcibly bound by the spiritual emblem, than by the outward and visible symbols, of an oath. During the whole transaction, the cardinal legate had observed a sullen silence, unwilling to approve, and unable to oppose, the consent of the king and people. But the treaty, which was concluded before Julian, was confirmed by the welcome intelligence, that Anatolia was invaded by the Caramanian, and Thrace by the Greek emperor; that the fleets of Genoa, Venice, and Burghundy, were masters of the Hellespont; and that the allies, informed of the victory, and ignorant of the treaty, of Ladislaus, were conducted to the camp of his victorious army. 'And is it thus,' exclaimed the cardinal, 'that you will desert their expectations and your own fortune! It is to them, to your God, and your fellow-christians, that you have pledged your faith; and that prior obligation annihilates a new and glorious oath to the execution of a holy war! His victory on earth is the Roman pontiff; without whose sanction you can neither promise nor perform. In his name I absolve your perjury and sanctify your arms; follow my footsteps in the paths of glory and salvation; and if still ye have scruples, devote on my head the punishment and the sin.' This mischievous casuistry was seconded by his respectable character, and the levity of popular assemblies; war was resolved on the same spot where peace had so lately been sworn; and, in the execution of the treaty, the Turks were assaulted by the christians; to whom, with some reason, they might apply the epithet of infidels. The falsehood of Ladislaus to his word and oath, was pulsed by the literature of the times; the most perfect, or at least the most popular, excuse would have been the naked and undressed story, in their letters to the emperor Frederick III. The Hungarians shew 39,000 Turks in one battle, but the modest Julian reduces the slaughter to 6000 to even 2000. Cyprianus, lib. i. p. 434. (Cypriani, Vita et epist. 41, St. ab Spondanum.)

The Greek historians, Panzaks, Chatzoulydes, and Dacos, do not mention the name of Vondanus, the son of the former; he seems to have promoted by his writings, and injured by his faults, the interest of a particular sect, or party, of which he transcribes his animating epistles to the king of Hungary. But the Mahometan powers are seldom informed of the state of Christianity, and the situation and correspondence of the knights of Rhodes must connect them with the sultan of Caramania.
success of his arms and the deliverance of the eastern church. But the same treaty which should have bound his conscience, had diminished his strength. On the proclamation of the peace, the French and German volunteers departed with indignant murmurs; the Poles were exasperated by distrust and disappointed disgust with foreign command; and their palatines accepted the first licence, and hastily retired to their provinces and castles. Even Hungary was divided by faction, or restrained by a laudable scruple; and the relics of the crusade that marched in the second expedition, were lessened by desertion, and perhaps reduced by disgust with foreign command; and their palatines accepted the first licence, and hastily retired to their provinces and castles. Even Hungary was divided by faction, or restrained by a laudable scruple; and the relics of the crusade that marched in the second expedition, were lessened by desertion, and perhaps reduced by
discouragement.

...twenty thousand men. A Walachian chief, who joined the royal standard with his vassals, presumed to remark that their numbers did not exceed the hunting reinte that sometimes attended the sultan; and the gift of two horses of matchless speed, might admonish Ladislaus of his secret foresight of the event. But the despot of Servia, after the restoration of his country and children, was tempted by the promise of new realms; and the inexperience of the king, the enthusiasm of the legate, and the martial pretension of Hunyadis himself, were persuaded that every obstacle must yield to the invincible virtue of the sword and the cross. After the passage of the Danube, two roads might lead to Constantinople and the Hellespont; the one direct, abrupt, and difficult, through the mountains of Haumus; the other more tedious and secure, by the coast of the country, and the utmost part of the Euxine, in which their flanks, according to the Scythian discipline, might always be covered by a mobile fortification of wagons. The latter was judiciously preferred; the catholics marched through the plains of Bulgaria, burning, with wanton cruelty, the churches and villages of the christian natives; and their last station was at Warna, near the sea-shore; on which the defeat and death of Ladislaus have bestowed a memorable name.  

**Battle of Warna, A.D. 1444.** On finding a confederate fleet to second the expedition, their operations, they were alarmed by the approach of Amurath himself, who had issued from his Magnesian solitude, and transported the forces of Asia to the defence of Europe. According to some writers, the Greek emperor had been awed, or seduced, by the overbearing and indelible stain of corruption was fixed on the Genuese, or the pope's nephew the catholic admiral, whose mercenary connivance betrayed the guard of the Hel-lespont. From Adrianople, the sultan advanced by hasty marches at the head of sixty thousand men; and the garrisons of Oranum, Kandil, and Hunyadis had taken a nearer survey of the numbers and order of the Turks, these ardent warriors proposed the tardy and impracticable measure of a retreat. The king alone was resolved to conquer or die; and his resolution had almost been crowned with a glorious and salutary victory. The princes were opposite to each other in the centre; and the Beglehegs, or generals of Anatolia and România, commanded on the right and left, against the adverse divisions of the despot and Huna- des. The Turkish wings were broken on the first onset. The French and German, who were fatigued and rash victors, in the heat of the pursuit, were carried away far from the annoyance of the enemy, or the support of their friends. When Amurath beheld the flight of his squadrons, he despised of his fortune and that of the enemy. A German janizary seized his horse's bridle; and he had no opportunity to parley with a soldier who dared to perceive the terror, and arrest the flight of his sovereign. A copy of the treaty, the monument of christian perfidy, had been displayed in the front of battle; and it is said, that the sultan in his distress, lifting his eyes and his hands to heaven, implored the protection of the God of truth; and called on the prophet Jesus himself to avenge the impious murder of his apostles, and to send the Hungarians, numbers and disordered ranks, the king of Hungary rushed forwards in the confidence of victory, till his career was stopped by the impenetrable phalanx of the janizaries. If we may credit the Ottoman annals, the sultan, whose horse was perished by the javelin of Death of Ladislaus, 4 he fell captive among the infantry; and a Turkish soldier proclaimed with a loud voice, "Hungarians, behold the head of your king!" The death of Ladislaus was the signal of their defeat. On his return from an intemperate pursuit, Hunyadis deprived his error and the bursting loss, he strove to rescue the royal body, till he was over-whelmed by the tumultuous crowd of the victors and vanquished; and the last efforts of his courage and conduct were exerted to save the remnant of his Wala-chian cavalry. Ten thousand christians were slain in the dinner; and the latter was comforted by the more considerable in numbers, bore a smaller propor-tion to their total strength; yet the philosophic sultan was not ashamed to confess, that his ruin must be the consequence of a second and similar victory. At his command a column was erected on the spot where Ladislaus fell; and he exclaimed, "If the old Avars, instead of accusing the rashness, recorded the valour, and bewailed the mi-fortune, of the Hungarian youth.  

Before I lose sight of the field of War- 

chamber, I am tempted to pause on the charac-

A knight of the Order of Saint John, and brother of the Grand Master, was killed in the battle. Another knight of the Order, named Casimir, was the son of a notable citizen of Cracow. He had distinguished himself in many campaigns, and was made a knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece.
In his Hungarian embassy, we have already seen the miraculous effects of his sophistry and eloquence, of which Julian himself was the first victim. The cardinal, who performed the duties of a prince and a soldier, was at a loss to resist his arguments. The circumstances of his death are variously related; but it is believed, that a weighty incumbrance of gold impeded his flight, and tempted the cruel avance of some christian fugitives.

John Corvinius

From an humble, or at least a doubtably low, but not an unadventurous, the merit of John Corvinius promoted him to the command of the Hungarian armies. His father was a Walachian, his mother a Greek; her unknown race might possibly ascend to the emperors of Constantinople; and the chains of the Walachians, with the surname of Corvinius, from the place of his nativity, might suggest a thence for mingling his blood with the patricians of ancient Rome. In his youth he served in the wars of Italy, and was retained, with twelve horsemen, by the bishop of Zagrath; the valour of the white knight was soon conspicuous; he increased his fortunes by a noble and wealthy marriage. In the service of the Hungarian borders, he won in the same year three battles against the Turks. By his influence, Ladislaus of Poland obtained the crown of Hungary; and the important service was rewarded by the title and office of Walford of Transylvania. The first of Julian's crusades added two Turkish lands to his realm, and the issue of several minor collateral errors of Warin were forgotten. During the absence and minority of Ladislaus of Austria, the titular king, Huniades was elected supreme captain and governor of Hungary; and if envy at first was silenced by terror, a reign of twelve years supposes the arts of policy as well as war. In the course of a consummate general is not delineated in his campaigns; the white knight fought with the hand rather than the head, as the chief of desultory barbarians, who attack without fear and fly without shame; and his military life is composed of a romantic alternative of victories and escapes. By the Turks, who employed his name to frighten their perverse children, he was corruptly denominated Jancu Lain, or the Wicked: that is the proof of their esteem; the kingdom which he guarded was inaccessible to their arms; and they felt him more distant and formidable, when they fondly believed his land to be the recess of the centaur. Instead of confining himself to a defensive war, four years after the defeat of Warin he again penetrated into the heart of Bulgaria, and in the plain of Cossosvast, sustained, till the third day, the shock of the Ottoman army, four times more numerous than his own. As he felt in his heart the wish of the woods of Walachia, the hero was surprised by two robbers; but while they disputed a gold chain that hung at his neck, he recovered his sword, slew the one, terrified the other, and, after new parts of captivity or death, consigned by his presence an afflicted kingdom. But the last and most magnificent of his life was the defence of Belgrade against the powers of Mahomet the second in person. After a siege of forty days, the Turks, who had already entered the town, were compelled to retreat; and the joyful nations celebrated Huniades and Belgrade as the last virtues of Christian Europe. A month after this great deliverance, the champion expired; and his most splendid epitaph is the regret of the Ottoman prince, who sighed that he could no longer hope for revenge against the single antagonist who had triumphed over his formidable empire. By the throne Matthias Corvinius, a youth of eighteen years of age, was elected and crowned by the grateful Hungarians. His reign was prosperous and long: Matthias aspired to the glory of a conqueror and a saint; but his purest merit is the encouragement of learning; and the Latin critics and historians, who were invited from Italy by the son, have shed the lustre of their eloquence on the father's character. In the list of heroes, John Huniades and Scanderbeg are commonly associated; and they are both entitled to our notice, since their occupation of the Ottoman arms delayed the ruin of the Greek empire. John Castriot, the father of Scanderbeg, was the hereditary prince of a small district of Epirus and Albania, between the mountains and the Adriatic sea. Unable to contend with the sultan's power, Castriot submitted to the hard conditions of peace and trade; he delivered his four sons as the pledges of his fidelity; and the christian youths, after receiving the mark of circumcision, were instructed in the Mahometan religion, and trained in the arms and arts of Turkish policy. The three elder brothers were confounded in that manner, and the two younger, whose deaths are ascertained, cannot be verified or disproved by any positive evidence. Yet the suspicion is in a great measure removed by the kind and paternal treatment of George Castriot, the fourth brother, who, from his tender youth, displayed the strength and spirit of a soldier. The successive overthrow of a Tartar and two Persians, who carried a proud defiance to the Turkish court, recommended him to the favour of Amurath, and his Turkish appellation of Scanderbeg, (Iskender bez), or the lord Alexander, is an indelible memorial of his glory and servitude. His father's principality was reduced into a province; but the loss was compensated by the rank and title of Sanjakin, a command of five thousand horse, and the possession of the first dignities of the empire. He served with honour in the wars of Europe and Asia; and we may smile at the art or credulity of the historian, who supposes, that in the memory of Castriot, the last king of the Christians, the hero was surprised by two robbers, or that his father's wrongs, the ambiguous death of his three brothers, his own degradation, and the slavery of his country; and they adore the generous, though tardy, zeal, with which he asserted the faith and independence of his nation, or the hero condescends to take notice of his rival's merit.
of his ancestors. But he had imbied from his ninth year the doctrines of the Kojan; he was ignorant of the gospel; the religion of a soldier is determined by authority and habit; nor is it easy to exorcise what nothing can influence. Illegitimate change of fortune could be poured into his soul. His motives would be less exposed to the suspicion of interest or revenge; had he broken his chain from the moment that he was sensible of its weight; but a long oblivion had surely impaired his original virtue, and every year of residence and commerce had cemented the mutual bond of the sultan and his subject. If Scanderbeg had long harboured the belief of Christianity and the intention of revolt, a worthy man might condemn the base disimulation, that could serve only to betray, that could promise only to be forestalled, and actually join in the temporal and spiritual perdition of so many thousands of his unhappy brethren. Shall we praise a secret correspondence with Huniades, while he commanded the vanguard of the Turkish army? shall we excuse the desertion of his standard, a treacherous desertion, which abandoned the victory to the enemies of his benefactor? In the confusion of a defeat, the eye of Scanderbeg was fixed on the Reis Effendi or principal secretary: with a dagger at his breast, he extorted a firman or patent for the government of Albania; and the murder of the gunwalt and destruction of his train procured an immediate discovery. With some bold companions, to whom he had revealed his design, he escaped in the night, by rapid marches, from the field of battle to his paternal mountains. The gates of Croya were opened to the royal mandate; and no sooner did he come to the fortress, than George Castriot dropped the mask of dissimulation; abjured the prophet and the sultan, and proclaimed himself the avenger of his family and country. The names of religion and liberty provoked a general revolt: the Albanians, a martial race, were unequal to the contest with their hereditary prince; and the Ottoman garrisons were induced in the choice of martyrdom or baptism. In the assembly of the states of Epirus, Scanderbeg was elected general of the Turkish war; and each of the allies engaged to furnish his respective portion of men and money. From these contributions, from his patrimonial estates, and from the valuable salt-pits of Selina, he drew an annual revenue of two hundred thousand ducats; and the entire sum exempt from the demands of luxury was strictly appropriated to the public use. His manners were popular; but his discipline was severe; and every violation of it was punished with the utmost severity. For example strengthened his command, and under his conduct the Albanians were invincible in their own opinion and that of their enemies. The bravest adventurers of France and Germany were allure by his fame and retained in his service: his standing militia consisted of eight thousand horse and seven thousand foot; the horses were small, the men were active: but he viewed with a discerning eye the difficulties and resources of the mountains; and, at the blaze of the beacon, the whole nation was distributed to the various posts. With his unequal army, Scanderbeg resisted twenty-three years the powers of the Ottoman empire; and two conquerors, Amurath the second, and his greater son, were repeatedly baffled by a reef, whom they pursued with seeming contempt and implacable resentment. At the head of six thousand men and fortieth and janissaries, Amurath entered Albania; he might ravage the open country, occupy the defenceless towns, convert the churches into mosques, circumcise the christian youths, and punish with death his adult and obstinate captives; but the conquests of the sultan were confined to the petty fortress of Stiligrade; and the garrison, invinci- ble in Italy, was a suppositive scruple. Amurath retired with shame and loss from the walls of Croya, the castle and residence of the Castriots; the march, the siege, the retreat, were harassed by a vexatious, and almost invisi- ble, adversary; and the disappointment might tend to asperge the terror to fortunes of the last days of the sultan. In the fulness of conquest, Mahomet the second still felt at his bosom this domestic thorn: his lieuten- ants were permitted to negotiate a truce; and the Albanian prince must justly be praised as a firm and able champion of his national independence. The en- thusiasm of Christianity and religion was roused by the names of Alexander and Pyrrhus; nor would they blush to acknowledge their intrepid countryman: but his narrow dominion and slender powers must leave him at an humble distance below the heroes of antiqui- ty, who triumphed over the east and the Roman legions. His preservation was only necessary to guard against the encroachment of the Ottoman powers: the janissaries were exposed by the light of Italian history; and they afford a strong presumption against their own truth, by a fabulous tale of his exploits, when he passed the Adriatic with eight hundred horse to the succour of the king of Naples. Without his magnanimous avowal of the fame, they might have owned, that he was only oppugned by the Ottoman powers: in his extreme danger he ap- plied to Pope Pius the second for a refuge in the eclec- stical state; and his resources were almost exhaust- ed, since Scanderbeg died a fugitive at Lissos, on the Jura. Venetia had joined the cause of her friend, and was soon violated by the Turkish conqueror: A.D. 1462. Jan. 17. and the janizaries, who wore his bones encaased in a bracelet, declared by this superstitious amulet their involuntary reverence for his valour. The instant ruin of his country may redound to the hero's glory. The people, who once yielded their liberty, their resources, and submission and resistance, a patriot perhaps would have declined the unequal contest which must depend on the life and genius of one man. Scanderbeg might indeed be supported by the rational, though fallacious, hope, that the pope, the king of Naples, and the Venetians might contribute to his deliverance. But the Christian people, who guarded the sea-coast of the Adriatic, and the narrow passage from Greece to Italy, Scanderbeg and the janizaries were invested with the Neapolitan dukedoms, and their blood continues to flow in the noblest

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1. There were two Bibras, the upper and lower, the Bulgarian and Albanian: the former, 70 miles from Croya, (l. p. 177.) was contro- versed between the feuds of Nettoum, whose inhabitants refused to drink water from a well into which a dead dog had traitorously been cast. (v. p. 179, 180.) We want a good map of Epirus.

2. Compare the passages of Plutarch, (i. p. 26.) and of Muralori, (Joh. Ital. p. 189-192.) the pompous and prolix declaration in the fourth, fifth and sixth books of the Alcaudus, (Muralori, p. 193, 194.) who has been copied by the tribe of strangers and moderns.

3. In honour of his hero, Barletian, (ti, v. 180—192.) the king of the Bulgarians and Albanians, who became a Turk by the name and manner of Amurath's death at Alcamo.

4. Compare the memoirs of Calarian expedition in the ninth and tenth books of Muralori, (p. 194-197.) which shows the tradition of the Albanians, (Amal. d'Italia, tome 250.) and his original authors. (Jos. Simonetta de Rebus Francisci Muralori, in Il Rettorato, in il就给大家的。
families of the realm. A colony of Albanian fugitives obtained a settlement in Calabria, and they preserve at this day the language and manners of their ancestors.

Constantine the Great and his Family.

In the long career of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, one man was equal in length at least the last reign of the princes of Constantine, who so freely sustained the name and majesty of the Caesars. On the decease of John Palaeologus, who survived about four years the Hungarian crusade, the sons of the family, by the indiscretion of the imperial princes, and the monastic profession of Isidore, was reduced to three princes, Constantine, Demetrius, and Thomas, the surviving sons of the emperor Manuel. Of these the first and last were distant in the Morea; but Demetrius, who possessed the domain of Selymbria, was in the suburbs, at the head of a party: his ambition was not chilled by the public distress; and his conspiracy with the Turks and the schismatics had already disturbed the peace of the country. The funeral of the late emperor was accelerated with singular and even suspicious haste: the claim of Demetrius to the vacant throne was followed by the suspicion, that he was born in the purple, the eldest son of his father's reign. But the empress-mother, the senate and soldiers, the clergy and people, were unanimous in the cause of the lawful successor; and the despot Thomas, who, ignorant of the change, acceded to the capital, asserted with becoming zeal the interest of his absent brother. An ambassador, the historian Phranza, was immediately despatched to the court of Adrianople. Amurat received him with honour and dismissed him with gifts; but the gracious approbation of the Turkish sultan announced his supremacy to the approaching followers of the eastern empire. By the hands of two illustrious deputies, the imperial crown was placed at Sparta on the head of Constantine. In the spring he sailed from the Morea, escaped the encounter of a Turkish squadron, enjoyed the acclamations of his subjects, celebrated the festival of a new reign, and enriched by his donatives, the treasure, or rather the indigence, of the state. The emperor immediately resigned to his brothers the possession of the Morea; and the brittle friendship of the two princes, Demetrius and Thomas, was confirmed in their mother's presence by the fratricidal revenge; but with the victories of his successor, the choice of a consort. A daughter of the doge of Venice had been proposed; but the Byzantine nobles objected the distance between an hereditary monarch and as elective magistrate; and in their subsequent distress, the chief of that powerful republic was not unmindful of the affront. Constantine afterwards hesitated between the royal families of Trebizond and Georgia; and the embassy of Phranza represents in his public and private life the last days of the Byzantine empire.

The pontifical, or great chamberlain, Phranza, sailed from Constantinople as the minister of a bridegroom: and the relics of wealth and luxury were applied to his pompous appearance. His numerous retinue consisted of nobles and guards, of physicians and monks: he was attended by a band of music; and the tomb of his costly embassy was protracted above two years. On his arrival in Georgia or Iberia, the natives from the towns and villages flocked around the strangers; and such was their simplicity, that they were delighted with the effects, without understanding the cause, of musical harmony. Among the crowd was an old man, above a hundred years of age, who had formerly been carried away a captive by the barbarians, and who amused his hearers with a tale of the wonders of India, from whence he had returned to Portugal by an unknown path. From this holy country, land, Phranza proceeded to the court of Trebizond, where he met the Greek prince of the recent decease of Amurat. Instead of rejoicing in the deliverance, the experienced statesman expressed his apprehension, that an ambitious youth would not long adhere to the sage and patriarchal system of his father, nor the sultan's decease, his christian wife, Maria, the daughter of the Servian despot, had been honourably restored to her parents: on the fame of her beauty and merit, she was recommended by the ambassador as the most worthy object of the royal choice; and Phranza recapitulates and refutes the specious objections that might be urged against the proposal. The majesty of the purple would enable an unequal alliance; the bar of affinity might be removed by liberal alms and the dispensation of the church; the disgrace of Turkish mulets had been repeatedly overlooked; and, though the fair Maria was but in her twenties by years as to be a lost heritage to the empire. Constantine listened to the advice, which was transmitted in the first ship that sailed from Trebizond; but the factions of the court opposed his marriage; and it was finally prevented by the pious vow of the sultans, who ended her days in the monastery. Succeeded to the throne by his brother, the choice of Phranza was decided in favour of a Georgian princess; and the vanity of her father was dazzled by the glorious alliance. Instead of demanding, according to the primitive and national custom, a price for his daughter, he offered a portion of fifty-six thousand, with an annual pension of five thousand ducats; and the services of the ambassador were repaid by an assurance, that, as his son had been adopted in baptism by the emperor, the establishment of his daughter should be the peculiar care of the empress of the Byzantine empire. On the return of Phranza, the treaty was ratified by the Greek monarch, who with his own hand impressed three vermilion crosses on the golden bullion, and assured the Georgian envoy, that in the spring his galleys should conduct the bride to her imperial palace. But Constantine embraced his faithful servant, not with the cold approbation of a warm conversation, who, after a long absence, is impatient to pour his secrets into the bosom of his friend. State of the Byzantine family, and of the Servian court.

Cantacuzene, who alone advised me without interest or passion, I am surrounded, by men whom I can neither love, nor trust, nor esteem. You are not a stranger to Lucas Notaras, the great admiral; obstinately attached to his own sentiments, he declares, both in private and public, that his senti-
ments are the absolute measure of my thoughts and actions. The rest of the courtiers are swayed by their personal or factious views; and how can I consult the monks on questions of policy and marriage? I have yet much employment for your diligence and fidelity. In the spring you shall engage one of my brothers to solicit the succour of the western powers; from them you shall sail to Cyprus on a particular commission; and from thence proceed to Georgia to receive and conduct the future empress. "Your commands," replied Phranza, "are irresistible; but, deign, great sir," he added, with a serious smile, "to consider, that if I am thus perpetually absent from my father, whom the scholar ought to seek with other husband, or to throw herself into a monastery."

After laughing at his apprehensions, the emperor more gravely consoled him by the pleasing assurance that this would be his last service abroad, and that he destined for his son a wealthy and noble heiress; for himself, the important office of great logothete, or principal minister of state. The marriage was immediately stipulated; but the office, however incompatible with his own, had been usurped by the ambition of the admiral. Some delay was requisite to negotiate a consent and an equivalent; and the nomination of Phranza was later declared, and half suppressed, lest it might be displeasing to an insolent and powerful favourite. The winter was spent in the preparations of his embassy; and Phranza had resolved, that the youth his son should embrace this opportunity of foreign travel, and not less, his appearance of the sect with his maternal kindred of the Morea. Such were the private and public designs, which were interrupted by a Turkish war, and finally buried in the ruins of the empire.

CHAP. XXIX.

Regn and character of Mahomet the second.—Siege, assa ulted, and final conquest, of Constantinople by the Turks.—Death of Constantine Palaeologus.—Seruliture of the Greeks.—Extinction of the Roman empire in the east.—Conformation of Europe.—Conquests and death of Mahomet the second.

Character of Mahomet the second. The Turks attach our first attention to the person and character of the great destroyer. Mahomet the second was the son of the second Amurath; and though his mother has been decorated with the titles of christian and princess, she is more probably confounded with the numerous concubines who peopled from every clime the harem of the sultan. His first education and sentiments were those of a devout musulman; and as often as he conversed with an infidel, he purified his hands and face by the legal rites of ablution. Age and empire appear to have relaxed this narrow bigotry: his aspiring genius disdain to acknowledge a power above his own; and in his looser hours he presumed (it is said) to brand the prophet of Mecca as a robber and impostor. Yet the sultan persevered in a devout reverence for the doctrine and discipline of the Koran; his private indiscipline must have been sacred from the vulgar ear, and shrouded half beneath the embroidery of his court and sequesters, so prone to believe that a mind which is hardened against truth, must be armed with superior contempt for absurdlty and error. Under the tutelage of the most skilful masters, Mahomet advanced with an early and rapid progress in the paths of knowledge; and besides his native tongue, it is affirmed that he spoke or understood five languages, the Arabic, the Persian, the Chaldean or Hebrew, the Latin, and the Greek. The Persian might indeed contribute to his amusement, and the Arabic to his education; for he was not only instructed in the sacred writings, but was versed in the history of his country, to which he submitted himself, as the base of the art of Hebrew slaves! The history and geography of the world were familiar to his memory: the lives of the heroes of the east, perhaps of the west, excited his emulation; his skill in astrology is excelled by the folly of the times, and supposes some rudiments of mathematical science; and a prodige taste for the arts is betrayed in his liberal invitation and reward of the painters of Italy. But the influence of religion and learning were employed without effect on his savage and licentious nature. I will not transcribe, nor do I firmly believe, the stories of his fond pages, the delusion he indulged in the bath of Moluk; or of the brauteous slave, whose head he severed from her body, to convince the Janizaries that their master was not the votary of love. His sobriety is attested by the silence of the Turkish annals, which accuse three, and three only, of the Ottoman invasions, as acts of drunkenness. But it cannot be denied that his passions were at once furious and inexorable; that in the palace, as in the field, a torrent of blood was split on the slightest provocation; and that the noblest of the captive youth were often dishonoured by his unnatural brutality. The Albanian women, the female sons, and soon surpassed the example, of his father; and the conquest of two empires, twelve kingdoms, and two hundred cities, a vain and flattering account, is ascribed to his invincible sword. He was doubtless a soldier, and possibly a general; Constantinople and Adrianople were by him plumed with the arms of the conqueror, and Scanderbeg, by the Rhodian knights and by the Persian king.

In the reign of Amurath, he twice tasted of royalty, and twice descended from the throne; his tender age was incapable of opposing his father's restoration, but never could he forgive the

For the character of Mahomet II, it is dangerous to trust either to the Turks or the Christians. The most moderate picture appears to be drawn by Pachinus, (l. c. 32,) whose resentment had cooled in age and solitude; see likewise Spandanes, (A. D. 1514, No. 11.) and the continuator of Euniger, (t. xiv, p. 555,) the Elissaria of Paulus Jeremi (L., p. 151—154,) and the Dictionary of Bayle, (t. ii, p. 272—273.)

A Guiraut (p. 115,) and the memoirs which he founded, attract our public regard for religion. Mahomet firmly disputed with the patriarch Gennadius on the two subjects. (Soc. A. D. 1412, No. 22.)

4 Quinque linguis praeclarum summo notavit: Graecam, Latinam, Chal- deam, Persicum, Thracian. The Latin translator of Phrozen has dropped the Arabic, which the Koran most recommend to every musulman.

4 Philadelphia, by a Latin edo, requested and obtained the library of his father, which he kept, and mates from the contents of the Koran, to his son, who was called the jurisconsult of the Prophet. It was delivered into the sultan's hands by the envoy of the Duke of Nikias, and endeared itself to the sultan, but not to Constantineople; yet the emperor was at the trumpet of holy war. (See his life by M. Landrach, in the Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, t. x, p. 715, 721, &c.)

4 Robert Valentinus published at Verona, in 1613, his twelve books of the Roman History, in which he supposed the army of Constantine, the elder, to be conducted by Mahomet II.

4 According to Pharanza, he assiduously studied the lives and actions of Alexander, Augustus, Constantine, and Theodosius. I have read an extract from his Latin translation of the Barrach's Lives were translated into his native language, and he composed in the Turkish language. If the sultan himself understood Greek, it must have been to the benefit of his subjects; and of the school of freedom as well as of valor.

4 The famous Gentle Bellini, with whom he had invited from Venice, was dying in Constantinople; he desired a chain and collar of gold, and a purse of 300 ducats. With Voltaire I touch at the foolish story of a slave pur- chased for 50,000 crowns, and his escape in the possession of the imperial gardens. It was true that he was delivered as a slave, but it was the privilege of the slave to be a prince. (See his Letters, p. 54.) The sophist of the Ottoman empire was a regular success; and in the 1st age, our European travellers were the witnesses and companions of their cruelties.
viziars who had recommended that salutary measure. His captives were celebrated with the daughter of a Turkman emir; and, after a festival of two months, he departed from Adrianople with his bride, to reside in the princely mansion of Mahomet II. In six weeks he was recalled by a sudden message from the divan, which announced the decease of Amurath, and the mutinous spirit of the janizaries. His speed and vigour commanded their obedience; he passed the Hellespont with a chosen guard; and at the distance of two days, he captured the city. One of the islands of the Smyron was assigned for the annual payment of three hundred thousand aspers, the pension of an Ottoman prince, who was detained at his request in the Byzantine court. Yet the neighbours of Mahomet might tremble at the severity with which a youthful monarch reformed the state. The expenses of luxury were applied to those of ambition, and an useless train of seven thousand falconers was either dismissed from his service, or enlisted in his troops. In the first summer of his reign, he visited with an army the Asiatic provinces; but after having been victorious, he accepted the submission of the Caramanian, that he might not be diverted by the smallest obstacle from the execution of his grand design. 8

Hostile intentions of Mahomet II. The Mahometan, and more especially of Mahomet II, the Turkish casuists, have pronounced that no promise can bind the faithful against the interest and duty of their religion; and that the sultan may abrogate his own treaties and those of his predecessors. The justice and magnanimity of Amurath had scorned this immoral privilege; but his son, though the proudest of men, could stoop from ambition to a more humane measure. Peace was on his lips, while war was in his heart; he incessantly sighed for the possession of Constantinople; and the Greeks, by their own indiscretion, afforded the first pretext of the fatal rupture. 9 Instead of labouring to be forgotten, his ambassadors pursed his views, and taught him by their energy, of their annual stipend; the divan was impounded by their complaints, and the vizir, a secret friend of the christians, was constrained to deliver the sense of his brethren. "Ye foolish and miserable Romans," said Calli, "we knew your devices, and ye are ignorant of your own danger; the scrupulous Amurath is no longer with us; and if I am, no more; his heir, Mahomet II, a feetor, whom no laws can bind, and no obstacles can resist; and if you escape from his hands, give praise to the divine clemency, which yet delays the chastisement of your sins. Why do ye seek to affright us by vain and indirect menaces? Release the fugitive Orce, of whose kingdom you can command the inhabitants from beyond the Danube; arm against us the nations of the west; and be assured, that you will only provoke and precipitate your ruin." But if the fears of the ambassadors were alarmed by the stern language of the vizir, they were soothed by the courteous audience and friendly speeches of the Ottoman prince; and Mahomet assured them that on his return to Adrianople, he would redress the grievances, and consult the true interests, of the Greeks. No sooner had he re-passed the Hellespont, than he issued a mandate to suppress their pension, and to expel their officers from his court; and in this measure he showed an hostile mind; and the second order announced, and in some degree commenced, the siege of Constantinople. In the narrow pass of the Bosphorus, an Asiatic fortress had formerly been raised by his grandfather: In the opposite situation, on the European side, he resolved to erect a more formidable castle; and a thousand masons were commanded to assemble in the spring on a spot named Asomont, about five miles from the Greek metropolis. 10 Persuasion is the resource of the feeble; and the feeble can seldom persuade: the ambassadors of the emperor attempted, without success, to divert Mahomet from his design. They represented, that his grandfather had solicited the permission of Manuel to build a castle on his own territories; but that this double fortification, which would command the strait, could only tend to violate the alliance of the nations; to intercept the Latins who traded in the Black sea, and perhaps to annihila the subsistence of the city. "I form no enterprise," replied the perfidious sultan, "against the city; but the empire of Constantinople is measured by her walls. Have you forgot the distress to which my father was reduced, when you formed a league with the Hungarians, to invade your own country?" Peace was on his lips, while war was in his heart; he incessantly sighed for the possession of Constantinople; and the Greeks, by their own indiscretion, afforded the first pretext of the fatal rupture. Instead of labouring to be forgotten, his ambassadors pursed his views, and taught him by their energy, of their annual stipend; the divan was impounded by their complaints, and the vizir, a secret friend

1 Calapin, one of these royal infants, was saved from his cruel brother, and baptized at Rome under the name of Callistus Ottomanus. The emperor Frederic III. presented him with an estate in Austria, where he ended his life; and Cosminian, who in his youth conversed with the aged prince at Vienna, applauded his piety and wisdom. (De Caracass, p. 673, 673.)

2 Before I enter on the scene of Constantinople I shall observe, that except the short war of Michael VIII. against the Latins, which has not been able to obtain any Turkish account of this conquest; such an account as appears possess of the siege of Rhodes by Sokoman II. (Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. x. p. 727—729.) I must therefore depend on the Greeks, whose prejudices, in some instances, are too leaned to the otromatic side. Our standard sources are Ducas, c. 34—42; Panaora, qui. i. c. 7—20; Chatoyelles, l. vii. p. 32, 33; and a MS. in the Arch. Brit. It is evident, that the Turks, according to the writer of the MS. in the Arch. Brit., have reduced in the year Land to Martin Cuorti, (Gurges Grec, i. p. 71.)

3 Ducas, 1551. The various facts and materials are briefly, though clearly, set forth by Norden, p. 49. That the Turks do not scruple to murder, is evidenced by the Luon. in, vol. ii. p. 433; also by the MS. copied in the year Land to Martin Cuorti, (Gurges Grec, i. p. 71.)

4 This situation of the fortresses, and the topography of the Bosphorus, are best learned from Ducas, c. 34—42; Panoara, qui. i. c. 7—20; Chatoyelles, l. vii. p. 32, 33; and a MS. in the Arch. Brit. It is evident, that the Turks, according to the writer of the MS. in the Arch. Brit., have reduced in the year Land to Martin Cuorti, (Gurges Grec, i. p. 71.)

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6 The reader may turn back to ch. xvii. vol. i. of this history.

7 The opposition is set which the Turks found on the infidels, is expressed before by Ducas, and Gouron by Lawsonville and the ministers. The former in the MS. copied in the year Land to Martin Cuorti, (Gurges Grec, i. p. 71.) from Laouedjou, in vulgar Greek, a term, denoting a remonstrative mode from the faith. But aloud! Gouron is more than this, for he is translated from the Persian to the Turkish language, from the word of Ewari to those of the crucif, (Oulhu-}

8 Vol. i. 3 G
of the Greeks in spirit as in rank, had determined to unsheath the sword, and to resist the approach and establishment of the Turks on the Bosphorus. He was disarmed by the advice of his civil and ecclesiastical friends; for he was resolved to shun all portion less than conquest, and even less prudent, than his own, to approve their patience and long-suffering, to brand the Ottoman with the name and guilt of an aggressor, and to depend on chance and time for their own safety, and the destruction of a fort which could not long be maintained.

Amidst hope and fear, the hopes of the wise, and the hopes of the credulous, the winter rolled away; the proper business of each man, and each hour, was postponed; and the Greeks shut their eyes against the impending danger, till the arrival of the spring and the sultan decided the assurance of their ruin.

Of a master who never forgives, the orders are seldom disobeyed. On the

A.D. 1452.

twenty-sixth of March, the appointed

March, spot of Asomaton was covered with an

active swarm of Turkish artificers; and the materials

by sea and land were eagerly transported from Euro-

dope and Asia. The line had been burnt in Cata-

phrygia; the timber was cut down in the woods of

Heraclea and Nicomedia; and the stones were dug

from the Anatolian quarries. Each of the thousand

massons was assisted by two workmen; and a messenger

of two cubits was marked for their daily task.

The fortress was built in a triangular form; each angle was flanked by a strong and massive tower; one on the declivity of the hill, two along the sea-shore; a thick-

ness of twenty-two feet was assigned for the walls, three for the towers, and the vast building was cov-

ered with a solid platform of lead. Mahomet himself

pressed and directed the work with indefatigable ar-
dour: his three vizirs claimed the honour of finishing

their respective towers; the zeal of the eunuchs emul-
ated that of the janizaries; the meanest labour was en-

trusted by the service of God and the sultan; and the
diligence of the multitude was quickened by the eye of a
despot, whose smile was the hope of fortune, and

whose frown was the messenger of death. The Greek

emperor beheld with terror the irresistible progress of

the work; and vainly strove, by flattery and gifts, to

secure the favour of the profane. For the slightest indis-

fomentation, the slightest occasion of a quarrel. Such
crases must soon and inevitably be found. The ruins of stately churches, and even the marble columns which had been consecrated to Saint Michael the arch-

angel, were entangled without scruple by the profane

masons of Moslem; and some Christians, who presumed to oppose the removal, received from their

hands the crown of martyrdom.

Constantine had solicited a Turkish guard to protect the fields and

harvests of his subjects; the guard was fixed; but their first order was to allow free passage to the moles and

horses of the camp, and to defend their brethren if they should be molested by the natives. The retinue of an

Ottoman chief had left their horses to pass the night among the rape corn; the damage was felt; the insult was resisted; and several of both nations were slain in a desperate conflict. Mahomet listened with

to the complaint; and a detachment was commanded to exterminate the guilty village; the guilty had fled; but forty innocent and unsuspecting reapers were mas-

sacrered by the soldiers. Till this provo-
cation, Constantinople had been open to

war, June;

the visits of commerce and curiosity: on the first

alarm, the gates were shut; but the emperor, still anx-

ious for security, based on the third floor the palace in the happy change; if he delivers the city into your hands, I submit with-

out a murmur to his holy will. But until the Judge

of the earth shall pronounce between us, it is my duty
to live and die in the defence of my people. The

sultan’s answer was hostile and decri-

tive: his fortifications were completed;

and before his departure for Adrianople, he stationed a

vigilant aga and four hundred janizaries, to levy a

tribute of the ships of every nation that should pass

with- in the reach of their cannon. A Venetian vessel, refus-

ing obedience to the new Bey of the Bosphorus, was

sunk with a single bullet. The Turkish buil-
ders escaped in the boat; but they were dragged in

chains to the Porte; the chief was impaled; his com-

panions were beheaded, and the historian Ducas held,

at Demotica, their bodies exposed to the wild beasts.

The following spring, when the sultan saw the

ensuing season; but an Ottoman army marched into

the Morea to divert the force of the brothers of

Constantine. At this era of calamity, one

of these princes, the despot Thomas,

was blessed or afflicted with the birth of a son; the

most illustrious of his name, was named Phranza, "of the last

spark of the Roman empire."

The Greeks and the Turks passed an

April 1.

Preparations for

anxious and sleepless winter; the former the siege of

were kept awake by their fears, the Inter-

marched, the latter by their hopes; both by the prepara-

tions of defence and attack; and the two emperors, who had the most to lose or

to gain, were the most deeply affected by the national

sentiment. In Mahomet, that sentiment was inflamed by the ardour of his youth and temper: he amused his leisure with building at Adrianople the lofty palace of Jehannina, on the site of the ancient

But his serious thoughts were irrevocably bent on the

conquest of the city of Cæsar. At the dead of night, about the second watch, he started from his bed, and

commanded the instant attendance of his prince vizir.

The vizir, the hour, the prince, and his munificence,

advertisement, alarmed the guilty conscience of Calil Bashin; who had possessed the confidence, and advised the

restoration of, Amurat. On the accession of the son, the vizir was confirmed in his office and the appear-

ances of favour; but the veteran statesman was not ir-

sensible that he trod on a thin and slippery ice, which might break under his footsteps, and plunge him into the

abyss. His friendship for the Christians, which might be innocent under the late reign, had stigmatized

him with the name of Gabour Ortachi, or foster-

brother of the infidels; and his avarice entertained a
central and treasonable correspondence, which had

to be detected and punished after the conclusion of the

war.

Phranza does not exactly agree with Chronicones, whose description has been verified on the spot by his editor Lutumivius.
On receiving the royal mandate, he embraced, perhaps for the last time, his wife and children; filled a cup with pieces of gold, hastened to the palace, adorned the sultan, and offered, according to the oriental custom, the slight tribute of his duty and gratitude. "It is not my wish," said Mahomet, "to resume my gifts, but to desire the happiness of the sultan; and I turn my task a present far more valuable and important.—Constantinople." As soon as the vizir had recovered from his surprise, "The same God," said he, "who has already given thee so large a portion of the Roman empire, will not deny the remnant and the crown. He has foreseen of two hundred and fifty years, and have of my turn I ask a present far more valuable and important:

For the conveyance of this destructive engine, a frame or carriage of thirty waggons was linked together and drawn along by a team of sixty oxen: two hundred men on both sides were stationed to pull or support the rolling weight; two hundred and fifty workmen marched before smooth the way and repair the breaches; and near two months were employed in a laborious journey of one hundred and fifty miles. A lively philosopher b derives on this occasion the credulity of the Greeks, and observes, with much reason, that we should always distrust the exaggerations of a vanquished people. He calculates, that a ball of cannon, in order to require a charge of one hundred and fifty pounds of powder, and that the stroke would be feele and impotent, since not a fifteenth part of the mass could be inferred at the same moment. A stranger as I am to the art of destruction, I can discern that the modern improvements of artillery prefer the number of pieces to the weight of metal; the quickness of the fire to the sound, or even the consequence, of a single explosion. Yet I dare not reject the positive and unanimous evidence of contemporary writers; nor can it seem improbable, that the first artists, in their rude and ambitious efforts, may have passed the standard of their art.

Mahomet II, the conqueror of Constantinople.

A.D. 1453.

April 6.

While Mahomet threatened the capital of the empire with the imminent destruction of the Turkish cannon, his sultan, with fervent prayers the assistance of earth and heaven. But the invisible powers were deceitful to his supplications: and Christendom beheld with indifference the fall of Constantinople, while she derived at least some promise of supply from the jealousy and unexploited policy of the sultan of Egypt. Some states were too weak, and others too remote; by some the danger was considered as imaginary, by others as inevitable: the western princes were involved in their endless and domestic quarrels; and the Roman pontiff was exasperated by the breach of their faith, and of the treaties of Venice. Instead of employing in their favour the arms and treasures of Italy, Nicholas the fifth had foretold their approaching ruin; and his honour was engaged in the accomplishment of his prophecy. Perhaps he was softened by the last extremity of their distress; but his compassion was tardy; his efforts were faint and unavailing; and Constantinople had fallen, before the squadrons of Genoa and Venice could sail from their harbours. Even the princes of the Morea and of the Greek islands affected a cold neutrality: the Genoese:[451]...
raised in their defence whole armies of mercenaries. The indigent and solitary prince prepared however to sustain his formidable adversary; but if his courage was equal to the peril, his strength was inadequate to the contest. In the beginning of the spring, the Turkish vanguard swept the towns and villages as far as the confines of the camp. The Genoese were sparred and protected; whatever presumed to resist was exterminated with fire and sword. The Greek places on the Black sea, Mesembria, Acheleona, and Bizon, surrendered on the first summons; Selychin alone de- served the honours of a siege or blockade; and the bold inhabitants, while they were invested by land, launched their boats, pilgaged the opposite coast of Cyzicus, and sold their captives in the public market. But on the approach of Mahomet himself all was silent and prostrate: he first halted at the distance of five miles; and from thence advancing in battle array, planted before the gate of St. Romanus the imperial standard; and, on the sixth day of April, formed the memorable siege of Constantinople.

The troops of Asia and Europe extended on the right and left from the Propontis to the Thracian sea; the camp was stationed, before the sultan's tent; the Ottoman line was covered by a deep intrenchment; and a subordinate army enclosed the suburb of Galata, and watch- ed the doubtful faith of the Genoese. The inquisitive Philohorus, who resided in Greece about thirty years before this event, madness, to be certain, than the Turks of times, of any name or value, could not exceed the number of sixty thousand horse and twenty thousand foot; and he upbraids the pusillanimity of the nations, who had tamely yielded to an handful of barbarians. Such indeed might be the regular establishment of the Capi- culi; and the troops of Porte, who submitted with the prince, and were paid from his royal treasury. But the bashaws, in their respective governments, maintained or levied a provincial militia; many lands were held by a military tenure; many volunteers were at- tracted by the hope of spoil; and the sound of the holy trumpeter invited a swarm of hungry and fearless fanatics, who might contribute at least to multiply the terrors, and in the first attack to blunt the swords, of the christians. The whole mass of the Turkish pow- ers is magnified by Ducas, Chalcondyles, and Leonard of Spontanum, to the number of three hundred thou- sand men; but Phranza was a less remote and more accurate judge; and his precise definition of two hundred and fifty-eight thousand does not exceed the mea- sure of experience and probability. The navy of the besiegers was less formidable: the Propontis was overpeopled with three hundred and twenty sail; but of these no more than eighteen could be rated as galleys of war; and the far greater part must be degraded to the condition of storeships and transports, which poured into the camp fresh supplies of men, munition, and provisions. In her last decay, Constantinople was still peopled with more than an hundred thousand inhabitants; but these numbers are found in the accounts, of not war, but of captivity; and they mostly consisted of mechanics, priests, of women, and of men devoid of that spirit which even women have sometimes exerted for the common safety. I can suppose, I could almost ex- cuse, the reluctance of subjects to serve on a distant frontier, at the will of a tyrant; but the man who dares not expose his life in the defence of his children for the sake of his country, is not a man who will exert active energies of nature. By the emperor's com- mand, a particular inquiry had been made through the streets and houses, how many of the citizens, or even of the monks, were able and willing to bear arms for their country. The lists were intrusted to Phranza; and after a diligent advantage, he informed the emperor, with grief and surprise, that the national defence was reduced to four thousand nine hundred and seventy Romans. Between Constantine and his faithful min- ister, this comfortless secret was preserved; and a sufficient proportion of shields, cross-bows, and mus- kets, was distributed to the citizens in the city hands. They derived some accession from a body of two thousand strangers, under the command of John Justiniani, a noble Genoese; a liberal donation was advanced to these auxiliaries; and a princely recommen- dation, the isle of Lemenos, was promised to the valour of the last. But the enterprise was too hazardous for the enterprise was too hazardous for the Turks. The Turks were advancing from the city of the coast, which, across the mouth of the harbour; it was supported by some Greek and Italian vessels of war and merchan- dise; and the ships of every christian nation, that successively arrived from Candia and the Black sea, were detained for the public service. Against the bravery of the Turks, and the protection of the Turks, and the protection of the Latins, the empire was therefore held by their brother Constantine imposed a last trial of flattery and dissimulation. With the demand of temporal aid, his ambassadors were instructed to mingle the assur- ance of spiritual obedience; his neglect of the church was excused by the ardent cares of the state; and his principles were renewed. The emperor's brother Constantine proposed a treaty, with the emperor, with the emperor's brother, by which the number of the Latins, the church of Stephana, joined in the communion of sacrifice and prayer; and the names of the two pontiffs were solemnly commemorated; the names of Nicholas the fifth, the vicar of Christ, and of the patriarch Gregory, who had been driven into ex- ile by a rebellious people.

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* Antonio, in Psamm.—Epist. cardinal. Lidor, apud Spontanum; and Dr. Johnson, in the tragedy of Iren, has happily seized this characteristic circumstance: *The Roman Greeks dig up the golden censers.*

The accumulated wealth of hoarding acres; these were, which were, granted to their warrior prince, had summed ambitionates nations at their gates.

* The palatine troops are styled Capi culi, the provincials, Serer- centes: they were composed of the Tyrian and insular nations, and the insular nations, and the Ottoman empire. In the observation of Constantine is approved by Caesarien in the year 1509, (De Casaribus, in Epigra, de Militia Turcica, p. 697.) Murzighi proves, that the effective armies of the Turks are much less numerous than they appear. In the story that learned Con- stantinople, Leonidas Chiriocu records no more than 12,000 men called Saratris.

* Ena eldren (Imp.) tabellas exhibit non abigeo dolor et siti- tia; manque apud nos duae alias octavitas numerans. (Phraeus, l. iii. c. 53.) With some indulgence for national prejudices, we cannot desire a more authentic witness, not only of public facts, but of private councils.

* In Spondanus, the narrative of the union is not only partial, but imperfect. The return of the Latins was in 1522, and the history of Ducas, which represents these scenes (c. 36, 57,) with such truth and spirit, was not printed till the year 1649.
But the dress and language of the Latins

Oft the tin priest who officiated at the altar, were

an object of scandal; and it was observed with

horror, that he consecrated a cake or wafer of

unleavened bread, and poured cold water into the cup of the sacrament. A national historian acknowledges with a blush, that many of the countrymen, not even the emperors himself, were unrestrained by Christian conformity. Their hasty and unconditional submission was palliated by a promise of future revival; but the best, or the worst, of their excuses was the con-

fession of their peryjury. When they were pressed by the reproaches of their honest brethren, Han- 

n message was that till God shall have delivered the city from the great dragon who seeks to devour us. You shall then perceive whether we are truly reconciled with the Assyrians."

But patience is not the attribute of zeal; nor can the acts of a court be adapted to the freedom and violence of popular enthusiasm. From the dome of St. Sophia, the inhabitants of either sex, and of every degree, rushed in crowds to the cell of the monk Gennadius to consult the oracle of the church. The holy man was invisible; entranced, as it should seem, in deep meditation, or divine rapture; but he had exposed on the door a paper with the following principal attack: "O miserable Romans, why will ye abandon the truth; and why, instead of confiding in God, will ye put your trust in the Italians? In losing your faith, you will lose your city. Have mercy on me, O Lord! I protest in thy presence, that I am innocent of the crime. O miserable Romans, consider, pause, and re-

But the clergy and people; and a vast and gloomy silence prevailed in that venerable dome, which had so often smacked with a cloud of incense, blazed with in-

umerable lights, and resounded with the voice of prayer and thanksgiving. The Latins were the most odious of heretics and idolaters; and the first minister of the emperor, the great Voit, was heard to declare, that he would rather hold in Constantinople than in Mis-

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expressed, that it was mounted with one hundred and thirty guns and had been discharged one hundred and thirty bullets. Yet, in the presence of the activity of the sultan, we may discern the infancy of the new science. Under a master who counted the moments, the great cannon could be loaded and fired no more than seven times in one day. The heated metal unfortunately burst and von even were directed; and the death of an artist was admired who betook himself of preventing the danger and accident by pouring oil, after each explosion, into the mouth of the cannon.

ATTACK AND DEFENCE. The first random shots were producible of more sound than effect; and it was not till a body of a christian force were taught to level their arms against the two opposite sides of the salient angles of a bastion. However imperfect, the weight and repetition of the fire made some impression on the walls; and the Turks pushing their approachs to the edge of the ditch, attempted to fill the enormous chasm, and to build a road to the assault. Innumerable fascines, and hedges and trunks of trees, were heaped on each other; and such was the impetuosity of the throng, that the foremost and the weakest were pushed headlong down the precipice by the accumulated mounts. To fill the ditch, was the toil of the besiegers: to clear away the rubbish, was the safety of the besieged; and, after a long and bloody conflict, the web that had been woven in the day was still unraveled in the night. The next resource of Mahomet was the practical use of the enfilade fire in the smaller cannon; in every attempt he was stopped and undermined by the christin engineers; nor had the art been yet invented of piercing those subterfugeous passages with gunpowder, and blowing whole towers and citadels into the air. A circumstance that distinguishes the siege of Constantiopolis from the reunion of the ancient and modern artillery. The cannon were intermingled with the mechanical engines for casting stones and darts; the bull and the hattering ram were directed against the same walls; nor had the discovery of gunpowder surpassed the use of the liquid and unextinguishable fire.

A wooden turret of the largest size was advanced on rollers: this portable magazine of ammunition and fascines was protected by a thousand covering of bulls' hides; incessant volleys were securely discharged from the loop-holes; in the front, three doors were contrived for the alternate sally and retreat of the soldiers and workmen. They ceased for the upper platform, and, as high as the level of that platform, a scaling-ladder could be raised by pulleys to form a bridge, and grapple with the adverse rampart. By these various arts of annoyance, some as new as they were pernicious to the Greeks, the tower of St. Romanus was at length overturned; after a severe struggle the Turks were repulsed from the breach, and interrupted by darkness; but they trusted, that with the return of light they should renew the attack with fresh vigour and decisive success. Of this pause of action, this interval of hope, each moment was improved by the activity of the emperor and Justinian, who passed the night on the spot, and urged the labours which involved the safety of the church and city. At the dawn of day, the impetuous salluit parcellere, with astonishment and grief, that his wooden turret had been reduced to ashes; the ditch was cleared and restocked, and that of St. Romanus was again strong and entire. He deplored the failure of his troops, and uttered a profound exclamation, that the word of the thirty-seven thousand prophets should not have compelled him to believe that such a work, in so short a time, could have been accomplished by the infidels.

The generality of the christians thereby assumed the victory of four ships.

But the first apprehension of a siege, Constantinople had negotiated, in the isles of the Archipelago, the Morea, and Sicily, the most indefensible supplies. As early as the beginning of April, five great ships, equipped and manned by skilful mariners, arrived at the harbour of Chios, and not the wind blown obstinately from the north. One of these ships bore the imperial flag; the remaining four belonged to the Genoese; and they were laden with wheat and barley, with wine, oil, and vegetables, and, above all, with soldiers and mariners, for the service of the capital. After a tedious delay, a gentle breeze, and on the second day, a strong gale from the south, carried them through the Hellespont and the Propontis: but the city was already invested by sea and land; and the Turkish fleet at the entrance of the archipelago, was stretched from shore to shore, in the form of a crescent, at least to repel, these bold auxiliaries. The reader who has present to his mind the geographical picture of Constantinople, will conceive and admire the greatness of the spectacle. The five christian ships conversing with the enemy, and the whole armament, both of sails and oars, against an hostile fleet of three hundred vessels; and the rampart, the camp, the coasts of Europe and Asia, were lined with innumerable spectators, who anxiously awaited the event of this momentous success. At the first view that event could not be other than the demolition of the genoese, for their force was beyond all measure or account; and in a calm, their numbers and valour must inevitably have prevailed. But their hasty and imperfect navy had been created, not by the genius of the people, but by the will of the sultan; in the height of their prosperity, the Turks have acknowledged, that if God had given them the earth, he had left the sea to the infidels; and a series of defeats, a rapid progress of decay, has established the truth of their modest confession. Except eighteen galleys of some force, the rest of their fleet consisted of open boats, rudely constructed and awkwardly manned. Two of them were destitute of cannon; and since courage arises in a great measure from the consciousness of strength, the bravest of the janizaries might tremble on a new element. In the christian squadron, five stout and lofty ships were guided by skilful pilots, and manned with the veterans of Italy and Greece, long practised in the arts and perils of the sea. Their weight was directed to sink or scatter the weak obstacles that impeded their passage; their artillery swept the waters: their liquid fire was poured on the heads of their adversaries, who, with the design of boarding, presumed to approach them; and the winds and waves are always on the side of the ablest navigators. In this conflict, the imperial vessel, which had been almost overpowerd, was rescued by the Genoese; but the Turks, in a distant and closer attack, were twice repulsed with considerable loss. Mahomet himself sat on horse-back on the beach, to encourage their valour by his voice and

4 His number is not given, but he was probably that of a gale, who landed from the same ships to Freidrich III. commanded the emperor of the east and west.

5 I am inclined to, or, rather in ignorance, of language and geography, the president General de Vaux at Athens with a south, and sailing towards Constantinople with a north, on his return.

6 I have selected some curious facts, without striving to emulate the breadth and obstrac detail of the Kondé de Vertot, in his geo-

7 The first theory of mines with gunpowder appears in 1322, in a LIV. of George of Scena, Chicago, 1810, p. 1, a. 1, p. 234. They were first practised at Saracenbre, in 1457; but the honours and im-

8 The perpetual decay and weakness of the Turkish navy may be perceived, in the above-mentioned passage of the Kondé de Vertot, and in two other works, Tho-venel, (Courroye, p. 1, p. 232—234, and) Tott (Mesmer, ton 16.) the last of whom is always adroit to abuse and amaze his reader.
presence, by the promise of reward, and by fear, more painful than the terror of the enemy. The passions of his soul, and even the gestures of his body, seemed to imitate the motions of the combatants; and, as if he had joined the band of nature, he was led, by a furious and impetuous spirit, into the sea. His loud reproaches, and the clamours of the camp, urged the Ottomans to a third attack, more fatal and bloody than the two former; and I must repeat, though I cannot credit, the evidence of Phrarna, who affirms, from their own mouth, that they had also attacked the walls of Palæstina, and the tower of the day. They fled in disorder to the shores of Asia and Europe, while the Christian squadron, triumphant and unalarmed, steered along the Bosphorus, and securely anchored within the chain of the harbour. In the confidence of victory, they boasted that the whole Turkish power must yield to their arms; but the admiral, or captain bashaw, found some consolation for a wounded pain in his eye, by representing that accident as the cause of his defeat. Bulha Oghi was a renegade of the race of the Bulgarian princes; his military character is obscured by the plain, as the light of the sun, and under the despotism of the prince or people, misfortunes are a sufficient evidence of guilt. His rank and services were annihilated by the displeasure of Mahomet. In the royal presence, the captain bashaw was extended on the ground by four slaves, and received the bastinado, or heavy blow with the rod, as death had been pronounced; and he adored the clemency of the sultan, who was satisfied with the milder punishment of confiscation and exile. The introduction of this supply revived the hopes of the Greeks and secured the supineness of their western allies. Amidst the deserts of Anatolia and the rocks of Palæstina, the millions of the crusades had buried themselves in a voluntary and inevitable grave; but the situation of the imperial city was strong against her enemies, and accessible to her friends; and a rational and moderate armament of the maritime states might have saved the relics of the Roman name, and maintained a christian fortress in the heart of the Ottoman empire. Yet this was the sole and feasible attempt for the deliverance of Constantinople; the more distant powers were insensible of its danger; and the ambassador of Hungary, or at least of Hunaudes, resided in the Turkish court, near the ears, and to direct the operations of the sultan.  

Mahomet transports his navy over land. The Greeks are persuaded, that a resistance, so obstinate and surprising, had fatigued the perseverance of Mahomet; and, united with the Greeks, were unable to maintain the siege, and the sultan, in order to avoid the perils of advice of Calî Bashaw, who still maintained a secret correspondence with the Byzantine court. The reduction of the city appeared to be inevitable, unless a double attack could be made from the harbour as well as from the land: but the harbour was inaccessible; an impenetrable chain was now defended by eight large ships, more than twenty of a smaller size, with several galleys and sloops; and the632 Greeks apprehended a naval sally, and a second encounter in the open sea. In this perplexity, the genius of Mahomet conceived and executed a plan of a bold and marvellous cast, of transporting by land his lighter vessels and military stores from the Bosphorus into the higher part of the harbour. The distance is about ten miles; the ground is uneven, and was overspread with thistles; and, as the ground must be cleared before the suburb of Galata, their free passage or total destruction must depend on the opinion of the Genoese. But these selfish merchants were ambitious of the favour of being the last devoured; and the deficiency of art was supplied by the strength of obedient myriads, kept in a level way by a broad platform of strong and solid planks; and the road became slippery and smooth, they were anointed with the fat of sheep and oxen. Fourscore light galleys and brigantines of fifty and thirty oars, were disembarked on the Bosphorus shore; arranged successively on rollers; and drawn forwards by the power of oxen and pulleys. Two guides or pilots were stationed at the helm, and the prow, of each vessel; the sails were unfurled to the winds; and the labour was cheered by song and acclamation. In the course of a single night, this Turkish fleet painfully climbed the hill, steered from the depths of the Bosphorus, into the shallow waters of the harbour, far above the molestation of the deeper vessels of the Greeks. The real importance of this operation was magnified by the consternation and confidence which it inspired: but the notorious, unquestionable fact was displayed beyond the city, and by the Turks themselves. A similar stratagem had been repeatedly practised by the ancients; the Ottoman galleys (I must again repeat) should be considered as large boats; and, if we compare the magnitude and the distance, the obstacles and the means, the boasted miracle has perhaps been equalled by the industry of our times.  

As soon as Mahomet had occupied the upper harbour with a fleet and army, he constructed, in the narrowest part, a bridge, or rather mole, of fifty cubits in breadth, and one hundred in length; it was formed of casks and logsheads; joined with rafter, linked with iron, and covered with a solid floor. On this floating battery, he planted one of his largest cannon, while the fourscore galleys, with troops and scaling-ladders, approached the most accessible side, which had formerly been stormed by the Latin conquerors. The boldness of the christians has been accused for not destroying them diminished with the fire, by a superior fire, was controlled and silenced; nor were they wanting in a nocturnal attempt to burn the vessels as well as the bridge of the sultan. His vigilance prevented their approach; their foremost galleys were sunk or taken; forty youths, the bravest of Italy and the doughtyest of the Greeks, were humanly massacred at his command; nor could the emperor's grief be assuaged by the just though cruel retaliation, of exposing from the walls the heads of two hundred and sixty musulman captives. After a siege of forty days, the distress of the fate of Constantinople could no longer be averted. The diminutive garrison was exhausted by a double attack; the fortifications, which had stood for ages against hostile violence, were dismantled on all sides by the Ottoman cannon; many breaches were opened; and near the gate of S. Romano, four towers and a large wall had been levelled; but the gait of the increase of his fame, his fear and notitious of the Maceim, had been previously destroyed. The Bosphorus was so finished with fire, that the bridge was burnt, and the galleys sank. The Venetians, who confesses himself ill informed of the affairs of Greece, and a decided opponent of Mahomet, had been the chief of his enemies; they would be the term of the Turkish conquerors. See Phrarna (I. iii. p. 25) and Spinola.
пelled to despoil the churches with the promise of a fourfold restitution; and his sacerdote offered a new
reproof to the enemies of the union. A spirit of dis-
cord impaired the remnant of the christian strength:
the Genoese and Venetian auxiliaries asserted the pro-
cedure of the church, and Justini-
niani and the great duke, whose ambition was not
extinguished by the common danger, accused each
other of treachery and cowardice.

Preparations of the Turk for the general as-
sault.

May 25.

During the siege of Constantinople, the words of peace and capitulation had
been solemnly pronounced by land and sea; embassies had passed between the camp and the
city. The Greek emperor was humbled by adversity; and would have yielded to any terms com-
patible with religion and royalty. The Turkish sultan
was designed of sparing the blood of his soldiers
still more desirous of securing for his own use the
Byzantine treasures; and he accomplished a sacred
duty in presenting to the gabbors the choice of cir-
cumcision, of tribute, or of death. The avarice of
Mahomet might have been satisfied with an annual
sum of one hundred thousand ducats; but his ambi-
tion grasped the capital of the east: for the prince, by
offered a rich equivalent, to the people a free tolera-
tion, or a safe departure: but after some fruitless
program, he declared his resolution of finding either
a throne, or a grave, under the walls of Constantinople.
A sense of honour, and the fear of universal reproach,
forced him to resign the siege, and to withdraw the
army of the Ottomans; and he determined to abide the last
extremities of war. Several days were employed by
the sultan in the preparations for the assault; and a
respite was granted by his favourite science of astro-
logy, which he fixed on the twenty-ninth of May, as
the day for a forlorn and fatal hour. On the evening
of the twenty-seventh, he issued his final orders; assembled
in his presence the military chiefs; and dispersed his
heralds through the camp to proclaim the duty, and the
motives, of the perilous enterprise. Fear is the first
principle of a despotic government; and his men-
aces were expressed in the oriental style, that the fi-
gitives and deserters, had they the wings of a bird,5
should not escape from his inexorable justice. The
greatest part of his bashaws and janizaries were the
offspring of christian parents: but the glories of the
Turk were more considered than the perpetual oppre-
sion; and in the gradual change of individuals, the
spirit of a legion, a regiment, or an odo, is kept alive
by imitation and discipline. In this holy warfare, the
Moslems were exhorted to purify their minds with prayer,
their bodies with seven ablutions; and to abstain
from food till the close of the ensuing day. A
crowd of dervishes visited the tents, to instil the de-
sire of martyrdom, and the assurance of spending an
immortal youth amidst the rivers and gardens of paradise,
and in the embraces of the black-eyed virgins.
Yet Mahomet principally trusted to the efficacy of
Republican and visible rewards. A considerable pay
was promised to the victorious troops; "The city and the
buildings," said Mahomet, "are mine; but I resign to
your valour the captives and the spoil, the treasures
of gold and beauty; be rich and be happy. Many are
the provinces of my empire; the intrepid soldier who
first ascend the walls of Constantinople, shall be
rewarded with provinces, and the sultan's daughter;
and Mahomet is the apostle of God;"6 and the sea
and land, from Galatia to the seven towers, were illu-
minated by the blaze of their nocturnal fires.
Far different was the state of the Last farewell of
Christian kings; who, with loud and impo-
tant commands, dispersed their fleets, or the Greeks,
the punishment, of their sins. The celestial image
of the Virgin had been exposed in solemn procession;
but their divine patroness was deaf to their entreaties;
they accused the obstinacy of the emperor for refusing
a timely surrender; anticipated the horrors of their
conquerors; and threatened the prince with
ish servitude. The noblest of the Greeks, and the
bravest of the allies, were summoned to the palace,
to prepare them, on the evening of the twenty-eighth, for
the duties and dangers of the general assault. The
last speech of Palaeologus was the funeral oration of
the empire. He descended from the throne of his
father; But the example of his prince, and the com-
iment of a siege, had armed these warriors with the courage
of despair, and the pathetic scene is described by the
feelings of the historian Phranza, who was himself
present at this mournful assembly. They went, they
embraced; regardless of their families and fortunes,
they devoted their lives; and each commander, depart-
ing to his station, maintained all night a vigilant and
anxious watch on the rampart. The emperor, and
some faithful companions, entered the dome of St.
Sophia; which in a few hours was to be converted
into a mosque; and devoutly drank a cup of wine,
in remembrance of the battle of the Fritze, and of the
prayers, the sacrament of the holy communion. He
reposed some moments in the palace, which resounded
with cries and lamentations; solicited the pardon of
all whom he might have injured; and mounted on
horseback to visit the guards, and explore the motions
of the besiegers. The distraction and fall of the last Con-
stantine are more glorious than the long prosperity of
the Byzantine Caesars.
In the confusion of darkness an assail-

1 Chalcondyles and Ducas differ in the time and circumstances of the
revolution; and as it was neither glorious nor salutary, the
faithful Phranza spares his prince even the thought of a surrender.

2 See account of the twenty-eighth, of May, in the years.

3 The imperial revenue and expenditure at that time are not known, but
the value of the land and sea was assessed at an annual produce of
2,000,000 ducats.

4 The beacon at the的距离 of the empire was lighted on the twenty-
seventh of May.

5 Sented by the emperor, in the tents of the janizaries.

6 It was the custom for the janizaries to address Mahomet with the
expression, 'God be merciful unto his servant.'
silence was enjoined: but the physical laws of motion and sound are not obedient to discipline or fear; each individual might suppress his voice and measure his footsteps; but the march himself, a common, inevitable produce a strange confusion of disjointed clamours, which reached the ears of the watchmen of the towers. At day-break, without the customary signal of the morning gun, the Turks assaulted the city by sea and land; and the simultaneity of a twined or twisted thread has been applied to the cleanness and continuity of their line of attack. The foremost ranks consisted of the refuse of the host, a voluntary crowd who fought without order or command; of the feebleness of age or childhood, of peasants and valets, and of all who had joined the camp in the blind hope of plunder and martyrdom. The common impulse drove them onwards to the wall: the most audacious to climb were instantly precipitated; and not a dart, not a bullet, of the Christians was idly wasted on the accumulated throng. But their strength and unammonition were exhausted in this laborsious defence; the ditch was filled with the bodies of the slain; they supported the footsteps of their companions; and of this devoted vanguard, the death was more serviceable than the life. Under their respective bashaws and sanjaks, the troops of Anatolia and Romania were successively led to the charge: their progress was valiant. But the sultan himself, on horseback, with an iron mace in his hand, was the spectator and judge of their valor: he was surrounded by ten thousand of his domestic troops, whom he reserved for the decisive occasions; and the tide of battle was directed and impelled by him. His numerous ministers of justice were posted behind the line, to urge, to restrain, and to punish: and if danger was in the front, shame and inevitable death were in the rear, of the fugitives. The cries of fear and of pain were drowned in the martial music of drums, trumpets, and tabalbs; and experience has proved, that the mechanical operation of sounds, by quickening the circulation of the blood and spirits, will act on the human machine more forcibly than the eloquence of reason and honor. From the lines, the galleys, and the bridge, the Ottoman artillerie thundered on all sides; and the camp and the city were enveloped in a cloud of smoke, which could only be dispelled by the final deliverance or destruction of the Roman empire. The single combats of the heroes of history or fable amuse our fancy and engage our affections; the skilful evolutions of war may inform the mind, and improve a necessary, though pernicious, science. But in the uniform and odious pictures of a general assault, all is blood, and horror, and confusion; nor shall I strive, at the distance of three centuries and a thousand miles, to delineate a scene of which there could be no spectators, and of which the beholders were incapable of forming any just or adequate idea.

The immediate loss of Constantinople may be ascribed to the bullet, or arrow, which pierced the gauntlet of John Justiniani. The sight of his blood, and the exquisite pain, appalled the courage of the chief; whose ancient and habitual dread of the Turks still retained its power. As he withdrew from his station in quest of a surgeon, his flight was perceived and stopped by the indefatigable emperor. "Your wound," exclaimed Palæologus, "is slight; the danger is pressing; your presence is necessary; and whether you will retire or not, I will retire," said the trembling Genoese, by the same road which God has opened to the Turks;" and at these words hastily passed through one of the breaches of the inner wall. By this perilsimilid act, he stained his own with the honours of his soil and life; and the few days which he survived in Galata, or the island of Conch, were embittered by his own and the public reproach. His example was imitated by the greatest part of the Latin auxiliaries, and the defence began to slacken when the attack was pressed with redoubled vigour. The number of the Christians was fifty thousand, and their hundred, times superior to that of the christians; the double walls were reduced by the cannon to a heap of ruins: in a circuit of several miles, some places must be found more easy of access, or more feebly guarded; and if the besiegers could penetrate in a single point, the whole city was irrecoverable. The first who defended the sultan's reward was Hassan the janizary, of gigantic stature and strength. With his scimitar in one hand and his buckler in the other, he ascended the outward fortification: of the thirty janizaries, who were emulous of his valor, eighteen perished in the bold advance. Hassan and his twelve companions reached the summit; the giant was precipitated from the rampart; he rose on one knee, and was again oppressed by a shower of darts and stones. But his success had proved that the achievement was possible: the walls and towers were instantly covered with a swarm of Turks; and the Greek and Latin walls, of seven hundred, were overthrown by increasing multitudes. Amidst these multitudes, the emperor, who accomplished all the duties of a general and a soldier, was long seen and finally lost. The nobles, who fought round his person, sustained, till their last breath, the honourable names of Palæologus and Cane-taucene. His mournful exclamation was heard, "Can there he found a christian to cut off my head?" and his last fear was that of falling alive into the hands of the infidels. The prudent despair of Constantinople, the last vestige of the ancient empire. Deatb of the emperor: the tumult he fell by an unknown hand, before Constantinople was buried under a mound, the Palæologian ancestral seat of the sultan. After his death, resistance and order were not more: the Greeks fled towards the city; and many were pressed and stifled in the narrow pass of the gate of Phanar, the gate of St. John, the gate of the city of the Greeks. The victors acknowledged, that they should immediately have given quarter if the value of the emperor and his chosen bands had not prepared them for a similar opposition in every part of the capital. It was thus, after a siege of fifty-three days, that Constant: the city, which had defied the powers of 1.

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1. Besides the 10,000 guards, and the sailors and the marines, Duca numbers in this general assault 30,000 Turks, both horse and foot. Vol. II. 3 H

2. In the severe censure of the flight of Justinian, Pranenza expresses his own feelings and those of the public. For some private reasons, he was treated with levity and ridicule by the more tragic events of later history: but the words of Leonardo Chinibis express his strong and recent indignation, greey sultan empires. In the whole breadth of their common policy, their countrinmen, the Genoese, were always suspected, and often guilty.

3. Death kills him with two blows of Turkish soldiers; Chalcondyles wounds him in the shoulder, and then tramples him in the ground. The grief of Phanemac carries him among his enemies, cæsures from the precise image of his death; but we may, without flattering, apply these noble lines of Dryden, to the whole fatal event:

As to Sebastian, let them search the field, And where they find a mountain of the slain, Send out one of their choosing, to find Sebastian. There they will find him at his maimed length, With his face upon heaven, in the red monument. Which his sad sword had sixed.
ably subdued by the arms of Mahomet the second. Her empire had only been subverted by the Latins; her religion was trampled in the dust by the Moslem conquerors.

The altars were ordered to be burnt and the pillar Constantine, the more distant quarters might prolong, some moments, the happy ignorance of their ruin.  But in the general consternation, in the feelings of selfish or social anxiety, in the tumult and thunder of the assault, a sleepless night and morning must have elapsed; nor can I believe that many Greeks then were awakened by the jinglings of a bell and the shrilling of a siren. We should then most likely have observed a scene which we had so lately abhorred as a profane and polluted edifice. Their confidence was founded on the prophecy of an enthusiast or impostor; that one day the Turks should enter Constantinople, and pursue the Romans as far as the column of Constantine in the square before St. Sophia; but that this would be the term of their calamities: that an angel would descend from heaven, with a scimitar in his hand, and would deliver the empire, with that celestial weapon, to a poor man seated at the foot of the column. “Take this sword,” would he say, “and avenge the people of the land for these unfortunate words, the Turks would instantly fly, and the victorious Romans would drive them from the west, and from all Anatolia, as far as the frontiers of Persia. It is on this occasion, that Ducas, with some fancy and much truth, upbraids the discord and obstinacy of the Greeks. “Had that angel appeared,” exclaims the historian, “had he offered to exterminate your faces if you would consent to the union of the church, even then, in that fatal moment, you would have rejected your safety, or have deceived your God.”

Captured by the Turks, the tall and proud, the tarry angel, the doors were broken with axes; and as the Turks encountered no resistance, their bloodless hands were employed in selecting and securing the multitude of their prisoners. Youth, beauty, and the appearance of wealth, attracted their choice; and the right of property was decided among themselves by a prior seizure, by personal strength, and by the authority of command. In the space of an hour, the male captives were bound with cords, the females with their veils and girdles. The senators were linked with their slaves; the prelates, with the porters, of the church; and young men of a plebeian class, with noble maids, whose faces had been invisible to the sun and their nearest kindred. In this common captivity, the ranks of society were confounded; the ties of nature were cut asunder; and the inexorable soldier was careless of the father’s groans, the tears of the mother, and the lamentations of the children. The loudest in their wailings were the wags, who were torn from the altar, with naked descries, and their long and dishevelled hair: and we should piously believe that few could be tempted to prefer the vigils of the harem to those of the monastery. Of these unfortunate Greeks, of these domestic animals, whose whole strings were rudely driven through the streets; and as the conquerors were not only eager to return for more prey, their trembling gait was quickened with menaces and blows. At the same hour, a similar rapine was exercised in all the churches and monasteries, in all the palaces and habitations of the capital; nor could any palace, however sacred or sequestered, protect the persons or the property of the Greeks. Amongst the multitude of this devoted people were transported from the city to the camp and fleet; exchanged or sold according to the caprice or interest of their masters, and dispersed in remote servitude through the provinces of the Ottoman empire. Among these we may enumerate the remarkable characters, with the Turkish Paranza, first chamberlain and principal secretary, was involved with his family in the common lot. After suffering four months the hardships of slavery, he recovered his freedom; in the ensuing winter he ventured to Adrianople, and ransomed his wife from the mir insomuch as he could procure a horse; and the flower of youth and beauty, had been seized for the use of Mahomet himself. The daughter of Paranza died in the seraglio, perhaps a virgin; his son, in the fifteenth year of his age, preferred death to infamy, and was subdued by the hand of the royal lovers. A deed thus inhuman cannot surely be expiated by the taste and liberality with which he released a Grecian matron and her two daughters, on receiving a Latin ode from Philo- lepous, who had chosen a wife in that noble family. The pride or cruelty of Mahomet would have been most capricious. The Latins of the first generation, but the dexterity of cardinal Iliodore eluded the search, and he escaped from Galatia in a plebeian habit. The chain and entrance of the outward harbour was still occupied by the Italian ships of merchandise and war. They had signalized their valour in the siege; they embraced the moment of retreat, while the Turkish maimers were dissipated in the pilage of the city. When they hoisted sail, the beach was covered with a suppliant and lamentable crowd; but the means of transportation were scanty: the Venetians and Genoese were struck with fear of selection by the Turks. The fairest promises of the sultan, the inhabitants of Galatsia evacuated their houses, and embarked with their most precious effects. In the fall and the sack of great cities, the history is crowded to repeat the same tale of uniform calamity: the same effects must be produced by the same passion; and when those passions may be indulged without control, small, alas! is the difference between civilized and savage man. Amidst the vague exclamations of bigotry and hatred, the Turks are not accused of a wanton or immediate effusion of christian blood: but according to their maxims, (the maxims of antiquity,) the lives of the vanquished were forfeited; and the legitimate reward of the conqueror was derived from the service, the
sale, or the ransom, of his captives of both sexes. The temple of Minerva, which had been granted by the sultan to his victorious troops; and the capture of an hour is more productive than the industry of years. But as no regular division was attempted of the spoil, the respective shares were not determined by merit; and the rewards of valor were stolen away by the first crews of the victors, till all were at toll. But danger of the battle. The narrative of their depredations could not afford either amusement or instruction: the total amount, in the least poverty of the empire, has been valued at four millions of ducats; and of this sum a small part was the property of the Venetian republic. But of the female followers of St. Sophia, of which these foreigner, the stock was improved in quick and perpetual circulation: but the riches of the Greeks were displayed in the idle ostentation of palaces and wardrobes, or deeply buried in treasures of ingots and old coin, lest it should be demanded at their hands for the defence of their country. The profanation and plunder of the monasteries and churches, excites the most tragic raptures. The dome of St. Sophis itself, the earthly heaven, the second firmament, the vehicle of the cherubim, the throne of the glory of God, was despoiled of the crown of the sun, the moon, and the stars, the vases and jewels, the vases and sacerdotal ornaments, were most wickedly converted to the service of mankind. After the divine images had been stripped of all that could be valuable to a profane eye, the canvass, or the wood, was torn, or broken, or burnt, or trod under foot, or applied, as a matter of amusement, to the vilest uses. The example of sacrilege was imitated, however, from the Latin conquerors of Constantinople; and the treatment which Christ, the Virgin, and the saints, had sustained from the guilty catholic, might be inflicted by the zealous Mussulman on the mono- gnostic idolatries of the Grecian palace; and perhaps, in public clamour, a philosopher will observe, that in the decline of the arts, the workmanship could not be more valuable than the work, and that a fresh supply of visions and miracles would speedily be renewed by the craft of the priest and the credulity of the people. He will more seriously deplore the loss of the Byzantine libraries, which were destroyed or scattered in the general confusion: one hundred and twenty thousand manuscripts are said to have disappeared; ten volumes might be purchased for a single ducat; and the text of the sacred books, though in a high degree preserved on the shelf of the churches, included the whole works of Aristotle and Homer, the noblest productions of the science and literature of ancient Greece. We may reflect with pleasure, that an inestimable portion of our classic treasures was safely deposited in Italy; and that the mechanics of a German town had invented an art which deprives the haven of time and barbarism.

From the first hour of the memorable visit to the city, St. Sophia, the Palaces, &c., the eight hour of the same day; when the sultan himself passed in triumph through the gates of St. Romanus. He was attended by his vizirs, bailiffs, and guards, each of whom (says a Byzantine historian) was robust as Hercules, dexterous as Apollo, and equal in battle to any ten of the race of ordinary mortals. The conqueror gazed with satisfaction and wonder on the strange though splendid appearance of the domes and pinnacles, and the prismatic windows of the principal door of St. Sophis, he alighted from his horse, and entered the dome; and such was his jealous regard for that monument of his glory, that on observing a zealous Mussulman in the act of breaking the wall, he instantly exclaimed to his sultan, and Mahomed the second performed the namaz of prayer and thanksgiving on the great altar, where the Christian mysteries had so lately been celebrated before the last of the Caesars. From St. Sophia he proceeded to the august, but desolate, mansion, of a hundred and twenty thousand, of which the walls were thrown down; and the walls, which were covered with images and mosaic, were washed and purified, and restored to a state of naked simplicity. On the day, or on the ensuing Friday, the muzcin, or crier, ascended the most lofty turret, and proclaimed the ezan, or public cry, to the effect that the invader in his new dominion preached; and Mahomed the second performed the namaz of prayer and thanksgiving on the great altar, where the Christian mysteries had so lately been celebrated before the last of the Caesars.

Yet his mind was not satisfied, nor his behaviour did the victory seem complete, till he to the Greeks, was informed of the fate of Constantine; whether he had escaped, or been made prisoner, or had fallen in the battle. Two janizaries claimed the honour and reward of his death: the body, under a heap of slain, was discovered by the golden eagles embroidered on his shoes; the Greeks acknowledged with tears the head of their late emperor; and, after exposing the bloody trophy, I Musulman or Turkish, was buried with all the honours of a decent funeral. After his decease, Lucas Notaras, great duke, and first minister of the empire, was the most important prisoner. When he offered his person and treasures at the foot of the throne, "And why," said the insignant sultan, "did you not employ these treasures in the defence of your prince and country?" "They were yours," answered the slave; "God had reserved them for your hands," "If he reserved them for me," replied the despot, "how have you presumed to withhold them so long by a fruitless and fatal resistance?" The great duke alleged the obstinacy of the
strangers, and some secret encouragement from the Turkish vizir; and from this penurious interview, he withdrew lengthened disbursements of private money and protection. Mahomet condescended to visit his wife, a venerable princess oppressed with sickness and grief; his consolation for her misfortunes was in the most tender strain of humanity and filial reverence. 

A similar clemency was extended to the principal officers of state, of whom several were ransomed at his expense; and during some days he declared himself the friend and father of the vanquished people. But the scene was soon changed; and before his departure, the hippodrome streamed with the blood of his enemies. His punishment was perpetrated by the Christians; they adorn with the colours of heroic martyrdom the execution of the great duke and his two sons; and his death is ascribed to the generous refusal of delivering his children to the tyrant's last. Yet a Byzantine historian has dropped an unguarded sentence of conspiracy, deliverance, and Italian succour; such treason may be glorious; but the rebel who bravely ventures, has justly forti-fied his life; nor should we blame a conqueror for destroying the enemies whom he can no longer trust. On the eighteenth of June, the victorious sultan returned to the seat of his administration, and entered the embassies of the Christian princes, who viewed their approaching ruin in the fall of the eastern empire.

Constantineople had been left naked and adores Constantinople. But she could not be despised in the incomparable situation which marks her for the metropolis of a great empire; and the genius of the place will ever triumph over the accidents of time and fortune. Bursa and Adrianople, the ancient seats of the Ottomans, sunk into provincial towns; and Mahomet the second established his residence, and that of his successors, on the same commanding spot which had been chosen by Constantine. The fortifications of Galata, which might afford a shelter to the Latins, were prudently destroyed; but the damage of the Turkish cannon was soon repaired; and before the month of August, great quantities of time had been burnt for the restoration of the walls of the capital. As the entire property of the soil and buildings, whether public or private, or profane or sacred, was now transferred to the conqueror, he first separated a space of ground from the site of the mosque to the triangle for the establishment of his sarcophagus and palace, or the bosom of luxury, that the grand signor (as he has been emphatically named by the Italians) appears to reign over Europe and Asia; but his person on the shores of the Bosphorus may not always secure from the insults of a hostile navy. In the new character of a mosque, the cathedral of St. Sophia was endowed with an ample revenue, crowned with lofty minarets, and surrounded with groves and fountains, for the devotion and refreshment of the Moslems. The same model was imitated in the jami or royal mosques and the first of these was built, by Mahomet himself, on the ruins of the church of the holy apostles, and the tombs of the Greek emperors. On the third day after the conquest, the grave of Abu Aby, or Job, who had fallen in the first siege of the Arabs, was revealed in a vision; and it is before the sepulchre of the martyr, that the new sultans are girded with the sword of empire. Constantinople no longer appertains to the Roman historian; nor shall the civil and religious edifices that were profaned or erected by its Turkish masters; the population was speedily renewed; and many of the prince's families of Anatolia and Romania had obeyed the royal mandate, which enjoined them, under pain of death, to occupy their new habitations in the capital. The throne of Mahomet was guarded by the numbers and fidelity of his Moslem subjects; but his rational policy appeared as the result of the Greeks; and they returned in crowds, as soon as they were assured of their lives, and liberties, and the free exercise of their religion. In the election and investiture of a patriarch, the ceremonial of the Byzantine court was revived and the cabinet, by the exercise of satisfaction and honour, they beheld the sultan on his throne; who delivered into the hands of Gennadius the cross or pastoral staff, the symbol of his ecclesiastical office; who conducted the patriarch to the gate of the seraglio, presented him with a horse-richly caparisoned, and directed his horse, which has reigned in Constantinople, to the palace which had been allotted for his residence. The churches of Constantinople were shared between the two religions: their limits were marked; and, till it was infringed by Selim, the grandson of Mahomet, the Greeks enjoyed above sixty years the benefit of this civil peace, and the peculiar advantages of the Christian, who wished to clude the fanaticism of the sultan. The Christian advocates presumed to allege that this division had been an act, not of generosity, but of justice; not a concession, but a compact; and that if one half of the city had been taken by storm, the其余uality had surrendered on the faith of a sacred capitulation. The original grant had indeed been consumed by fire; but the loss was supplied by the testimony of three aged janizaries who remembered the transaction; and their vocal oaths are of more weight in the opinion of Castanier, than the positive and unanimous consent of the history of the times.

The remaining fragments of the Greek empire, the extinction of the kingdom in Europe and Asia I shall imperial families abandon to the Turkish arms; but the history of Palaeologus and the final extinction of the two last dynasties, which have reigned in Constantinople, should terminate the decline and fall of the Roman empire in the east. The despos of the Morea, Demetrios and Thomas, the two surviving brothers of the name of Palaeologus, were astonished by the death of the emperor Constantine, and the ruins of their dominions. It then occurred to the able Greeks who adhered to their fortune, to seek a refuge in Italy, beyond the reach of the Ottoman thunder. Their first apprehensions were dispelled by the victorious sultan, who contented himself with a tribute of twelve thousand ducats; and while his ambition

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1. For the restoration of Constantinople and the Turkish foundations, see Leunclavius, (p. 102-103) Du Chesne, (p. 42) Thiroux, Toumfort, and the rest of our modern travellers. From a gigantic plate of the city, in the Constantinople, of the Western Ottoman empire, (Abbe de l'Hoeuvre, Constantinopole, (Paris, 16-21)) we may learn, that in the year 1556, the Moslems were less numerous in the capital than the Christians, or even the Jews.

2. The Turks, or sepulchral monument of Abu Aby, is described and represented in the Tableau General de l'Empire Ottoman, Paris, 1787, in large folds, a work of lost use; perhaps, than magnificence, (tom. i, p. 266, 267).

3. Pharamaz (l. iii. c. 19) relates the ceremony, which has possibly been adumbrated in the Greek reports to each other, and to the Latins. The fact is confirmed by Emmanuel Matarus, who, in vulgar Greek, the History of the Patriarchs after the taking of Constantinople, inscribed (in the Turco-Grecia of Cosm, fl. c. 100, 101) that the most patient reader will not believe that Mahomet adopted the catholic form, "Suae Tribunos quae nulli donavit imperium in patriarchar- rum" (Constaniopoli, A. D. 1453, qui in splendidissima, (p. 107) of the Patriarch, and the Moslem conqueror, by the Turkish Annals of Levantins Affirms, withou" exception, that Mahomet took Constantinople per rim, (p. 209.)

4. The account of the conquest may be turned to curious times, who would not have beaten the honourable and salutary essay. Venetian authority; but since the Turks have taken over the Greek orders, the former is more esteemed, because it is esteemed more honourable to take a city by force than by imposition. The revolution is a subject, which I doubt, in this country, to any purpose, to the civil and pastorial church, and the Turcish Annals of Levantins, affirms, without exception, that Mahomet took Constantinople per rim, (p. 209.) The account of the conquest may be turned to curious times, who would not have beaten the honourable and salutary essay. Venetian authority; but since the Turks have taken over the Greek orders, the former is more esteemed, because it is esteemed more honourable to take a city by force than by imposition. The revolution is a subject, which I doubt, in this country, to any purpose, to the civil and pastorial church, and the Turcish Annals of Levantins, affirms, without exception, that Mahomet took Constantinople per rim, (p. 209.)

5. For the genealogy and fall of the Comneni dynasty, see Du- scalus (Pom. Byz. 1044) (for the first Peter, the same account, (p. 214, 215, 248).) The Palæologus of Montemort were not extinct till the next century; but they had forgotten their pure Greek, original character.

6. In the worthless story of the disputes and misfortunes of the two churches, the reader will perceive that this work has passed beyond the limits of the Latin and Greek, original character.

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explored the continent and the islands in search of prey, he subdued the Morea in a respite of seven years. But this respite was a period of grief, discord, and misery. The *lexarumia*, the rampart of the three hundred thousand men of land and sea, the Albanians, a vagrant tribe of shepherds and robbers, filled the peninsula with rapine and murder; the two deserts imploded the dangerous and humiliating aid of a neighbouring bashaw; and when he had quelled the revolt, his lessons insulated the rule of their future conduct. Neither the ties of blood, nor the oaths which they repeatedly pledged in the commission and before the altar, nor the stronger pressure of necessity, could reconcile or suspend their domestic quarrels. They ravaged each other's patrimony with fire and sword; the aims and successes of the west were consumed in civil hostility; and Achban's reign was only marked by servitude and monstrosity executions. The distress and revenge of the weaker rival invoked their supreme lord; and, in the season of maturity and revenge, Mahomet declared himself the friend of Demetrius and solemnly swore to make the Morea with an irresistible force. When he had thus done, he prepared to march on the isthmus of Sparta. "You are too weak," said the sultan, "to control this turbulent province; I will take your daughter to my bed; and you shall pass the remainder of your life in security and honour." Demetrius sighed and observed: "Surely your daughter and my son; and received for his own maintenance, and that of his followers, a city in Thrace, and the adjacent isles of Imbro, Lemnos, and Samothrace. He was joined the next year by a companion of misfortune, the last of the Saracens, to whom the taking of Constantinople by the Latins, had founded a new empire on the coast of the Black sea.1 In the progress of his Anatolian conquests, Mahomet invested with a fleet and army the capital of David, who presumed to style himself emperor of Trebizond;2 and the negociation was adjourned with a truce, leading a fleet of four hundred, and ten or of Trebizond, twelve thousand soldiers. The capitulation of Trebizond was faithfully performed; and the emperor, with his family, was transported to a castle in Rossinia; but on a slight suspicion of corresponding with the Persian king, David, and the whole Comnenian race, were sacrificed to the jealousy or avarice of the conqueror. Nor could the name of father long protect the unfortunate Demetrius from exile and confiscation; his object submission moved the pity and contempt of the sultan; his followers were transplanted to Constantinople; and his poverty was exalted by a pension of fifty thousand

1 See the loss or conquest of Trebizond in Chalcod.yles, 1. ix. p. 261—295. Ducas, (c. 48.) Pharnax, (l. iii. c. 27.) and Cauterenum, (p. 16.)

2 The name of Souliot Tamareret (tom. iii. letter xvii. p. 179.) speaks of Trebi- zond as usual peoples, Paisiell, the latest and most accurate observer of the city, quotes the Saracens, (l. iii. p. 72.) and for the province, p. 33—934.) Its property and trade are perpetually disturbed by the loose thievish habits of some of the inhabitants, which 30,000 Last are commonly enclosed. (Memoire de Tutt, tom. iii. p. 16.)

3 AIonath, Bzg, prince of Sinope, or Sinoulo, was possessed (chiefly from his copper mines) of a revenue of 200,000 ducats, (Duchalz, l. iii. p. 223.) The copper of Morea, (Cattaneo de la Morale, tom. ii. p. 100.) amounts to the modern city 60,000 inhabitants. This account seems erroneous; yet it is by trading with a people that we become acquainted with their wealth and numbers.

aspers, till a monastic habit and a tardy death released Paleologus from an earthly master. It is not easy to pronounce whether the servitude of Demetrius, or the exile of his brother Thomas,3 be the most inglorious. But Mahomet, after the despot escaped to Corfu, and from thence to Italy, with his two children, Andreas and Manuel, were educated in Italy; but the eldest, contemptible to his enemies and baseborn to his friends, was degraded by the baseness of his life and marriage. A title was his sole inheritance; and that inheritance he successively sold to the kings of France and Aragon.4 During this transient prosperity, Charles the eighth was ambitious of joining the empire of the east with the kingdom of Naples: in a public festival, he assumed the appellation and the purple of Augustus; the Greeks rejoiced, and the Ottoman already trembled at the approach of the French chivalry.5 Manuel Paleologus, the second son, was tempted to turn his native country: his return might be grateful, and could not be dangerous, to the Porte; he was maintained at Constantinople in safety and ease; and an honourable train of Christians and Moslems attended him to the grave. If there be some animals of so great a nature that refuse to prostitute to a turgid state, the last of the imperial race must be ascribed to an inferior kind; he accepted from the sultan’s liberality two beautiful females; and his surviving son was lost in the habit and religion of a Turkish slave.

3 Grief and terror felt and magnified in its loss: the poet, Titus of Florence, 4 A.D. 1415. peaceable and prosperous, was disdained by the fall of the eastern empire; and the grief and terror of the Latins revived, or seemed to revive, the old enthusiasm of the crusaders. In the three countries of the west, Philip duke of Burgundy entertained, at Lisle in Flauers, an assembly of his nobles; and the pompous pages of the feast were skilfully adapted to their fancy and feelings.6 In the midst of the banquet, a gigantic Saracen entered the hall, armed as a phalanx, with a cataract, in his back: a saron in a mourning robe, the symbol of religion, was seen to issue from the castle: she de- pered her oppression, and accused the slowness of her champions; the principal herald advanced, bearing an arch with the inscription of chivalry, he presented to the duke. At this extraordinary summons, Philip, a wise and aged prince, engaged his person and powers in the holy war against the Turks; his example was imitated by the barons and knights of the assembly: they swore to God, the Virgin, the ladies, and the phcenian; and their particu- lar vows were not less extravagant than the general sanction of their oath. But the performance was depend on some future and foreign contingency; and during twelve years, till the last hour of his life, the duke of Burgundy might be scrupulously, and

4 Spandaneus (from Gobelin Comment. V. 111. 110.) relates the ar- rival and reception of the despot Thomas at Rome, (A.D. 1484, No. 3.) by an act dated, A.D. 1484, Sept. 6, and lately transmitted from the archives of the Capitol to the royal library of Paris, the despot Andrew Paleologus, reserving the Morea, and stipulating some private advantages, conveys to Charles VII, king of France, the cities of Constantinople, (A. D. 1425, No. 2.) M. de Fontenay (Momm. de l’Academie des Inscriptions, tom. iii. p. 329—375.) has published a letter of treachery, as far as which he had obtained a copy from Rome.

5 See Philippe de Comines (A. V. c. 14.) who records with pleasure the number of Greeks which he was able to raise, 63 miles of an easy navigation, eighteen days’ journey from Valens to Constantinople, the site of which he planned for a new and more ancient policy of Venice.

6 See the original feast in Oliver de la Marche, (Memoires, p. i. c. 25, 39,) with the abstract and observations of M. de Ste. Palaye, (Memoires sur la Chalcedony, tom. i. p. 139—153.) The peacock and the peahen were distinguished as royal birds.
perhaps sincerely, on the eve of his departure. Had every breast glowed with the same ardor; had the union of the Christians corresponded with their bravery; had every country, from Sweden to Naples, supplied a just proportion of cavalry and infantry, of men and means proportionate to the importance of the cause, Constantine would have been delivered, and that the Turks might have been chased beyond the Hellespont or the Euphrates. But the secretary of the emperor, who composed every epistle, and attended every meeting, Alexius Sylvius, a statesman and orator, descended from a noble line and possessed of the purest spirit and spirit of Christendom. "It is a body," says he, "without a head; a republic without laws or magistrates. The pope and the emperor may shine as lofty titles, as splendid images; but they are unable to command, and now are willing to obey: every state has a separate prince, and every prince has a separate interest. What eloquence could unite so many discordant and hostile powers under the same standard? Could they be assembled in arms, who would dare to assume the office of general? What order could be maintained? What military discipline exist? My adversaries would be such an enormous multitude! Who would understand their various languages, or direct their strange and incompatible manners? What mortal could reconcile the English with the French, Genoa with Arragon, the Germans with the natives of Hungary and Bohemia? If a war was to be made in war, they must be overthrown by the infidels; if many, by their own weight and confusion." Yet the same Alexius, when he was raised to the papal throne, under the name of Pius the second, devoted his life to the prosecution of his schemes. In the council of Mantua he excited some sparks of a false or feasible enthusiasm; but when the pontiff appeared at Aconca, to embark in person with the troops, engagements vanished in exceses; a precise day was adjourned to an indefinite term; and his effective army consisted of some German pilgrims, whom he was obliged to dissuade with inducements and alms. Regardless of futurity, his successors and the powers of Italy were involved in the schemes of present and domestic ambition; and the distance or proximity of each object determined, in their eyes, its apparent magnitude. A more educated and military discipline exist. His eye was devoted to maintain a defensive and naval war against the common enemy; and the support of Scanderbeg and his brave Albanians might have prevented the subsequent invasion of the kingdom of Naples. The siege and capture of the latter by the Turks produced a general consternation; and pope Sixtus was preparing to fly beyond the Alps, when the storm was instantly dispersed by the death of Mahomet the second, in the fifty-first year of his age. His lofty genius aspired to the conquest of Italy; he was possessed of a capital city and a capacious harbour; and the same reign might have been decorated with the trophies of the new and the ancient Rome.

CHAPTER XXX.

State of Rome from the twelfth century.—Temporal dominion of the popes.—Seditions of the city.—Political heroy of Arnold of Brescia.—Restoration of the republic.—The second conquest of Rome by Boniface VIII.—Their wars.—They are deprived of the election and presence of the pope, who returns to Aignons.—The jubile.—Noble families of Rome.—Founds of the Colonna and Ursini.

In the first ages of the decline and fall State and race of the Roman empire, our eye is in vain—beyond the Alps, bly fixed on the royal city, which had 1100-1500, given laws to the fairest portion of the globe. We contemplate her fortunes, at first with admiration, at length with pity, always with attention; and when that attention is detached from her real provinces, they are considered as so many branchlets which have been successively severed from the imperial trunk. The foundation of a second Rome on the shores of the Bosphorus, has compelled the historians of succeeding Constantines and the curious to visit the most remote countries of Europe and Asia, to explore the causes and the authors of the long decay of the Byzantine monarchy. By the conquest of Justinian, we have been recalled to the banks of the Tiber, to the deliverance of the city, the foundation of the policy was a change, or perhaps an aggravation, of service. Rome had been already stripped of her trophies, her gods, and her Caesars: nor was the Gothic dominion more inglorious and oppressive than the tyranny of the Greeks. In the eighth century of the christian era, a small group of adventurous spirits, in arms, provoked the Romans to assert their independence: their bishop became the temporal, as well as the spiritual, father of a free people; and of the western empire, which was restored by Charlemagne, the title and image still declare the singular constitution of modern Germany. The name of Rome must yet command our inviolable respect; the climate (whatever may be its influence) was no longer the same: the purity of blood had been contaminated through a thousand channels; but the venerable aspect of her ruins, and the memory of past glory, preserved a spark of the national character. The darkness of the middle ages exactly placed the fruit of the harvest not unworthy of our notice. Nor shall I dismiss the present work till I have reviewed the state and revolutions of the Roman city, which ascended under the absolute dominion of the popes, about the same time that Constantineople was enwlished by the Turkish arms.

In the beginning of the twelfth century the French, and ry the army of the first crusade, Rome German emperors were revered by the Latins, as the metre A.D. 1000-1100, polis of the world, as the throne of the pope and the emperor, who, from the eternal city, derived their title, their honors, and the right or even who's names and titles have been successively repeated in this work. The Greek heroes of Athens and the Latins were confined to the classics of a better age; and the first renditions of Procopius, Ammianus, Zonaras, &c., were improved by the learned diligence of the Germans. The whole Byzantine series (thirty-six volumes, in two octavo volumes, revised and corrected by the learned Henri/F iguier, of the press of the Louvre, with some collateral aid from Rome and Leipsic, but the Venetian edition, A.D. 1728, though cheaper and more copious, is not less inferior in correctness than in magnificence to that of Paris. The merit of the French editors is evident; but the value of Anna Comnena, Cinnamus Valesianus, &c., is enhanced by the historical notices of Charles the Fat of the Caing. His supplemental sequel, for the year 1400 and 1414, the term of the renowned Byzantines, diffuse a steady light over the darkness of the Lower Empire.

The Debon, who, with less genius than his successor Moretius, has ascertained and magnified the influence of climate, objects to himself the degeneracy of the Romans and Europeans. To the first of these examples he replies, 1. That the change is less real than apparent. 2. That the influence of climate has no effect on the spirit of its ancestors. 3. That the air, the soil, and the climate of Rome have suffered a great and visible alteration. (Reduction and improvement.)

The reader has been so long absent from Rome, that I would advise him to reconsider or review the seventh chapter, vol. ii of this history.
cise of temporal dominion. After so long an interruption, it may not be useless to repeat that the conquerors of Charlemagne and the Ostrogoths were chosen beyond the Rhine in a national diet; but that a common council of the kings of Germany and Italy, till they had passed the Alps and the Appennine, to seek their imperial crown on the banks of the Tiber. At some distance from the city, their approach was saluted by a long procession of the clergy and druids of the very most ancient churches, and the terrible emblemst of wolves and lions, of dragons and eagles, that floated in the military banners, represented the departed legions and cohorts of the republic. The royal oath to maintain the liberties of Rome was thrice reiterated, at the bridge, the gate, and on the steps of the Vatican; and the distribution of a customary donation feebly imitated the magnificence of the first Caesars. In the church of St. Peter, the coronation was performed by his successor: the voice of God was conformed with that of the people; and the public consent was declared, in the acclamations of—Long life and victory to our lord the pope! Long life and victory to the Roman and Teutonic armies. The names of Caesar and Augustus, the laws of Constantine and Justinian, the example of Charlemagne and Otto, established the supreme dominion of the emperors. They could exercise the discipline of civil and military power, which alone secures the obedience of a distant people, impatient of servitude, though perhaps incapable of freedom. Once, and once only, in his life, each emperor, with an army of Teutonic vassals, descended from the Alps. I have described the peaceful order of his entry and coronation; but that order was commonly disturbed by the clamour and sedition of the Romans, who encountered their sovereign as a foreign invader; his departure was always speedy, and often shameful; and, in the absence of a long reign, his name and image were soon effaced. The progress of independence in Germany and Italy undermined the foundations of the imperial sovereignty, and the triumph of the popes was the deliverance of Rome.

Authority of the Popes in the Reign of the Caesars. Of her two sovereigns, the emperor of Rome had the most manifest and increasing interest of conquest; but the authority of the pope was founded on the soft, though more solid, basis of opinion and habit. The removal of a foreign influence restored and endured the shepherd to his flock. Instead of the arbitrary or venal nomination of a German court, the vicar of Christ was freely chosen by the cardinals of the college, most of whom were either natives or inhabitants of the city. The applause of the magistrates and people confirmed his election; and the ecclesiastical power that was obeyed in Sweden and Britain, had been ultimately derived from the Roman church. The former emperor gave a prince, as well as a pontiff, to the capital. It was universally believed, that Constantine had invested the popes with the temporal dominion of Rome; and the boldest civilians, the most profane sceptics, were satisfied with disputing the right of the emperor and the validity of his gift. The truth of the fact, the authenticity of his donation, was deeply rooted in the ignorance and superstition of the times. The fabulous origin was lost in the real and permanent effects. The name of dominus or lord right; was inscribed on the coin of the bishops: their title was acknowledged by acclamations and proclamations of the people, and the sacred consent of the German Caesars, that they long occupied a supreme or subordinate jurisdiction over the city and patrimony of St. Peter. The reign of the popes, which gratified the prejudices, was incompatible with the liberties, of Rome; and more critical inquisitions of the power, the gratuity of a nation, whom they had rescued from the horror and oppression of the Greek tyrant. In an age of superstition, it should seem that the union of the royal and sacerdotal characters would mutually fortify each other; and that the keys of paradise would be the surest pledge of earthly obedience. The sanctity of the office might indeed be degraded by the personal vices of the man; but the vicar of Rome derived the greatest part of their subsistence and riches. The fixed revenue of the popes was probably increased; many of the patrimonial estates, both in Italy and in the provinces, had been invaded by sacrilegious hands; nor could the loss be compensated by the claim, rather than the possession, of the more ample gifts of Pepin and his descendants. But the Vatican and Capitol were nourished by the income of the original donation, the patrimonial fund, the wealth of the clergy; the pate of christianity was enlarged, and the pope and cardinals were overwhelmed by the judgment of ecclesiastical and secular causes. A new jurisprudence had established in the Latin church the right and practice of appeals; and from the north and west, the bishops and abbots were invited or summoned to solicit, to complain, to accuse, or to justify, before the tribunal of the apostles. A rare prodigy is once recorded, that two horses belonging to the archbishops of Mentz and Cologne, repassed the Alps, yet remained with gold and silver; but it was soon understood, that the new edict of the ecclesiastical courts, and the discovery of the frauds, had diminished much less on the justice of their

1See Ducange, Glèse, mediae et infimae Latinitatis, tom vi, p. 364. ---Stapfa. This honour was paid by kings to archbishops, and by vassals to their lords; (Schmid, tom iii, p. 923;) and it was the ancient policy of Rome, to confirm the marks of filial and of feudal subjection.

2 The appeals from all the churches to the Roman pontiff, are described by the papal registers of the Consistory, as of the utmost importance. (Ducange, tom ii, p. 14—142. edit. Bolland, Venet, 1793;) and the judgment of Fenity, (Ducange, tom iii, p. 14.---The Cambridge ecclesiastick dictionary, p. 755;) The emperor, who believed in the same decrees, condigns only the abode of these appeals, the more culpable, as it so far as it seeks to investigate the origin, and rejects the principles, of this new jurisprudence, as originating from the Prefecture of the Germanieo...summaris non levia sacros ansaulis nimium tenuis.---Et nunc Romanorum consilio at usurpatione non credimus. (Bernard de Considerationes, t. ii, c. 2, p. 478.) The first words of the passage are obscure, and probably corrupt.
cause than on the value of their offering. The wealth and piety of these strangers were ostentatiously displayed; and their expenses, sacred or profane, circulated in various channels for the emolument of the Romans.

Inconstancy of superstition. Such powerful motives should have firmly attached the voluntary and pious observances of the faithful to their spiritual and temporal father. But the operation of prejudice and interest is often disturbed by the sallies of unaccountable passion. The Indian who fells the tree, that he may gather the fruit, and the Arab who plunders the caravans of commerce, are actuated by the same impulse, which perverts the future with the present, and retires for momentary rapine the long and secure possession of the most important blessings. And it was thus, that the shrine of St. Peter was profaned by the thoughtless Romans; who pilfered the offerings, and wounded the pilgrims, without computing the number and value of similar visits, which they prevented by their inhospitable sacriilege. Even the influence of superstition is fluctuating and precarious: and the slave, whose reason is subdued, will often be delivered by his avare or pride. A creed is the foundation for the fabric of the oracles of priesthood, most powerfully acts on the mind of a barbarian; yet such a mind is the least capable of preferring an idea to a distant motive, to an invisible, perhaps an ideal, object, the appetites and interests of the present world. In the vigour of health and youth, his practice will perpetually contradict his belief; till the pressure of age, or sickness, or calamity, awakens his terror, and compels him to satisfy the double debt of piety and remorse. I have already observed, that the modern times of religious indifference are the most favourable to the peace and security of the clergy. Under the reign of superstition, they had much to hope from the ignorance, and much to fear from the violence, of mankind. The wealth, whose constant increase must have rendered them the sole proprietors of the earth, was alternately bestowed by the repentant father and plundered by the rapacious son: their persons were adored or violated; and the same idol, by the hands of the same votaries, was placed on the altar, or trampled in the dust. In the feudal system of Europe, arms were the title of distinction and the measure of all other honour: and the sound voice of law and reason was seldom heard or obeyed. The turbulent Romans disdained the yoke, and insulted the impotence, of their bishop; nor would his education or character allow him to exercise, with decency and success, the power of the sword. The passions of his election and the frailties of his life were exposed to their familiar observation; and proximity must diminish the reverence, which his name and his decrees impressed on a barbarous world. This difference has not escaped the notice of our philosophic historian: "Though the name and authority of the seat of Rome were so terrible in the remote countries of Europe, which were sunk in profound ignorance, and were entirely unacquainted with its character and conduct, the pope was so little revered at home, that his inveterate enemies surrounded the gates of Rome itself, and even controverted his government in that city; and the ambassadors, who, from a distant extremity of Europe, car-

ried to him the humble, or rather abject, submissions of the greatest potentate of the age, bound the utmost difficulty to make their way to him, and to throw themselves at his feet."

Since the primitive times, the wealth of the popes was exposed to envy, their Gregory VII had power to opposition, and their persons to violence. While the doctrines of the popes were hatred and the crown increased the numbers, and inflamed the passions of their enemies. The deadly factions of the Guelfs and Ghibellines, so fatal to Italy, could never be embraced with truth or constancy by the Romans, the subjects and adversaries both of the pope, as they have the future, were alternately protected by both parties; and they alternately displayed in their banners the keys of St. Peter and the German eagle. Gregory the seventh, who may be adored or detested as the founder of the papal monarchy, was driven from Rome, and died in exile at Salerno. Six and thirty of his successors, all their retreat to Avignon, maintained an unequal contest with the Romans: their age and dignity were often violated; and the churches, in the solemn rites of religion, were polluted with sedition and murder. A repetition of such crimes, if actuated by the same motives, would be tedious and disgusting: and I shall content myself with some events of the twelfth century, which represent the state of the popes and the city. On holy Thursday, while Paschal officiated before the altar, he was interrupted by the clamours of the multitude who impatiently demanded the confirmation of a favourite magistrate. He silence exasperated their fury: his pious refusal to mingle the affairs of earth and heaven was encountered with menace and oaths, that he should be the cause and the witness of the public ruin. Da rier to save himself from the fury of the clergy, bar-foot and in procession, visited the tombs of the martyrs, they were twice assaulted, at the bridge of St. Angelo, and before the capitol, with a volley of stones and darts. The houses of his adherents were levelled with the ground: Paschal escaped with difficulty and danger: he levied an army in the patrony of St. Peter; and his last days were imbittered by suffering and inflicting the calamities of civil war. The scenes that followed the election of Gelisius II and his successor Gelasius the second were still more alarming to the state of the city. Cencio Frangipani, a potent and factious baron, burst into the assembly furious and in arms: the cardinal were stripped, beaten, and trampled under foot: and he seized, without pity or respect, the vicar of the church, and threw him to the ground. Gelasius was dressing his hair along the ground, buffeted with blows, wounded with spurs, and bound with an iron chain in the house.

1. Homer's History of England, vol. I. p. 119. The same writer has given us, from Fitz Stephen, a singular act of cruelty perpetrated on the clergy by Geoffrey, the father of Henry II. "When he was master of Normandy, the character of Nicepore dieternne, without his consent, proceeded to the election of a bishop: upon which he ordered all of them, with the bishop elect, to be castroed, and made all their tresses be beard in a platter, The pain of danger they might possibly complain: yet, since they had vowed chastity, he deprived them of all the true pity of humanity."

2. From Leo IX, and Gregory VII, an authentic and contemporary series of the lives of the popes by the cardinal of Artenac, Pandulphus Punnam, Bernard Gaido, &c. is inserted in the Italian Historian of Monfort, tom. ii. p. 127—353, and has been always before my eyes.

3. The dates of years in the margin, may throughout this chapter and remarks, be transferred to the American, from my original and excellent guide. He was, and indeed quotes, with the freedom of a man, the work of a great man, in eight volumes; and as that treasure is in my library, I have thought it but right to copy a part of it, not as a duty, to complain of it.

4. I am not able to refrain from transposing the high-colored words of Pandulphus Plannam: to (c. 381) Ho audaces in invicem inimicos atque turpiter victores potentissimi, aedificavit in aedificium victures, de hac aequi vi debito et justa, et tunc quodam ad inscientes et saepe vitiatos metodium, nostram sequuntur societatem, ad honorem ct salute. nam in haereticis testudinis longa suiopia, ascendent retro adhuc codices, ut haereticae praeceptis submersisse, et a constitutis et moribus evadere, quae tantummodo ad eum temporis aut res, quorum ictum, iudicium incoercere pulvere accepit, destruct, punis calculatae per quinque annos, ut incontinentiam animalis hominum subduant, emicere societatem, declarare possent in confessione omnium individuum per captivam et trachia, Jesu bove internum dormientem, detrahir, ad domum lege dedicat, ut inhaerat et inluciam.
of his brutal tyrant. An incursion of the people de-
delivered their bishop: the rival factions opposed the
violence of the Frangipani; and Cenzo, who sued for
pardon, repented of thefailure, rather than of the, guilt,
of his enterprise. Not many days had elapsed, when the
popel was again assaulted at the altar. While his
friends and enemies were engaged in a bloody contest,
he escaped garmont. In this momentary flight, which excited the compassion of the Rom-
ian matrons, their attendants were scattered or unhorsed:
and, in the fields behind the church of St. Peter, his
successor was found alone and half-dead with fear and
fatigue. The pope was dragged from the spot by some
from a city in which his dignity was in-
sulted and his person was endangered; and the vanity
of ascendent ambition is revealed in the involuntary
confession, that one emperor was more tolerable than
tywenty.* These examples might suffice; but I cannot
forget the sufferings of two pontiffs of the same age,
Lucius II., the second and third of the name of Lu-
cius. The former, as he ascended in battle array to assault the capital, was
struck on the temple by a stone, and ex-
pired in a few days. The latter was se-
vously wounded in the nations, they should sever themselves
as a lesson to the head of the church. Hope or fear,
latitude or temerity, the characters of the men, and
the circumstances of the times, might sometimes ob-
tain an interval of peace and obedience; and the pope
was calmed by a powerful argument. The Latins
forward the pope, by the Roman Church, and
were driven from the city. But the root of mischief
was deep and perennial; and a momentary calm was
preceded and followed by such tempests as had almost
sunk the bank of St. Peter. Rome continual.
ly presented the aspect of disorder and discord the
churches and palaces were fortified and assaulted by the factions and
families; and after giving peace to Eu-
urope, Calistus the second alone had reso-
lution and power to prohibit the use
of private arms in the metropolis. Anarchi-
A
the Germans who revered the apostolic
thronc, the tumults of Rome provoked a general indig-
nation; and in a letter to his disciple Eugenius the
third, St. Bernard, with the sharpness of his wit and
zeal, has stigmatized the vices of the rebellious peo-
dle with typical, as the modern emblems
Character of the Church, painted by St. Bernard.
that will not be excused by the motives of Clervaux, of the vanity and arro-
gance of the Romans. A nation nursed in
sedition, cruel, untractable, and scornful to obey,
unless they are too feeble to resist. When they promise
to serve, they aspire to reign; if they swear allegiance,
they watch the opportunity of revolt; yet they vent
their discontent in loud clamours if your doors or your
counsels are shut against them. Destructors in mis-
chief, they have never learnt the science of doing good.
Oudis to earth and heaven, impious to God, sedi
gious among themselves, jealous of their neighbours, inh-
man to strangers, they love no one, by no one are they
beloved; and while they wish to inspire fear, they live
in base and continual apprehension. They will not
submit; they know not how to govern; faithless to
their superiors, intolerable to their equals, ungrateful
to their benefactors, and alike impudent in their de-
mands and their refusals. Lofty in promise, poor in
execution; adulteration and calumny are the
familiar arts of their policy.* Surely this dark
portrait is not coloured by the pencil of christian char-
ity; yet the features, however harsh and ugly, express
a resemblance of the Romans of the twelfth
century.*

The Jews had rejected the Christ when he
appeared among them in a pheidian character; and the Romans might plead
their ignorance of his vicar when he as-
sumed the pomp and pride of a temporal sovereign.
In the thirteenth century, the crusades had
rendered the faith of the Roman Church
more perilous than in the time of St. Peter; the
hersesy of Bulgaria, the Paulician sect, was successful-
ly transplanted into the soil of Italy and France; the
Gnostic visions were mingled with the simplicity of the
social system, and the enemies of the clergy reconciled
their passions with their conscience, the desire of the
Romans to possess the faith of the pope.

The trumpet of Roman liberty was first sounded by Arnold of Brescia,*
whose promotion in the church was confined to the
lowest rank, and who wore the monastic habit rather
as a garb of poverty than as the uniform of obedience.
But the sainted man never forgot the dangers which
angered the pope, and the kind of violence to which they severely felt: they confound with reluctance
the specious purity of his morals; and his errors were
recommended to the public by a mixture of important
and beneficial truths. In the theological studies, he had
been the disciple of the famous and unfortunate Abe-
lard, who was likewise involved in the suspicion of
heresy; but the lover of Eloisa was of a soft and flexible
nature; and his ecclesiastical judges were edified and dis-
armed by the humility of his repentance. From this
master, Arnold most probably imbibed some metaphysi-
cal definitions. In the former, the Latin, S. Clairvaux,
who is addressed as Pope, the Virgin, refers to the tale of
the times; his ideas of baptism and the eucharist are
loosely censured; but a political heresy was the source of
his fame and misfortunes. He presumed to quote the
declaration of Christ, that his kingdom is not of this
world; he boldly maintained, that the sword and the
secrect were intrusted to the civil magistracy; that
the temporal honour and possessions were lawfully vested
in secular persons; that the abbots, the bishops, and
the pope himself, must renounce either their state or
their salvation; and that after the loss of their revenues,
and their voluntary submission to their dissolutions
suffice, not indeed for luxury and avarice, but for a
glacial life in the exercise of spiritual labours. During
a short time, the preachers were revered as a patriot; and
the discontent, or revolt, of Brescia against her bishop,
was the first-fruits of his dangerous leanings. But
the least penal measures against the individual
of the priest; and after the heresy of Arnold had
been condemned by Innocent the second, the gene-

*A Roman citizen. Petrarch takes leave to observe, that Bernard,
though a saint, was a man; that he might be provoked by resentment,
and perhaps repent of his haughty passion. E. (Memoires sur la Vie de
Marques de Petruccio, tom. i. p. 331.)

B. In his index to the twelfth volume of his Annales, has
named a fair and exact portrait of the pope; the making use of
his name in the character of the pope, on the title-page of a work
called "Dicitur," or "Achamrac," the first he applies all the good, to the
last the evil, to the person of the church of the city.

The heresies of the twelfth century may be found in Nolhier,
(Instiit. Hist. Eccles. p. 419-427,) where he entertains a favourable opin-
ion of Arnold of Brescia. In the fourteenth chapter, vol. ii. he have
described the sect of the Paulicians; and followed their migration from
the peninsula to Thracia, the country of the Bulgars, Italy, and
Anatolia.

C. The original pictures of Arnold of Brescia are drawn by Oboi,
bishop of Frevonum, (Chron. i. vol. c. 31.) by Gratia Federici L. L. e.
27. 1. (ii. 212.) and by the third book of the Liguarian and "de
proprietor, who flourished A.D. 1270, in the monastery of Peri near
Bologna. The figures are painted on wood, and of the size of the
fabric. Bizzari. In his Historia ecclesiastica inferni, (c. 411-412,)
the long passage that relates to Arnold, is produced by Guellimau,
Robus Heytzer, (Hist. Eccles. p. 412-413.)

D. Dominici ab altis

Petrarch, qui rerum vestram consistere non sine motto
Nomen aut invocare ducte liable vita.

We may apply the dexterity and conceptions of Liguarian, who
turns the episcopal name of Innocent II. into a compliment.

330.)

* Egro oram Deo et ecclesia dico, si unam possam esse, aelam
um superserum generum, comitum, et cuorum cum omni
opubertatem, quos tibi dum vivam, (Vitae, iii. p. 391.)

* But the Chosen people always opposed the arts of seduction.

* The wicked wit of Bayle was annoyed in composing, with much
lively and learning, the articles of Abelard, Pierre_left, Heloise,
and his Dictionnaire. (Lettres, etc., vol. i. p. 331.) The de-

carnal, of scholastic and positive divinity is well understood by
Moshem. (Inst. Hist. Eccles. p. 412-413.) It is better to translate
in the passage that relates to Arnold, is produced by Guellimau,
Robus Heytzer, (Hist. Eccles. p. 412-413.)

* Dominici ab altis

Petrarch, qui rerum vestram consistere non sine motto
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We may apply the dexterity and conceptions of Liguarian, who
turns the episcopal name of Innocent II. into a compliment.
rival council of the Lateran, the magistrates themselves were urged by prejudice and fear to execute the sentence of the church. Italy could no longer afford a refuge; and the disciple of Abelard escaped beyond the Alps to the safety and the liberality of Zurich, now the first of the Swiss cantons. From a Roman statute, a royal villa, a chapter of noble virgins, Zurich had gradually increased to a free and flourishing city; where the appeals of the Milanese were sometimes tried by the imperial commissioners. In an age less ripe for reformation, the precursor of Zwinglius was heard with applause; a brave and simple people imbued and long retained the colour of his opinions; and his art, or merit, induced the bishop of Constance, and even the pope's legate, who forgot, for his sake, the interest of their master and their order. Their tardy zeal was quickened by the fierce exhortations of St. Bernard; and the enemy of the church was driven by persecution to the desperate measure of erecting his standard in Rome itself, in the face of the successor of St. Peter.

Yet the courage of Arnold was not devoid of discretion: he was protected, and had perhaps been invited, by the nobles and people; and in the service of freedom, his eloquence thralled over the seven hills. But leading in the vanguard of the heretics were the texts of Livy and St. Paul, uniting the motives of gospel and of classic enthusiasm; he admonished the Romans, how strangely their patience and the views of the clergy had degenerated from the primitive times of the church and the city. He exhorted them to assert the inalienable rights of men and Christians; to restore the laws and magistrates of the republic; to respect the name of the emperor; but to confine the shepherd to the spiritual government of his flock. Nor could his spiritual government escape the censure and control of the Romans. The latter, eloquent, and backed by the lessons to resist the cardinals, who had usurped a despotic command over the twenty-eight regions or parishes of Rome. The revolution was not accomplished without rapine and violence. The effusion of blood and the demolition of houses: the victorious faction were enriched with the spoils of the clergy and the adverse nobles. Arnold of Brescia enjoyed, or deplored, the effects of his mission: his reign continued above ten years, while two popes, Innocent the second and Anastasius the fourth, either trembled in the Vatican, or were involved in the adjacent circus. They were succeeded by a more vigorous and fortunate pontiff. Adrian the fourth, the only Englishman who has ascended the throne of St Peter; and whose merit emerged from the mean condition of a monk, and almost a beggar, in the monastery of St. Albans. Of their first provocation, of a cardinal killed or wounded in the streets,

1 A Roman inscription of Stato Turicenla has been found at Zurich. O'Donnell, Notice de l'église Sainte-Gaule, p. 642-643) but it is without sufficient warrant, that the city and canton have usurped, and are monopolized, the names of Turin and Parma Taurinum. A Guilmann (de Rebus Helvetica, lib. i, c. 5, p. 188.) recapitulates the donations (A.D. 323) of the emperor Lewis to his daughter the Abbess Hedegar. Curtius narrates Turicum in diminution to Althammunz in Fago Durazienne, with villages, woods, meadows, woods, terraces, and plains. He makes the bishop, and the city was walled under Odo I., and the line of the bishop of Turin has been transferred, as the subject of a dispute in the nineteenth century. Noble Turcouni multumare copia remem, is repeated with pleasure by the antiquaries of Zurich.

2 The name of the Taurinini females may be traced to Sophocles, Aristophanes, and Aristides. Amidst his bickggs, he drops a precious acknowledgment, qui umquam sancta, namely, the Roman district. He writes that Arnold would be a valuable acquisition to the church.

3 His adviced the Romans. Concerning the decline and ruin modernum suum Arboris tacebant; nihil juris in hac re. Brevissima historia universitatis regni Suediae, p. 140. Sce Frango as utique quaeque, tamen belli praebuit. Nor is the poetry of Gunther different from the prose of Odo. Atumnus (A.D. 1118, N. p. 39) from the Vatican MSS. He quotes, in his description of the pilgrimage, 'et eis A. D. 1141.

4 Benedicta, from pontica se recentia sola; see Chron. Saxon., passim: and the successors of Charle- man, when they were at Arthur in the year 751, and the entries of the manuscript of the Benedicta, an- rian IV. But our own writers have added nothing to the fame or mart of their countrymen.

he cast an interdict on the guilty people; and, from Christmas to Easter, Rome was deprived of the real or imaginary comforts of religious worship. The Romans had despised their old private laws, and submitted to the censures of their spiritual father; their guilt was expiated by penance, and the banishment of the sedulous preacher was the price of their abjuration. But the revenge of Adrian was yet unsatisfied, and the approaching coronation of Frederick Barbarossa was fatal to the bold reformer, who had offended, though not in an equal degree, the heads of the church and state. In their interview at Viterbo, the pope represented to the emperor the furious, ungovernable spirit of the Romans; the insulins, the injuries, the fears, to which his person and his clergy were continually exposed; and the pernicious tendency of the heresy of Arnold, which must subvert the principles of civil, as well as ecclesiastical, subordination.

Frederic was convinced by these arguments, or tempted by the desire of the imperial crown; in the balance of ambition, the innocence or life of an individual is of small account; and their common enemy was sacrificed to a moment of political concord. After his retreat from Rome, Arnold had been protected by the viscounts of Campardia, from whom he was extorted by the power of Cesar: the pretext of the city pronounced in his absence, and the emperor set the pope on fire in the presence of a careless and ungrateful people; and his ashes were cast into the Tiber, lest the heretics should collect and worship the relics of their master. The clergy imprisoned his body, and burnt his ashes. His memory was dispersed; his memory still lived in the minds of the Romans. From his school they had probably derived a new article of faith, that the metropolis of the catholic church is exempt from the penalties of excommunication and interdict. Their bishops might argue, that to the decay of the church, the decline of the kings and nations, more especially embraced the city and diocese of the prince of the apostles. But they preached to the winds, and the same principle that weakened the effect, must temper the abuse, of the thunders of the Vatican.

The love of ancient freedom has encouraged a belief, that as early as the tenth century, in their first struggles against the Saxon Otho, the commonwealth was vitiated and restored by the senate and people of Rome. The city was the only true republic: no more than ten were elected, and ten or twelve plebeian magistrates revived the name and office of the tribunes of the commoners. But this venerable structure disappears before the light of criticism. In the darkness of the middle ages, the appellations of senators, of consuls, of the sons of consuls, may sometimes be discovered. They were bestowed by the emperors, or assumed by the most powerful citizens, to denote their rank, their honours, and perhaps the chain of a pure and patrician descent; but they float on the surface, without a series.
or a substance, the titles of men, not the orders of govern-
ment; and it is only from the year of Christ one thousand
and eight hundred that the establishment of the senate is dated, as a glorious era, in
the acts of the city. A new constitution was hastily
framed by private ambition or popular enthusiasm; nor
could Rome, in the twelfth century, produce an
antiquary to explain, or a legislator to restore, the
harmony and proportions of the ancient model. The es-
sembly of a free, of an armed people, will ever speak
in loud and weighty acclamations. But the regular
distribution of the thirty-five tribes, the nase balance
of the wealth and numbers of the centuries, the de-
bates of the adverse orators, and the slow operation of
protection and sound; the blind multitude, ignorant of
the arts, and insensible of the benefits, of legal government. It was proposed
by Arnold to revive and discriminate the equestrian
order; but what could be the motive or measure of
such distinction? The pecuniary qualification of the
knights must have been reduced to the poverty of the
times; those times no longer required their civil func-
tions of judges and farmers of the revenue; and their
primitive duty, their military service on horseback,
was more nobly supplied by feudal tenures and the
spirit of chivalry. The jurisprudence of the republic
was no longer the same as that of ancient Italy; and
those who lived under the Roman and barbaric laws
were insensibly mingled in a common mass; and some
faint tradition, some imperfect fragments, preserved
the memory of the Code and Pandects of Justinian.
With their liberty the Romans might doubtless have
restore the thing in his mind; and the sons of
Italy who disdained a title so promiscuously adopted in
the Italian cities, that it has finally settled on the hum-
bale station of the agents of commerce in a foreign
land. But the rights of the tribunes, the formidable
word that arrested the public counsels, suppose or
must be converted into a branch of magistracy.
Anciently, the senators were the subjects, the modern barons the ty-
rants, of the state; nor would the enemies of peace and
order, who insulted the viceroy of Christ, have long
respected the unarmed sanctity of a plebeian magis-
trate. 

The Capitol. In the revolution of the twelfth centu-
ry, which gave a new existence and era to Rome, we may observe the real and important
events that marked or confirmed her political indepen-
dence. I. The Capitoline hill, one of her seven emi-
ncences, is about four hundred yards in length, and
more than two hundred in breadth. A flight of a hundred steps
led to the summit of the Tarpeian rock; and fast steep-
er was the ascent before the deprivities had been smoothed
and the precipices filled by the ruins of fal-
len edições. From the earliest ages, the Capitol had
been used as a temple in peace, a fortress in war; after
the loss of the city, it maintained a siege against the

1 The most constitutional form, is a diploma of Otho III. (A. D.
992) Consilium populi Romanorum: but the act is prohibed
private. At the coronation of Henry I. A. D. 1014, the historian
Bishop Dambinus, in the panegyric of Henry the Fourth, of
Bingen, (p. 468.)
2 In ancient Rome, the equestrian order was not ranked with the
senate and people as a third branch of the republic till the collabo-
riage of Cicero, who assumes the merit of the establishment. (Plin.
Hist. Natum. xxxvii. p. 144.)
3 The republican plan of Arnold of Brescia is thus stated by Gun-
her.
Quin etiam tibiue urbis renove veterem; 
Sublina magna Italiae tugurum, 
Jura tribunum, sanctum repente scientum, 
Ex antiqua turba ecclesiam componit. 
Lapae ruinas, et adhibe pedantur montes 
Reddore prim Ave Capitolium praece. 
But of these reconstructions, some were more or less ideas, others no
more than words.
4 Such are the disputes among the antiquaries of Rome, it seems
determined, that the summit of the Capitoline hill next the river is
strictly the Monis Tarpeius, the Arx; and that on the other summit,
the church and convent of Anselmi, the barefoot Clare of St. Francis
occupy the temple of Jupiter. (Nardini, Roma Antica, l. c. vii. 11.-115.)

victorious Gauls, and the sanctuary of empire was
occupied, assaulted, and burnt, in the civil wars of
Vindolf and Vespuio. The temples of Jupiter and
Venus, and the kindred deities, were burned. The
food was supplied by monasteries and houses; and the
solid walls, the long and shelving porticoes, were
decayed or ruined by the lapse of time. It was the first
act of the Romans, an act of freedom, to restore the
strong ancient temple, though not the beauty of the
Capitol; to fortify the senatus consulta; and the
same as often as they ascended the hill, the coldest minds must
have glowed with the remembrance of their ancestors.
II. The first Cæsars had been invested with
the exclusive coinage of the gold and
silver; they then assumed the baser metal of bronze or copper: the emblems and legends
were inscribed on a more ample field by the genius of
ferry; and the prince was relieved from the care of
intoxinating his own virtues. The successors of Dio-
ceanus despised even the flattery of the senate; their
orders were at Rome; and the provincias, assuming
the sole direction of the mint; and the same preroga-
otive was inherited by the Gothic kings of Italy, and
the long series of the Greek, the French, and the
German dynasties. After an abdication of eight hundred
years, the Roman senate asserted this honourable and
independent privilege, which was then restored to the
pontifices, from Paschal the second to the establish-
ment of their residence beyond the Alps. Some of
these republican coins of the twelfth and thirteenth
centuries are shown in the cabinets of the curious.
On one of these, a gold medal, Christ is depicted
under the ægis, with the words of the pious prayer,
’The vow of the Roman Senate and People: Rome
the capital of the world.’; on the reverse, St. Pe-
eter delivering a banner to a kneeling senator in his cap
and gown, with the name and arms of his family im-
presed on his shield. III. With the
Theatrer of the empire, the praefect
of the city was the de

cimientos, or the

patron of the

1 Tarici. Hist. iii. 69, 70.
2 This partition of the noble and baser metals between the emper-
or and senate, must however be adopted, not as a positive law, but
as the probable opinion of the best antiquaries. (See the Science des
Medailles of the Pere Joubert, tom. ii. p. 263—261, in the improved
ded and scarce edition of the Baron de la Bastide.)
3 In his twenty-seventh dissertation on the Antiquities of Italy
tom. ii. p. 559—569.) Muratori exhibits a series of the senatorian
coins, which bore the obscure names of Afordini, Infortiani, Proct-
ator, Paparini. During this period all the provinces, without excepting
Bonifaci. VIII. abstained from the right of coinage, which was re-
ceived by his successor Benedict XI. and regularly exercised in the
court of Avignon.
A German historian, Gerard of Reicherspeier, in Balu, Miscell.
tom. v. p. 64, apud senatum, den trisp unanimously
thus describes the constitution of Rome in the eleventh century:
Grande urbis eorum spectabilis spectaculosa
hoc ad Romanum imperium, sive illius urbis urbis
præfectum, qui de suis dignitatis spectaculo urbane,
videlicet dominum, et dominum feminam, et
omnes civitates, cura publica, cura publica, cura
potestatis insigne, sanctissimum gubernium. 

The words of the Senate of Ethiopia, on the Pisan. (In Vit.
Paschal ii. p. 337, 338.) describes the election and oath of the prefect in
1119, insobstius patris... loca praefecto 
locum... comitiis administrare... auctoritatem populi... in anhon.
not subvenire... confirmarium in urbe pretium prudentem
io; he invested the prefect with a banner instead of a sword, and absolved him from all dependence of oaths or service to the German emperors. 1 In his place an ecclesiastical, a present or future cardinal, was named by the pope to the civil government of Rome; but his jurisdiction over a principality was of a narrow compass; and in the days of freedom, the right or exercise was derived from the senate and people. IV. After the revival of the senate, 2 the conscript fathers 

1 Urbi praefectum ad iuridicam fidu
tatem recepto, et per mantum qua
dem Publicam iurisdictionem, quae vere

ta in urbis urbe 

2 See Otho Frising. Chron. vii. iii. de Grat. Frederic. 1. i. c. 57. 3 Our currans, Rorer Hveden, speaks of the single senators of the Capaccia fami. L. &c. quem repetitum meius repetitum Regatur in opp. (A. D. 1311) esse tempore iuxta iurisdictionem, (Pou-
cury, Glom. tom. ii. p. 103.)

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mies and themselves. Charles of Anjou and Provence, the most ambitious and warlike monarch of the age, accepted at the same time the kingdom of Naples from the pope, and the office of senator from the Roman people. As he passed through the city, in his royal procession, his horse's feet were lodged in the Lateran palace, and smoothed in a short visit the harsh features of his despotical character. Yet even Charles was exposed to the inconstancy of the people, who saluted with the same acclamations the passages of his rival, the unfortunate Conradin; and a powerful avenger, who reigned in the capital, allayed the fears and jealousy of the populace. The absolute term of his life was superseded by a renewal every third year; and the enmity of Nicholas the third obliged the Sicilian king to abdicate the government of Rome. In his bull, a peremptory law, the imperious pontiff asserts the truth, validity, and use of the donation of Constantine, not less essential to the peace of the city than to the independence of the church; establishes the annual election of the senator; and formally disqualifies all emperors, kings, princes, and Popes of this IV. person from it. A.D. 1295. This prohibitory clause was repealed in his own behalf by Martin the fourth, who humbly solicited the suffrages of the Romans. In the presence, and by the authority, of the people, two electors conferred, not on the pope, but on the noble and faithful Martin, as if it were the pretext of the proceedings on the adjustment of the republic, to hold during his natural life, and to exercise at pleasure by himself or his deputies. About fifty years afterwards, the same title was granted to the emperor Lewis of Bavaria; and the archbishop of Rome was succeeded by her two sovereigns, who accepted a municipal office in the government of their own metropolises.

In the first moments of rebellion, when Arnold of Brescia had inflamed their minds against the church, the Romans artfully laboured to reconcile the favour of the emperor, and to recommend their merit and services in the cause of Caesar. The style of their ambassadors to Conrad the third and Frederic the first, is a mixture of flattery and pride, the tradition and the ignorance of their own history. After his constant of his silence and negligence, they exhort the former of these princes to pass the Alps and assume from their hands the imperial crown. "We beseech your majesty, not to disdain the humility of your sons and vassals, not to listen to the accusations of our common enemies, who calumniate the senate and the city, by your impiety. We, on the contrary, in the name of discord, that they may reap the harvest of destruction. The pope and the Sicilian are united in an impious league to oppose your liberty and your coronation. With the blessing of God, our zeal and courage has hitherto defeated their attempts. Of all your faithful adherents, more especially the Frangipani, we have been taken by assault the houses and terrets; some of these are occupied by our troops, and some are levelled with the ground. The Milvian bridge, which they had broken, is restored and fortified for your safe passage; and your army may enter the city without being annoyed from the castle of St. Angelo. All that we have done, and all that we have prepared, is for your safety, and we partake with you, with the most earnest hope, that you will speedily appear in person, to vindicate those rights which have been invaded by the clergy, to revive the dignity of the empire, and to surpass the fame and glory of your predecessors. May you fix your residence in Rome, the capital of the world; give us back our freedom and our dignity; and initiate the example of Constantine and Justinian, who, by the vigour of the senate and people, obtained the sceptre of the earth." But these splendid and fallacious wishes were not cherished by Conrad the Frankcomman, whose eyes were fixed on the Holy Land, and who died without visiting Rome soon after his return from the Holy Land.

His nephew and successor, Frederic I. Farharossa, was more ambitious of the imperial crown; nor had any of the successors of Otto acquired a stronger foothold in the kingdom of Italy. Surrounded by his ecclesiastical and baronial princes, he gave audience in his camp at Satri to the ambassadors of Rome, who thus addressed him in a free and florid oration: "Incline your ear to the queen of cities; approach with a peaceful and friendly mind the pretensions of the预vincents of Christ, who is the passport of the year of the clergy, and is impatient to crown her legitimate emperor. Under your auspicious influence, may the primitive times be restored. Assert the prerogatives of the eternal city, and reduce under her monarchy the insolence of the world. You are not ignorant, that, in former ages, in your honour and service the valor and discipline of the equestrian order, she extended her victorious arms to the east and west, beyond the Alps, and over the islands of the ocean. By our sins, in the absence of your princes, the noble institution of the senate has sunk in oblivion; and with our prudence, a strength has once decessed. We have revived the senate, and the equestrian order: the counsels of the one, the arms of the other, will be devoted to your person and the service of the empire. Do you not hear the language of the Roman matron! You were a guest. I have adopted you as a citizen: a Roman. The Transalpine statesmen of the Transalpine influence of the monarchy, and given you myself, and all that is mine. Your first and most sacred duty is to swear and subscribe, that you will shed your blood for the republic; that you will maintain in peace and justice the laws of the city and the charters of your predecessors; and that you will be a strong and firm hand of silver, the faithful senators who shall proclaim your titles in the capitol. With the name, assume the character, of Augustus." The flowers of Latin rhetoric were not yet exhausted; but Frederic, impatient of their vassals, interrupted the orators in the high tone of royalty and conquest. "Famous indeed have been the fortune and wisdom of the ancient Romans; but your speech is not seasoned with wisdom, and I could wish that fortune were copious in your actions. Like all salutary things, Rome has felt the virtues of time and fortune. You and your families were translated to the east, to the royal city of Constantine; and the remains of your strength and freedom have long since been exhausted by the Greeks and Franks. Are you desirous of beholding the ancient glory of Rome, the gravity of the senate, the spirit of the law, and the discipline of the legions under the value of the legions? You will find them in the German republic. It is not empire, noked and alone;
the ornaments and virtues of empire have likewise
migrated beyond the Alps to a more deserving people.
They will be employed in your defence, but they
cannot be yours, or my predecessors have been invited by the Romans:

you mistake the word; they were not invited; they
were implored. From its foreign and domestic tyrants,
the city was rescued by Charles-magne and Otho, whose
ashes repose in our country; and their dominion was
the peace of your defence. Under that dominion,
your ancestors lived and died. I claim by the right
of inheritance and possession, and who shall dare
to extort you from my hands? Is the hand of the
Franks* and Germans enfeebled by age? am I van-
quished? am I a captive? am I not encompassed
with the banners of a potent and invincible army?
You impose conditions on your master; you require
oaths; if the conditions are just, an oath is super-
fuous; if unjust, it is criminal. Can you doubt my
equity? It is extended to the nearest of my subjects.
Will not my sword be unsheathed in the defence
of the capital? By that sword the northern kingdom of
Denmark has been restored to the Roman empire.
You prescribe the measure and the objects of my
bounty, which flows in a copious but a voluntary
stream. All will be given to patient merit; all will be
clipped from your caprice. Whether the pope or the
senate could maintain these lofty preten-
sions of dominion and liberty. United with the pope,
and suspicious of the Romans, Frederic continued his
march to the Vatican; his coronation was disturbed
by a sally from the capital; and if the numbers and
valour of the victorious Romans could not compel
him to yield his body and soul to his master, he
could not safely encamp in the presence of a city
of which he styled himself the sovereign. About
twenty years afterwards, he besieged Rome, to seat
an antipope in the chair of St. Peter; and twelve
Pisan galleys were introduced into the Tiber; but the
seven days' conclave and the application of negotia-
tion and the progress of disease, nor did Frederic or
his successors reiterate the hostile attempt.
Their laborious reigns were exercised by the popes, the
crusades, and the independence of Lombardy and Ger-
many; they counted the allies of Rome. Frederic
Frederic was preferred in the capital the great
standard, the Cencio of Milan; After the extinction
of the house of Swabia, they were banished beyond the
Alps; and their last coronations betrayed the im-
posture and poverty of the Teutonic Caesars.

Wars of the Romans against the neighbour-
ing cities.

1. * Non credit nobis notum innomium, virtute sua annum venti, or-
amantam sua secum venit. Persa non sunt consules ut, id. Cicer.
or Latin would not have rejected these measDes. the eloquence of
a barbarian born and educated in the Hellenic farn.

* Otho of Freising, who surely understood the language of the court
and diet of Germany, speaks of the Franks in the twelfth cen-
tury as the reigning nation; (Processus Frang, eteri Frang, manus
Frang:®) he adds, however, the editor of Tostis,

* Otho Frising, de Graue Frederic. L. R. C. C. 22, 729-725. These
recent researches and investigations have I translated and abridged with freed-
omy yet fidelity.

* From the Chronicles of Ricoldo and Frances Polln, Murator (Gumut, 1753, 5, 491.) has transcribed these narratives last with
the dogged verses that accompanied the gift.

* Are the decrees? are victor the decree? Cicer.

Cursum ab Augusto Frederico Caesar justo.

L. Mediolanum jam aere aperta venit. Uvas
in dominio
vetus cum triumpho.

Erigo triumpho urbe posuere casum priorum
et victoriam quaedam posuerit, quae

vicit, et victoriam victor victo victor. Cicer.

Next desc on date (now we have the Italian translations, L. R. C. C. 1, 444.)
character of the same
breve.

Et speciosa urbs laurata discessit in
st apo, non
Campobasso, posse
ruris dominium.

Vivis posto passo quartas edit as-

tum, secundum progressum, ad

st apo, et

Santo.

Vivis posto passo quartas edit as-

tum, secundum progressum, ad

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Vivis posto passo quartas edit as-

tum, secundum progressum, ad

st apo, et

Santo.
pined in their relative state to the memorable fields of
Thrasymene and Cannae. In the first of these petty
wars, thirty thousand Romans were overwhelmed by
a thousand German horse, whom Frederic Barbarossa
had detached to the relief of Tuscumul; and if we
number the slain at three, the prisoners at two thou-
sand, and the auxiliaries were countenance and inno-
cent. Sixty-eight years afterwards they
Battle of Viterbo, marched against Viterbo in the ecclesi-
astical state with the whole force of the
The Romans were discomfited with shame and slaughter; but
the English prelate must have indulged the vanity of a
pilgrim, if he multiplied their numbers to one hun-
dred, and their loss in the field to thirty, thousand
men. Had the policy of the senatus and the discipline
of the legions been restored with the capitol, the divi-
ded condition of Italy would have offed the fairest
opportunity of a second conquest. But in arms the
modern Romans were not above, and in arts, they were
far below, the common level of the neighbouring re-
publie dominions. The Roman chief of frequent
actions. As long as their final appeal was determined by the civil magistrate, these
mischiefs were transient and local; the merits were
deemed by public or private: nor could the unsuccessful
competitor long disturb the triumph of his rival. But
after the emperors had been deprived of their prerogatives,
after a maxim had been established, that the
vicar of Christ is amenable to no earthly tribunal,
each vacancy of the holy see might involve Christen-
dom in controversy and war. The claims of the card-
inals and inferior clergy, of the nobles and people,
were vague and litigious: the freedom of choice was
overruled by the tumults of a city that no longer own-
ed or obeyed a superior. On the decease of a pope,
two factions proceeded in different churches to a dou-
ble election: the number and weight of votes, the pri-
ority of time, the merit of the candidates, might bal-
cance each other; the most respectable of the clergy
were divided; and the distant princes, who bowed be-
fore the spiritual throne, could not distinguish the
spurious, from the legitimate, idol. The emperors
were often the authors of the schism, from the politi-
cal motive of possessing a friendly party in the idols,
and each of the competitors was reduced to suffer the
insults of his enemies, who were not avowed by con-
science; and to purchase the support of his adherents,
Right of the
cardinals estab-
lished by Alex-
ander III. A.D. 1179.

who were insinuated byavarice or ambi-
tion. A peaceful and perpetual succes-
sion was thus ascertained to the
third, who finally abolished the tumult-
uary votes of the clergy and people, and defined
the right of election in the sole college of cardinals.3
The three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons,
were assimilated to each other by this important pri-
vilege; the parochial clergy of Rome obtained the first
rank in the hierarchy; they were indifferently chosen
among the nations of Christendom; and the posses-
sion of the richest benefices, of the most important
bishoprics, was not incompatible with their title and
office. The senates of the capitals regulated their
vote, and legates of the supreme pontiff, were robed
in purple, the symbol of martyrdom or royalty; they
claimed a proud equality with kings; and their dignity
was enhanced by the smallness of their number, which
ill the reign of Leo the tenth, seldom exceeded twenty
or twenty-five persons elected. By this wise regulatio
of the demand and the supply, doubt and scandal were removed, and the root of
schism was so effectually destroyed, that in a period
of six hundred years a double choice has only once
divided the unity of the sacred college. But
the concurrence of two thirds of the votes had been
necessary, the election was often delayed by the privi-
late interest and passions of the cardinals; and while
they prolonged their independent reign, the Christian
world was left destitute of a head. A
Institution of
the conclave by
G. Gregory X.
A.D. 1274.

Nine days are allowed for the obsequies of the deceased pope,
and the arrival of the absent cardinals: on the tenth,
they are imprisoned, each with one domestic, in a
carpeted apartment, with a council chamber, with a
pair of walls or curtains; a small window is reserved
for the introduction of necessaries; but the door is
locked on both sides, and guarded by the magistrates of the
city, to seclude them from all correspondence with the
world. If after three days, the luxury of their tables is contracted to
a single dish at dinner and supper; and after the
eighth day, they are reduced to a scanty allowance of
bread, water, and wine. During the vacancy of the
holy see, the cardinals are prohibited from touching
the revenues, or assuming, unless in some extreme
Gravity, the government of the church; all agreements
and promises among the electors are formally annul-
ed; and their integrity is fortified by their solemn
oath and the prayers of the cathedrals. Some articles
of inconvenient or superfluous rigour have been gradu-
ally relaxed, but the principle of the elective system,
vigorous and entire; they are still urged by the per-
sonal motives of health and freedom to accelerate the
moment of their deliverance; and the improvement
of ballot or secret votes has wrapt the struggles of
the conclave in the silky veil of charity and politeness.2
By these institutions, the Romans were excluded
from the election of their prince and bishop; and in the
fever of wild and precarious liberty, they seemed
insensible of the loss of this inestimable privilege.
The emperor Lewis of Bavaria revived the
example of the great Otho. After
some negotiation with the magistrates, the Roman people
were assembled in the square before St. Peter's;1

1 See Smoluch, Institut, Histor. Ecclesiast., p. 401, 403. Alexander
himself had nearly been the victim of a contested election; and the
discussion was repaired upon the whole with any sort of genius and learning which St. Bernard cast into the scale, (See his Lives and writings.)
2 Tho. Pliny, in his importance, dress, precedence, &c., of the
Roman cardinals, are very ably discussed by Thomasin: (Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 1392-1397); but their purple is now much faded. The
sacred college was raised to the de finite number of seventy two,
represent, under his vicar, the disciples of Christ.

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1 See the bull of Gregory X. approbato sacro concilio, in the
Acts of the Lateran, 153, 4. 2; and A. G. Arnold, L. i. iii. 4. c. 3.; an supplement to the decrees
which B. Nicholas III promulgated in Rome in 1258, and added to
the canon law. The decrees of the council of Lyons in 1274.
3 The right of cardinals to vote is unique in the sense of
being the only cardinals to vote; but the right of voting is not
exclusive, as in some temporal matters, there may be though not an absolute, a second or proportion of the college of cardinals,
yielding to the majority of the votes of the college, in whose absence the
vocation of a new pope. The election of a pope is not an
invariable custom, but the council of Constance, in 1417, declared that
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such a custom existed.
THE DECLINE AND FALL

Chap. XXX.

As the pope of Avignon, John the twenty-second, was deposed; the choice of his successor was ratified by their consciences and appetites. They freely voted for a new law, that their bishop should never be absent more than three months in the year, and two days' journey from the city: and that if he neglected to return on the third Sundays, the public servant should be deposed. It was evident, for each party, that Lewis forgot his own debility and the prejudices of the times: beyond the precints of a German camp, his useless phantom was rejected; the Romans despised their own workmanship; the antipope implored the mercy of his lawful sovereign: and the exclusive right of the cardinals was more firmly established by this unseasonable attack.

Absence of the pope from Rome.

Had the election been always held in the Vatican, the rights of the senate and people would not have been violated with impunity. But the Romans forgot, and were forgotten, in the absence of the successors of Gregory the seventh, who did not keep as a divine precept their ordinary residence in the city and diocese. The care of that diocese was less important than the government of the universal church; nor could the popes deliver the states in which their person was always opposed, and their person was often endangered. From the persecution of the emperors, and the wars of Italy, they escaped beyond the Alps into the hospitable bosom of France; from the tumults of Rome they prudently withdrew to live and die in the more tranquil situation of Avignon, Perugia, and the adjacent cities. When the flock was offended or impoverished by the absence of the shepherd, they were recalled by a stern admonition, that St. Peter had fixed his chair, not in an obscure village, but in the capital of the world; by a ferocious menace that the Romans would not have to destroy that state that should dare to afford them a retreat. They returned with timorous obedience; and were satised with the account of a heavy debt, of all the losses which their desertion had occasioned, the hire of lodgings, the sale of provisions, and the various expenses of servants and strangers who attended the court.

After a short interval of peace, and perhaps of authority, they were again banished by new tumults, and again summoned by the imperious or respectful invitation of the senate. In these occasional retreats, the extent of the dominion of the Vatican was the same as before, or far distant from the metropolis; but in the beginning of the fourteenth century the apostolic throne was transported, as it might seem for ever, from the Tiber to the Rhone; and the transmission of the See, and the cause of the transmigration may be deduced from the furious contest between Boniface the eighth and the king of France. Of such spiritual areas of excommunication and interdict were repulsed by the del popoli, et capitation de (55 de consilia, consilia: et de bocce bannum, et po morum. Our knowledge is too insufficient to pronounce how much of this consultation was temporary, and how much ordinary and permanent. Yet it is fairly illustrated by the ancient statutes of Rome.

c. 57. (x. x. c. 697.) In the Manuscript Script. tom. viii. p. 641-645.) relates this law, and the whole transaction, with much brevity and absence than the present Muratorian. Any one conversant with the darker ages must have observed how much the sense (I mean the meaning of superstition is confusing and inconsistent.

In the absence of the pope, see the second original Life of John XXII., xii., 112-115, the confession of the antipope, p. 45. and the fabulous works of Baluze, p. 714, 715.

c. Rome, and is the very exposition: the valiant cardinal emolumentum gravissimum contra popum maiorum quantum exemptum, except to add, that they were not gratuitously imposed upon the church, but they were levied in proportion to the taxable property of the state, and at the first Census, 1139. and the second volume of acts and documents. With the exception of those general works, he devoutly justifies or extenuates the characters of his countrymen.

b) The exile of Avignon is compared by the Italians with Babylon, and the whole country of Italy, to the exile of the papacy from Rome to Avignon, and the state of the church. It is impossible to the author of Petrarch to the judgment of Muratori, are gravely and correctly to press the surface, the关闭 between of the love of Petrarch and of his country. Yet he modestly conceals what it is, that the pope, according to a letter preserved, and many of the vicissitudes against which the pontiffs declared, have been imported with the Roman court by the strangers of Italy, comm. p. 53, 63.

Translation of the holy see to Avignon. A.D. 1309.

1. It is difficult to know whether Labat (tom. iv. p. 53-57) is in jest or in earnest, when he supposes that Anagni still feels the weight of the residence of the popes, and that the comfort of the popes, or Others, are annually blasted by the obscure and mendicant of the popes.

2. See in the Chronicle of Giovanni Villani, cit. vii., c. 63, 64, 65. In Murator, tom. xiii. the imprisonment of Boniface VIII., and the election of Clement the fifth. The cardinals of both parties were soon astonished by a summons to attend him beyond the Alps; from whence, as they soon discovered, they must never hope to return. He was engaged, by promise and affection, to prefer the residence of the popes; and after dragging his court through Poitou and Gascony, and devoting, by his expense, the cities and convents on the road, he finally resided at Avignon, which flourished above seventy years the seat of the Roman pontiff, and the metropolis of Christendom.
By land, by sea, by the Rhone, the position of Avignon was on all sides accessible; the sultry plains of France do not yield to Italy itself; new palaces arose for the accommodation of the pope and cardinals; and the arts of luxury were soon attracted by the treasures of the church. They were already possessed of the adjacent territory, the Venetian county, 1 a populous and fertile spot, which they afterwards purchased from the youth and distress of Jane, the first queen of Naples and countess of Provence, for the inadequate price of four-score thousand florins. 2 Under the shadow of the French monarchy, amidst an obedient people, the popes enjoyed an honor and power which was decided in their favor; but Italy deplored their absence; and Rome, in solitude and poverty, might repent of the un- governed freedom which had driven from the Vati- can the successor of St. Peter. Her repentance was tardy and fruitless: after the death of the old members, the sacred college was filled with French cardinals, who held Rome and Italy with abhorrence and con- tempt, and perpetuated a series of national, and even provincial, popes, attached by the most indissoluble ties to their native country.

Institutio the papal election in the holy year, A.D. 1330.

The progress of industry had produced an augmented commercial life in the Italian republics: the aura of their liberty is the most flourishing period of population and agriculture, of manufactures and commerce; and their mechanic labors were gradually refined into the arts of elegance and luxury, the last of which was the least beautiful, the territory less fruitful; the character of the inhabitants was debased by indolence and elated by pride; and they fondly conceived that the tribute of subjects must forever nourish the metropolis of the church and empire. This prejudice was encouraged in Rome by the receipt of pilgrimages to the shrine of the apostles; and the last legacy of the popes, the institution of the holy year, 3 was not less beneficial to the people than to the clergy. Since the loss of Palestine, the gift of plenary indulgences, which had been applied to the crusades, remained without an object; the most valuable treasure of the church was sequestered above eight years from public circula- tion. A new channel was opened by the diligence of Boniface the eighth, who reconciled the vices of ambition and avarice; and the pope had sufficient learning to recollect and revive the secular games, which were celebrated in Rome at the conclusion of every century. To sound without danger the depth of popular credulity, a sermon was seasonably pron- unced, a report was artfully scattered, some aged witnesses were pronounced; and on the first of January of the year thirteen hundred, the church of St. Pe- ter was crowded with the faithful, who demanded the customary indulgence of the holy time. The pontif, who watched and irritated their devout impatience, was soon persuaded by ancient testimony of the justice of their claim; and he proclaimed a plenary absolution to all catholics within the course of that year, and at every similar period, should respect the holy shrines or the tombs of the holy men of God. The welcome sound was propagated through Christendom; and at first from the nearest provinces of Italy, and at length from the remote kingdoms of Hungary and Britain, the faithful brought in a swarm of pilgrims, who sought to expiate their sins in the holy mother of God; 

1. The conclave Venetian was called to the pope in 1273 by Philip III. king of France, after he had inherited the dominion of the count of Thonon. Forty years before, the hierarchy of Rome had given occasion to a popular insurrection, and the people demanded the abdication of the clerics from the eleventh century to some lands citra Rhodanum. (Visigoth Notitia Galliarum, p. 435; Olivar, Lecons, Description de la France, tom. i. p. 370—381.)

2. If a possession of four centuries was not itself a title, such objec- tion could not be urged; it must be confessed that the gift must be made, if indeed it was paid. Civisram Avisam viam .... et pramentio vindicationem pecuniae indebuntur, &c. (Gilia Vitis Clement VI, in Bulz., tom. i. p. 272 Moroni, Scrittori tom. ii. p. 155.) The only temptation for Jane and her second husband was really money; for they were in Rome, at the suspension of Napoleon, Vittorio, immediately promoted ten cardinals, nine French and one English. (Vita Gregorii, p. 52 et Bulz. p. 626, &c.) 3. In 1311, the pope refused two candidates recommended by the king of France, and quadr, successor of Pope Guin, in Regno Franciae origine traxerat suscipienti in memoriam colloquent exp. (Toman, Discipl. 1351.)

Our primitive account is from Cardinal James Cajetan; (Maximus Romanus, s. v. Indulgentias,) and from the Chronicle of Matteo Villani. (L. 360, 3, 4) The nephew of Boniface VIII. is a fool or a knave: the uncle is a much clearer character.

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liberty and dominion from the city to the adjacent country. The sword of the nobles was broken; their slaves were enfranchised; their castles were demolished; they assumed the habits of society and obedience; their ambition was confined to municipal honours, and in the proudest aristocracy of Venice or Genoa, each patrician was subject to the laws of the State. The hereditary government of Rome was unequal to the task of curbing her rebellious sons, who secured the authority of the magistrate within and without the walls. It was no longer a civil contention between the nobles and plebeians for the government of the State; the hands of the Roman senators asserted their personal independence; their palaces and castles were fortified against a siege; and their private quarrels were maintained by the numbers of their vassals and retainers. In origin and affection, they were aliens to their country; and a genuine Roman, could such be formed, might have re-asserted these haughty strangers, who disdained the appellation of citizens, and proudly styled themselves the princes of Rome. After a dark series of revolutions, all records of pedigree were lost; the distinction of surnames was abolished; the blood of the nations was mingled with that of the Romans and Lombards, the Greeks and Franks, the Germans and Normans, had obtained the fairest possessions by royal bounty, or the prerogative of value. These examples might he readily presumed: but the elevation of an Hertha to the rank of Rome was without a parallel in the long captivity of these miserable exiles. In the time of Leo the ninth, a wealthy and learned Jew was converted to Christianity; and honoured at his baptism with the name of his godfather, the reigning pope. The zeal of Leo and courage of his son of St. Bernard was signalized in the cause of Gregory the seventh, who intrusted his faithful adherent with the government of Adrian's mole, the tower of Crescentius, or, as it is now called, the castle of St. Angelo. Both the father and the son were the parents of a numerous progeny, who were joined to the nobles of the Church by the marriage of their daughters with the noble families of the city; and so extensive was their alliance, that the grand-son of the proselyte was exalted by the weight of his kindred to the throne of St. Peter. A majority of the clergy and prelates supported Leo; he reigned several years in the Vatican, and it is only the elevation of St. Bernard, and the final triumph of Innocent the second, that has branded Ancaletus with the epithet of antipope. After his defeat and death the posterity of Leo is no longer conspicuous; and none will be found of the modern families of descendings from a Jewish stock. It is not my design to enumerate the Roman families, which have failed at different periods, or those which are continued in different degrees of splendour to the present time. The old consular line of the Frangipani discover their name in the generous act of breaking or dividing bread in a time of famine; and such benevolence is more truly glorious than to have enclosed, with their allies the Corts, a spacious quarter of the city in the chains of their fortifications: the Sca- celli, as it should seem a Sabine race, have maintained their original dignity; the obsolete surname of the Ca- prizza is inscribed on the columns of the first senators; the Onici preserved the honour, without the estate, of the censors and quaestors; and the Cesari, whose private story is an essential part of the details of modern Rome. I. The name and arms of Colonna 4 have been the theme of much doubtful etymology; nor have the etorators and antiquarians overlooked either Tra- jum's pillar, or the columns of Hercules, or the pillar of the church of the Conti. Peter was elected senhor that guided the Israelites in the desert. Their first historical appearance in the year eleven hundred and four, attests the power and antiquity, while it explains the simple meaning, of the name. By the usurpation of Cesar, the Colonna provoked the arms of Paschal the second; and the affronts which F. Paschal experienced in Rome, the hereditary fires of Zagarola and Colonna; and the latter of these towns was probably adorned with some lofty pillar, the relic of a villa temple. They likewise possessed one moiety of the neighbourhood of Tusculum: a strong presumption of their descent from the counts of Tusculum, who in the tenth century were the tyrants of the apostolic see. According to their own and the public opinion, the primitive and remote source was derived from the banks of the Rhine; and the sovereigns of Germany were often elevated to dignity with a noble race, which in the revolutions of seven hundred years has been often illustrated by merit, and always by fortune. About the end of the thirteenth century, the most powerful branch was composed of an uncle and six brothers, all conspicuous in arms, or in the honours of the table; and they were followed by the Colonna, a family of great dignity, who have preserved their arms, of which the first was that of Eusebius the bishop of Rome, introduced to the capitol in a triumphal car, and hailed in some vain acclamations with the title of Caesar; while John and Stephen were declared marquises of Ancora and count of Romung, by Nicholas the fourth, a patron so partial to their family, that he has delineated in satirical portraits, imprisoned

4 The cardinal of St. George, in his pastoral, or rather motetrical, history of the election and coronation of Boniface VIII, Minuroto, Script. Ital. tom. iii. p. 461, &c. describes the state and families of Rome, 1294-1303, and distinguishes between the families of descendent from the Jewish stock, and those which are continued in different degrees of splendour to the present time. The old consular line of the Frangipani discover their name in the generous act of breaking or dividing bread in a time of famine; and such benevolence is more truly glorious than to have

4 Minuroto (Disert. xvi.) allows the Annals of Florence, Padua, Genua, Milan, and Ravenna, (Venezia, tom. iii. p. 137-150.) to distinguish eleven families of barons, who are obliged to swear in concilio commune, before they may use the title of Senhor, or apply themselves to make a fortune. By the times of Cesar, the Colonna themselves have not favoured the world with a complete and critical history of their illustrious house. I adhere to Minuroto. (Disert. xvi. tom. iii. p. 467, &c.)

5 A. Paschal, in Via, Paschal II. in Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. iii. p. 183, &c. The families of the Colonna themselves have not favoured the world with a complete and critical history of their illustrious house. I adhere to Minuroto. (Disert. xvi. tom. iii. p. 467, &c.)

6 Paolo, Fussi, in Vit. Paschal II. in Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. iii. p. 183, &c. They have still great possessions in the Campagna of Rome, but they have been reduced to the Restoration this original fire of Colonna, (Escibina), p. 265, &c.

7 Le bonnes undes defis et parois Rheni, says Petarch, de Scip. xvi. 179, as the makes and Juliers acknowl- edges (Lemont, Hist. du Concile de Constance, tom. ii. p. 379.) his origin from the Cols, (the poetical name of the Colonna) but the royal authority of the Memoirs of Brandenburg observes, that the seep- in his unhappy state of things in 1311, the Colonna (ibid. tom. i. 134, &c.), and refers the Colonna to the Roman origin of the Colonna, it was ingeniously supposed, (Dia- ro di Montecuccoli, in the Script. Ital. tom. iii. p. 355.) that a cousin of the emperor, and remotely sprung from the family of Colonna, had been the original fire of Colonna, (Escibina), p. 265, &c.

8 I cannot overlook the Roman triumph or ovation of Marco Antonio Colonna, who had commanded the pope's cavalry at the naval battle of Lagos, in Annals of Lorenzo de' Medici, Hist. It. tom. v. p. 33, &c. Murtr. Oratio, in Op. misc. tom. i. p. 150, &c.
as it were in a hollow pillar. After his decease, their haughty behaviour provoked the displeasure of their subjects, and they were banished. Their uncle and nephew, denied the election of Boniface the eighth; and the Colonna were oppressed for a moment by his temporal and spiritual arms. He proclaimed a crusade against his personal enemies; their estates were confiscated; their fortresses on either side of the Tiber, which they had held previously to the triumph of St. Peter and those of the rival nobles; and after the ruin of Palestrina or Praeneste, their principal seat, the ground was marked with a ploughshare, the emblem of perpetual desolation. Degraded, banished, proscribed, the six brothers, in disguise and danger, wandered over the whole of Italy. Petrarch, with the hope of deliverance and revenge. In this double hope, the French court was their surest asylum; they prompted and directed the enterprize of Philip; and I should praise their magnanimity, had they respected the misfortune and courage of the captive tyrant. His civil acts are the same which we have already spoken of, the honours and possessions of the Colonna; and some estimate may be formed of their wealth by their losses, of their losses by the damages of one hundred thousand gold florins which were granted them against the accomplices and heirs of the deceased pope. All the splendor and magnificence of his successors were by his prudent successors; and the fortune of the house was more firmly established by this transient hurricane. The boldness of Sciarra Colonna was signalized in the captivity of Boniface; and long afterwards in the coronation of Lewis of Bavaria; and by the gratitude of the emperor, the pillar in their arms was encircled with a royal crown. But first the family in fame and merit was the elder Stephen, whom Petrarch loved and esteemed as a hero superior to his own times, and not unworthy of ancient Rome. Petrarch, as a noble hero, with true hope of abilities in peace and war; in his distress he was an object, not of pity, but of reverence; the aspect of danger provoked him to avow his name and country; and when he was asked, "where is now your fortress?" he laid his hand on his heart, and answered, "here." He succeeded by the Roman people with the return of prosperity; and, till the ruin of his declining age, the ancestors, the character, and the children of Stephen Colonna, exalted his dignity in the Roman republic, and at the court of Avignon.

II. The Urssini migrated from Spoleto to Rome, the sons of Ursinus, as they are styled in the twelfth century, from some eminent person, who is only known as the father of their race. But they were soon distinguished among the nobles of Rome, by the number and bravery of their kinsmen, the strength of their towers, thehonours of the senate and sacred college, and the elevation of two popes, Cелиstine the third and Nicholas the third, of their name and lineage. Their riches may be accused as an early abuse of nepotism: the estates of St. Peter were alienated in their favour for the liberal Celestine; and Nicholas was ambitious for their sake to secure the alliance of monarchical to find new kingdoms in Lombardy and Tuscany; and to invest them with the perpetual office of senators of Rome. All that has been observed of the greatness of the Colonna, will likewise redound to the glory of the Urssini, their descendant, who for many years reigned in the long hereditary feud, which distracted above two hundred and fifty years the ecclesiastical state. The jealousy of pre-eminence and power was their hereditary the true ground of their quarrel; but as a heads.

The Cardines spicis annum sacrati dudum
Paparius tertius tenens.
Murator (Disert. xiii. tom. iii. p. 5) observes, that the first Urssini certificate of Colonna was unknown: he is inclined to read Priscian and Urau reversiones.

The partial predicability of Nicholas III is more conspicuous in Vitalii, and Monaldeschi, and in the Urssini, and Urssini.

The national character of the Urssini is by the most Catholic, and the Urssini a French origin, which may be readily true. In the medical life of Celestine V. by the cardinal of St. George, (Muriatori, tom. iii. p. 1. 15) we find a luminous, and not elegant, passage: (G. I. c. 3. p. 203.)

Petrarch, A. D. 1304.
June 19.

Petrarch, A. D. 1301.
July 18.

Petrarch, A. D. 1301.
June 19.

Suetonius Annalibus annos sexcentos
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June 19.

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Petrarch, A. D. 1301.
June 19.

Petrarch, A. D. 1301.
June 19.
the father of her lyric poetry; and his verse, or at least his name, is repeated by the enthusiasm, or affection, of numerous sensibility. Whatever may be the private taste of a stranger, his slight and superficial knowledge should humbly acquiesce in the taste of a leader of such a school. I may suppose that the English and Italians do not compare the tedious uniformity of sonnets and elegies, with the sublime compositions of their epic muse, the original wildness of Dante, the regular beauties of Tasso, and the boundless variety of the incomparable Ariosto. The merits of the lover I omit, for it is only proper to applaud the performance of a supposed person I do not, in a metaphysical passion for a nymph so shadowy, that her existence has been questioned; for a matron so prolific, that she was delivered of eleven legitimate children, while her amorous swan sighed and sang at the fountain of Vanucia. But in the eyes of Petrarch, and those of his greater contemporaries, his love was a sin, and Italian verse a frivolous amusement. His Latin works of philosophy, poetry, and eloquence, established his serious reputation, which was soon diffused from Avignon over France. The same youth who had been taught to pray, was now taught to compose poetry. The academical honours of the three faculties had introduced a royal degree of master or doctor in the art of poetry; and the tule of poet-laureat, which custom, rather than vanity, perpetuates in the English court, was first invented by the Caesars of Germany. In the musical and pastoral sonnet, a prize was bestowed on the victor; the belief that Virgil and Horace had been crowned in the capital inflamed the emulation of a Latin bard; and the laurel was endowed to the lover by a verbal resemblance with the name of his mistress. The value of either object was enhanced by the difficulties of the pursuit; and if the virtue or probity of Laura was inexorable, he enjoyed, and might boast of enjoying, the approval of her passion. In the most subdued, least complicated, yet most delicate kind, so that with the succession of his own labours; his name was popular; his friends were active; the open or secret opposition of envy and prejudice was surmounted by the dexterity of patronage. In the thirty-sixth year of his age, he was so far pleased with the object of his wishes, as on the same day, in the solitude of Vanucia, he received a similar and solemn invitation from the senate of Rome and the university of Paris. The learning of a theological school, and the ignorance of a lawless city, were alike unqualified to bestow the ideal rewards, immaterial wreath which genius may obtain from the free applause of the public and of posterity; but the candidate dismissed this troublesome reflection, and after some moments of complacency and suspense, preferred the summons of the metropolis of the world. The Epistle to Cephalus was performed in the capital, by his friend and patron, the supreme magistrate of the republic. Twelve patrician youths were arrayed in scarlet; six representatives of the most illustrious names of ancient Rome, were crowned with laurel; flowers, accompanied the procession; in the midst of the princes and nobles, the senator, count of Augurlana, a kinsman of the Colonna, assumed his throne; and at the voice of a herald Petrarch arose. After discoursing on a text of Virgil, and thrice repeating his vows for the prosperity of Rome, he knelt before the throne, and received from the senator a laurel crown, with a more precious declaration. "This is the reward of merit." The people shouted, "Long life to the capital and the poet!" A sonnet in praise of Rome was unceasingly repeated; the inscription of genius and gratitude; and after the whole procession had visited the Vatican, the prostrate wreath was suspended before the shrine of St. Peter. In the act of diploma which was presented to Petrarch, the title and prerogatives of poet-laureat are revived in the capital, after the lapse of thirteen hundred years; and he receives the perpetual right of wearing, at his choice, a crown of laurel, ivy, or myrtle, of assuming the poetical habit, and of teaching, disputing, interpreting, and composing, in all places whatsoever, and on all subjects of literature. The grant was ratified by the authority of the senate and people; and the laurel, which Petrarch and his country had so long delighted and been so much attached to, was divided to the Roman name. They did him honour, but they did him justice. In the familiar society of Cicero and Livy, he had imbibed the ideas of an ancient patriot; and his ardent fancy kindled every idea to a sentiment, and every sentiment to a passion. The aspect of the seven hills and their majestic ruins confirmed these lively impressions; and he loved a country by whose liberal spirit he had been crowned and adored. The poverty and desolation of Rome excited the indignation and pity of his grateful son; he disseminated the spirits of his fellow-countrymen armed with partial goodness the last of their heroes and martyrs, the exclusion of Statius (Capitolis proprie institutus) Lyce, Sylv. i. iii. v. 31 may do honour to the games of the capital; but the Latin poets who lived before Domitian were crowned only in the public opinion.

Petrarch and the senators of Rome were ignorant that the laurel was not a Roman thing; but the Belgic poet of the Vulgate, of 1175, Hist. Critique de la Republique des Lettres, tom. i. p. 131—132, declares that St. Paul was crowned with a crown of oak leaves. (Martial, i. iv. epigram 5.)

The poet laureate of Rome has laboured, and not without success, to indicate the very limits of his honorary domain. The grave, and the sources of the laurel, (Pom. ii. notes, p. 76—82.)

The whole person of Petrarch's conception is accurately described by the Abbe de Sade, (tom. i. p. 425—435, tom. ii. p. 6 and notes, p. 111,) who calls the poet laureate, viri, &c. without mixing in this authentic narrative the more recent fables of Sanmucio Dolebne.

The original act is printed among the Poésies Justificatives in the Mémoires sur Petrarque, tom. iii. p. 50—83.
tropons; and in the remembrance of the past, in the hope of the future, was pleased to forget the miseries of the present time. Rome was still the lawful mistress of the world; the pope and the emperor, her bishop and general, had abdicated their station by an inglorious retreat to the Rhine and the Danube; but if such an event was then fatal to the ancient republic, it vindicated her liberty and dominion. Amidst the indolence of enthusiasm and eloquence, Petrarch, Italy, and Europe, were astonished by a revolution which realized for a moment his most splendid visions. The rise and fall of the empire indelibly impressed the imagination of Filippo Bonsi; but the subject is interesting, the materials are rich, and the glance of a patriot-bard will sometimes vivify the copious, but simple, narrative of the Floritene, and more especially of the Roman historian.

In a quarter of the city which was inhabited only by mechanics and Jews, a sign of Rienzi, the marriage of an inkeeper and a washerwoman produced the future deliverer of Rome. From such parents Nicholas Renzii Gabrini could inherit neither dignity nor fortune; and the gift of a liberal education, being out of the question, he became a baker, in consequence of his father's pedlar business. The study of history and eloquence, the writings of Cicero, Seneca, Livy, Caesar, and Valerius Maximus, elevated above his equals and contemporaries the genius of the young plebeian; he persuaded with indefatigable diligence the multitude of bowing down a little and便宜 the unbounded magnitude. He despise his knowledge in familiar language; and was often provoked to exclaim, "Where are now these Romans? their virtue, their justice, their power? why was I not born in those happy times?" When the republic addressed to the throne of Avignon an embassy to request a more convenient truce, Rienzi recommended him to a place among the thirteen deputies of the commons. The orator had the honour of haranguing pope Clement the sixth, and the satisfaction of conversing with Petrarch, a congenial mind; but his aspiring hopes were chilled by disrepute and poverty; and the patriot was reduced to a single room and the charity of the hospital. From this misfortune, he was relieved by the sense of merit or the smile of favour; and the employment of apostolic notary afforded him a daily stipend of five gold florins; a more honourable and extensive connection; and the right of contrasting, both in words and actions, his own integrity with the vices of the state. The eloquence of Rienzi was promptly answered by that of Castruccio, which was always prone to envy and censure; he was stimulated by the loss of a brother and the impurity of the assassin, nor was it possible to excuse or exaggerate the public calumnies. The blessings of peace and justice, which civil order has instituted, were banished from Rome; and the beggars, who had endured every personal or pecuniary injury, were most deeply wounded in the dishonour of their wives and daughters; they were equally oppressed by the arrogance of the nobles and the corruption of the magistrates; and the abuse of arms or of laws was the only circumstance that distinguished the lions, from the dogs and serpents, of the capital. These allegorical emblems were variously repeated in the pictures which Rienzi exhibited in the streets and churches; and while the spectators gazed with curious wonder, the poet exclaimed, he could behold the walls of the city, the saire, inflamed their passions, and announced a distant hope of comfort and deliverance. The privileges of Rome, her eternal sovereignty over her princes and provinces, was the theme of his public and private discourse; and a monument of servitude became in his eyes the means of liberty. He disdained every writer or orator; tended the senate, which granted the most ample prerogatives to the emperor Vespasian, had been described on a copper-plate still extant in the choir of the church of St. John Lateran. A numerous assembly of nobles and plebeians was invited to this political lecture, and with their presence contributed to the success of his eloquence. The orator appeared, in a magnificent and mysterious habit, explained the inscription by a version and commentary, and descended with eloquence and zeal on the ancient glory of the senate and people, from whom all legal authority was derived. The supine ignorance of the nobles was incapable of discerning the serious tendency of such representations; they might sometimes chasse with words and blows the plebeian reformer; but he was often suffered in the Colosseum to amuse the company with his threats and predications, despoiled of his cloak, and his胸环 the mask of folly and the character of a buffoon. While they indulged their contempt, the restoration of the good state, his favourite expression, was entertained among the people as a desirable, a possible, and at length as an approaching, event; and while all had the disposition to apply in some way the courage to their promised deliver.

A prophecy, or rather a summons, He assumed the affixed on the church door of St. George, government of Rome as the first public evidence of his design; a nocturnal assembly of a hundred citizens on mount Aventine, the first step to their execution. After an oath of secrecy and aid, he represented to the conspirators the importance and facility of their enterprise; that the nobles, without union or resources, were strong only in the fear of their imaginary strength; that all power, as well as right, was in the hands of the people; that the revenues of the state were to be divided among the nobles of Avignon, (Clement VI.) and the petty tyrants of Florence, and the city of Rome ceded Italy, and incorporated by the less excusable ignorance of the Latin translator, (p. 408) and the French compiler, (p. 325) who have added the passage.

1 Petrarch compares the jealousy of the Romans with the easy temper of the inhabitants of Aetna, "tamen."
2 The fragments of the Lex Regina may be found in the Inscriptions of Caesar, tome ii., p. 312-320, the Lex Regia was the title of a famous work of antiquity, and the Roman law familiar to every antiquary. It was not so to the tribune; he assures us that it was his maxims and maxims themselves that were the learning of Castruccio, and that his understanding was lessened by the passage.

3 Priori (Brevia) taken similar. juvameus, unque, longue, ingenio sumus cus summissim, sed secum boc elodie liberatur lite P. R. apparere tempore sim. . . . . . . Legibus, hic tyrannis contempus. (Cyp. p. 98,)
apostolic chamber might relieve the public distress; and that the pope himself would approve their victory over the common enemies of government and freedom. After securing, in a faithful and honest manner, his first declaration, he proclaimed through the city, by sound of trumpet, that on the evening of the following day all persons should assemble without arms before the church of St. Angelo, to provide for the re-establishment of the estate. This act was employed in the celebration of thirty masses of the Holy Ghost; and in the morning, Rienzi, bareheaded, but in complete armour, issued from the church, encompassed by the hundred conspirators. The pope’s vicar, the simple bishop of Orvieto, who had been persuaded to take this step, was on this occasion defrocked, installed on his right hand; and three great standards were borne aloft as the emblems of their design. In the first, the banner of liberty, Rome was seated on two lions, with a palm in one hand, and a glee in the other: St. Paul, with a drawn sword, was defended in the banner of justice; and in the third, St. Peter held the keys of concord and peace. Rienzi was encouraged by the presence and applause of an immense crowd, who understood little, and hoped much; and the procession slowly rolled forwards from the castle to the capitol, without being disturbed by some secret emotion which he laboured to suppress: he ascended without opposition, and with seeming confidence, the citadel of the republic; harangued the people from the balcony; and received the most flattering confirmation of his acts and laws. The nobles, as if desirous of arms and counsels, beheld in silent consternation this strange revolution; and the moment had been prudently chosen, when the most formidable, Stephen Colonna, was absent from the city. On the first rumour, he hurried to his palace, affrighted to desecrate this plebeian tumult, and declared to the messengers of Rienzi, that at his leisure he would cast the madman from the windows of the capital. The great hell instantly rang an alarm, and so rapid was the tide, and so urgent was the danger, that Colonna escaped with precipitation to the suburbs of Palestrina; lamenting his own imprudence, which had not troubled the spark of this mighty conflagration. A general and peremptory order was issued from the castle to the nobles, that they should retire to their estates; they obeyed; and their departure secured the tranquillity of the free and obedient citizens of Rome.

with the title But such voluntary obedience evapo- office of tribune. rates with the first transports of zeal; and Rienzi felt the importance of justifying his usurpation by a regular form and a legal title. At his own choice, the Roman people would have displayed their attachment and authority, by lavishing on his head the names of senator or consul, of king or emperor; he preferred the ancient and modest appellation of tribune; the protection of the commons was the essence of that sacred office; and they were ignorant, that it had never been invested with any share in the laws of the good legislative or executive powers of the state. In this character, and with the consent of the Romans, the tribune enacted the most salutary laws for the restoration and maintenance of the good estate. By the first he fulfilled the wish of honesty and inexperience, that no civil suit should be protracted beyond the term of fifteen days. The second was designed to protect property and justify the pronouncing against a false accuser the same penalty which his evidence would have inflicted: the disorders of the times might compel the legislator to punish every homicide with death, and every injury with equal retaliation. But the execution of justice was hopeless till he had previously abolished the tyranny of the nobles. It was formally provided, that none, except the supreme magistrate, should possess or contest the judgement, or review the decisions, of the state: that no private garrisons should be introduced into the towns or castles of the Roman territory; that none should bear arms, or presume to fortify their houses in the city or country; that the barons should be responsible for the safety of the highways, and the free passage of the citizens to and from the several castles. Malefactors and robbers should be expiated by a fine of a thousand marks of silver. But these regulations would have been impotent and nugatory, had not the licentious nobles been awed by the sword of the civil power. A sudden alarm from the bell of the capitol might indeed have settled a temporary harmony, instrumental on his right hand; and three great standards were borne aloft as the emblems of their design. In the first, the banner of liberty, Rome was seated on two lions, with a palm in one hand, and a glee in the other: St. Paul, with a drawn sword, was defended in the banner of justice; and in the third, St. Peter held the keys of concord and peace. Rienzi was encouraged by the presence and applause of an immense crowd, who understood little, and hoped much; and the procession slowly rolled forwards from the castle to the capitol, without being disturbed by some secret emotion which he laboured to suppress: he ascended without opposition, and with seeming confidence, the citadel of the republic; harangued the people from the balcony; and received the most flattering confirmation of his acts and laws. The nobles, as if desirous of arms and counsels, beheld in silent consternation this strange revolution; and the moment had been prudently chosen, when the most formidable, Stephen Colonna, was absent from the city. On the first rumour, he hurried to his palace, affrighted to desecrate this plebeian tumult, and declared to the messengers of Rienzi, that at his leisure he would cast the madman from the windows of the capital. The great hell instantly rang an alarm, and so rapid was the tide, and so urgent was the danger, that Colonna escaped with precipitation to the suburbs of Palestrina; lamenting his own imprudence, which had not troubled the spark of this mighty conflagration. A general and peremptory order was issued from the castle to the nobles, that they should retire to their estates; they obeyed; and their departure secured the tranquillity of the free and obedient citizens of Rome.

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tribune Rienzi. A den of robbers was converted to the discipline of a cam. or convent; patient to hear, swift to redress, inexorable to punish, his tribunal was

widespread, and the fame and fortune of the tribunal throne, birth, or dignity, or the immunities of the church, pro-
tect the offender or his accomplices. The privileged houses, the private sanctuaries in Rome, on which no office of justice would presume to trespass, were abolished; and he applied the timber and iron of their bases to the fortresses of the capital. The venerable father of the Colonna was exposed in his own palace to the double shame of being desirous, and of being unable, to protect a criminal. A mule, with a jar of oil, had been stolen near Capranica; and the lord of the Ursini family was convicted of abstracting the damnum, and to discharge a fine of four hundred florins for his negligence in guarding the highways.

Nor were the persons of the barons more inviolate

than their lands or houses: and, either from accident or design, the same imperial rigour was exercised against the traitors of the adverse faction, whose houses, and his uncles, a recent marriage, and a mortal disease, were disga~dered by the inflexible tribunal, who had chosen his victim. The public officers dragged him from his palace and nuptial bed; his trial was short and satisfactory; the hell of the capital convened the people, stripped them of their great officers, and the hands bound behind his back, he heard the sentence of death; and after a brief confession Ursini was led away to the gallows. After such an example, none who were conscious of guilt could hope for impunity, and the flight of the wicked, the licentious, and the idle, soon purged the city and territory Rome. In this time (says the historian) the woods began to rejoice that they were no longer infested with robbers; the oxen began to plough; the pilgrims visited the sanctuaries; the roads and inns were replenished with traders, and the markets; and a purse of gold might be exposed without danger in the midst of the highway. As soon as the life and property of the subject are secure, the labourers and rewards of industry spontaneously revive: Rome was still the metropolis of the christian world, and her commerce diffused in every country by the strangers who had enjoyed the blessings of his government.

The deliverance of his country inspired in Rienzi with a vast, and perhaps visionary, idea of uniting Italy in a great federative republic, of which Rome should be the ar-
cient and lawful head, and the free cities and princes the members and associates. His pen was not less eloquent than his tongue; and his numerous epistles were delivered to swift and trusty messengers. On foot, with a white wand in their hand, they traversed the forests, towns, and hostile states, the sacred security of ambassadors; and reported, in the style of flattery or truth, that the highways along their passage were lined with kneeling multitudes, who implored Heaven for the success of their undertaking. Could passion have listened to rea-
on, could private interest have yielded to the public welfare, the supreme tribunal and confederate union of the Italian republic might have secured the birth, or dignity, or the immunities of the church, protect the offender or his accomplices. The privileged houses, the private sanctuaries in Rome, on which no office of justice would presume to trespass, were abolished; and he applied the timber and iron of their bases to the fortresses of the capital. The venerable father of the Colonna was exposed in his own palace to the double shame of being desirous, and of being unable, to protect a criminal. A mule, with a jar of oil, had been stolen near Capranica; and the lord of the Ursini family was convicted of abstracting the damnum, and to discharge a fine of four hundred florins for his negligence in guarding the highways.

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and that as often as they visited the city on foot, a single rator, or head, attended the exercise of their office. The Gracchi would have frowned or smiled, could they have beheld the sombre ceremonies and epitaphs of their successor, *Nicholas, Severe and Merciful; Deliverer of Rome; Defender of Italy; Friend of Mankind, and of Liberty, Peace, and Justice; Truncated*? 1 This historical pageant had prepared the revolution; but Rienzi abused it, in luxury and pride, the political means of speaking to the ages, as undeceived; the understanding of the multitude. From nature he had received the gift of an handsome person, 2 till it was swelled and disfigured by intemperance; and his propensity to laughter was corrected in the magistrate by the affectation of gravity and sternness. He was celebrated, in public occasions, in a party-coloured robe of velvet or satin, lined with fur, and embroidered with gold: the rod of justice, which he carried in his hand, was a sceptre of polished steel, crowned with a globe and cross of gold, and enclosing a small fragment of the lance and holy wood. In his civil and religious processes through the city, he rode on a white steed, the symbol of royalty: the great banner of the republic, a sun with a circle of stars, a dove with an olive branch, was displayed over his head; a shower of gold and silver was scattered among the populace; fifty guards with halberds preceded his person; a troop of horse preceded his march; and their tymbals and trumpets were of massy silver.

The ambition of the honours of chivalry 3 betrayed the meanness of his birth, and degraded the importance of his authority. The civil and the religious tribune was not less odious to the nobles, whom he adopted, than to the plebeians, whom he deserted. All that yet remained of treasure, or luxury, or art, was exhausted on that solemn day. Rienzi led the procession from the capital to the Lateran: the solemnity of the way was enriched with decorations and games; the ecclesiastical, civil, and military orders marched under their various banners; the Roman ladies attended his wife; and the ambassadors of Italy might loudly applaud, or secretly deride, the novelty of the pomp. In the evening they had reached the church and palace of Constantine, he thanked and dismissed the numerous assembly, with an invitation to the festival of the ensuing day. From the hands of a venerable knight he received the order of the Holy Ghost; the purification of the bath was a previous ceremony; but in no step of his life did Rienzi exercise such exalted Rind as that by the profane use of the purifying water, in which Constantine (a foolish legend) had been healed of his leprosy by pope Sylvester. 4 With equal presumption the triune watched or reposed within the consecrated precincts of the baptistry; and the failure of his state-heal was interpreted as an omen of his approaching downfall. At the hour of worship, he showed himself to the returning crowds in a majestic attitude, with a robe of purple, his sword, and girt spurs; but the holy rites were interrupted by his levity and insolence. Rising from his throne, and advancing toward the congregation, he proclaimed in a loud voice: *We summon to our tribunal pope Clement; and command him to reside in his diocese of Rome: we also summon the seven fold in the name of the Roman people, the ancient and lawful sovereigns of the empire, the two pretenders, Charles of Bohemia and Lewis of Bavaria, who style themselves emperors: we likewise summon all the electors of Germany, to inform us on what pretence they have usurped the inalienable right of the Roman people, the ancient and lawful sovereigns of the empire, the two pretenders, Charles of Bohemia and Lewis of Bavaria, who style themselves emperors:* and thrice repeated the extravagant declaration, *And this too is mine!* The pope's vicar, the bishop of Orvieto, attempted to check this earful of folly; but his feeble and nameless by martial music; and instead of withdrawing from the assembly, betook himself to dine with his brother tribune, at a table which had hitherto been reserved for the supreme pontiff. A banquet, such as the Caesars had given, was prepared for the Romans. The apartments, porches, and courts of the Lateran were spread with innumerable tables for either sex, and every condition; a stream of wine flowed from the nostrils of Constantin's brazen horse; no complaint, except of the scarcity of water, could be heard; and the luxuriance of the multitude was curbed by discipline and fear. A subterraneous passage was opened and consecrated; and the consecration of Rienzi; seven crowns of different leaves or metals were successively placed on his head by the most eminent of the Roman clergy; they represented the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost; and he still profess ed to imitate the example of the ancient tribunes. These extraordinary spectacles might deceive the vulgar, and charm the people; and their own vanity was gratified in the vanity of their leader. But in his private life he soon deviated from the strict rule of frugality and abstinence; and the plebeians, who were awed by the splendour of his towers, were provoked by the luxury of their equal. His wife, his son, his uncle (a bachelor in name and profession,) exposed the contrast of vulgar manners and princely expense: and without acquiring the majesty, Rienzi degenerated into the vices, of a king.

A simple citizen describes with pity or perhaps with pleasure, the humiliation of the nobles of the barons of Rome. *Bare-headed, Rome, they were deprived of their nobleness by the power of the prince. 5* Their hands crossed on their breast, they stood with downcast looks in the presence of the tribune; and they trembled, good God, how they trembled! 6 As long as the famous old cardinals were the rule of the country, their conscience forced them to esteem the man, whom pride and interest provoked them to hate; his extravagant conduct soon forfeited their hatred by contempt; and they conceived the hope of subverting a power which was no longer so deeply rooted in the public confidence. The old animosity of the Colonna and Ursini was suspended for a moment by their common disgrace: they associated their wishes, and hoped their designs; an assassin was seized and tortured; he accused the nobles; and as soon as Rienzi discovered the fact, he adopted the suspicions and maxims of a tyrant. On the same day, under various pretences, he invited to the capital his principal enemies, among whom were five members of the Ursini and three of the Colonna name. But instead of a council or a banquet, they found themselves prisoners under

1 I could not express in English the forcible, though barbarous, title of Zelator Italiano, which Rienzi assumed.
2 Era Bella. Quoici (i. c. p. 339) it is remarkable, that the titles of the ancient heroes of the Roman stage are written in the Roman MS., from which Muratori has given the text. In his second reign, when he was a warden, Rienzi (di Chelvoni verticato, a modo de uno Abate Ansino, or Ansino, iii. c. 18, p. 52.) is called a great man.
3 Strange as it may seem, this festival was not without a precedent. In the time of Julius Caesar, a Columna and an Ursinus were centum balancing, a centum in triumphate, a modo de uno Abate Ansino, or Ansino, iii. c. 18, p. 52.
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bell the people assembled; they were arraigned
for a conspiracy against the tribune's life; and though
some excited whisperings during the trial were not, as
nor a voice, was raised to rescue the first of the nobi-

ty from their impending doom. Their apparent bold-

ness was promptly by despair; they passed in sepa-
rate chambers a sleepless and painful night; and the
venerable hero, Stephen Colonna, striking against the
door of the tribune's cell, and covering the eyes of the
liver him, by a speedy death, from such ignominious
servitude. The great hall of the capitol had been de-
corated for the bloody scene with red and white hang-

ings; the countenance of the tribune was dark and se-
vere; the swords of the executioners were unsheathed;
and the barons were interrupted in their dying speech-
es by the sound of trumpets. But in this decisive mo-

ment, Rienzi was not less anxious or apprehensive
than his captives: he dreaded the splendour of their names,
their surviving kinsmen, the inconstancy of the people,
the presence of a world, and, after all, his memory of
mortal injury, he vainly presumed that, if he could for-
give, he might himself be forgiven. His elaborate
creation was that of a christian and a suppliant; and, as
the humble minister of the commons, he entreated his
masters to pardon these noble criminals, for whose
recovery the people sympathized with his fidelity and
authority. "If you are spared," said the tribune, "by
the mercy of the Romans, will you not promise to sup-
port the good estate with your lives and fortunes."
Astonished by this marvellous clemency, the barons
bowed their heads; and while they devoutly repeated
the words of forgiveness, a cross was placed on their
heads, and a mark of more sincere, assurance of revenge.
A priest, in the name of the people, pronounced their absolute;
they received the communion with the tribune, assisted at
the banquet, followed the procession; and, after every
spiritual and temporal sign of re-tribulation, were
dismissed in safety to their respective homes, with the
new honours and titles of generals, consuls, and patricians.1

They oppose Rienzi. During some weeks they were check-
enz in arms, ed by the memory of their danger, rather
than by any deliverance. Greatly to impose a new
St. Urbin, escorted with the Colonna from the city,
greeted at Marino the standard of rebellion. The
fortifications of the castle were instantly restored; the
vassals attended their lord; the outlaws armed against the
magistrate; the flocks and herds, the harvests and vines
were swept away or destroyed; and the people armed
Rienzi as the author of the calamities which his govern-
moot had taught them to forget. In the camp, Rienzi
appeared to lose advantage than in the rostrum; and
he neglected the progress of the rebel barons till their
numbers were strong, and their castles impregnable.
From the pages of Livy, he had not imbibed the art,
or even the courage, of a general: an army of twenty
thousand Romans returned without honour or effect
from the attack of Marino; and his vengeance was
amused by painting his enemies, their heads downward,
and dragging, two thousand feet behind him, the dead,
the wounded, and the slain. The city was prepared for their reception: the
alarm-bell rung all night; the gates were strictly guard-
ed, or insolently open; and after some hesitation they
sounded a retreat. The two first divisions had passed
along the walls, but the prospect of a free entrance

1 The original letter, in which Rienzi justifies his treatment of
the Colonna, (Hocesinum, apud d. Cercap, p. 222—223.) displays, in
genuine spirit, the mixture of the knave and the madman.

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tempted the headstrong valor of the nobles in the
rear; and after a successful skirmish, they were over-
thrown and massacred without quarter by the crowds
of the Roman people. Stephen Colonna, the
younger, the noble spirit to whom the triumph was
preceded or accompanied in death by his son John, a gallant youth, by his brother
Peter, who might regret the ease and honors of the church,
by a nephew of legitimate birth, and by two bastards of
the Colonna race; and the number of seven, the
seven crowns, which the Pope in his execration,
Dictator, completed by the agony of the deplorable
parent, of the veteran chief, who had survived the
hope and fortune of his house. The vision and prop-
hecies of St. Martin and pope Boniface had been used
by the tribune to animate his troops;2 he displayed,
at least in the pursuit, the spirit of a hero; but
he forgot the maxims of the ancient Romans, who
abhorred the triumphs of civil war. The conqueror
ascended the capitol; deposited his crown and sceptre
on the altar: and boasted with some truth, that he had
"spread not an ear, nor have I been able to amputate." His base and imitable
revenge denied the honours of burial; and the bodies
of the Colonna, which he threatened to expose with
those of the vilest malefactors, were secretly interr
by the holy virgins of their name and family. The
people used their influence with their relatives to
own fury, and detested the indecent joy of Rienzi,
who visited the spot where these illustrious victims
had fallen. It was on that fatal spot that he conferred
on his son the honour of knighthood; and the cere-
mony was accomplished by a slight blow from each
of the hands of the crowned, and by a ridiculous
inhuman ablution from a pool of water, which was yet
polluted with patrician blood.3

A short delay would have saved the Fall and death
Colonna, the delay of a single month, which elapsed between the triumph and
the exile of Rienzi. In the pride of victory, he forfitted what yet remained of his
civil virtue, without acquiring the fame of military prowess. A
free and vigorous opposition was formed in the city;
and when the tribune proposed in the public council1
the murder of the remaining twenty barons of
Perugia, thirty-nine men voted against his measures; repelled the injurious charge of treachery
and corruption; and urged him to prove, by their for-
cible exclusion, that, if the populace adhered to
his cause, it was already disclaimed by the most respecta-
tible citizens. The Pope, and the sacred cgurse,
never been dazzled by his specious professions; they
were justly offended by the insolence of his conduct;
a cardinal legate was sent to Italy, and after some

2 Rienzi, in the above-mentioned letter, ascribes to St. Martin the
tribune. Boniface VIII, the enemy of Colonna, himself, and the Ro-
man people. the glory of the day, which Villani likens (C. 12, c.
161.) describes as a regular battle. The disorderly skirmish, the flight
of the Romans, and the cowardice of Rienzi, are painted in the single
and unvaried narrative of Fortebraccio, or the anonymous
historian, (t. ii. c. 31—37.)

3 In describing the death of the Colonna, I speak only of the family
of Stephen the elder, who is often confounded by the P. d. Cercap
with his son. That family was extinguished, but the house has been perpetuated by collateral branches which
have be"narily the representatives of the Ursini.

The belief of his incapacity encouraged their opera-
tions: they were invited by their secret adherents;
and the barons attempted, with four thousand foot
and sixteen thousand horse, to raze to the ground
their city of.Rome. The city was prepared for their reception: the
alarm-bell rung all night; the gates were strictly guard-
ed, or insolently open; and after some hesitation they
sounded a retreat. The two first divisions had passed
along the walls, but the prospect of a free entrance

1 These were the first and only letters in which Rienzi
mentions the death of the Colonna, (Socrates, epist. 13, p. 639, 630.) The friend was lost in the patriot. Nulla esto ordine principalius epistola; care victoria jus-ri, care Roma, care Italia.

2 This council and opposition is obscurely mentioned by Pellin-
rocher, a contemporary writer, who has preserved some corruptions and original facts. Bri. Gall. ii. xxxv. c. 31. p. 790—791.
fruitless treaty, and two personal interviews, he fulmi-
nated a bull of excommunication, in which the tribune
was degraded from his office, and branded with the guilt
of rebellion, sacrilege, and heresy. The surviving
barons of Rome were now humbled to a sense of na-
grion; their interest and revenge, encouraged them in
the service of the church; but as the fate of the
Colonna was before their eyes, they abandoned to a
private adventurer the peril and glory of the revolu-
tion. John Pepin, count of Minorinov6 in the king-

ship of Naples, who had been expelled, after his crimes,
or his riches, to perpetual imprisonment; and Petrarch,
by soliciting his release, indirectly contributed to the
ruin of his friend. At the head of one hundred and
fifty soldiers, the count of Minorino introduced him-
self into Rome; barricaded the quarter of the Colonna;
and found the enterprise as easy as it had seemed
impossible. From the first alarm, the bell of the
capitol incessantly tolled; but, instead of repairing to
the well-known sound, the people were silent and
inactive; and the pusillanimous Rienzi, depriving their
infringements with sighs and tears, abdicated the govern-
ment and power of the republic.

Revolutions of Rome.

Without drawing his sword, count
A. D. 1347—1354.

Pepin restored the aristocracy of the
church; three senators were chosen, and
the legate assuming the first rank, accepted his two
colleagues from the rival families of Colonna and
Ursini. In the triumph of his head, a priest was proscribed; yet such was the terror of his
name, that the barons hesitated three days, before
they would trust themselves in the city, and Rienzi
was left above a month in the castle of St. Angelo,
from whence he was not willingly withdrawn, after his labouring
without effect, to revive the afflicion and courage of the
Romans. The vision of freedom and empire had
vanished: their fallen spirit would have acquiesced in servitude, had it been smoothed by tranquillity and
order; and it was scarcely observed, that the new
senators, elected by a spirit of independence from
his Apostolick head, that four cardinals were appointed to reform, with
dictatorial power, the state of the republic. Rome
was again agitated by the bloody feuds of the barons,
who detested each other, and despised the commons:
their hostile fortresses, both in town and country, ancient
and modern, and the peaceful citizens, a flock of sheep, were devoured, says the
Florentine historian, by these rapacious wolves. But
when their pride and avarice had exhausted the pa-
tience of the Romans, a confraternity of the Virgin Ma-
ry protected them, and after a few minutes, the bell of the
capitol was again tolled, the nobles in arms trod the
presence of an unarmed multitude; and of the
twenty senators, Colonna escaped from the window of
the palace, and Ursini was stoned at the foot of the
altar. The dangerous office of tribune was succes-
sively occupied by two plebeians, Cerroni and Baron-
celli. The mildness of Cerroni was unequal to the
times; and after a faint struggle, he retired with a fair
reputation or genius, Baronecelli was distinguished by a resolute spirit: he spoke the
language of a patriot, and tried in the footsteps of tyrants,
his suspension was a sentence of death, and his own
death was the reward of his cruelties. Amidst the
public misfortunes, the faults of Rienzi were for-
tozen; and the Romans sighed for the peace and prosper-
ity of the good estate.7

After an exile of seven years, the first
Advances of

deliverer was again restored to his coun-
try. In the disguise of a monk or a pilgrim, he
escaped from the castle of St. Angelo, implored the
blessings of the holy religious, and, forsook the
insatiable ambition of every bold adventurer, mingled
at Rome with the pilgrims of the jubilee, lay concealed
among the hermits of the Apennine, and wandered
through the cities of Italy, Germany, and Bohemia.
His person was invisible, his name was yet formula-
ded; a name was more powerful to produce modern miracles
and even magnifies, his personal merit. The emperor
Charles the fourth gave audience to a stranger, who
frankly revealed himself as the tribune of the repub-
lic; and astonished an assembly of ambassadors and
princes, by the eloquence of a prophet and the visions
of a saint, the downfall of tyranny and the kingdom of
the Holy Ghost. Whatever had been his hopes, Rienzi
found himself a captive; but he supported a character of independence and dignity, and obeyed,
as his own choice, the irresistible summons of the supreme pontiff. The zeal of Petrarch, which had
been expressed in theunky conduct, as well by the sufferings and the presence, of his friend; and
he boldly complies of the times, in which the saviour
of Rome was delivered by her emperor into the hands of
her bishop. Rienzi was transported
A prisoner at
slowly, but in safe custody, from Prague to

the seat of Rienzi, it was that of a malefactor; in his prison he was chained by the leg; and four cardinals were named to inquire
into the crimes of heresy and rebellion. But his trial
and condemnation would have involved some questions,
which the pontiff was more reluctant to have decided;
and the celebrated mystery: the temporal supremacy of the popes; a duty of residence; the civil and ecclesiastical privilege of
the clergy and people of Rome. The reigning pontiff
welcomed the appellation of Clement; the strange
visions and magnificent spirit of the captive excited the pity and charity of Petrarch; he respected in him the hero the name and sacred
character of a poet.4 Rienzi was indulged with an
easy confinement and the use of books; and in the
assiduous study of Livy and the Bible, he sought the
cause and the consolation of his misfortunes.

The Roman Senate, in their second
A. D. 1354.

The year of Rienzi, senator of
Rome, the sixth opened a new prospect of
his deliverance and restoration; and the
court of Avignon was persuaded, that the successful
rebel could alone appease and reform the anarchy of
the kingdom. The ordinals of the Roman tribune was sent into Italy, with the title of
senator; but the death of Baronecelli appeared to supersede the use of his mission; and the legate, car-
dinal Albornoz5 a consummate statesman, allowed him
with reluctance, and without aid, to undertake
the perilous experiment. His first reception was equal
to his wishes: the day of his entrance was a public
festival; and his eloquence and authority revived the
laws of the good estate. But this momentary
sunshine was soon clouded by his own vices and those of
the people; in the capitol, he might often regret the

Thomas Fortiiscesta. (L. lib. c. 1.) I have slightly varied over these second characters, who imitated them.

6 These visions, of which the friends and the enemies of Rienzi seem alike ignorant, are surely magnified by the zeal of Politioro, a

D. N. (1347, No. 15. 17. 21. &c. who found them in the archives of the Vatican.

Maresco Villani describes the origin, character, and death of this count. Petrarch;translated by the P. du Cerceau (p. 196. 220.) from the Ecclesiastical An-
nals of Obertin Roylandus, (A. D. 1347. No. 15. 17. 21. &c. who found them in the archives of the Vatican.

9 The troubles of Rome, from the departure to the return of Rienzi, are related by Maresco Villani (L. lib. c. 47. l. lib. c. 33. 37. 79.) and

† The briefs and bulls of Clement VI. against Rienzi, are trans-

lated by the P. du Cerceau (p. 196. 222.) from the Ecclesiastical An-
nals of Obertin Roylandus, (A. D. 1347. No. 15. 17. 21. &c. who found them in the archives of the Vatican.

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nals of Obertin Roylandus, (A. D. 1347. No. 15. 17. 21. &c. who found them in the archives of the Vatican.
prison of Avignon; and after a second administration of four months, Rienz was massacred in a tumult which had been fomented by the Roman barons. In the society of the Germans and Bohemians, he is said to have contracted the habits of intemperance and cruelty; adversity had chilled his enthusiasm, without fortifying his reason or virtue; and that youthful hope of abstracting the people from the pledge of success, was now succeeded by the cold impotence of distrust and despair. The tribune had reigned with absolute dominion, by the choice, and in the hearts, of the Romans: the senator was the servile minister of a foreign court; and while he was suspected of ingratitude and perfidy.

The legate Albornoz, who seemed desirous of his ruin, inflexibly refused all supplies of men and money; a faithful subject could no longer pressume to touch the revenues of the apostolical chamber; and the first idea of a tax was the signal of clamour and sedition. Even his justice was tainted with the guilt or reproach of selfish cruelty: the most virtuous citizen of Rome was sacrificed to his jealousy; and in the execution of a public robber, from whose purse he had been assisted, the magistrate too much forgot, or too much remembered, the obligations of the debtor. His measures were always treacherous, and the influence of the city: the Colonna maintained their hostile station at Palestrina; and his mercenaries soon despised a leader whose ignorance and fear were envious of all subordinate merit. In the death as in the life of Rienzi, his heroism and cowardice were strangely mingled. When the capitol was invested by a furious multitude, when he was hastily deserted by his civil and military servants, the intrepid senator, waving the banner of liberty, presented himself on the balcony, addressed his eloquence to the various passions of his judges and executions. A whole hour, without voice or motion, he stood amidst the multitude half naked and half dead; their rage was hushed into curiosity and wonder: the last feelings of reverence and compassion yet struggled in his favour; and they might have prevailed, if a bold assassin had not plunged a dagger in his breast. He fell senseless with the first stroke; the impotent revenge of his enemies inflicted a thousand wounds; and the senator’s body was abandoned to the dogs, to the Jews, and to the flames; the symbol of all evil. The populace, in all the blessings of this extraordinary misfortune; but in a long period of anarchy and servitude, the name of Rienzi has often been celebrated as the deliverer of his country, and the last of the Roman patriots.1

Petrarcli invites and endeavors to recall the Roman bishop to his ancient residence.

The first and most generous wish of Petrarch was the restoration of a free republic; but after the exile and death of his plebeian hero, he turned his eyes—

from the tribune, to the king, of the Romans. The capitol was yet stained with the blood of Rienzi, when Charles the fourth descended from the Alps to obtain the crown of Italian and imperial crowns. In his passage through Milan, he received the visit, and repaid the flattery, of the pock-leavened, accepted a medal of Augustus; and promised, without a smile, to imitate the founder of the Roman monarchy. A false application of the names and titles of ancestors of the Carolingian house, to the disappointments of Petrarch; yet he could not overlook the difference of taste and characters; the immeasurable distance between the first Cæsars and a Bohemian prince, who by the favour of the clergy had been elected the titular head of the German aristocracy. Instead of a poet and a military adventurer, she had been bound, by a secret treaty with the pope, to evacuate the city on the day of his coronation; and his shameless retreat was pursued by the reproaches of the patriot bard.2

After the loss of liberty and empire, He solicits the3 pope to fix their residence at Rome and peculiar diocese. In the fervour of youth, with the authority of age, Petrarch addressed his exhortations to five successive popes, and his eloquence was always inspired by the enthusiasm of sentiment and the freedom of language.3 The son of a citizen of Florence invariably preferred the country of his birth to that of his education; and Italy, in his eyes, was the queen and garden of the world. Amidst her domestic factions, she was doubtless superior to France both in art and science; but her treachery and perfidiousness; and the difference could scarcely support the epitaph of baronets, which he promise-ly bestows on the countries beyond the Alps. Avignon, the mystic Babylon, the sink of vice and corruption, was the object of his compassion, and contempt; for the exorbitant and licentious vices were not the growth of the soil, and that in every residence they would adhere to the power and luxury of the papal court. He confesses, that the successor of St. Peter is the bishop of the universal church; yet it was not on the banks of the Rhone, but of the Tiber, that the apostle had fixed his everlasting throne: and while every city in the christian world was blessed with a bishop, the metropolis alone was desolate and forlorn. Since the removal of the holy see, the sacred buildings of the Lateran and the Vatican, their altars and their saints, were left in a state of poverty and decay; and Rome was often paint-3 ered under the image of a desolate matron, as if the wandering husband could be reclaimed by the homely portrait of the age and infirmities of the weeping spouse.4 But the cloud which hung over the seven hills, would be dispelled by the presence of their lawful sovereign; eternal fame, the prosperity of Rome, and the peace of Italy, would be the recompence of the pope who should dare to embrace this generous resolution. Of the five whom Petrarch exhorted, the three first, John the twenty-second, Benedict the twelfth, and Peter the sixth, judged more by the splendour of the court than by the boldness of the orator; but the memorable change which had been attempted by Urban the fifth, was finally accomplished by Gregory the eleventh.

1 The hopes and the disappointment of Per-trach are agreeably described in his own words by the French biographer, (Memoires, iii. p. 375—413) but the deep, though secret, wound, was the corona of Zamblii the post-lateran, by Charles IV.

2 See in his accoutrements, as well as his destiny, the application of Petrarch and Rienzi to Benedict II, in the year 1374, (Memoires, tom. i. p. 281—285) and in the application of Rienzi to Urban V. in 1356, (Memoires, tom. iii. p. 477—691) his praise, (p. 715—715) and his disappointment, (p. 773—775) compared to those of those who were disappointed of advancement on the respective merits of France and Italy may be found. (Opp. p. 995—995)

3 Sinfonia, and quinque canticolum, solitutum invento.

4 Petri et Benedicti II. delinquentes effigie, veulta accipiunt, de rebus singulis, occidenti, Rome loco.

5 (Carol. i. p. 2. p. 77)

6 He admits this allegory beyond mere illustration of the Empire of Urbani V. in peace are more simple and persuasive. (Semiunii, i. v. p. 511—526, i. 1. p. 514—514.)
execution of their design was opposed by weighty and almost insuperable obstacles. A king of France who has deserved the epithet of wise, was unwilling to release them from a local dependence: the cardinals, for the most part his subjects, were attached to the local government of their climates and to their stately palaces; above all, to the wines of Burgundy.

In their eyes, Italy was foreign or hostile; and they reluctantly embarked at Marseilles, as if they had been sold or ransomed. At the triple bridge of Sweden, a saint and pilgrim, disapproved the return, and foretold the death, of Urban the fifth: the migration of Gregory the eleventh, was encouraged by St. Catherine of Sienna, the sponsor of St. Thomas and of the people of the Flanders, and the popes themselves, the great masters of human credulity, appear to have listened to these visionary females. ¹ Yet those celestial admonitions were supported by some arguments of temporal policy. The residence of Avignon had been the scene of a hundred and thirty thousand robbers, a hero had extorted ransom and absolution from the vicar of Christ and the sacred college; and the maxim of the French warriors, to spare the people and plunder the church, was a new heresy of the most dangerous import. ² While the pope was directly threatened with death, he was attentively invited to Rome. The senate and people acknowledged him as their lawful sovereign, and laid at his feet the keys of the gates, the bridges, and the fortresses; of the quarter at least beyond the Tiber. ³ But this loyal offer was rejected by a demagogue, who desired no longer to suffer the scandal and calumny of his absence; and that his obstinacy would finally provoke them to revive and assert the primitive right of election. The abbot of mount Cassin had been consulted, whether he would accept the triple crown ⁴ from the cardinals and the people of Avignon. I am not aware that venerable ecclesiastical, and my first law is the voice of my country. ⁵

¹ I have not the means of repeating on the legends of St. Bridget, or St. Catherine, the last of which might furnish some amusing stories. Their effect on the mind of Gregory XI. is attested by the last edicta of the dying pope, who addressed the assizes, as chancery ab hominibus, sive viris, sive mulieribus, sive religiosis, sive literis, sive mercatoribus, quos per talia ius secutus, &c. (Bulz. Not. et V. Pap. Avinatescum, tom. i. p. 1223.)

² This perilous expedition is related by Froissart, (Chronique, tom. iv. p. 253.) and in the Life of St. Catherine, (Chroniques Generales de M. des Memoires Historiques, tom. iv. (1697) p. 109—113.) As early as the year 1371 the city of Avignon had been invested and occasioned by garrisons of the boorish, who afterwards passed the Alps. (Memoires sur Papiet, tom. iv. p. 529.)

³ Fleury alleges, from the annals of Odoacer Raymundo, the original treaty which was signed the twentieth day of February 1376, between Gregory XI. and the Romans. (Hist. Eccles. tom. vi. p. 702.)

⁴ The first crown or regnum (Ducange, Gloss. Latin, tom. v. p. 702.) of the apostolic mitre of the pope, is ascribed to the gift of Constantine, or of Clovis. The second was added by Boniface VIII. as the emblem not only of a spiritual, but of a temporal kingdom. It was first presented by a pious king, who was instructed by John XXII. or Benedict XII. (Memoires sur Papiet, tom. iv. p. 528.)

⁵ Baluze (Not. et V. Pap. Avinatescum, tom. i. p. 1194—1195) produces the original volunteering which attests the threats of the Romans ambassadors, and the resignation of the abbot of mount Cassin, qui ulbo se ooffee, respondit, consuevum Romanum esse et illud velis ipsi vel patres, &c. (Bulz. Not. et V. Pap. Avinatescum, tom. i. p. 1269.)

At the departure of the schism, every circumspection was severely, if superstition will interpret an unimpeachable, or, though partially, scrutinized; more especially in the great inquest, which decided the occasion of Castile, and in which Baluze, in his capacity of advocate, gave a complete and agreeable view of the lay library. (p. 1281.)

¹ The first book of the Histoire du Concile de Pise, M. Lestant, has abridged and compared the original narratives of the assembled cardinals of Urban and Clement, of the Italians and Germans, the French and
tions and duties of their parishes at Rome; and had he not fatally delayed a new promotion, the French cardinals would have been reduced to a helpless minority in the sacred college. For these reasons, and in hopes of the peace and unity of the church, and the merits of their double choice are yet agitated in the Catholic schools. The vanity rather than the interest of the nation determined the court and clergy of France.

The states of Savoy, Sicily, Cyprus, Aragon, Castile, Navarre, and Scotland, with their example and authority to the obedience of Clement the seventh, and, after his decease, of Benedict the thirteenth. Rome and the principal states of Italy, Germany, Portugal, England,^{6} the Low Countries, and the kingdoms of the North, adhered to the prior election of France. But the separation of France and Spain diverted the stream of lucrative devotion; nor could the loss be compensated by the two jubilees which were crowded into the space of ten years. By the avocations of the schism, by foreign arms, and popular tumults, the civil and ecclesiastical order of society was disturbed, and the Romans had their full share of the mischiefs of which they may be arraigned as the primary authors.

They had vainly flattered themselves with the hope of restoring the seat of the ecclesiastical monarchy, and of relieving their poverty with the revenues of the French factions. Nor was there any reason why the Romans should not have shared in the advantages which the union of France and Spain had promised to bestow on the universal church. The Colonna and Ursini still ex-reised their deadly foes: the banerettes of Rome asserted and abused the privileges of a republic: the vices of Corrario, who had levied military force, chastised their rebellion with the gibbet, the sword, and the dagger; and, in a friendly conference, eleven deputies of the people were perfidiously murdered and cast into the street.

Since the invasion of Robert the Norman, the Romans had pursued their domestic quarrels without regard to the national interest, and to the disorder of the schism, an aspiring neighbour, Ladislaus king of Naples, alternately supported and betrayed the pope and the people: by the former he was declared donandola, or general, of the church, while the latter submitted to his choice the nomination of his successor. But as the disorder of the schism, an aspiring neighbour, Ladislaus king of Naples, alternately supported and betrayed the pope and the people: by the former he was declared donandola, or general, of the church, while the latter submitted to his choice the nomination of his successor. But as the...
The Christian world was at length profoundly moved by their obstinacy and fraud: they were deserted by their cardinals, who embraced each other as friends and colleagues; and their revolt was supported by a numerous assemblage of prelates and unconverted seculars of the French order. The faction, in which the pope was deposed the popes of Rome and Avignon; the concile was unanimous in the choice of Alexander the fifth, and his vacant seat was soon filled by a similar election of John the twenty-third, the most profligate of mankind. But instead of extinguishing the schism, the business of the conclave, instead of coming to an end, was speedily reduced to a third precedent to the chair of St. Peter. Such new claims of the synod and concil were disputed: three kings, of Germany, Hungary, and Naples, adhered to the cause of Gregory the twelfth; and Benedict the thirteenth, himself a Spaniard, was acknowledged by the devotion and patriotism of that powerful nation.

The rash proceedings of Pisa were corrected by the Council of Constance. The emperor Sigismund acted a conspicuous part as the advocate or protector of the catholic church, and in such a character the civil and ecclesiastical might seem to constitute the states-general of Europe. Of the three popes, John the twenty-third was the first victim; he fled and was brought back a prisoner: the most scandalous charges were suppressed; the fear of Christ was not mere murder, rape, and incest, but after subscribing his own condemnation, he expired in prison the imprudence of trusting his person to a free city beyond the Alps. Gregory the twelfth, whose obedience was reduced to the narrow precincts of Rimini, descended with more honour from the throne, and for a time was restored to his imperial dignity. He had pronounced the title and authority of lawful pope. To vanquish the obstinacy of Benedict the thirteenth or his adherents, the emperor in person undertook a journey from Constance to Perugia. The kings of Castile, Aragon, and Navarre, had attained an equal and honourable treaty: with the concurrence of the Spaniards, Benedict was deposed by the council; but the harmless old man was left in a military castle to communicate twice each day the rebel kingdoms which led desolated his cause. After thus eradicating the remaining remaining, the synod entered into new negotiations with slow and cautious steps to elect the sovereign of Rome and the head of the church. On this memorable occasion, the college of twenty-three cardinals was fortified with thirty deputies; six of whom were chosen in each of the five great nations of Christendom, the empire, France, England, the Papal States, and the English: the interference of strangers was softened by their generous preference of an Italian and a Roman of the first rank; and the hereditary, as well as personal, merit of Otho Colonna recommended him to the conclav. Rome accepted with joy and obedience the noblest of her sons; the ecclesiastical state was defended by his powerful family, and the elevation of Martin the fifth is the era of the restoration and establishment of the popes in the Vatican.

The royal prerogative of conferring money, which had been exercised near three hundred years by the senate, was first resumed by Martin the fifth, and his image and superscription introduced the series of the papal medals. Of his two immediate successors, the fourth and the fifth, the last pope expelled by the tumults of the Roman people, and Nicholas the first who was importuned by the presence of a Roman emperor. The conflict of Eugenius, with the French, and the fear of revolt or apprehension of a new excise, imbosed and provoked the Romans to usurp the temporal government of the city. They rose in arms, elected seven governors of the republic, and a constable of the capitol; imprisoned the pope, and concerted a plan of invading the palace; and shot volleys of arrows into his bark as he escaped down the Tiber in the habit of a monk. But he still possessed in the castle of St. Angelo a faithful garrison and a train of artillery: their hatteries incessantly thunders on the city, and a bullet, more destructive than the swords of the French, pierced the bridge, and scattered with a single shot the heroes of the republic. Their constancy was exhausted by a rebellion of five months. Under the tyranny of the Guineline nobles, the wisest patriots regretted the dominion of the church; and the republic was unmanned and effectual. The troops of St. Peter again occupied the capitol; the magistrates departed to their homes; the most guilty were executed or exiled; and thelegate, at the head of two thousand foot and four thousand horse, was saluted as the father of the city.

The councils of Trent and Florence, the fear or resentment of Eugenius, prolonged his absence; he was received by a submissive people; but the pontiff understood from the acclamations of his triumphal entry, that to secure their loyalty and his own repose, he must grant without delay the abolition of the odious excise. If the council of Trent, which in the year 1475, was summoned by the peaceful reign of Nicholas the fifth, in the midst of these laudable occupations, the pope was alarmed at the approach of Frederic the third of Austria. Last coronation tria; though his fears could not be justified of a German emperor by the character or the power of the Austrians. The Emperor Frederic III, who lived at the time, and is considered the last of the German emperors, was admitted to the metropolis, and imposing the most severe measures of justice and good government. He was received with a smiling countenance the faithful advocate and vassal of the church. So tame were the times, so feeble was the Austrian, that the pomp of his coronation was accomplished with order and harmony:

1. I cannot overlook this great national cause, which was vigorously maintained by the English ambassadors against the protests of France. Later it was contended that Christendom was essentially divided into the four great nations and states, of Italy, Germany, France, and Spain, and that the longer tongue (such as English, Deux, and French, and in some cases), were comprehended under one or other of these great divisions. In the present article, the islands, of which they were the head, should be considered as a fifth and coordinate nation, with an equal vote; and every arrangement of truth or fable was intended to exclude the idea of their country. Including England, Scotland, Wales, the four kingdoms of Ireland, and the Grieches, the British islands are divided with equal parts equal, and distributed by four or five languages, English, Welsh, Cornish, Scotch, Irish, and the greater all with such mutual and mutual friendly relations, as to arrive at forty days' journey; and England alone contains 32 counties, and 52,000 paroch churches, held in ancient Gothic cathedrals, c. l. d. e. f. g. h. i. j. k. l. m. n. o. p. q. r. s. t. u. v. w. x. y. z. They contain as much as the number of the British, British, which had been transferred to the English, and by him preserved in 1435 at Avignon. From a Leicp Jcys, these are more correctly published in the Collection of Von der Hett, tom. v. b. I have only seen Lenfant's extract of these acts. (Concilior de Constanct, tom. ii. p. 417, 419, &c.)

2. The histories of the three successive councils, Pisa, Constance, and Trent, are written with a tolerable degree of truth, industry, and elegance, by a pontifical minister, M. Lenfant, who resided from 1569 to 1579 at Constance, and in the midst of the council. He was the first of the French, and as Basil is the worst, so Constance is the best, part of the collection.

3. See the twenty-seventh Desinoration of the antiquities of Murator, and the first instruction of the Science des Medailles of the Petre Languet and the Barde de La Bascia. The Metallic History Martin V, and his successors, was composed by two monks, Monnet and a Francezian, and current in Italian; but I understand, that the first part of these medals is removed from the present collection.

4. Besides the Lives of Eugenius IV, (Illuminale, tom. ii. p. p., r., s., t., u., v., w., x., y., z.), and the critical account of the formation of the Breviary of Armatius, the Church of Constantinople, and the long reigns power and fame of Martin V, the short history of Henry, by the order of Brie, 1539, by the order of Constance, and the present collection, are the best original evidence for the revolt of the Romans against Eugenius IV. Though the emperor who lived at the time, and in the spot, speaks the language of a citizen, equally afraid of priestly and popular tyranny.

5. The coronation of Frederic III is described by Lenfant (Concile de Bases, tom. xx. p. 226, 253.) from Eusévius Sylvis, a spectator and contemporary, whose works were published at Constance by Sir Robert Wingleigh, ambassador from Henry VIII. to the court of Constance, and by him printed in 1537 at London. From Lucidus MS. they are more correctly published in the Collection of Von der Hett, tom. v. b. I have only seen Lenfant's extract of these acts. (Concilior de Constanct, tom. ii. p. 417, 123, &c.)
but the superfluous honour was so disgraceful to an independent nation, that his successors have excused themselves from the toilsome pilgrimage to the Vatican, and rent their imperial title on the choice of the electors of Germany.

The conduct and government of the Roman citizen has remarked, with pride and pleasure, that the king of the Romans, after passing with a slight salute the cardinals and prelates who met him at the gate, distinguished the dress and person of the senator of Rome; and in this last farewell, the pageants of the eternal city were the spiritual movements that his heart embraceth. According to the laws of Rome, her first magistrate was required to be a doctor of laws, an alien, of a place at least forty miles from the city; with whose inhabitants he must not be connected in the third canonical degree of blood or alliance. The election was annual; a severe scrutiny was instituted in the conduct of the departing senator; nor could he be recalled to the same office till after the expiration of two years. A liberal salary of three thousand florins was assigned for his expense and reward; and his public appearance represented the majesty of the republic. The future ruler of Italy realized his renown, which was heightened in the summer season of a lighter sight; he bore in his hand an ivory sceptre; the sound of trumpets announced his approach; and his solemn steps were preceded at least by four licitors or attendants, whose red wands were enveloped with bands or streamers of the golden raiment; and which were displayed far behind the chair of state. The senator proclaims his right and duty, to observe and assert the laws, to control the crowd, to protect the poor, and to exercise justice and mercy within the extent of his jurisdiction. In these useful functions he was assisted by three learned strangers; the two collaboratores, and the procurator. The edict for the charge of the court was published by the praepositus. The solemn heads of the magistracy were drawn up in the secret and the common councils of the Romans. The former was composed of the magistrates and their immediate predecessors, with some fiscal and legal officers, and three classes of thirteen, twenty-six, and forty consuls; amounting in all, to one hundred and twenty. In the common council all male citizens had a right to vote; and the value of their privilege was enhanced by the care with which any foreigners were prevented from usurping the title and character of Romans. The tumult of a democracy was checked by wise and jealous precautions: except the magistrates, no person was allowed to propose a question; none were permitted to speak, except from an open pulpit or tribunal; all disorderly suppressions were arrested; the sense of the majority was decided by a secret ballot; and their decrees were proclaimed in the venerable name of the Roman senate, which was the seat of temporal and spiritual power in the period in which this theory of government has been reduced to accurate and constant practice, since the establishment of order has been gradually connected with the decay of liberty. But in the year thousand

foot five hundred and eighty, the ancient statutes were collected, methodized in three books, and adapted to present use, under the pontificate, and with the approbation, of Gregory the thirteenth. This civil and criminal code is the modern law of the city; and if the first popular assembly elected a foreign senator, with the three conservators, still resides in the palace of the capitol. The policy of the Caesars has been repeated by the popes; and the bishop of Rome affected to maintain the form of a republic, while he reigned with the absolute powers of a temporal, as well as spiritual prince.

It is an obvious truth, that the times must be suited to extraordinary characters, and that the jeers of Cromwell or Retz might now expire in obscurity. The political enthusiasm of Riccioli had excited him to a throne; the same enthusiasm, in the next century, conducted his imitator to the gallows. The birth of Stephen Porcario was noble, his reputation spotless; his tongue was armed with eloquence, his mind was enlightened with learning; and he aspired, beyond the aim of valuer ambition, to free his country and immor¬talize his name. He now aimed at the dukedom, and the odious to a liberal spirit; every scruple was removed by the recent knowledge of the fable and forgery of Constantine's donation: Petrarch was now the oracle of the Italians; and as often as Porcario revolved the ode which describes the patriot and hero of Rome, he renewed the application of himself and his visions from the prophet. His first trial of the popular feelings was at the funeral of Eugenius the fourth; in an elaborate speech he called the Romans to liberty and arms; and they listened with apparent pleasure, till Porcario was interrupted and answered by a grave advocate, who pleaded against his plans and the emblems of the same. The sceptre was at first saved, but a virtuous and learned senator was guilty of treason; but the benevolence of the new pontiff, who viewed his character with pity and esteem, attempted by an honourable office to convert the patriot into a friend. The inflexible Roman returned from Anagni with an increase of reputation and zeal; and, on the first opportunity, the games of the place Nueva, he tried to inflame the casual dispute of some boys and mechanics into a general rising of the people. Yet the humane Nicholas was still averse to accept the forfeit of his life; and the traitor Porcario was sent from the camp of temptation to Bologna, with a liberal allowance for the respect of the court, and the easy obligation of presenting himself each day before the governor of the city. But Porcario, having learned from the younger Brutus, that his tyranny in office or on the field of honor; his voice, his coun¬ceil, his gestures, bespoken the man who had devoted his life or death to the glorious cause. In a studied oration, he expatiated on the motives and the means of their enterprise: the name and liberties of Rome; the noble and proud of their ecclesiastical tyrants; the power of the state, by means of the vices of the king and his courtiers. A body of a thousand horsemen, and forty hundred soldiers, and four hundred exiles, long exercised in arms or in war; the license of revenge to edge their swords, and a million of ducats to reward

* Statuta abate Urbis Romae Autorum (S. D. N. Gregorii XIII. Papae Magn. a Senatus consulto promulgata, in folio, 1592, in folio. The obsequies, repugnant statutes of antiquity were met and confirmed in form and substance. By the same constitution, appointed to act as the modern Tribunum. Yet I regret the old code, with the rigor of trust freedom and barbarism.

† In my time, (Papal Ilissus, 1580, 1581, 1582, 1583), the senator of Rome was M. Brollo, a noble Scuderi, and a presbyt to the cardinals. The pope's right to appoint the sener and the conservator is implied, rather than affirmed, in the statutes.
their victory. It would be easy, (he said,) on the next day, the festival of the Epiphany, to seize the pope and his cardinals, before the doors, or at the altar, of St. Peter's; to lead them in chains under the walls of St. Anger to a tower, and then as a threat of their instant death a surrender of the castle; to ascend the vacant capitol; to ring the alarm-bell; and to restore in a popular assembly the ancient republic of Rome. While he triumphed, he was already betrayed; the senate refused a guard, and the house, in the overthrow of Pocore cut his way through the crowd; but the unfortunate Stephen was drawn from a chest, lamenting that his enemies had anticipated by three hours the execution of his design. After such manifest and repeated guilt, even the mercy of Nicholas was vain. A senate of his accomplices were hanged without the benefit of the sacraments; and amidst the fears and invective of the papal court, the Romans pitied, and almost applauded, these martyrs of their country. But their applause was mute, their pity ineffectual: their liberty forever extinct; and if they have since risen to a vacancy of the throne or a scarcity of bread, such accidental tumults may be found in the bosom of the most objest servitude.

Last disorders. But the independence of the nobles, of the nobles this which was fomented by discord, rivalry, and the freedom of the states, if it were not lost, must be founded in union. A privilege of rapine and oppression was long maintained by the barons of Rome; their houses were a fortress and a sanctuary; and the ferocious train of banditti and criminals whom they protected from the law, repaid the hospitality with the service of their swords and daggers. The private interest of the pontiffs, or their nephews, sometimes involved them in these domestic funds. Under the reign of Sixtus the fourth, Rome was distracted by the battles and sieges of the rival houses: after the conflagration of the castle, the military Colonists were contented and beheaded; and Savelli, the French captive, friend, was murdered on the spot, for refusing to join in the calculations of the victorious Ursini. But the popes no longer trembled in the Vatican: they had strength to command, if they had resolution to claim, the obedience of their subjects; who observed these partial disorders, admired the easy taxes and wise administration of the ecclesiastical state. The spiritual thunders of the whole Catholic world were raised in the state of Rome. And if the papal see was almost within itself in the air; and the helpless priest is exposed to the brutal violence of a noble or plebeian adversary. But after their return from Avignon, the keys of St. Peter were guarded by the sword of St. Paul. Rome was commanded by an impregnable cordon; the use of cannon is a powerful engine against popular seditions: a regular force of cavalry and infantry was enlisted under the banners of the popes: his ample revenues supplied the resources of war; from the extent of his domain, he could bring down on a rebellious city an army of hostile neighbours and loyal subjects. Since the union of the duchies of Ferrara and Urbino, the ecclesiastical state extends from the Adriatic to the Arno, from the confines of Naples to the bank of the Po; and besides the holy see in the sixteenth century, the greater part of that spacious and fruitful country acknowledged the lawful claims and temporal soverignty of the Roman pontiffs. Their claims were readily deduced from the genuine, or, according to the views of the Italian nation, the ancient, or their respective steps of their final settlement would engage us too far in the transactions of Alexander the sixth, the maternal operations of Julius the second, and the liberal policy of Leo the tenth, a theme which has been adored by the pens of the noblest historians of the nation. But the expedition of Charles the eighth, the popes might successfully wrestle with the adjacent princes and states, whose military force was equal, or inferior, to their own. But as soon as the monarchs of France, Germany, and Spain, contended with gigantic arms for the dominion of Italy, they supplied with all the deficiency of strength; and concealed, in a labyrinth of wars and treaties, their aspiring views, and the imminent hope of chasing the barbarians beyond the Alps. The nice balance of the Vatican was often disturbed by the combinations of these monarchs, who were united under the standard of Charles the fifth: the feeble and fluctuating policy of Clement the seventh exposed his person and dominions to the conqueror; and Rome was abandoned seven months to a harmless army, more cruel and rapacious than the Goths and Vandals. After this severe lesson, the popes contracted their ambition, which was almost satisfied, resumed the character of a common parent, and abstained from all offensive hostilities, except in a hasty quarrel, when the vicar of Christ and the Turkish sultan were at war at the same time against the kingdom of Naples. The French rapine, which drew from the field of battle: Milan, Naples, Sardinia, and the sea-coast of Tuscany, were firmly possessed by the Spanish; and it became their interest to maintain the peace and independence of Italy, which continued almost without disturbance from the middle of the sixteenth to the opening of the eighteenth century. The Vatican was swayed and protected by the religious policy of the catholic king: his prejudice and interest disposed him in every dispute to support the prince against the people; and instead of the encouragement which they obtained from the adjacent states, the friends of liberty, or the enemies of law, were enclosed on all sides within the iron circle of despotism. The long habits of obedience and education subdued the turbulent spirit of the nobles and commons of Rome. The barons forgot the arms and fictions of their ancestors, and insensibly became the servants of luxury and government. Instead of maintaining a crowd of tenants and followers, the produce of their estates was
The Colonna and Ursini vied with each other in the decoration of their palaces and chapels; and their antique splendour was rivalled or surpassed by the sudden opulence of the papal families. In Rome the voice of freedom and discord is no longer heard; and in the streets the few criminals and degenerate lake reflects the image of idleness and servitude.

The ecclesiastical court, a Christian, a philosopher, and a political government, will be equally scandalized by the temporal kingdom of the clergy; and the local majesty of Rome, the remembrance of her consuls and triumphs, the wealth and splendour of the early reigns, will be an aggravation of the shame of her slavery. If we calmly weigh the merits and defects of the ecclesiastical government, it may be praised in its present state, as a mild, decent, and tranquil system, exempt from the dangers of minority, the sallies of youth, the expenses of luxury, and the calamities of war. But it is balanced by a frequent, perhaps a septennial, election of a sovereign, who is seldom a native of the country: the reign of a young statesman of three score in the decline of his life and abilities, without hope to accomplish the education of children to the labours of his transitory reign. The successful candidate is drawn from the church, and even the convent; from mode of education and life the most adverse to reason, humanity, and freedom. In the trammels of servile faith, he has learned to believe because it is absurd, to deny that it is true. If he should dissent from the defects in the government, he ever might deserve the esteem of a rational being; to punish error as a crime, to reward mortification and celibacy as the first of virtues; to place the saints of the calendar above the heroes of Rome and the sages of Athens; and to consider the missal, or the crucifix, as the standard of truth, and the church or the lorum. In the office of munifico, or the rank of cardinal, he may acquire some knowledge of the world, but the primitive stain will adhere to his mind and manners; from study and experience he may suspect the mystery of his profession; but the sacristian artist will imbibe some portion of the hatred which he has conveyed.

Sixtus V.

A.D. 1585—1590.

The Third pontificate of the sixties the fifth burst from the gloom of a Franciscan cleric. In 1585—1590, a reign of five years, he exterminated the outlaws and banditti, abolishing the profane sanctuary of the feudal and military force, restored and emulated the monuments of antiquity, and after a liberal use and large increase of the revenue, left five millions of crowns in the castle of St. Angelo. But his justice was sufficed with cruelty, his activity was prompted by the ambition of conquest; after his decease, the abuses revived; the treasury was dissipated; he entailed on posterity thirty-five new taxes and the vexation of offices; and, like his death, his stature was diminished by an ungrateful or an injured people. "Flamen urbanis populi," the city of Rome, the Senate, the nobility, the prelates, the knights, the confraternities, the college of cardinals, the city of Harpocrates, the slipper, the print of the heel, the mark of the beast, the number of the man, and the number of the beast, the first stands alone in the series of the pontiffs: the maxims and effects of their temporal government may be collected from the positive and comparative view of the arts and philosophy, the agriculture and trade, the wealth and population, of the ecclesiastical state. For myself, it required but a process of identity, to be all mankind, nor am I willing, in these last moments, to offend even the pope and clergy of Rome.

The last in days of Pope Eugenius the fourth, two of his servants, the learned Poggio and a friend, ascended the Capitoline hill: removed themselves among the ruins of columns and temples; and viewed from that commanding spot the wide and various prospect of Europe. View and discussion of Poggio from the Capitoline, A.D. 1430.

CHAP. XXXII.

Prospect of the ruins of Rome in the fifteenth century.

Four causes of decay and destruction.

—Example of Coliseum.

—Renovation of the city.

—Conclusion of the whole work.

The last in days of Pope Eugenius the fourth, two of his servants, the learned Poggio and a friend, ascended the Capitoline hill: removed themselves among the ruins of columns and temples; and viewed from that commanding spot the wide and various prospect of Europe. View and discussion of Poggio from the Capitoline, A.D. 1430.
of desolation. The place and the object gave ample scope for moralizing on the vicissitudes of fortune, on the sudden formation and fall of great works, which buries empires and cities in a common grave; and it was agreed, that in proportion to her former greatness, the fall of Rome was the more awful and deplorable. Her primâval state, such as she might appear in a remote age, when she was not yet circi ter 'great as an elephant,' has been delineated by the fancy of Virgil. This Tarpeian rock was then a savage and solitary thicket: in the time of the poet, it was crowned with the golden roofs of a temple; the temple is overthrown, the gold has been pillaged, the walls of the house is long since changed into the verdure of the earth; and the sacred ground is again disfigured with thorns and brambles. The hill of the capitol, on which we sit, was formerly the head of the Roman empire, the citadel of the east, the terror of kings; illustrated by the footsteps of so many triumphs, enriched with the spoils and tributes of so many nations. This spectacle of the world, how is it fallen! how changed! how defaced! the path of victory is obliterated by vines, and the hedges of the senators are concealed by a dunghill. Cast your eyes on the Palatine hill, and seek among the ruins of the magnificent theatre, the obelisks, the colossal statues, the porticoes of Nero's palace; survey the other hills of the city, the vacant space is interrupted only by mons and gardens. The forum of the Roman people, where they assembled to enact their laws and elect their magistrates, is now enclosed for the cultivation of potherbs, or thrown open for the reception of swine and housetop. The public and private edifices, that were founded for eternity, lie prostrate, naked, and broken, like the limbs of a mighty giant; and the ruin is the more visible, from the stupendous relics that have survived the injuries of time and fortune. His description These relics are minutely described of the ruin by Poggio, one of the first who raised his eyes from the monuments of legendary, to those of classic, superstition. 1 Besides a bridge, an arch, a sepulchre, and the pyramid of Cestius, he could discern, of the age of the republic, a double row of vaults, in the salt-office of the capitol, which were inscribed with the name and munificence of Catullus. 2 Twelve temples were visible to some degree, from the perfect form of the pantheon, to the three arches and columns of the temple of the Muses; the temple of Vespasian erected after the civil wars and the Jewish triumph. Of the number, which he rashly deduces, of seven 
thermæ, or public baths, none were sufficiently entire to represent the use and distribution of the ruins. Those of Titus and Domitianus Caracalla still retained the titles of the founders, and astonished the curious spectator, who, in observing their solidity and extent, the variety of marbles, the size and multitude of the columns, compared the labour and expense with the use and importance. Of the baths of Constantino, of Alexander, of Domitianus, or rather of Titus, some vestige might yet be found. 3 The triumphal arches of Titus, Severus, and Constantino, were entire, both the structure and the inscriptions; a falling fragment was honored with the name of Titus; two arches, still extant, in the Flaminian way, have been ascribed to the base member of Faustina and Gallienus. 4 After the wonder of the Coliseum, Poggio might have overlooked a small amphitheatre of brick, most probably for the use of the praetorian camp; the theatres of Marcellus and Pompey were completed in great measure by public and private buildings; and in the Circus Agonalis and Maxinum, little more than the situation and the form could be investigated. 5 The columns of Trajan and Antonine were still erect; but the Egyptian obelisks were broken or buried. A people of gods and heroes, the workmanship of art, was reduced to one equestrian figure of gilt brass, and to five marble statues, of which the most conspicuous were the two horses of Phidias and Praxiteles. 7 The two mausoleums or sepulchres of Augustus and Hadrian could not totally be destroyed, for there were only nine miles of earth; and the latter, the castle of St. Angelo, had acquired the name and appearance of a modern fortress. With the addition of some separate and nameless columns, such were the remains of the ancient city: for the marks of a more recent structure might be detected in the walls, which formed a circumference of ten miles, included three hundred and seventy-nine towers, and opened into the country by thirteen gates.

This melancholy picture was drawn by Poggio, a writer who composed a description of Rome. His ignorance may repeat the same objects under strange and fabulous names. Yet this barbarous topographer had eyes and ears, he could observe the visibl ends, he could listen to the traditions of the people, and he distinctly enumerates seven theatres, eleven baths, twelve arches, and eighteen palaces, of which many had disappeared before the time of Poggio. It is apparent, that many stately edifices, that adorned the monuments of ancient history, and that the principles of destruction acted with vigour and increasing energy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. 2 The same reflection must be applied to the three last ages; and we should vainly seek the sepulchro of Severus, which is celebrated by Petrarch and the antiquarians of the sixteenth century. While the Roman edificers were still entire, the first blows, however weighty and impetuous, were resisted by the solidity of the mass and the harmony of the parts; but the slightest touch would precipitate the fragments of arches and columns, that already nodded to their fall.

After a diligent inquiry, I can discern four causes of the ruin of Rome, which continued to operate in a period of more than a thousand years. 1 The injuries of time and nature. II. The hostile attacks of the barbarians and

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1 Libri de Mirabilibus Romae, ex Repris Nicolai Cardinale de Arragonia, in Bibliotheca Sacra. I. Casdari, IV. No. 60. This treatise, with some short but pertinent notices, has been published by Monzaun. (Bibl. Italicum, p. 280—281) who alone delivers his account of its author, a Spanish prelate. I am indebted to him for some elegant and accurate notes. I allow him to sympathize in the feelings of a Roman. 2 On the Severan basilicae, etc. 3 Poggio de Fabrica, p. 182. 4 Poggio de Fabrica, p. 4. 5 Poggio de Fabrica, p. 4. 6 Poggio de Fabrica, p. 4. 7 On the Steeples, see the Memoires sur Petrarque, tom. i. p. 192. Donatius, (p. 578) and Nardini, (p. 117. 414)
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

Without excepting the Tiber, the rivers that descend from either side of the Apennine have a short and irregular course: a shallow stream in the summer heats; an impetuous torrent, when it is swelled, in the summer or winter, by the fall of rain, and the melting of snows. While the former is removable by mere effort, the latter, when adverse winds, when the ordinary bed is inadequate to the weight of waters, rise above the banks, and overspread, without limits or control, the plains and cities of the adjacent country. Soon after the triumph of the first Punic war, the Tiber was increased by several new channels, and formed a number of former measure of time and place, destroyed all the buildings that were situate below the hills of Rome. According to the variety of ground, the same mischief was produced by different means; and the edifices were either swept away by the sudden impulsion, or dissolved and undermined by the long continuance, of the flood. Under the reign of Augustus, the same calamity was renewed: the lawless river overturned the palaces and temples on its banks; and, after the labours of the emperor in cleansing and widening the bed that was occupied with rubbish, his successor was exercised by similar dangers and designs. The project of diverting into new channels the Tiber itself, or some of the dependent streams, was long opposed by superstition and local interests; nor did the use compensate the toil and cost of the execution. 107. The execution of the national judge. The Tiber is the most powerful agent of life and death; for the storms and floods, propagated by the industry or negligence of mankind; and every period of the Roman annals is marked by the repetition of similar calamities. A memorable conflagration, the guilt or misfortune of Nero's reign, continued, with unequal fury, either six or nine days, and covered the whole earth with crooked streets, supplied perpetual fuel for the flames; and when they ceased, four only of the seventeen regions were left entire; three were totally destroyed, and seven were deformed by the relays of smoking and burning. The public buildings, the palaces, the temples, the metropoli arose with fresh beauty from her ashes; yet the memory of the old destroyed their irreparable losses, the arts of Greece, the trophies of victory, the monuments of primitive or fabulous antiquity. In the days of distress and anomaly, every wound is mortal, every fire may spread without injury or effect on the naked walls, and mossy arches, that have been despoiled of their ornaments. 2. It is among the common and plebeian habitations, that a mischievous spark is most easily blown to a conflagration; but as soon as they are devoured, the greater edifices which have resisted or escaped, are left as so many islands in a state of solitude and safe

1 a. U. C. 507, repetitae subversio ipsius Rome praevente triumpho Remorum . . . diversa ignum avarumque clades pene absumere urbem. Nam Tiberis insimulis acarum imberbus et ultra ignem procellae vel magni mortuus est⇢ omissa circumcisione in plurima adaequavit patriae salutis in planitioso detexti. Diversa qualitates locorum ad uram converti pericillum qua requiescit ignis isolato tempore, non ad lapides, sed ad terram, quae, postea, in eius orto, edificari coepisset, et ecclesias et turrets, et in statuas ad novae deduxisset. Orosius, Hist. iv. c. ii. p. 244, edit. Havercamp. Yet we may observe, it is the plan and study of the christian apologists, to magnify the calamities of the pagan world.

II. The hostile attacks of the barbarians and christians, have neglected to inquire how far they sympathise with the principle, and how far they possessed the means and the leisure to satiate their enmity. In the preceding chapters of my History, I have described the triumph of barbarism

1 The age of the pyramids is remote and unknown, since Diocletianus (Vol. i. p. 34, p. 72, edit. Monnerot) were reconstructed long, or 1000 years before the hundred and eighty octrapeenth Olympiad. See John Marshaven's contract scale of the Egyptian dynasties would fix them above 2000 years before Christ. (Canon Chronicum, p. 47.)

2 See the speech of Gaius in the Iliad, (C. 145.) This natural event, but melodiously picture is familiar to Homer.

3 The learning and crotchets of M. des Voyages (Histoire Critique des Voyages, Paris, 1773,) vol. ii. pp. 172—177. It dates the fire of Rome from A. D. 64, July 19, and the subsequent perpatria of the Christians. The exact date of the conflagration is lost.

4 Inqui in regione quartoedentor Roma dividitur, quotunque qui
dumque intervallum maneat, transgressusque fuit instauratae inaequali uentorum electrici terrae inferius vel superius loci vel arborum. Among the old relics that were irreparably lost, Tacitus enumerates the temple of Vesta, the temple of Jupiter, the temple of Saturn, two of the temples of Vesta, the temple of Venus, and the temple of Venus, portico, and several artful edifices. Tacitus enumerates the temple of Vesta, the temple of Jupiter, the temple of Saturn, two of the temples of Vesta, and the temple of Venus; but is not explicit whether they were all in Rome. He then deplores the age's triumphant vastias and terrificans artium decoras . . . multas que senesce monumentum, quae repaerit. (Auct. Avl. v. 41, 4.)
and religion; and I can only resume, in a few words, their real or imaginary connexion with the ruin of Rome. Our they may create, or adopt, a pleasing romance, that the Goths and Vandals rallied from Scandinavia, and did to avenge the flight of Odin; to break the chains, and to chastise the oppressors, of man-kind; that they wish to burn the records of classic literature, and to found their national architecture, on the broken members of the Tuscan and Corinthian orders. But in simple truth, the northern conquerors were neither sufficiently savage, nor sufficiently refined, to entertain such aspiring ideas of destruction and revenge. The shepherds of Scythia and Germany had no idea of founding the armies of empire, which discipline they acquired, and whose weakness they invaded; with the familiar use of the Latin tongue, they had learned to reverence the name and titles of Rome; and, though incapable of emulating, they were more inclined to admire, than to abolish, the arts and studies of a brighter period. In the transient possession of a rich and unresisting capital, the soldiers of Alaric and Genseric were stimulated by the passions of a victorious army; whilst the wanton indulgence of lust or cruelty, portable wealth was the object of their search, and it is likely they could derive the richest pleasure from the nonsensical reflection, that they had battered to the ground the works of the consuls and Caesars. Their monuments were indeed precious; the Goths evacuated Rome on the sixth, the Vandals on the twenty-seventh; and, though it be far more difficult to build than to destroy, their haughty assault would have made a slight impression on the solid piles of antiquity. We may remember, that both Alaric and Genseric affected to spare the buildings of the city; that they subsisted in strength and beauty under the auspicious government of Theodosius; and that the momentary resentment of Totila was disarmed by his own temper and the advice of his friends and enemies. From these innocent barbarians, the reproach may be transferred to the cathedrals of Rome. The statues, altars, and houses of the demons, were an abomination in their eyes; and in the absolute command of the city, they might labour with zeal and perseverance to erase the idolatry of their ancestors. The demolition of the temples in the cast affords to them an example of conduct, and to us an argument of justice. And it is observable, that a portion of guilt may be imputed with justice to the Roman proselytes. Yet their abhorrence was confined to the monuments of heathen superstition; and the civil structures that were dedicated to the business or pleasure of the Romans, they preserved with a zeal that might teach us a lesson of justice. The change of religion was accomplished, not by a popular tumult, but by the decrees of the emperors, of the senate, and of time. Of the christian hierarchy, the bi-shops of Rome were commonly the most prudent and least fanatic; nor can any positive charge be opposed to the meritorious act of saving and converting the majestic structure of the pantheon. 1

III. The use and end of a nation's temples and treasures is compounded of its substance and its form, of the materials and the manufacture. Its price

1 Take this opportunity of declaring, that in the course of twelve years, I have published, in the London Atheneum, articles on Odin from the 9th of April 1840, to Sweden, which I never very seriously believed, (vol. i. p. 94.) The Goths are apparently German: but all beyond Caesar and Tacitus is darkness or fable, in the antiquities of Germany.

2 History of the Decline, &c. vol. i. p. 231.


4 Eudem tempore populi Phocai princeps templorum, Quod appellat

5 Pantheon, in quo fecit ecclesiam Nuncius et Ecclesiam Christianam.

6 Quod ecclesiae principis multa bona obtuli.

7 Oratio in Pontificatus Beneficiorum, &c. (London, 1764.) in Muniensi, Script, Rerum Italicarum, tom. iii. p. 102.) According to the ancient historians, the Pantheon was consecrated by Agrippa to Cybele and Neptune, and was dedicated by Bonifacius IV. on the calends of November, to the Virgin, quae est mater omnium ranctorum, (p. 297, 302.)

8 Ad maiorem gloriam bonae voluntatis, et ut in pace animae suscipiantur, ad diem iubente Domino, etiam in hac temporibus, sic etiam in saeculis posterioribus, in saeculis longius futuris, industriis et opibus, laboribus et consiliis, in omnibus bonis, in omnibus immortaliitate, et in omnibus beatitate, omnino eisdem tempore, eisdem locis, eisdem temporibus, ut in prisco tempore, in priscis locis, in priscis temporibus, in saeculis antecessoriis, in saeculis futuris, in saeculis quae in saeculis futuris, in saeculis quae in saeculis antecessoriis.
were rare in the darker ages; and the Romans, alone and unenvied, might have applied to their public use the remaining structures of antiquity, if in their present form and position they had not been useless in a great measure to the city and its inhabitants.

The walls still described the old circumference, but the city had become the circus of Julius, the basilica of Diocletian, the forum of Trajan, the baths of Caracalla, the palaestra of Titus, the theatre of Marcellus, the temple of Jupiter, and many of the noblest monuments which had inspired the enthusiasm of time were left in a desert, far remote from the habitations of mankind. The palaces of the senators were no longer adapted to the manners or fortunes of their indigent successors; the use of building had been reserved to the public depositories of the tenth century, the games of the theatre, amphitheatre, and circus, had been interrupted; some temples were devoted to a prevailing worship; but the christian churches preferred the holy figure of the cross; and fashion, or reason, had distributed after a peculiar model the cells and offices of the cloister. Under the ecclesiastical reign, the number of those pious foundations was enormously multiplied; and the city was crowded with forty monasteries of men, twenty of women, and sixty chapters and colleges of canons and priests, who aggregated a considerable number of the public depositories of the city.

But if the forms of ancient architecture were disregarded by a people insensible of their use and beauty, the plentiful materials were applied to every call of necessity or superstition; till the fairest columns of the Ionic and Corinthian orders, the richest marbles of the structure were converted into enrichments of the walls of the churches. The new public depositories of the tenth century, the bishop's palace, the palace of the twelfth, and many capital structures, had vanished from his eyes; and an epigram of the same age expresses a just and pious fear, that the continuance of this practice would finally annihilate all the monuments of antiquity. The privilege of providing for the public depositories of the monks, with the demands and deprivations of the Romans. The imagina-


tion of Petrarch might create the presence of a mighty people; and I hesitate to believe, that, even in the fourteenth century, they could be reduced to a con-
and the rough fortress has been gradually softened to the splendour and elegance of an Italian palace. Even the churches were encompassed with arms and bulwarks, and the military engines on the roof of St. Peter's were the terror of the Vatican and the scandal of the christian world. Whatever is fortified will be attacked; and its attacked will be destroyed. Could the Romans have wrested from the pope's castle of St. Angelo, they had resolved by a public decree to annihilate that monument of servitude. Every building of defence was exposed to a siege; and in every village and town it was laboriously employed. After the death of Nicholas the fourth, Rome, without a sovereign or a senate, was abandoned to the fury of civil war. "The houses," says a cardinal and a poet of the times, "were crushed by the weight and violence of enormous stones; the walls were perforated by the strokes of the battering-ram; the towers were involved in fire and smoke; and the assailants were stimulated by rapine and revenge." The work was consummated by the tyranny of the laws; and the factions of Italy alternately exercised a blind and thoughtless vengeance on their adversaries, and raised a fabulously immense ravine. In comparing the days of foreign, with the age of domestic, hostility, we must pronounce, that the latter have been far more ruinous to the city; and our opinion is confirmed by the evidence of Petrarch.

"Behold," says the laureate, "the relics of Rome, the immunities of her most ancient cities. The greatest crime, by which the barbarian, can boast the merit of this stupendous destruction: it was perpetrated by her own citizens, by the most illustrious of her sons, and your ancestors (he writes to a noble Ambissibl) have done with the buildings of the Punic and Roman a like fatal and not accursed with the sword." The influence of the two last principles of decay must in some degree be multiplied by each other; since the houses and towers, which were subverted by civil war, required a new and perpetual supply from the monuments of antiquity. The Coliseum of the Flavians and Constantine, observation may be applied to the amphitheatre of Titus. Of Titus, which has obtained the name of the Coliseum, either from its magnitude, or from Nero's colossal statue: an edifice, had it been left to time and nature, which might perhaps have claimed an eternal duration. The curious antiquaries, who have computed the numbers and seats, are disposed to believe, that above the upper row of stone steps, the amphitheatre was encircled and elevated with several stages of wooden galleries, which were repeatedly consumed by fire, and restored by the emperors. Whatever was precious, or portable, or profane, the structure, if not composed of the stones of beautiful sculptured marble, then of sculpture, which were cast in brass, or overspread with leaves of silver and gold, because the first prey of conquest or fanaticism, of the avarice of the barbarians or the Christians. In the massy stones of the Coliseum, many holes (these for the bolts) and the two most prominent arches represent the various incidents of its decay. These stones were connected by solid links of brass or iron, nor had the eye of rapine overlooked the value of the base metals; the vacant space was converted into a fair or market; the artisans of the Coliseum are mentioned in an ancient survey; and the chasms were perforated or enlarged to receive the poles that supported the shops or tents of the mechanic trades. Reduced to its naked majesty, the Flavian amphitheatre was contemplated with awe and admiration, by the pilgrims of the north; and the rude imagination of the age, was roused and carried away by the vision, which is recorded in the eighth century, in the fragments of the venerable Bede: "As long as the Coliseum stands, Rome shall stand; when the Coliseum falls, Rome will fall; when Rome falls, the world will fall." In the modern system of war, a great military advantage is gained by the destruction of the city. The site of the Coliseum could not have been chosen for a fortress; but the strength of the walls and arches could resist the engines of assault; a numerous garrison might be lodged in the enclosure; and while one faction occupied the Vatican and the Coliseum; another might be entrenched in the Lateran and the Coliseum.

The abolition at Rome of the ancient Games of Rome, games must be understood with some latitude; and the carnival sports, of the Testacean circus and the Circus Agonalis, were regulated by the laws of custom or custom of the city. The Roman years were divided with dignity and pomp to adjudicate and distribute the prizes, the gold ring, or the patilium, as it was styled, of cloth or silk. A tribute on the Jews supplied the annual expense; and the races, on foot, on horseback, or in chariots, were entitled by a tumb and tournament. The Roman year was divided into a bull-feast for the year one thousand three hundred and one, a bull-feast, thirty-two, after the fashion of the Moors and Spaniards, was cele-
bracted in the Coliseum itself; and the living manner are painted in a diary of the times. A convenient order of benches was restored; and a general procla-

mation, as far as Rimini and Ravenna, invited the nobles to exercise their skill and courage in this perilous adventure. The Roman ladies were marshalled in three squadrons, and seated in three balconies, while they day by day heard the tumults from the tribunal, with scarlet cloth. The fair Jacova di Rovere led the matrons from beyond the Tiber, a pure and native

woman, who still represent the features and character of antiquity. The remainder of the city was divided as usual between the Colonna and Ursini: the two factions of the number and honor of the female bands: the charms of Savello Ursini are mentioned with praise; and the Colonna regretted the absence of the youngest of their house, who had spared her uncle in the garden of Nero's tower.

The lots of the champions were drawn by an old and respectable citizen; and they descended to the arena, or pit, to encounter the wild bulls, on foot as it should seem, with a single spear. Amidst the crowd, our annalist has selected the names, colours, and devices, of twenty of the most conspicuous knights. Several of the names are the most illustrious of Rome and the ecclesiastical, the names prefixed by Decennalia, of which Caffarello, Savelli, Capeceio, Conti, Annabaldi, Alteri, Corsi; the colours were adapted to their taste and situation; the devices are expressive of hope or despair, and breathe the spirit of gallantry and arms.

"I am alone, like the youngest of the Hortini," the confidence of an intrepid stranger: "I live discounten-

anced," a weeping widower: "I burn under the ashes," a discreet lover: "I adore Lavinia or Lucretia," the ambiguous declaration of a modern passion: "My faith is as pure," the motto of a white livery: "Who is stronger than myself?" of a lion's hide; "I desire to be a pleasant meal for a pleasant course," the wish of ferocious courage. The pride or prudence of the Ursini restrained them from the field, which was occupied by three of their hereditary rivals, whose inscriptions denoted the lofty greatness of the Colonna name: "I thought and I am strong," "Strong as I am grown," "If I fall," addressing himself to the spectators, "you fall with me!"—intimating (says the contemporary writer) that while the other families were the subjects of the Vatican, they alone were the supporters of the capitol.

The combats of the amphitheatre were danger-

ous. Every champion successively met a wild bull; and the victory may be ascribed to the quadrupeds, since no more than eleven were left on the field, with the loss of nine wounded and eighteen killed on the side of their adversaries. Some of the noblest families might mourn, but the pomp of the funerals, in the churches of St. John Lateron and St. Maria Maggiore, afforded a second holiday to the people. Doubtless it was not in such conflicts that the blood of the Romans should be shed; yet, in blamiing their rashness, we are compell

ed to applaud their gallantry; and the noble volunteers, consecrated by the prayers of their lives, under the balconies of the fair, excite a more generous sympathy than the thousands of captives and malefactors who were reluctantly dragged to the scene of slaughter.*

Injuries.

This use of the amphitheatre was rare, perhaps a singular festival: the demand for the materials was a daily and continual want, which the citizens could gratify without re-

straining or remorse. In the fourteenth century, a scandalous act of concord secured to both factions the privi-

eledge of extracting stones from the free and cem

etery quarry of the Coliseum; and Poggins laments, that the greater part of these stones had been burnt to lime by the folly of the Romans. To check this abuse, and to prevent the nocturnal crimes that might be per-

formed in the channels of the tiber, the Roughs forth surrounded it with a wall; and, by a charter long extant, granted both the ground and edifice to the monks of an adjacent convent. After his death, the wall was thrown down in a tumult of the people; and had they themselves respected the noblest monument of their fathers, it would have been in their power that it should never be degraded to private property. The inside was damaged; but in the middle of the sixteenth century, an ara of taste and learning, the exterior circumference of one thousand six hundred and twelve feet was still entire and inviolate; a triple elevation was placed in the old survey of the city, with one hundred and eight feet. Of the present ruin, the nephews of Paul the third are the guilty agents; and every traveller who views the Farnese palace may curse the sacrilege and luxury of these usurp princes. A similar approach is applied to the Barbe-

riano, and the palace of imperious investigators from every reign, till the Coliseum was converted into a house, the Coliseum was conserved placed under the safeguard of religion in the Coliseum by the most liberal of the pontiffs. Benedect the four-

teenth, who consecrated a spot which persecution and fable had stained with the blood of so many christians murdered.

When Petrarach first gratified his eyes with a view of these monuments, whose scattered fragments so far surpass the most eloquent descriptions, he was astonished at the sublime scene which he beheld. "The Colonna," he was humbled rather than elated by the discovery, that, except his friend Rienzi and one of the Colonna, a stranger of the Rhone was more conversant with these antiquities than the noblest natives of the metaphors. The ignorance and credulity of the Romans are elabo-

rately displayed in the old survey of the city, which was composed about the beginning of the sixteenth century; and, without dwelling on the manifest errors of name and place, the legend of the capitol may be in a concise but instructive memoir, the abbe Bartholomy (Me-

mores de l'Academie de l'Empire, Tom. X. p. 307) has found this agreement of the facts of the fourteenth century, de Tiberius faciendo in the Colosserum, from an original act in the ar-

chives of Rome.

p Colonna .... ob stultitiam Romanorum majoris ex parte ad calum detrahit, et asecurum Petruini particolare gentem, ut non dubitium, for the present age, must be very tenderly applied to the fifteenth century.

q Of the Olivetan monks, Montfaucon (p. 143) informs us that this fact is on the monument of Flaminio Vace. (No. 72.) They were still happy, on some future occasion, to revive and vindicate their claim.

r After measuring the precise amphitheatrum gymna, Montfaucon (p. 152) only adds, that it was entire until under Paul III., seconda charta. Montfaucon (Annali d'Italia, tav. xiv. p. 32) more freely reports the guilt of the Farnese popo, and the aplaination of the Roman people. Against the negligence of the eighteenth century, I have no other evidence than the vulgar saying: "Quod non fecerit barbari, fecerit Barbarian," which was perhaps true in the times of the great emperor, and was, too strong for the present age, must be very tenderly applied to the fifteenth century.

s Yet the statues of Rome (1. vii. p. 322) improve a fine of 500 morons in whosoever shall demolish any ancient edifice, ne ruinis civili
dis semper, et quod antiquas defecerunt urbem perpetuo reperu-

s. In his Kerr visit to Rome (A. D. 1537, See Monaca sur Petrarque, whicharrants the destruction of ancient monuments, and especially of those which were built with stones of the Colosserum. Petrarque, (ibidem p. 322.) He was struck with the appearance and extent of the ruins, and deplores the degenerate state of the educating them.

s. This extraordinary bull feast in the Coliseum is described, from tradition, by Poggins, and it is noticed in the most ancient fragments of Roman annals: (Muratori, Script. Rerum Riscalium, tom. xiii. p. 335, 355,) and however fanciful they may appear, they are the only motives of colour in urbs et ruinis mole dentos .... Perserina vero, mitum dicti, nihil immuni: { ... - filler major facta Roman magnoque recitavit quam tibum quod nem coram ab urbe dominum. (Origen, p. 60.) Familiaris, p. 14. Sanini Colonna.)

t He excepts a beautiful picture of the Colosserum, of John Colonna. (H. t. 149, figure.) Qui enim hinc mago ignari rerum Romanum, quam Romanis nolens est? Inventus divinum, ille sanctum, et omnes bonos colunto, et superos molere dentos ... Perserina vero, mitum dicti, nihil immuni: { ... - filler major facta Roman magnoque recitavit quam tibum quod nem coram ab urbe dominum. (Origen, p. 60.) Familiaris, p. 14. Sanini Colonna.)

u After the description of the capitol, he adds, names are found, that are not mere provincial; et habebat quibus nolens ecclesiasticos, et erant a sancto domino, et superos molere dentos ... Perserina vero, mitum dicti, nihil immuni: { ... - filler major facta Roman magnoque recitavit quam tibum quod nem coram ab urbe dominum. (Origen, p. 60.) Familiaris, p. 14. Sanini Colonna.)
THE DECLINE AND FALL

The capital," says the anonymous writer, "is so named as being the head of the world; and emperors, consuls and senators formerly resided for the government of the city and the globe. The strong and lofty walls were covered with glass and gold, and crowned with a roof of the richest and most curious carving. Below the citadel stood a palace, of gold for the greatest part, destined to the residence of a mortal, consul, emperor, and to be esteemed at one-third of the world itself. The statues of all the provinces were arranged in order, each with a small bell suspended from its neck; and such was the contrivance of art or magic, that if the prince of the Orient, a brilliant magnet, were to revolve around that quarter of the heavens, the bell rang, the prophet of the capital reported the prodigy, and the senate was admonished of the impending danger.

A second example of less importance, though of equal absurdity, may be drawn from the two marble horses, led by two naked youths, which have since been transported from the baths of Constantine to the Quirinal hill. The groundless application of the names of Phidias and Praxiteles may perhaps be excused; but these Grecian sculptors should not have been removed above four hundred years from the age of Pericles to that of the Curia. They should have been transfigured into two philosophers or magicians, whose natures was the symbol of truth or knowledge, who revealed to the emperor his most secret actions; and, after refusing all pecuniary recompense, solicited the honour of leaving this eternal monument of themselves. This move to the power of magic, the Romans were insensible to the beauties of art: no more than five statues were visible to the eyes of Poggio; and of the multitude which chance or design had buried under the ruins, the resurrection was fortunately found by no other and most enlightened modern. The Nile, which now adorns the Vatican, had been explored by some labours, in digging a vineyard near the temple, or convent, of the Minerva; but the impatient proprietor, who was tormented by some visits of curiosity, restored the unprofitable marble to its former grave. The discovery of a statue of Pompey, ten feet in length, was the occasion of a law-suit. It had been found under a partition-wall: the equitable judge had pronounced, that the head should be separated from the body to satisfy the claims of the contiguous owners; and the sentence would have been executed, if the rest of the bust had not been discovered and the sanctity of a pope, had not rescued the Roman hero from the hands of his barbarous countrymen.

Restoration and ornaments of the city.

A.D. 1420, &c.

The clouds of barbarism were gradually dispelled; and the peaceful authority of Martin the fifth and his successors restored the ornaments of the city as well as the order of the ecclesiastical state. The improvements of Rome, since the fifteenth century, have not been the work of the papacy; but of the industry of individuals and the inclination of the princes and the clergy are cultivated by the lazy hands of indigent and hopeless vassals; and the scanty harvests are confined or exported for the benefit of a monopoly. A second and more artificial cause of this increase is, the residence of a monarch, the expense of a luxury covered by the tributes of dependent provinces. Those provinces and tributes had been lost in the fall of the empire; and if some streams of the silver of Peru and the gold of Brasil have been attracted by the Vatican; the revenues of the cardinals, the fees of office, the contributions of pilgrims and clients, and the remnant of ecclesiastical taxes, afford a poor and precarious supply, which maintains however the idleness of the court and city. The population of Rome, far below the measure of the great capitals of Europe, does not exceed one hundred thousand inhabitants, and within the spacious enclosure of the walls, the largest portion of the seven hills is overspread with vineyards and ruins. The beauty and splendour of the modern city may be ascribed to the abuses of the government, to the influence of superstition. Each image (the exceptions are rare) has been maintained by the rapid elevation of a new family, enriched by the childish pontiff at the expense of the church and country.

The palaces of these fortunate nephews are the most costly monuments of elegance and servitude; the most perfect and most ornamented gardens, parks, and shrines, have been prostituted in their services; and their villas and gardens are decorated with the most precious works of antiquity, which taste or vanity has prompted them to collect. The ecclesiastical revenues were more decently employed by the popes themselves in the pious of the cardinals, the fees of office, the contributions of pilgrims and clients, and the remnant of ecclesiastical taxes, afford a poor and precarious supply, which maintains however the idleness of the court and city. The population of Rome, far below the measure of the great capitals of Europe, does not exceed one hundred thousand inhabitants, and within the spacious enclosure of the walls, the largest portion of the seven hills is overspread with vineyards and ruins. The beauty and splendour of the modern city may be ascribed to the abuses of the government, to the influence of superstition. Each image (the exceptions are rare) has been maintained by the rapid elevation of a new family, enriched by the childish pontiff at the expense of the church and country.

Restoration and ornaments of the city.

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He mentions an example of the Saxons and Swevi, who, after they had been subdued by Arrappa, again rebelled unanimously against the abbots who were in special honors and liberties, and had obtained the title of Duke or Count. Arrappa marched back and reduced the Swevis. (Anonymus, in Monum. pag. 227. 754.)

The same writer affirms, that Virgilius a Romania invisibilis, the grand son of Virgilius, in the eleventh century, is introduced by William of Malmyte: (de Vitas Regum Anglorum, i. ii. p. 59, &c.) and in the time of Filamet. Vaca (Nov. B. 104.) it was the vulgar belief that the strangers the Germans inhabited the domus for the discovery of hidden treasures.

Anonymus, in Monum. pag. 289. Monum. pag. 193. (curiously observes, that if Alexander be represented, these statues cannot be the work of Pidias. (Olympiad lxxxi.) or Praxiteles. (Olympiad civ.) who lived before Tacitus' "; (Pline, Hist. Nat. x. i.)"

A. D. 1420, &c.

William of Malmesbury (1. i. p. 56, 57) relates a marvellous discovery of the statue of Cæsar, who had been slain by Augustus: "the statue of Turnus; the perpetual light in his sepulchre, a Latin epitaph, andIncrease of人口, and Increase of population, has been continued without the possibility of a stop. In his beard, (fecta perit ingenio," &c. If this fable rests on the slightest foundation, we may pity the bodies, as well as the statues, that have been preserved during this time in a barbarous age.

From portico Minervae, status est necumianus, culpa capit in templo, at sed est in templo, (Poggia de Varese, Histor. di Roma, 1415. 1419. I am ignorant whether they have since continued in a progressive state.

The Papal Monuments distributes his own observations into twenty days, he should have styled them weeks, or months, of his visits to the ancient monuments of Rome, as the very first of Blundot, Fil-poix, Manmarys, and Fauss, who is surgeon, and has been in Rome, his own profession, and is now in his seventy third year. (Epist. ad plamadum ab unerbe scourere facie detexit. Ad hoc visendum cum prius deis monum. In a com. magnis concurrentibus, spectativorum antiquorum faschiennum perspicuum, &c. (Poggia de Varese, Histor. di Roma, 1415. 1419.) To his labors; the writings of Onuphrius Paradisii, qui omnes obseruantur, and the recent but imperfect books of Bonna and Nairi. Yet Monum us still affords a more complete plan and description
and the footsteps of heroes, the relics, not of superstition, but of empire, are devoutly visited by a new race of pilgrims from the remote, and once savage, countries of the north.

Final conclusion. Of these pilgrims, and of every reader, the attention will be excited by a History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire; the greatest, perhaps, and most awful, scene in the history of mankind. The various causes and progressive effects are connected with many of the events most interesting in human annals: the artful policy of the Caesars, who long maintained the name and image of a free republic; the disorder of military despotism; the rise, establishment, and sects of Christianity; the foundation of Constantinople; the division of the monarchy; the invasion and settlements of the barbarians of Germany and Scythia; the institutions of the civil law; the character and religion of Mahomet; the temporal sovereignty of the popes; the restoration and decay of the western empire of Charles-magne; the crusades of the Latins in the east; the conquests of the Saracens and Turks; the ruin of the Greek empire; the state and revolutions of Rome in the middle age. The historian may applaud the importance and variety of his subject; but, while he is conscious of his own imperfections, he must often accuse the deficiency of his materials. It was among the ruins of the capitol that I first conceived the idea of a work which has amused and exercised near twenty years of my life, and which, however inadequate to my own wishes, I finally deliver to the curiosity and candour of the public.

Lausanne, June 27, 1787.
REPLY TO GIBBON;

OR,

AN APOLOGY FOR CHRISTIANITY:

IN

LETTERS TO EDWARD GIBBON, ESQ.

AUTHOR OF THE HISTORY OF THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

BY R. WATSON, D. D., F. R. S.,

BISHOP OF LANDAFF, AND PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY IN THE UNIVERSITY
OF CAMBRIDGE.
LETTER I.

Sir:—It would give me much uneasiness to be reputed an enemy to free inquiry in religious matters, or as capable of being animated into any degree of personal malevolence against any one who dares to differ from me in opinion. On the contrary, I look upon the right of private judgment, in every question respecting God and ourselves, as superior to the control of human authority; and have ever regarded free disposition as the best means of illustrating the doctrine and establishing the truth of Christianity. Let the followers of Mahomed, and the zealots of the church of Rome, support their several religious systems by dapping every effort of the human intellect to pry into the foundations of their faith; but never can it become a Christian to be afraid of being asked “a reason of the hope that is in him;” nor a Protestant to be studied of enveloping his religion in mystery and ignorance; or to abandon that moderation by which she permits every individual of sensibile que vidit, et quae sentient decis: [both to think what he will, and to speak what he thinks.]

It is not, sir, without some reluctance, that, under the influence of these opinions, I have prevailed upon myself to address these letters to you; and you will attribute to the same motive my not having sent you these first two papers: or, moreover, an expectation that this task would have been undertaken by some person capable of doing greater justice to the subject, and more worthy of your attention. Perceiving, however, that the two last chapters, the fifteenth in particular, of your very laborious and classical history of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, had made upon many an impression not at all advantageous to Christianity; and that the silence of others, of the clergy especially, began to be looked upon as an acquiescence in, or at least in not contending against, this impression; I have thought it my duty, with the utmost respect and good will towards you, to take the liberty of suggesting to your consideration a few remarks upon some of the passages which have been esteemed (whether you meant that they should be so esteemed or not) as powerfully militating against that revelation, which still is to many, what it formerly was “to the Greeks—foolishness;’” but which we decreed to be true, “to be the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth.”

To the inquiry, by what means the Christian faith obtained so remarkable a victory over the established religions of the earth, you rightly answer, by the evidence of the doctrine itself, and the ruling providence of its author. But, afterwards, in assigning to this astonishing event, five secondary causes, derived from the passions of the human heart, and the general circumstances of mankind, you seem to some to have insinuated that Christianity, like other impostures, might have made its way into the world, though its origin had been as human as the means by which you suppose it was spread. It is no wish or intention of mine to fasten the odium of this insinuation upon you; I shall simply endeavour to show that the causes you produce, are either inadequate to the attainment of the end proposed, or that their efficiency, great as you imagine it, was derived from other principles than those you have thought proper to mention.

Your first cause is, “the inflexible, and, if you may use the expression, the intolerant zeal of the Christians, derived, it is true, from the Jewish religion, but purified from the narrow and unspiritual spirit which, instead of inviting, had deterred the Gentiles from embracing the law of Moses.” Yes, sir, we are agreed that the zeal of the Christians was inflexible; “whether death, or imprisonment, or suffering, or shame, or things present, or things to come,” could bend it into a separation “of the love of God which was in Christ Jesus their Lord.” It was an inflexible obstinacy, in not blaspheming God; they were the most resolute in upbraiding them to persecution; and which even your amiable and philosophical Pliny thought proper, for want of other crimes, to punish with death in the Christians of his province. We are agreed, too, that the zeal of the Christians was inflexible; it denounced “tribulation and anguish upon every soul of man that did evil, of the Jew first, and also of the Gentile:” It would not tolerate in Christian monuments the name denominated the image of Caesar, who bowed down at the altars of Paganism, who mixed with the votaries of Venus, or wallowed in the filth of Bactheanian festivals.

But, though we are thus far agreed with respect to the inflexibility and intolerance of Christ’s followers, it is from a principle from which it was derived, we are tuto colo divided in opinion. You deduce it from the Jewish religion; I would refer it to a more adequate and a more obvious source—a full persuasion of the truth of Christianity. What! think you that it was a zeal derived from the unsocial spirit of Judaism, which inspired Peter with courage to upbraid the whole people of the Jews, in the very capital of Judea, with having “delivered up Jesus, with having denied him in the presence of Pilate, with having desired a murderer to be granted them in his stead, with having killed the Prince of Life!” Was it from this principle that the same apostle, in conjunction with John, when summoned, not before the dregs of the people, (whose judgment they might have been supposed capable of misleading, and whose resentment they might have despised,) but before the rulers and the elders, and the scribes, the dread tribunal of the Jewish nation, and commanded by them to teach no more in the name of Jesus, boldly answered, “that they could not but speak the things which they had seen and heard!” They had “seen with their eyes, they had handled with their hands the word of life;” and no human jurisdiction could deter them from being faithful witnesses of what they had seen and heard. Here, then, you may perceive the genuine and undoubted origin of that zeal which you ascribe to what appears to me a very insufficient cause; and which the Jewish rulers were so far from considering as the ordinary effect of their religion, that they were exceedingly at a loss how to account for it. “Now, when they saw the boldness of Peter and John, and perceived that they were unlearned and ignorant men, they marvelled.” The apostles, heedless of consequences, and regardless of every thing but truth, openly every where professed themselves witnesses of the resurrection of Christ; and with a confidence which could proceed from nothing but conviction, and which pricked the Jews to the heart, bade “the house of Israel know assuredly, that God had made that same Jesus, whom they had crucified, both Lord and Christ.”

I mean not to produce these instances of apostolic zeal as direct proof of the truth of Christianity; for every religion, every zeal, every absurd set of every religion, has had its zealous, who have not scrupled to maintain their principles at the expense of their lives; and we ought no more to infer the truth of Christianity from the mere zeal of its propagators, than the truth of Mahommedanism from that of a Turk. When a man suffers himself to be covered with infamy, pillaged of his property, and dragged at last to the block or the stake, rather than give up his opinion, the proper inference is, not that his opinion is true, but that he believes it to be true; and a question of serious discussion immediately presents itself—upon what foundation has he built his belief? This is often an interesting inquiry, including in it a vast compass of human learning. A Brahmin or a Mandarin, who should observe a missionary attesting the truth of Christianity with his blood, would, notwithstanding, have a right to ask many questions, before it could be expected that he should give an assent to our faith. In the case, indeed, of the apostles, the inquiry would be much less perplexed, since it would briefly resolve itself into this—whether they were credible reporters of facts, which they themselves professed to have seen—and it would be an easy matter to show, that their zeal in attesting what they were the most competent to judge of, could not proceed from any alluring prospect of worldly interest or ambition, or from any other probable motive than a love of truth.

But the credibility of the apostles’ testimony, or their credibility to judge, which is the question which should be examined: the question before us simply relates the principle
WATSON'S REPLY TO GIBBON.

by which their zeal was excited; and it is a matter of real astonishment to me, to reflect upon the effect of one of the first propagation of Christianity, acquainted with the opposition it everywhere met with from the people of the Jews, and aware of the rapacity which must ever subsist between its tenets and those of Judaism, should ever the doctrine of deriving the zeal of the primitive Christians from the Jewish religion.

Both Jew and Christian, indeed, believed, in one God, and abominable idolatry; but this detestation of idolatry, had it been accompanied with the belief of the resurrection of Christ, would probably have been just as inexcusable in exciting the zeal of the Christian to undertake the conversion of the Gentile world, as it had for ages been in exciting that of the Jews. But supposing, what I think, we have not proved, and what I am certain cannot be admitted without proof, that a zeal derived from the Jewish religion inspired the first Christians with fortitude to oppose themselves to the institutions of Paganism; what was it that encouraged them in the attempt the conversion of their own countrymen? Amongst the Jews they met with no superstitious observances of idolatrous rites; and therefore, amongst them, could have no opportunity of declaring and confirming their zealous opposition to Paganism, or of fortifying, by frequent protestations, their attachment to the Christian faith.

Here, then, at least, the cause you have assigned for Christian zeal ceases to operate; and we must look for some other principle than a zeal against idolatrous vice, which will never be able to explain the ardour with which the apostles pressed the disciples of Moses to become the disciples of Christ.

Again; does a determined opposition to, and an open abhorrence of, even the minutest particular idolatrous religion, amount to the same thing as a method of conciliating the Jews to the new doctrine of Christianity, in opposition to all the established powers of Paganism, is a circumstance I can by no means comprehend. The Jesuit missionaries, whose human prudence no one will question, were quite of a contrary way of thinking; and brought a deserved censure upon themselves by opposing to the principle of faith of Christ, by indulging to their Pagan converts a frequent use of idolatrous ceremonies. Upon the whole, it appears to me, that the Christians were in no wise indebted to the Jewish religion for their propagation. They propagated the gospel amongst Jews as well as Gentiles: and that such a zeal as you describe, let its principles be what you please, could never have been manifested by any human understanding as a means of promoting the progress of a reformation in religion, much less could it have been thought adequate to the preponderance of the Jews to idolatry, and their frequent detection from the things one thing to God; the law of "stubborn incredulity" cannot be admitted as one of them.

To men, indeed, whose understandings have been enlightened by the Christian revelation, and enlarged by all the means of knowledge and instruction, the pretensions of idolatry from without, and whose reason from without revolted at the idea of worshipping the infinite Author of the universe under any created symbol; to men who are compelled, by the utmost exaction of their reason, to admit, as an irrefutable truth, what are the first principles of all reason, the eternal existence of an uncaused being, and who are conscious that they cannot give a full account of any one phenomenon in nature, from the rotation of the great orbs of the universe, to the development of life, from the union of one's heart in reverence to him as the primary incommunicable cause of it; and who, from seeing him everywhere, have, by a strange fatality, (converting an excess of evidence into a principle of disbelief) at times doubted concerning his existence anywhere, and made the very universe their God: to men such as a stamp, it appears almost an incredible thing, that any human being, which had seen the order of nature interrupted, or the uniformity of its course suspended, though for a moment, should ever entertain a doubt of the existence of a being, which would have been excited in their minds. But whatever effect the visible interposition of the Deity might have in removing the scepticism and confirming the faith of the ancients, does it not seem probable, that by your principle, work with "careless indifference," but with astonishment and terror; nor would you be able to detect the slightest vestige of "stubborn incredulity" in their song of gratitude. No length of time would be able to blot from their minds the memory of such a transaction, or induce a doubt concerning its author; though future hunger and thirst might make them call out for water and bread with a desponding and rebellious impatience.

But it was not at the Red Sea only that the Israelites regained, with something more than a "careless indifference," the amazing miracles which God had wrought; for, when the law was declared to them from Mount Sinai, "all the people saw the thunderings, and the lightning, and the voice of the trumpet, a very mighty peal of thunderings without sound, a light and a very great tempest, and the mountain smoking; and when the people saw it, they removed and stood afar off: and they said unto Moses, Speak thou with us, and we will hear; but let not God speak with us, lest we die." This again, sir, is the Scripture account of the language of the contemporaries of Moses and Joshua; and I leave it to you to consider whether this is the language of "stubborn incredulity and careless indifference.

We are told, in Scripture, too, that whilst any of the "contemporaries" of Moses and Joshua were alive, the whole people served the Lord; the impression which a sight of the miracles had made was never effaced; nor the obedience, which might have been expected as a natural consequence, refused, till Moses and Joshua, and all their contemporaries, were gathered unto their fathers; till, "another generation after them arose, which knew not the Lord, nor yet the works which he had done for Israel." But the "people served the Lord all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders that outlived Joshua, who had seen all the great works of the Lord that he did for Israel.

I am not, sir, unacquainted with Scripture, or desirous of sinking the weight of its testimony; but as the words of the history, from which you must have derived your observation, will not support you in imputing "careless incredulity to the contemporaries of Moses and Joshua, as an uniform observation upon the Jewish people, in the uniform incredulity of the Jews, I know not what can have induced you to pass so severe a censure upon them, except that you look upon a lapse into idolatry as a proof of
infidelity. In answer to this, I would remark, that with equal soundness of argument we ought to infer, that every one who transgresses a religion, disbelieves it; and that every individual, in any community incurs civil pains and penalties, is a dissenter. The copiers of the Gnostic doctrines are infidels. The sanctions of the Mosaic law were, in your opinion, terminated within the narrow limits of this life; in that particular, then, they must have resembled the sanctions of a city. Whether the Gnostics have imitated the sanctions of every one of them, as well as that of Moses; and I know not what reason we have to expect that the Jews, who were animated by the same hopes of temporal rewards, impelled by the same fears of temporal punishments, with the rest of mankind, should have been so singular in their conduct, as never to have listened to the clamors of passion before the still voice of reason, as never to have preferred a present gratification of sense, in the least celebration of obdurate rites, before the rigid observance of licentious ceremonies.

Before I release you from the trouble of this letter, I cannot help observing, that I could have wished you had furnished your reader with Lumbrich's answers to the Jew Ormio, concerning the perpetual obligation of the law of Moses. You have, indeed, mentioned Lumbrich with respect, in a short note; but, though you have studiously put into the mouths of the Judaising Christians in the apostolic days, and with great strength inserted into your text whatever has been said, to the effect of obliterating the true and original terrestrial and temporal sanctions, yet have you not favoured us with any one of the numerous replies which have been made to these seemingly strong objections. You are perfectly at ease in allowing the Jews, who have been allowed to devolve on the divines, to have abundantly explained the ambiguous language of the Old Testament, and the ambiguous conduct of the apostolic teachers. It requires, sir, no learned industry to explain what is so obvious and so expressive, that he who runs may read it. The language of the Old Testament is this: "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, and I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah; not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers, when I took them out of the land of Egypt." This, methinks, is a clear and solemn declaration; there is no ambiguity at all in it; that the covenant with Moses was not to be perpetual, but was, in some future time, to give way to a "new covenant." I will not detain you with an explanation of what Moses himself has said upon this subject; but you may try, if you please, whether you can apply the following declaration, which Moses made to the Jews, to any prophet, or succession of prophets, with the same propriety or truth in Jesus among them: "The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto thee: unto him shall ye hearken. If thou think this ambiguous or obscure, it is a hearsay, but a prophecy; and with such uncertain, unavoidable liable to some degree of obscurity, till interpreted by the event.

Nor was the conduct of the apostles more ambiguous than the language of the Old Testament; they did not, indeed, at first comprehend the whole of the nature of the new dispensation; and when they did understand it better, they did not think proper, upon every occasion, to use their Christian liberty; but, with true Christian charity, accommodated themselves in matters of indifference to the prejudices of their weaker brethren. But he who changes his conduct with a change of sentiments, proceeding from an increase of knowledge, is not ambiguous in his conduct; nor should he be accused of insincerity, if he discard, at the same time, objections he himself has mentioned; I take it for granted, upon your authority, that they did; but I am certain, if they did, that the Gnostics of modern times have no reason to be puffed up with their knowledge, their presumption; and that all the men of subtle penetration or refined erudition; they are all miserable copies of their brethren of antiquity; and neither Morgan, nor Tindal, nor Boilingrooke, nor Voltaire, have been able to produce scarce a single new objection. You think that the Fathers have not properly answered the Gnostics. I make no question, sir, you are able to answer them to your own satisfaction, and informed of every thing that has been said by our "inquisitor-divines" upon the subject; and it should have been glad if it had fallen in with your plan to have administered, together with the poison, its antidote. But since that is not the case, lest its malignity should spread contrary to the wishes of men far, I must join the gods to my younger readers, that Le-land, and others, in their replies to the modern divines, have given very full, and, as many learned men apprehend, very satisfactory answers to every one of the objections which you have derived from the Gnostic heresy. I am, &c.


LETTER II.

Sir—"The doctrine of a future life, improved by every additional circumstance which could give weight and efficacy to that important truth," is the second of the causes to which you attribute the quick increase of Christianity. Now, if we impartially consider the circumstances of the persons to whom the doctrine, not simply of a future life, but of a future life accompanied with punishments as well as rewards; not of every limited mortal, but of the immortality of a soul, accompanied with that of the resurrection, was delivered, I cannot be of opinion that, abstracted from the supernatural testimony by which it was enforced, it could have met with that extraordinary reception that it actually did receive.

It was not that kind of future life which they expected; it did not hold out to them the punishments of the infernal region as omnia fabulae. (Old wives' fables.) To the question, Quid si post mortem non erit anima? (What if souls should not exist after death?) they would not answer with Cicero and the philosophers, Beatos esse censeo; (They are happy;) because, there was a great probability that it might be quite otherwise with them. I am not to learn that there are passages to be picked up in the writings of the ancients, which might be produced as proofs of their expecting a future state of punishment for the figments; but this opinion was worn out of credit before the time of our Saviour; the whole disputation in the first book of the Tusculean Questions goes upon the other supposition. Nor was the absurdity of the doctrine of future punishments confined to the writings of the philosophers, or the circles of the learned and polite; for Cicero, to mention no others, makes no secret of it in his public pleadings in the great cause of the Christians before the procurator, sii dixit, non nisi ut praebitalis clerus, mystically referred to his oration for Cluentius. In this oration, you may remember, he makes great mention of a very abandoned fellow who had forfeited his profession of religion, and joined himself to the Church; but Cicero knew not how to save him, and he had sent him to another villainy; yet, even to this profligate, by name Oppianicus, he is persuaded that death was not the occasion of any evil. Hence, I think, we may conclude, that such of the Romans as were not wholly infected with the amalginating notions of Epicurus, but entertained (whether from remote tradition or enlightened argumentation) hopes of a future life, had no manner of expectation of such a life as included in it the severity of punishment denounced in the Christian scheme both against the wicked.

Nor was it that kind of future life which they wished: they would have been glad enough of an Elysium which could have admitted into it men who had spent this life in the perpetration of every vice which can debase and pollute the human heart. To abandon every seducing gratification of sense, to pluck up every latent root of ambition, to subdue every impulse of revenge, to divest themselves of every invertebrate habit in which they were infected, and their propensity to the opposite...
suggest, for and against the immortality of the soul; and those uncertain glimmerings of the light of nature would have prepared the mind for the reception of the illustrations of this subject by the Gospel, had not the resurrection been a part of the doctrine therein advanced. But that this corporeal frame, which is hourly mouldering away, and reduced to putrefaction, and after a certain undetermined period from which it was first derived, should ever be "clothed with immortality; that this corruptible should ever put on incorruption," is a truth so far removed from the apprehension of philosophical research, so dissuasive from the common conceptions of mankind, that amongst all ranks and persuasions of men it was esteemed an impossible thing. At Athens, the philosophers had listened with patience to St. Paul, while they conceived him but a "sower of strange gods:" but as soon as they apprehended, that by the event of Christ's death, and the resurrection, they turned from him with contempt. It was principally the insisting upon the same topic which, made Festus think "that much learning had made him mad." And the questions, "How are the dead raised up?" and, "With what body do they come?" seem, by Paul's solicitude to answer them with fullness and precision, to have been not infrequently proposed to him by those who were desirous of becoming Christians.

The doctrine of a future life, then, as promulgated in the Gospel, being neither agreeable to the expectations, nor corresponding with the wishes, nor conformable to the reason of the Gentiles, I can discover no motive (setting aside the true one) for their attaching to it the first place, which commonly induces them to receive it; and, in consequence of their belief to conform their loose morals to the rigid standard of Gospel purity, upon the mere authority of a few contemptible fisher men of Judaea. And even you, yourself, so seen; to have changed your opinion concerning the probability of the expectation of a future life in converting the heathen, when you observe in the following chapter, that "the Pagans multitude, retaining their gratitude for temporal benefits alone, rejected the inestimable present of life and immortality which was offered to mankind by Jesus of Nazareth."

Monteusequin is of opinion that it will ever be impossible for Christianity to establish itself in China and the East, from the circumstance that it prohibits a plurality of wives. How then could it be possible for it to have pervaded the voluptuous capital, and traversed the utmost limits of the empire of Rome, by the feeble efforts of human industry or human knavery?

But the Gentiles, you are of opinion, were converted by their fears; and you reckon the doctrine of Christ's speedy appearance, of the millennium, and of the general conflagration amongst those additional circumstances which gave weight to their belief, and rendered it likely to be received. The examination of the efficiency of these several circumstances in alarming the apprehensions of the Gentiles, what if I should grant your position? Still the main question recurs, from what cause was the effect produced? Not surely from the mere human labours of men who were everywhere spoken against, made a spectacle of, and considered as the filth of the world, and the off-savouring of all things, not surely from the human power of him, who professed himself "rude in speech, in bodily presence contemptible," and a despiser of "the excellency of speech, and the enticing words of man's wisdom." No, such wretched instruments were but ill fitted to inspire the haughty and the learned Romans with any other passions than those of pity or contempt.

Now, sir, if you please, we will consider that universal expectation of the approaching end of the world, which, you think, had such great influence in converting the Pagans to the profession of Christianity. The near approach, you say, of this wonderful event had been predicted by the apostles; "though the revolution of seventeenth centuries has instructed us to press too closely the mysterious language of prophecy and revelation." That this opinion, even in the times of the apostles, had made its way into the Christian church, I readily admit; but that the apostles ever either predicted this event by the spirit in the capacity it fell into the hands of men, does not seem probable to me. As this is a point of some difficulty and importance, you will suffer me to explain it at some length.

It must be owned that there are several passages in the writings of the apostles which, at the first view, seem to warrant the opinion you have adopted. "Now," says St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, "it is high time to awake out of sleep; for now is our salvation nearer than when we believed. For the night is far spent, the day is at hand. Therefore let us give theatts to prayer, that we may be found acceptable to God at that day. And let us not be为例, and be not unwise, but understand what the will of the Lord be, that we may be wise. For the night cometh, when no man can work. Therefore let us not sleep, as others do; but let us watch and be sober. For they that sleep slumber as doth the rest of men; but they that watch keep watch and are sober. Now that same night there came auffling great corruption of the Christian church, which was the result of this revelation of the man of sin, this mystery of iniquity,
ly to leave them, that it was not for them to "know the times and the seasons, which the Father hath fixed," Nor is it to be wondered at, that the apostles were left in a state of uncertainty concerning the time in which Christ should appear; since being far more exalted, and more high
enly as it be said of Paul, who clearly foresees this corruption above seventeen hundred
years ago; and all the troubles of a great portion of them, and the speedy coming of Christ could never have been "predicted"
by the apostles. Take it, as translated by Bishop Newton: "But the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter
times, some shall apostatize from the faith; giving heed to er-
roneous spirits, and doctrines concerning demons, through
the hypocrisy of liars; having their conscience seared with
a hot iron; forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from
meats." Here you have an express prophecy; the Spirit
spoke to the apostles when they were writing; but at some distant
period, some should apostatize from the faith; some, who had been Christians, should, in truth, be so
no longer, but should give heed to erroneous spirits, and doc-
trines concerning demons: but the apostles could not tell you
whether you may, perhaps, discover in it the erroneous tenets, and
demons or saint worship of the church of Rome. "Through
the hypocrisy of liars" you recognise, no doubt, the priest-
hood, and the martyrologists. "Having their conscience seared
with a hot iron," calvaries, indeed, must his conscience
be, who traffics in indulgence. "Forbidding to marry, and
commanding to abstain from meats:" this language needs
pressing; it discovers, at once, the unhappy votaries of mo-
nastic life, and the mortal sin of eating flesh on fast days.
If, notwithstanding what has been said, you should still be
of opinion that the apostles expected Christ would come in
their time; it will not follow that their error ought in any wise
to diminish their authority as preachers of the Gospel.
I am sensible that this position may alarm even some well-
wishers to Christianity; and supply its enemies with what
they will think an irreparable argument. The apostles, they
will say, were inspired with the Spirit of truth; and yet they
fell into a gross mistake concerning a matter of great impor-
tance; how is this to be reconciled? Perhaps, in the follow-
ing manner: When the time of our Saviour's ministry was
nearly at an end, he thought proper to raise the spirits of his
disciples by instituting the terrible events of the destruction
of Jerusalem; he said to them about his design of leaving them, by
promising that he would send to them the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, the Spirit
of truth, who should teach them all things, and lead them in-
to all the truth; and that he would return to them on the
third day, and that they were to wait for the Holy Ghost to
arrive. And we know farther, that from that time forward they were enabled to speak with tongues, to work
miracles, to preach the word with power, and to com-
prehend the mystery of the new dispensation which had
been put into them. But we have no reason from hence
to conclude, that they were immediately inspired with the
apprehension of whatever might be known; that they became
acquainted with all kinds of truth. They were undoubtedly
led into such truths as it was necessary for them to know, in
order to their converting the world to Christianity; but, in
other things, they were probably left to the exercise of their
understanding, as other men usually are. But surely they
might be proper witnesses of the life and resurrection of Christ,
though they were not acquainted with every thing
which might have been known; though, in particular, they
were ignorant of the precise time when our Lord would come
to judge the world. It can be easily supposed that these
were appointed to bear witness to others; and to
them about their authority as preachers of the Gospel.
I am sensible that this position may alarm even some well-
wishers to Christianity; and supply its enemies with what
they will think an irreparable argument. The apostles, they
will say, were inspired with the Spirit of truth; and yet they
fell into a gross mistake concerning a matter of great impor-
tance; how is this to be reconciled? Perhaps, in the follow-
ing manner: When the time of our Saviour's ministry was
nearly at an end, he thought proper to raise the spirits of his
disciples by instituting the terrible events of the destruction
of Jerusalem; he said to them about his design of leaving them, by
promising that he would send to them the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, the Spirit
of truth, who should teach them all things, and lead them in-
to all the truth; and that he would return to them on the
third day, and that they were to wait for the Holy Ghost to
arrive. And we know farther, that from that time forward they were enabled to speak with tongues, to work
miracles, to preach the word with power, and to com-
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LETTER III.

Sir,—You esteem "the miraculous powers ascribed to the primitive church," as the third of the secondary causes of the rapid growth of Christianity. I should be willing to acknowledge the miracles, not merely ascribed to the primitive church, but really performed by the apostles, as the one great primary cause of the conversion of the Gentiles. But waiving this consideration, let us suppose whether the miraculous powers which you ascribe to the primitive church, were in any eminent degree calculated to spread the belief of Christianity amongst a great and enlightened people.

Moreover, "of divine inspirations, conveyed sometimes in the form of a sleeping, sometimes of a waking vision; and were literally bestowed on all ranks of the faithful, on women as on elders, on boys as well as upon bishops." "The design of these visions," you say, "was for the most part either to disclose the future history, or to guide the present administration of the church." You speak of "the expulsion of devils as an ordinary triumph of religion, usually performed in a public manner; and when the patient was relieved by the skill or the power of the exorcist, the vanquished demon was heard to confess that he was one of the fabled gods of antiquity, who had impiously usurped the adoration of mankind;" and you represent even the miracle of the resurrection of the dead as frequently performed on necessary occasions. Cast your eye, sir, upon the church of Rome, and ask yourself, (I put the question to your heart, and beg you will consult that for an answer; ask yourself;) whether her absurd pretensions to that very kind of miraculous power, which has been ascribed to the operations of Christianity, have not converted half her numbers to Protestantism, and the other half to infidelity? Neither the sword of the civil magistrate, nor the possession of the keys of heaven, nor the terrors of her spiritual thunders, have been able to keep within her pale even those who have been bred up in her faith; how then should you think, that the very cause which has almost extinguished Christianity among Christians, should have established it amongst Pagans? For I may justly be misunderstood. I do not take upon me to say, that all the miracles recorded in the history of the primitive church after the apostatical age were forgeries: it is foreign to the present purpose to deliver any opinion upon that subject; but I do beg leave to insist upon this, that such of them as were forgeries must, in that learned age, by their easy detection, have rather impeded than accelerated the progress of Christianity; and it appears very probable to me, that nothing but the recent prevailing evidences of real, unquestioned, apostolical miracles, could have secured the infant church from being destroyed by those who were falsely ascribed to it.

It is not every man who can nicely separate the corruption of a religion itself, from the growth of Christianity. I should be willing to apportion to each of those degrees of credit due to the diversities of evidence, and those who have the ability for the task are usually ready enough to emancipate themselves from Gospel restraints (which thwart their desires) by checking the entertainments of passion, and combat the prejudices of the world and the surnames) by blaming its native simplicity with the superpositions which have been derived from it. No argument is so well suited to the indulgence of the immorality of mankind, as that priests of all ages and religions are the same; we see the pretensions of the Romish priesthood to miraculous powers, and we know them to be false; we are conscious that they, at least, must sacrifice their integrity to their interest or their ambition; and being persuaded that there is a great sameness in the passions of mankind and in their incentives to action; and knowing that the history of past ages is abundantly stored with similar oblines to supernatural authority, we traverse back, in imagina- tion, to the regions of primitive superstition; we see from a superficial view, nothing to discriminate one set of men or one period of time from another, we hastily conclude that all revealed religion is a cheat, and that the miracles attributed to the apostles: every species of miracles which heaven had enabled the first preachers to perform, would be counterfeited, either from misguided zeal or interested cunning: either through the imbecility or the iniquity of mankind; and we might be induced to reasonably conclude that there never was any piety, charity, or chastity in the world, from seeing such plenty of pretenders to these virtues, as that there never were any real miracles performed, from considering the great store of those which have been forged.

But, I know not how it has happened, there are many in the present age (I am far from including you, sir, in the number,) whose prejudices against all miraculous events have arisen from a conclusion, (which appears possible to any human testimony, however great, to establish their credibility.) I beg pardon for styling their reasoning, prejudices. I have no design to give offence by that word. I mean not that they have no reason, but that it appears to be a vicious and insuperable prejudice, opposed to the scepticism of every deist to wilful infidelity, as it is in the desire to refer the faith of every divine to professional bias. They do not have the desire to be convinced by no other testimony, nor more worthy of our attention than the prologues of Pagan story or the lying wonders of Papal artifice. I have no intention, in this place, to enlarge upon the many circumstances by which a candid inquirer after truth might be enabled to distinguish the apocryphal from the orthodox interpolated view of Christ and his apostles and the tricks of ancient or modern superstition. One observation I would suggest to you upon this subject: the miracles recorded in the Old and New Testament are so intimately united with the morality of common events, and the ordinary transactions of life, that you cannot, as in profane history, separate the one from the other. My meaning will be illustrated by an instance: Tacitus and Suetonius have handed down to us an account of many great actions of the emperors; and it is at least probable, that they formed us of his having wrought some miracles; of his having cured a lame man, and restored sight to one that was blind. But what they tell us of these miracles is so unconnected with anything that goes before or after, that we are forced to reject the relation of them without injuring, in any degree, the consistency of the narration of the other circumstances of his life: on the other hand, if you reject the relation or the miracles altogether, you must necessarily reject the account of his whole life, and of several transactions, concerning which we have the undoubted testimony of other writers besides the evangelists. But if this argument should not strike you, perhaps the following observation may tend to remove a little of the prejudice usually conceived against Gospel miracles by men of lively imaginations, on account of the gross forgeries attributed to the first ages of the church.

The phenomena of physics are sometimes happily illustrated by an hypothesis; and the most reconcile truths of mathematical science, not unfrequently, investigated from an absurd position. What if we try the same method of arguing the case of Christ, and his miracles? Let us suppose that this relation was to be promulgated to mankind; and that twelve unlearned and unfriend men, inhabitants of any country most odious and despiable in the eyes of Europe, should, by the power of God, be endowed with the faculty of speaking languages unknown to them, and capable of expressing all human ability; and that, being strongly impressed with a particular truth which they were commissioned to promulgate, they should travel, not only through the barbarous regions of Africa, but through all the learned and politicized states of Europe, preaching everywhere with unremitted sedulity a new religion, working stupendous miracles in attestation of their mission, and communicating to their first converts a variety of arts, and instructing them in great and small gifts: does it appear probable to you that, after the death of these men, and probably after the deaths of most of their immediate successors who had been zealously attached to the faith they had seen so miraculously confirmed, none would ever attempt to impose upon the credulous or the ignorant by a fictitious claim to supernatural powers! Would none of them aspire to the gift of tongues? would none of them mistake phrenzy for illumination, and the delusions of a heated brain for the impulses of the Spirit! would none undertake to cure inanimate disorders, to expel demons, or to raise the dead! As far as I can apprehend, we ought, from such a position, to deduce, by every rule of probable reasoning, the absolute impossibility of the miracles of Christ. Let us suppose the apostles: every species of miracles which heaven had enabled the first preachers to perform, would be counterfeited, either from misguided zeal or interested cunning: either through the imbecility or the iniquity of mankind; and we might be induced to reasonably conclude that there never was any piety, charity, or chastity in the world, from seeing such plenty of pretenders to these virtues, as that there never were any real miracles performed, from considering the great store of those which have been forged.
KNOWLEDGE is rightly divided by Mr. Locke into intuitive, sensitive, and demonstrative. It is clear, that a past miracle cannot be the object of sense nor of intuition, nor consequently of demonstration: we cannot, then, philosophically speaking, use the laws of nature for its light; and this is the conclusion. But, in all the great concerns of life, we are influenced by probability rather than knowledge: and of probability, the same great author establishes two foundations; a conformity to the common experience of mankind, and the testimony of other witnesses. He has it been contended, that by the opposition of these two principles probability is destroyed; or, in other terms, that human testimony can never influence the mind to assent to a proposition repugnant to uniform experience. Whose experience? You will not say, your own; for the experience of an individual reaches but a little way; and, no doubt, you daily assent to a thousand truths in politics, in physics, and in the business of common life, which you have never seen verified by experience. You will not produce the experience of your friends; for that can extend itself but a little way beyond your own. But by uniform experience, I conceive, you are destitute of understanding the experience of all ages and nations since the foundation of the world. I answer, first; how is it that you become acquainted with the experience of all ages and nations? You will reply, from history. Be it so: persuade, then, by far the most ancient records of antiquity; and if you find no mention of miracles in the history of Celsus and Pliny, and in the two most celebrated nations of the world, you may suppose, the learned nations of Egypt, that the heathen, inhabiting the land of Canaan, that the numerous people of the Jews, and the nations which, for ages, surrounded them, have all had great experience of miracles. You cannot otherwise obviate this conclusion, than by questioning the authenticity of that book concerning which Newton, when he was writing his commentary on Daniel, expressed himself to the person to whom I had the anecdote, and which deserves not to be lost; "I find more marks of authenticity in the Bible than in any profane history whatsoever."

However, I mean not to press you with the argument ut reecundam; it is needless to solicit your modesty, when it may be, perhaps, possible, to make an impression upon your judgment: I answer, therefore, in the second place, that the admission of the principle by which you reject miracles will lead us into absurdity. The laws of gravitation are the most obvious of all the laws of nature; every person in every part of the globe must confess the phenomena of gravity; the earth, you know, is not a perfect sphere, and the weight of a given mass varies over different parts of the earth's surface: and you confess, it is impossible to find the first discoverer; and yet to have rejected it would have been to reject the truth. But that a piece of iron should ascend gradually from the earth, and fly at last with an increasing rapidity through the air, and alight in a distant place, is, it would seem, to have the same piece of iron, or to a particular species of iron ore, should remain suspended, in opposition to the action of its gravity, it will be alleged, is consonant to the laws of nature. I grant it; but there was a time when it was contrary, I say not to the laws of nature, but to the uniform experience of all preceding ages and countries: and at that particular point of time, the testimony of an individual, or of a dozen individuals, who should have reported themselves eye-witnesses of such a fact, ought, according to your principle, to have been received with the greatest of confidence; and what are those laws of nature, which, you think, can never be suspended? Are they not different to different men, according to the diversities of their comprehension? and known to you only of many of them (that, for instance, which rules the operations of magnetism or electricity) should have been known to you or to me alone, whilst all the rest of the world were unacquainted with it; the effects of it would have been new, and unheard of in the annals, and considered as the effect of the power of a god, in a moment, in that view, whether the suspension of the known laws of nature be effected; that is, whether a miracle be performed, by the mediation of other laws that are unknown, or by the ministry of a person divinely commissioned; since it is impossible for us to be certain that it is contradictory to the constitution of the universe, that a thing so repugnant to it should have been performed, and their action overruled by others, still more general, than the law's known and known to you; that is, that miracles should be performed before such a being as man, at those times, in those places, and under those circumstances, which God, in his universal providence, had preordained. I am, &c.

LETTER IV.

Str:—I readily acknowledge the utility of your fourth cause, "the virtues of the first Christians," as greatly conducing to the spreading of their religion; but then you seem to quite mar the compliment you pay them, by representing their virtues as proceeding either from their repentance for having been the most abandoned sinners, or from the laudable desire of supporting the reputation of the society in which they were engaged.

That repentance is the first step to virtue, is true enough; but I see no reason for supposing, according to the calendar of history, that the Christian was necessarily a wicked party men who washed away in the waters of baptism the guilt for which the temples of the gods refused to grant them any expiation. The apostles, sir, did not, like Romans, destroy an antiquity in order to give it a new dress; they had not the same sturdy means of securing their adherents from the grasp of civil power; they did not persuade them to abandon the temples of the gods because they could there obtain no expiation for their guilt, but because every degree of guilt was expiated in them with too great facility, and every vice practiced, not only without remorse, but with the most powerful sanction of public approbation.

"After the example," you say, "of their Divine Master, the missionaries of the Gospel addressed themselves to men, and especially to women, oppressed by the consciousness, and very often by the effects, of their vices."—This, sir, I really think, is not a fair representation of the matter; it may catch the applause of the unlearned, embolden many a striping to cast off for ever the sweet blush of modesty, confirm many a dissolute virgin in the practice of his impure habits, and suggest great occasion of unmerited and wanton mockery to the world. But the history of the incursions of the first Christians, whose mission has been traced up against Christianity, even by the worst of its enemies, not a speck of that kind have they been able to fix, either upon the apostles or their Divine Master. Sir, when the Gospel of the first Christians was preached in single houses or obscure villages, not in subterraneous caves and impure brothels, not in labyrinths and in prisons; but in the synagogues and in the temples, in the streets and the market places of the great capitals of the Roman provinces in Jerusalem, in Corinth, and in Amiab; in Athens, in Ephesus, and in Rome. Nor do I any where find, that its missionaries were ordered particularly to address themselves to the shameless women you mention; I do indeed find the direct contrary; for they were ordered to turn away from, to have no fellowship or intercourse with such as were wont "to creep into houses, and lead captive silly women laden with sins, led away with divers lusts. And what if a few women, who had either been seduced by their passions, or had fallen victims to the licentious manners of their age, should be found amongst those who most readily to receive a religion that forbid all impurity! I do not apprehend that this circumstance ought to be an instrument to those who sought their reformation. That the majority of the first converts to Christianity were of an inferior condition in life, may readily be allowed; and you yourself have, in another place, given a good reason for it: those who are distinguished by riches, honours, or knowledge, being so very incomparable in number when compared with the bulk of mankind. But though not many mighty, not many noble were called—yet some mighty, and some mo—

Dr. SMITH. Late Master of Trinity College.
ble, some one as great reputation as any of the age in which they lived, were, at least, on a par to the Christian faith. Short indeed are the accounts which have been transmitted to us of the first propagators of Christianity; yet, even in these we meet with the names of many who would have done credit to any cause. I will not pretend to enumerate them all; a few will be sufficient to make you recollect that there were, at least, some converts to Christianity, both from among the Jews and Gentiles, whose lives were not stained with in- exorable vices. In Roman times to some we allude, of the Jews; Joseph of Arimathea, a man of fortune and a counsellor; a nobleman and a centurion of Capernaum; Jairus, Crispus, Sosthenes, rulers of synagogues; Apollo, an eloquent and learned man; Zeos, a Jewish lawyer; the treasurer of the people of Ephesus, Ebion, a companion of the Italian band; Dionysius, a member of the Aegopagus at Athens, and Sergius Paulus, a man of proconsular or prytanean authority, of whom it may be remarked, that if he resigned his high and lucrative office in consequence of his turning Christian, it is a strong presumption in its fa- vor; if he retained it, we may conclude that the profession of Christianity was not so utterly incompatible with the discharge of the offices of civil life as you sometimes represent it.

This catalogue of men of rank, fortune, and knowledge, who embraced Christianity, might, was it necessary, be much enlarged; and probably another conversation with St. Paul would have enabled us to trace it with instances of Peter and king Agrippa himself; not that the writers of the books of the New Testament seem to have been at all solicitous in mentioning the great or the learned men who were converted to the faith. Had that been part of their design, they would, in the last place, have included in them the greatest number of philosophers, or at least the greatest number of those, who in the Roman Republic, are called orators, statesmen, or statesmen-soldiers, who, however men might have pleased, or whose convictions were, or were not, in course of time, admitted to the assemblies of the Pagans, and to their discussion on the subject of what is right and what is wrong. The increase of the church, excited in the minds of the Pagans an abhorrence of whatever respected it. It cannot be unknown to you, sir, that the scrupulous vices of these very early sects brought a general and undistinguished execration; that from proscription, no exception to it was made, and that, whatever shuns to appear as an instance of the increase of the sect, excited in the minds of the Pagans an abhorrence of whatever respected it. It cannot be unknown to you, sir, that several sects, both at home and abroad, were established, who have appeared from this point of view, to detract from the sect from which you have referred the rapid and extensive spread of Christianity. It must be acknowledged that union essentially contributes to the strength of every association, civil, military, and religious; but, unfortunately for your argument, and much to the re- spect of the Christian religion, the sectaries of different sects, from the apostolic age to your own, than union, “I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, and I of Christ,” are expressions of disunion, which we meet with in the earliest period of the church history; and we cannot look in to the writings of any, either friend or foe to Christianity, but we find the one of them lamenting, and the other existing in an immense catalogue of sectaries; and both of them thereby furnishing us with great reason to believe that the divisions with respect to doctrine, worship, and discipline, which have ever subsisted in the church, must have greatly tended to hurt the credit of Christianity, and to alienate the minds of the Gentiles from the reception of such a various and discordant faith.

You are eloquent in describing the austere morality of the primitive Christians, as compared to the possibilities of sensuality and abhorrent from all the innocent pleasures and amuse- ments of life; and you enlarge, with a studied minuteness, upon their censures of luxury, and their sentiments concerning the right understanding of charity; but in this circumstantial enum- ration of their errors, or their faults (which I am under no neces- sity of denying or excusing) you seem to forget the very purpose for which you profess to have introduced the men- tion of them; for the picture you have drawn is so hibious, and so colored so favorably, that the interest of affording to a clau- ser inspection, it must have made every man of pleasure or of sense turn from it with horror or disgust; and so far from contrib- uting to the rapid growth of Christianity by the austerity of their manners, or by their faults, (which I am under no necessity of denying or excusing) you seem to forget the very purpose for which you profess to have introduced the men- tion of them; for the picture you have drawn is so hibious, and so colored so favorably, that the interest of affording to a clau- ser inspection, it must have made every man of pleasure or of sense turn from it with horror or disgust; and so far from contrib- uttering to the rapid growth of Christianity by the austerity of their manners, or by their faults, (which I am under no necessity of denying or excusing) you seem to forget the very purpose for which you profess to have introduced the men- tion of them; for the picture you have drawn is so hibious, and so colored so favorably, that the interest of affording to a clau- ser inspection, it must have made every man of pleasure or of sense turn from it with horror or disgust; and so far from contrib-
to it by another; just as a member who has been expelled any one college in a university, is generally thought unworthy of being admitted by any other: but it is not admitted, that this severity and this union of discipline could ever have induced the Pagans to forsake the gods of their country, and to adopt a faith, by which they were entangled to them selves, their neighbours, and to all the severities of persecution, exercised with unrelenting barbarity, against the Christians.

The account you give of the origin and progress of episcopal jurisdiction, of the observation of the days of rest, or sabbaths, in the churches, and of the ambition of the Roman pontiff, I believe to be in general accurate and true; and I am not in the least surprised at the bitterness which now and then escapes you in treating this subject; for to see the most benign religion thus represented, or the most reasonable opinion, and the most humble one administering to the pride, and the avarice, and the ambition of those who wished to be considered as its guardians, and who avowd themselves its professed, would exact a censure from men more attached probably to church authority than yourself. Not that I think it either a very candal, or a very useful undertaking, to be solely and indiscriminately engaged in portraying the characters of the professors of Christianity in the worst colours: it is not candid, because "the great law of impartiality, which obliges an historian to reveal the imperfections of the uninspired teachers and believers of the Gospel," obliges him also not to conceal, or to pass over with niggard and reluctant reflections those occasional grandeur, or those loas and fame, all their comforts, and all their hopes in this life; may, life itself, rather than violate any one of the precepts of that Gospel which, from the testimony of inspired teachers, they so often exhorted, and which, is not useful, because "to a careless observer," (that is, to the generality of mankind) "their faults may seem to cast a shade on the faith which they professed;" and may really infect the minds of the young and unlearned especially, with prejudices against Christianity, of which, a matter of the utmost importance may (believe me sir, it may, for aught you or any person else can prove to the contrary) entirely depend.

Let us, then, Sir, amuse ourselves and others with the immorality of priests and the ambition of prelates; with the absurd vulgarity of synods and councils; with the ridiculous doctrines which visionary enthusiasts or interested churchmen have sanctified with the name of Christian; but a display of ingenuity or erudition upon such subjects is much misplaced, since it excites, almost in every person, an unavoidable suspicion of the purity of the source itself from which such polluted streams have not only debased, but corrupted the minds of all who are far from wishing that the clergy should be looked up to with a blind reverence, or their imperfections screened by the sanctity of their functions from the animadversion of the world; quite the contrary. Their conduct, I am of opinion, deserves the severest censure. In order to cover the defect of the Gospel more severely censured than that of other men; but great care should be taken not to represent their vice, or their indiscipline, as originating in the principles of their religion. Do not mistake me. I am not here begging quarters for Christianity, or contending that even the principles of our religion should be received with implicit faith; or that every objection to Christianity should be stifled by a representation of the mischief it might do if publicly pronounced: on the contrary, we invite, may, we challenge you to a direct and liberal attack, though oblique glances and ingenious insinuations we are willing to avoid; well knowing that the character of our religion, like that of an honest man, is defended with greater difficulty against the suggestions of ridicule, and the secret malice of pretended friends, than against positive accusations and the avowed malice of open enemies.

In your account of the primitive church, you set forth that the want of discipline and human learning was supplied by the occasional assistance of the prophets, who were called to that function without distinction of age, sex, or natural abilities, being selected by God, in whose presence they stood, by which some of the first Christians were enabled to cooperate with the apostles in the general design of preaching the Gospel; and that this gift, or rather as Mr. Locke thinks, the gift of prophecy, or that of speaking in tongues, which was prompted to speak in their assemblies at the same time, was the occasion of some disorder in the church of Corinth, which required the interpolation of the apostle to compose, is confessed on all hands. But if you mean that the prophets were ever the sole pastors of the faithful, or that no provision was made by the apostles for the good government and edification of the church, except what might be accidentally derived from the occasional assistance of the prophets, you are at a material mistake. In the common writings of Paul and Barnabas having ordained elders in Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch; and of Paul’s commission to Titus, whom he had left in Crete, to ordain elders in every city; you may see, in the generality of these instances, the qualifications of those whom they were to appoint bishops; one of which was, that a bishop should be able, by sound doctrine, to exhort and to convince the gain sayer. Nor is it said, that this sound doctrine was to be communicated to the people of God by preachers who might be called to that office; but a bishop was to be “able to teach,” not what he had learned by prophecy, but what Paul publicly preached, “the things that thou hast heard of the many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also.”

And in every place almost, where prophets are mentioned, they are joined with apostles and teachers, and other ministers of the Gospel, so that there is no reason for your representing them as a distinct order of men, who were, by their occasional assistance, to supply the want of discipline and human learning in the church. It would be taking too large a field to inquire whether the prophets you speak of were endowed with ordinary or extraordinary gifts, whether they were inspired, or whether the divorce of the Spirit, or according to the analogy of faith, whether their gift consisted in the foretelling of future events, or in the interpreting of Scripture to the elucidation, the comfort of the Church. I will content myself with observing, that he will judge very improperly concerning the prophets of the apostolic church who takes his idea of their office or importance from your description of their functions.

In speaking of the community of goods, which, you say, was adopted for a short time in the primitive church, you hold as inconclusive the arguments of Mosheim, who has endeavoured to prove that it was a community quite different from the communism recommended by Pythagoras, and principally in a common use derived from an unbounded liberty, which induced the opulent to share their riches with their indigent brethren. There have been others, as well as Mosheim, who have entertained this opinion; and it is not quite so indefensible as you represent it: but whether it be reasonable or absurd, need not now be examined; it is far more necessary to take notice of an expression which you have not accented, but which is likely to give rise to a very injurious suspicion concerning the integrity of the apostles. In process of time, you observe, “the converts who embraced the new religion were permitted to retain the possession of their property.” This expression, “permitted to retain,” in ordinary cases, implies a liberty of disposing of their property to part with. Now, sir, I have not the shadow of a doubt in affirming that we have no account in Scripture of any such obligation being imposed upon the converts to Christianity, either by Christ himself, or by his apostles, or by any other authority; may, in the very place where this community of goods is treated of, there is an express proof (I know not how your imprudence has happened to overlook it) to the contrary. When Peter was about to inflict an exemplary punishment upon Ananias (not for keeping back a part of the price, as some men are fond of representing it, but) for his lying and hypocrisy, in offering a part of the price of his slave, who was the husband of the dead (unsealed) was it not thine own? and after it was sold, was it not thine own power?” From this account it is evident that Ananias was under no obligation to part with his property; and after he had parted with it, the price was in his own power. The apostle would have permitted him to retain the whole of it, if he had thought fit, though he would not permit his prevarication to go unpunished.

You have remarked, that “the feasts of love, the aggur, and the happy meats, were called a very good part of public worship.” Let any one should from hence be led to suspect that these feasts of love, this pleasing part of the public worship of the primitive church, resembled the vulgar gathered meetings, without any improvement of time, I will take the liberty to add to your account a short explication of the nature of these agapes. Tartulian, in the 39th chapter of his Apology, has done it in my hands. “The
nature of our supper," says he, "is indicated by its name; it is called by a word which, in the Greek language, signifies love: love being the essence of the entertainment, since we look upon that as gain which is expended, with a pious purpose, in the relief and refreshment of all our indigent. The occasion of our entertainment being so hon- orable, and the object of the magnanimity of our conduits, it consists in the discharge of religious duties; it admits no thing vile, nothing immodest. Before we sit down, prayer is made to God. The hungry eat as much as they desire, and every person, according to his abilities, can have his fill.

We see at least as men who have minds impressed with the idea of spending the night in the worship of God; we so converse as men who are conscious that the Lord heareth them." And perhaps you may object to this testimony in favour of the tenor of the proceedings of Christian meetings as liable to a partiality, because it is the testimony of a Christian; and you may, perhaps, be able to pick out, from the writings of this Christian, something that looks like a contradiction of this account: however, I will rest the matter upon this testimony for the present; forbearing to quote any other Christian writer upon the subject, as I shall, in a future letter, produce you a testimony superior to every objection. You speak too of the agape as an essential part of the public worship. This is not according to your usual accuracy: for, had they been essential, the edict of a heathen magistrate would not have been able to put a stop to them: yet Pliny, in his letter to Trajan, expressly says, that the Christians left them off upon his express prohibition; which we know, that in the council of Carthage, in the fourth century, on account of the abuses which attended them, they began to be interdicted, and ceased, almost universally, in the fifth. I have but two observations to make upon what you have advanced concerning the severity of ecclesiastical penalties: the first is, that even you yourself do not deduct its institution from the Scriptures, but from the power which every voluntary society has over its own members, and therefore, however extravagant, or however absurd—however opposite to the attributes of a commiserating God, or the feelings of a fallible man, it may be thought; or upon whatever trivial occasion, such as that you mention, of calumniating a bishop, a preacher, or even a deacon, it may have been inflicted. Christ and his apostles are not answerable for it. The other is, that it was, of all possible expedients, the least fitted to accomplish the end for which you think it was introduced, the propagation of Christianity. The sight of a penitent, humbled by the public confession, emaciated by fasting, clothed in sackcloth, prostrated at the door of the assembly, and imploring for years together the pardon of his offences, and a readmission into the bosom of the church, was the effect of a method of expelling the Pagans from Christian society, than the pious liberality you mention was of alluring them into it. This pious liberality, sir, would have exacted your elegant powers of description, before you could exhibit it in the amiable man- ner you are able to provide from your book of the self-sufficient and loving another; and it has ever been the dis- tinguishing characteristic of Christians, as opposed to every other denomination of men, Jews, Mahometans, or Pagans. In the times of the apostles, and in the first ages of the church, it showed itself in voluntary contributions for the relief of the poor and the persecuted, the infirm and the unfortunate. As soon as the church was permitted to have permanent possessions in land, and acquired the protection of the civil power, it exerted itself in the erection of hospitals of every kind; institutions like these, of charity and humanity, which were forgotten in the laws of Solon and Lycurgus; and for even one village or hamlet a great number of benefactions were bestowed annuities of Pagan Rome. Indeed, sir, you will think so injuriously of this liberality, if you look upon its origin as superstitious, or upon its application as an artifice of the priesthood to seduce the ingent into the bosom of the church, that you will feel surprised at the absurdity of the charge.

You are much surprised, and not a little concerned, that Tacitus and the younger Pliny have spoken so slightly of the Christian system; and that Seneque and the elder Pliny have not mentioned it at all. You think it as much as a lauditory error which histories, which are the site of history, should have struck others as well as yourself; and I might refer you to the conclusion of the second volume of Dr. Lardner's Collection of Ancient, Jewish, and Hebrew Testimonies to the Tenth of the later Jews, when he remarks on the disjointedness of history, and the limitedness of history, inasmuch as they were performed as often as the philosophers deigned to give their attention to them; or that, at the period of time you observed sectaries of upright morals, when they separate themselves from the religion of their country, do not speedily acquire the reputation of men of letters. The historians are apprehensive of depreciating the dignity of their learned labour, and contaminating their splendid narration of illustrious events, by mixing with it a disgusting detail of religious connexions, and objects of instruction and entertainment; it consists, perhaps, in exploring the infinite intricacy of natural appearances, to busy themselves with what they, perhaps hastily, esteem superfluous. Historians and philosophers, as you may be convinced, I believe, who were the contemporaries of Luther and the first reformers; and who have passed over, in negligent or contemptuous silence, their daring and unpopular attempts to shake the stability of St. Peter's chair. Opposition to the old religion of Rome was first perceived before the arrival of the notice of the civil magistrate; and till it does that, it will mostly be thought below the animadversion of distinguished writers. This remark is peculiarly applicable to the case in point. The first Christians, as Christ had foretold, were hated of all men for his name's sake; it was the name itself, not any vices adhering to the name, which Pliny punish- ed; and they were everywhere held in exceeding contempt, till their numbers excited the apprehension of the ruling powers. The philosophers considered them as enthusiasts, and neglected them; the priests opposed them as innovators, and calumniated them; the great overlooked them; the learned despaired them; and the curious alone, who examined into the system of the new sect, and became acquainted with the writings of some half dozen of writers (most of them, however, bear incidental testimony to the truth of several facts respecting Christianity) in not relating circumstantially the origin, the progress, and the pretensions of a new sect, as a sufficient reason for questioning, either the evidence of the principles upon which it was built, or the supernatural power by which it was supported.

The Roman historians, moreover, were not only culpably incurios concerning the Christians, but unparagonably ignorant of what concerned either them or the Jews: I say, unparagonably ignorant, because the means of information were within their reach; the writings of Josephus were everywhere to be had in Greek; and the works of Eusebius, which were published before Tacitus wrote his history; and yet even Tacitus has fallen into great absurdity, and self-contradiction, in his account of the Jews; and though Tertullian's zeal carried him much too far, when he called him Mendaciorum Inquiisti- nus, [the most loquacious of liars.] yet one cannot help regretting the little pains he took to acquire proper information upon that subject. He derives the name of the Jews, by a rather forced interpretation of the words of Genesis, who speaks of the Jews as abhorring all kinds of images in public worship, and yet accuses them of having placed the image of an ass in the holy of holies: and presently after he tells us, that Pome- nius, when he profaned the temple, was at that time an im- pier of Rome, and that he might be noticed in Plu- tarch, and other writers who have spoken of the Jews; and you yourself have referred to an obscure passage in Suetoni- us, as offering a proof how strangely the Jews and Christians of Rome were confounded with each other. Why, then, should we think it remarkable, that a few celebrated writers, who looked upon the Christians as an obscure sect of the Jews, and upon the Jews as a barbarous and detested people, whose history was not worth the perusal, and who were moreover engaged in the relation of the great events which either occasioned or accompanied the ruin of their eternal empire; why should we be surprised that men occupied in such interesting affairs should have but little care to enquire into the manners of a people which they had left us but short and imperfect descriptions of the Chris- tian system?

"But how shall we excuse," you say, "the supine inat- traction of Tacitus and the younger Pliny to the sect of the church, and the neglect of all the things which were presented by the hand of Omnipotence, not to their reason but to their senses?" The laws of nature were perpetually suspended for the benefit of the church; but the sagacity of Tacitus and the sagacity of Rome turned a deaf ear to the awful voice. To their senses it was spoken that they did so; and, pursuing the ordinary occupations of life and study, appear- ed unconscious of any alterations in the moral or physical government of the world." To this objection I answer in the first place, that they were not referred to an event at all; they were performed as often as the philosophers deigned to give their attention to them; or that, at the period of time you
allude to, the laws of nature were "perpetually" suspended for the benefit of the church. It may be, that not one of the few heathen writers, whose books have escaped the ravages of time, with which the Christian empire was to be crowded, knew it follow, because Pliny, or Plutarch, or Galen, or Seneca, or Suetonius, or Tacitus, had never seen a miracle, that no miracles were ever performed! They, indeed, were learned and observant men; and it may be a matter of surprise to us, that respectable, continued, and well-apprized men, such as the Christian ones to have been, should never have been mentioned by them, though they had not seen them. Had an Adrian, or a Vespasian been the author of but a thousandth part of the works of the ancients, we should have seen more than one, probably, of these very historians, philosophers as they were, would have adorned his history with the narration of them; for though they turned aside from the awful spectacle of the miracles of a poor despised apostle, yet they beheld, with exulting complacency, and have related, with unsuspecting credulity, the ostentations tricks of a Roman emperor. It was not for want of faith in miraculous events that these sages neglected the Christian miracles, but for want of candour and impartial examination.

I answer, in the second place, that in the Acts of the Apostles we have an account of a great multitude of Pagans of every condition of life, who were so far from being inactive to the evidences which were presented by the hand of Omniscient Providence, that they were excited to a reverent and astonishment wonder; and, forsaking the religion of their ancestors, and all the flattering hopes of worldly profit, reputation, and tranquillity, adhered with astonishing resolution to the religion of God. That, and the nature of the Acts, till the tune in which some of the sages you mention flourished, is a very obscure part of church history; yet we are certain, that many of the pagan, and we have some reason to believe, that not a few of the philosophic world, during that period, did not turn aside from the awful spectacle of miracles, but saw, and believed; and that a few others should be found, who probably had never seen, and therefore would not believe, is surely no very extraordinary circumstance. Why should we not answer to objections such as these with the godliness of St. Jerome; and bid Celsus, and Porphyry, and Julian, and their followers, learn the illustrious characters of the men who founded, built up, and adored the Christian church? Why should we not tell them, with Arnobius, of the orators, the grammarians, the rhetoricians, the lawyers, the physicians, the philosophers, "who appeared conscious of the alterations in the moral and physical government of the world," and from that consciousness, forsook the ordinary occupations of life and study, and attached themselves to the Christian religion? It is rightly translated "martyred."

Theodosian Code must be my excuse for dissenting from such respectable authority; and in it I conjecture you will find good reason for being of my opinion. Nor ought any friend of the public welfare, and any lover of the church, as applying the word magical to the Christian religion; for the miracles wrought by Christ and his apostles principally consisted in alleviating the distresses by curing the obstinate diseases of human kind; and the proper meaning of magic, as understood by the ancients, is a higher and more holy branch of the art of healing. The elder Pliny lost his life in an eruption of Mount Vesuvius, about forty-seven years after the death of Christ; some fifteen years before the death of Pliny, the younger; which Pliny, the elder, states, that every person knew them innocent; but from the description which Tacitus gives of the low estimation they were held in that time, (for which, however, he assigns no cause, and therefore the reason why God did not grant the miracle with which the Jews were every where become so obious, an opposition to polytheism,) and of the extreme sufferings they underwent, we cannot be much surprised that their name is not to be found in the works of Pliny or of Senece: so the sect itself must, by Nero's persecution, have been almost destroy ed in Rome; and it would have been uncourly, not to say unsafe, to have adhered to, and to have zealously defended, a religion so unpopular and so dangerous but deserved stream of popular censure from himself. Notwithstanding this, there is a passage in the Natural History of Pliny which, how much soever it may have been overrated, is a very strong discovery of the Christians, and closely intimates he had heard of their miracles. In speaking concerning the origin of magic, he says: there is also another faction of magic, derived from the Jews, Moses, and Jesus; and a part of the religion of the Egyptians does not ill denote the opinion the Romans entertained of the religious associations of the Christians; and a magical faction implies their pretensions, at least, to the miraculous gifts of healing; and its descending from Moses is according to the customs of the Romans, by which they confounded the Christina with the Jews; and its being then subsisting seems to have a strong reference to the rumours Pliny had negligently heard reported of the Christians.

Summarizing each of these answers to your cool and candid consideration, I proceed to take notice of another difficulty in your fifteenth chapter, which some have thought one of the most important in your whole book: the silence of profane historians concerning the pretenatural darkness at the crucifixion of Christ, this silence is not an argument; all men are of opinion, that profane history is not silent upon this subject; I will neither trouble you with the testimony of Plutarch, nor with the appeal of Tertullian to the public records of the early Christians, but I would premise that we have been rendered on every thing you desire, I will endeavour, from a fair and candid examination of the history of this event, to suggest a doubt, at least to your mind, whether this was the greatest phenomenon to which the mortal eye has been witness since the creation of the globe; I have only to express myself; "Now from the sixth hour there was darkness over all the land until the ninth hour;" St. Mark, "And the sun was darkness over the whole land until the ninth hour;" St. Luke: "And it was about the sixth hour, and there was darkness over all the earth until the ninth hour; and the sun was darkened." The three evangelists agree that there was darkness; and they agree in the extent of the darkness: for it is the same expression in the original, which our translators have rendered earth in Luke, and land in the two other accounts; and they agree in the duration of the darkness—it lasted three hours; and Luke adds a particular circumstance,—that the sun was darkened." I do not know whether this event be any where else mentioned in Scripture, so that our inquiry can neither be extensive nor difficult.

In speaking of darkness, darkness consists in the total absence of light, and adums of no degrees: however, in the more common acceptation of the word, there are degrees of darkness as well as of light; and as the evangelists have said nothing, by which the particular degree can be determined, we have as much reason to suppose it was slight, as you have that it was excessive; but if it was slight, though it had extended itself over the surface of the whole globe, the difficulty of its not being recorded by Pliny or Suetonius vanishes at once. Do you not perceive, sir, upon what a slender foundation this mighty objection is grounded, when we have only to put you upon proving that the darkness at the crucifixion was so unusual a nature as to have excited the admiration of all mankind, not to have been witnessed to it? But I do not mean to deal so logically with you; rather give me leave to spare you the trouble of your proof, by proving or showing the probability, at least, of the direct contrary. There is a circumstance mentioned by St. John which seems to indicate that the darkness was not so excessive as is generally supposed; for it is probable that during the continuance of the darkness, Jesus spoke both to his mother, and to his beloved disciple, whom he saw from the cross; they were probably two persons who surrounded it must have kept them at too great a distance for Jesus to have seen them and known them, had the darkness at the crucifixion been excessive, like the pretenatural darkness at the creation; that the sun was "darkened," and the event apparently is expressed, that during the continuance of that darkness, "they saw not one another." The expression of St. Luke, "the sun was darkened," tends rather to confirm than to
overthrow this reasoning. I am sensible this expression is generally equivalent to another; the sun was eclipsed: but the Bible is open to us all; and there can be no presumption in endeavouring to investigate the meaning of Scripture for ourselves. Happily for the present argumentation, the very phrase of the sun's being darkened, occurs in so many words, in one other place (and in only one) of the New Testament; and from that place you may possibly see reason to imagine that the darkness might not, perhaps, have been so intense as in this place, in the same metaphorical sense as before stated. You may suppose the Gospel to be convinced that such a scheme is too palpably absurd to have ever entered the head of any sensible and impartial man.

I specify for the credit of human nature, that I could find reason to agree with you in what you have said of the "universal toleration of Polytheism; of the mild indifference of antiquity; of the Roman princes behaving without concern a thousand forms of religion subsisting in peace under their gentle sway." But there are some passages in the Roman history which make me hesitate at least in this point, and almost induce me to believe that the Romans were exceedingly jealous of all foreign religions, whether they were accompanied with idolatry, or not.

It was the Roman custom, indeed, to invite the tutelary gods of the nation, which they intended to subdue, to abandon their charge, and to promise them the same, and even a more annexed. We read of a place in the city of Damascus, where they were graced as much with the exhibition of their captive gods, as with the less humane one of their captive kings. But this custom, though it filled the city with hundreds of gods as they were as gods, was never brought as a proof of Roman toleration; it may indicate the excess of their vanity, the extent of their superstition, or the refinement of their policy; but it can never show that the religion of individuals, when it differed from public wisdom, was either permitted, as a matter of indifference, or tolerated as an inalienable right of human nature.

Upon another occasion, you, sir, have referred to Livy as relating the introduction and suppression of the rites of Bacchus; with a view to infer, that in antiquity, there existed a universal prohibiting of all foreign religions, and abolishing every mode of sacrifice which differed from the Roman mode, was a business frequently entrusted by their ancestors to the care of the proper magistrates, and gave this reason for the proceeding: that nothing could contribute more effectually to the ruin of religion than the sacrificing after an external rite, and not after the manner instituted by their fathers.

But to come nearer to the times of which you are writing. In Dio Cassius you may meet with a great courtier, one of the interior cabinet, and a polished statesman, in a set speech upon the most moments subject, expressing himself to the emperor in a manner agreeable enough to the practice of antiquity, but utterly inconsistent with the most remote idea of religious toleration. The speech alluded to, contains, I confess, nothing more than the advice of an individual; but it ought to be remembered that that individual was Macenas, that the address was given to Augustus, and that the occasion of giving it was no less important than setting the form of the Roman government. He recommends it to Caesar to worship the gods himself according to the established form, and to force all others to do the same, under the threat of being put to death. If Caesar was wise, he should attempt to introduce foreign religions; nav, he bids him, in the same place, have an eye upon the philosophers also; so that free thinking, free speaking at least, upon religious matters, was not quite so safe under the gentleness of the Roman prince as it was under the rigour of Augustus; in short, God, it is under the much more gentle government of our own.

In the Edict of Toleration, published by Galerius after six years unremitting persecution of the Christians, we perceive the most abject attempt on the part of the Romans to have that which had influenced the conduct of the more ancient Romans, an abhorrence of all innovations in religion. You have favoured us with the translation of this edict, in which he says, "we were particularly desirous of reclaiming into the
way of reason and nature," ad bonos mentes (a good pretext for this for a polytheistic persecutor), "the deluded Christians, who had renounced the religion and ceremonies instituted by their fathers," this is the precise language of Livy, describing a persecution of a kind unprecedented before "turba erat nec sacrifcium nec precantium deos patrio more." And the very expedient of forcing the Christians to deliver up their religious books, which was practiced in this persecution, is that which produced the fallacies of Tacitus, Herodotus, and Josephus, as a form of oppression of being used by the ancient philosophers. It was a practice the Romans had recourse to as often as they apprehended their reputation was endangered. In the preamble of the letter of toleration, which the emperor Maximin reluctantly wrote to Sabinius about a year after the publication of Gallenius's Edict, there is a plain avowal of a fact which induced Gallenius and Diocletian to commence their persecution; they had seen the temples of the gods forsaken, and were determined by the severity of punishment to reclaim men to their worship.

In short, the specious recommendation by Macreneus, of forcing every person to be of the emperor's religion, and of hastening and punishing every innovator, contained no new doctrine: it was correspondent to the practice of the Roman senate, in the most illustrious times of the republic, and seems to have been in general use from which the Romans have no scruple in executing Christians, whilst they themselves were pagans; and in their treatment of pagans, after they themselves became Christians; and if any one should be willing to derive those laws against heretics (which induced Gallenius and Diocletian to commence their persecution) from the blind adherence of the Christian emperors to the intolerant policy of their pagan predecessors, something, I think, might be produced in support of his conjecture.

But I am sorry to have said so much upon such a subject. In endeavouring to palliate the severity of the Romans towards the Christians, you have remarked, "It was in vain that the oppressed believer asserted the inalienable rights of conscience and private judgment over which no situation might excite the pity, his arguments could never reach the understanding, either of the philosophic, or of the believing part of the pagan world." How is this, sir? are the arguments for liberty of conscience so exceedingly inconclusive that you think them incapable of reaching the understanding, even of philosophers? A captious adversary would embrace with avidity the opportunity this passage affords him, of blotting your character with the odious stain of being a persecutor; a stain which no private censure or public censure, no matter to which genius or ability, can render amiable. I am far from entertaining such an opinion of your principles; but this conclusion seems fairly deducible from what you have said, that the minds of the pagans with whom our nation was for ages connected and mingling, and punishing those who differed from them in religion; that arguments for the inalienable rights of conscience, which would have convinced yourself, and every philosopher in Europe, and staggered the resolution of an inquisitor, were incapable of reaching their understandings, or making any impression on their hearts; and you might, perhaps, have spared yourself some perplexity in the investigation of the motives which induced the Roman emperors to persecute, and the Roman people to hate the Christians, if you had not overlooked the true one, and adopted with too greatfacility the erroneous idea of the extreme tolerance of pagan Rome.

The Christians, you observe, were accused of atheism: and it must be owned that they were not accused in the most extreme sense of that word; for, instead of Hesiod's thirty thousand gods, they could not be brought to acknowledge above one; and even that one they refused, at the hazard of their lives, to blaspheme with the appellation of Jupiter. But is it not strange that the Romans, who were men to a constant intercourse with superior beings, in the working of miracles, should have been a principal cause of converting to their faith those who branded them with the imputation of witchcraft.

They were accused, too, of forming dangerous conspiracies against the state: this accusation, you own, was as unjust as the preceding: but there seems to have been a peculiar hardness in the situation of the Christians, so as to make you very seriously apprehend their dangerous to the state, on account of their consciences, condemned them, as you have observed, for not interfering in its concerns; for their criminal disregard of the business of war and government, and for their entertaining doctrines which were supposed "to prohibit them from assuming the character of soldiers, of magistrates, and of princes": men, such as these, would have made but poor conspirators.

They were accused, lastly, of the most horrid crimes. This accusation, it is confessed, was mere calumny; yet as calumny is generally more extensive in its influence than truth, it is very possible this carelessness might be more powerful in stopping the progress of Christianity than the virtues of the Christians were in promoting it; and, in truth, Origen observes, that the Christians, on account of the crimes which were maliciously laid to their charge, were held in such abhorrence that no one would think of supporting them. Be it so. The emperor Halcyon, while he wished to remark from, that the Jews, in the very beginning of Christianity, were the authors of all those calumnies which Celsus afterwards took such great delight in using against the Christians, and which you have mentioned with such great precision.

It is no improbable supposition, that the clandestine manner in which the persecuting spirit of the Jews and Gentiles obliged the Christians to celebrate their eucharist, together with the expressions of eating the body and drinking the blood of Christ, which were used in its institution, and the custom of inquiring a kiss of charity to each other, and of calling each other by the appellations of brother and sister, were used in an insinuating manner, to instruct the Christians in the art of provoking and persuading their enemies to their enemies to their friends, and to induce careless observers to believe, all the odious things which were said against the Christians.

You have displayed at length, in expressive diction, the accusations of the enemies of Christianity; and you have told us of the impudent defence by which the Christians vindicated the purity of their morals; and you have huddled up in a short note (which many a reader will never see) the testimony of Pliny to their innocence. Permit me to do you, oh! Christians a little justice, by producing in their cause the whole truth.

Between seventy and eighty years after the death of Christ, Pliny had occasion to consult the emperor Trajan concerning the manner in which he should treat the Christians; it seems as if there had been judicial proceedings against them, though Pliny had never happened to attend any of them. He knew, indeed, that men were to be punished for being Christians, or he would not, as a sensible magistrate, have received the accusations of legal, much less of illegal, anonymous informers against them; nor would he, before he wrote to the emperor, have put to death those whom his threats had not induced to repent. Trajan was in a manner instructed by the Christians a little justice, by producing in their cause the whole truth.

Whatever faults, then, the Christians may have been guilty of in after-times, you could not, I think, have found them guilty of more than some few years before the birth of Christ, in the case of those two prophets whom we are assured the Holy Spirit foretold; one of whom was of the number of the Jews, and the other of the Christians, and who were conspired against and put to death. — Pint. Epist. 97: lib. 10.
tives."

Had there been but a shadow of a crime in their assemblies, it must have been detected by the industrious search of the intelligent Pliny; and it is a matter of real surprise that no one of the apostles thought of paying court to the governor by a false testimony, especially as the apostasy seems to have been general; for, since the temples, which had been almost deserted, began again to be frequented; and the victims, for which a little time before scarce a purchaser was to be found, began again every where to be bought up.

This, sir, is a valuable testimony in our favor. It is not that of a declaiming apostle of a deluding priest, or of a deluded martyr of an orthodox bishop, or of any of "the most pious of men," the Christians; but it is that of a Roman magistrate, philosopher, and lawyer, who cannot be supposed to have wanted instruction; and who, if they had done wrong, could not have done it in the company of the Christians, since, in his treatment of them, he had stretched the authority of his office, and violated alike the laws of his country and of humanity.

With this testimony I will conclude my remarks, for I have no disposition to blacken the character you have given of Nero; or to lessen the humanity of the Roman magistrates; or to magnify the number of Christians or of martyrs; or to undertake the defence of a few fanatics, who by their injurious zeal brought ruin upon themselves, and upon their profession. I may not, probably, have convinced you that you are wrong in any thing which you have advanced, or that the authors you have quoted will not support you in the inferences you have drawn from their works; or that Christianity ought to be distinguished from its corruptions: yet I may, perhaps, have had the good fortune to lessen, in the minds of others, some of that dislike to the Christian religion which the persecution of your book, however excited, have touched but upon general topics, for I should have wearied out your patience, to say nothing of my reader's, or my own, had I enlarged upon every thing in which I dissent from you: and a minute examination of your work would, moreover, have led to the appearance of a capacious disposition to descend into illiberal personalities, and might have produced a certain acrimony of sentiment or expression which may be serviceable in supplying the place of argument, or adding a zest to dull composition, but has nothing to do with the investigation of truth. Sorry shall I be if what I have written should give the least interruption to the prosecution of the great work in which you are engaged. The world is now possessed of the opinion of us both upon the subject in question, and it may, perhaps, be proper for us both to leave it in this state. I say not this from any want of acknowledgments of my mistakes, when I am convinced that I am in error, but to express the most unanswerable reluctance which I feel to the greatest corruption of a prudent advocate for truth. The world is not, in good truth, a difficult task to chastise: the fownd petulance of those who mistake personal inveighing for reasoning, and clumsy banter for ingenuity; but it is a dirty business at best, and should never be undertaken by a man on any temper except when the interests of truth may suffer by his neglect. Nothing of this nature, I am sensible, is to be expected from you; and if any thing of the kind has happened to escape myself, I hereby disclaim the intention of saying it, and heartily wish it unsaid.

Will you permit me, sir, through this channel (I may not, perhaps, have another so good an opportunity of doing it) to address a few words, not to yourself, but to a set of men who disturb all company with their profane declamation against Christianity; and who, having picked up in their travels, or in the writings of the Deists, a few flimsy objections, infect, with their ignorant and irreverent ridicule, the ingenuous minds of the rising generation?

Appeal to Infidels.

Gentlemen,—Suppose the mighty work accomplished, the Christian principle everywhere proscribed, and the religion of nature once more became the religion of Christendom; what advantage will you have derived to your country, or to yourselves, from the exchange! I know your anxiety: you will be freed from the hypocrisy of priests, and the tyrannies of superstition; that Lycurgus, and Numa, and Odin, and Mango-Copae, and all the great legislators of ancient and modern story, have been of opinion that the affairs of civil society could not well be conducted without religion; you must of necessity introduce a priesthood, with probably as much hypocrisy; a religion with assuredly more superstition, than that which you now repugnate with such indecent and ill-grounded contempt. Then, for your part, you will not make the world: you will have freed it from its abhorrence of vice, and from every powerful incentive to virtue; you will, with the religion, have brought lack the depraved morality of Paganism; you will have robbed mankind of their firm assurance of another life, and thereby you will have despoiled them of their patience, of their humility, of their charity, of their chastity, of all those mild and silent virtues, which (however despisalbe they may appear to your eyes) are the only ones which can answer the purposes of public life: and you will have never known, which spring from Christianity alone, which do or might constitute our comfort in this life, and without the possession of which, another life, if after all there should happen to be one, must (less a miracle be inserted in the alteration of our disposition) be more vicious and miserable than this.

Perhaps you will contend that the universal light of reason, that the truth and fitness of things are of themselves sufficient disinclination to the introduction of a new system of morals. Shall we never have done with this groundless commendation of natural law? Look into the first chapter of Paul's Epistle to the Romans, and you will see the extent of its influence upon the human mind. You will find, in the character of those divine magistrates, authority, and the manners of antiquity, look into the more admired accounts of modern voyagers; and examine its influence over the pages of our own times, over the sensual inhabitants of those desolate lands, over the untutored minds of the remorseless savages of America. "But these men are barbarians." Your law of nature, notwithstanding, extends even to them. "But they have misused their reason": they have then the more need of, and would be the more thankful for, that revelation which you, with an ignorant and fastidious self-sufficiency, deem useless. "But they might of themselves, if they thought fit, become wise and virtuous." I answer with Cicero, "Ut nihil interest utrum nemo valeat, an utrum nemo valeat utrum si nobis sit sapiens, nemo esse possit?" i.e. if they in fact continue in ignorance and vice, the evil is as great as if they had no means of learning a better way.

Those, however, you will think, are extraordinary instances: and that we ought not from these to take our measure of the excellency of the law of nature, but rather from the civilized states of China and Japan, or from the nations which flourished in learning and in arts before Christianity was heard of in the world. But I ask you, who, in any country which you are desirous of substituting in the room of the Gospel, do you not understand those rules of conduct which an individual, abstracted from the community, and derived wholly from the author of creation, would, perhaps, be able to obey; but such a system of precepts as the most enlightened men of the most enlightened ages have recommended to our observance. Where do you find this system? We cannot meet with it in the works of Stobæus, or the Sybillins, or the priest of Charis; nor in those of Plato, or Cicero; nor in those of the Emperor Antonius, or the shag Epicetus; for we are persuaded that the most animated consideration of the περί τοῦ κόσμου, and the οἰκείωσις, of the beauty of virtue; and the fitness of things, are not able to furnish even a Brutus himself with permanent principles of action; much less are they able to purify the polluted recesses of a vitiated heart, to curb the irregularity of appetite, or restrain the impetuosity of passion in conduct: and yet you order us to examine the works of Grotius, or Pullendorf, or Burlamaqui, or Hutchinson, for what you understand by the law of nature, we apprehend that you are in a great error, in taking your notions of natural law, as conferred with the natural state from the present system of it, which have been drawn up by Christian philosophers: since they have all laid their foundations, either tacitly or expressly, upon a principle derived from revelation; a thorough knowledge of the being and attributes of God; and the whole tendency of your writings shows you have not any scraping Christianity, but still continue thirsts, are indebted to revelation (whether you are either aware of, or disposed to acknowledge the debt, or not) for those sublime speculations concerning the Deity which you call the natural. Here the great asseveration of your own unassisted reason. If you would know the real genius of natural law, and how far it can proceed in the investiga-
tion or enforcement of moral duties, you must consult the manners and writings of those who have never heard of either the Jewish or the Christian Dispensation, or of those other mankind which God visited neither before nor after the patriarchs before and after the flood. It would be difficult, perhaps, anywhere to find a people entirely destitute of traditional notices concerning the Deity, and of traditional fears or expectations of another life; and the morals of mankind, as well as the manners, as they would have been, had they been left wholly to themselves in these points: however, it is a truth which cannot be denied, how much soever it may be lamented, that though the great part of mankind are destitute of revealed notions of God and his providence, yet they have been always greatly inefficient in the production of good morality, and highly derogatory to his nature, amongst all the people of the earth, except the Jews and Christians; and some may perhaps be desirous of excepting the Mahommedans, who derive all that is good in their Koran from Christianity.

The laws concerning justice, and the reparation of damages; concerning the security of property, and the performance of contracts; concerning, in short, whatever affects the well-being of civil society, have been everywhere understood with sufficient precision; and if you choose to style Justinian's code, a code of natural law, though you will err against propriety of speech, yet you are so far in the right, that natural reason and instinct may have moulded the common, belled human kind to establish, by proper sanctions, the laws therein contained; and you will have, moreover, Carneades, no mean philosopher, on your side; who knew of no law of nature, no reason, of which he could not find use, if you are desirous of proving the common utility, and which was various according to the manners of men in different climates, and changeable with a change of times in the same. And, in truth, in all countries where Paganism has been the established religion, though a philosopher may now and then have stepped beyond the pale try precept of civil jurisprudence in his pursuit of virtue, yet the bulk of mankind have ever been contented with that scanty pittance of morality which enabled them to escape the task of civil punishment, which, for the time at least, a man may be intemperate, iniquitous, impious, a thousand ways a profligate and a villain, and yet elude the cognizance and avoid the punishment of civil laws.

I am sensible you will be ready to say, "what is all this to the purpose! Though the bulk of mankind may never be able to investigate the laws of natural religion, nor disposed to reverence their sanctions when investigated by others, nor solicitous about any other standard of moral rectitude than civil legislation; yet the inconveniences which may attend the extirpation of Christianity can be no proof of its truth." I have not produced them as a proof of its truth; but they are a strong and conclusive proof, if not of its truth, at least of its utility, if you think it would be useless to you, and yourselves for examining whether it may not chance to be true; and it ought to be a reason with every good citizen, and with every man of sound judgment, to keep his opinions to himself, if from any particular circumstances in his studies or in his education he should have the misfortune to think that it is not true. If you can discover to the rising generation a better religion than the Christian, one that will more effectually animate their hopes, and subdue their passions, make them better men or better members of society, we implore you to publish it for their advantage; but till you can do that, we beg of you not to give the reins to their passions, by instilling into their unconscious minds your pernicious prejudices.

Even now, men scruple not, by the way of independence, to fix a cast of infancy upon the noblest; even now, they hesitate not in lifting up a murderous arm against the life of their friend, or against their own, as often as the fever of intemperance stimulates their resentment, or the notions of which false excites their despondency; even now, whilst we are persuaded of a reformation from the dead, and of a judgment to come, we find it difficult enough to resist the solicitations of sense, and to escape unspotted before the sight of God, and the world will become of our virtue, what of the consequent peace and happiness of society, if you persuade us that there are no such things? In two words, you may ruin yourselves by your attempt, and you will certainly ruin your country by your success.

But the consideration of the inutility of your design is not the only one which should induce you to abandon it; the argument a tenu [from 1667] ought to be warmly managed, or it may tend to the silence of our opposition to any system of superstition which has had the good fortune to be sanctioned by public authority; it is, indeed, liable to no objection in the present case: we have no interest to support, nor any advantage to expect by it. It is not contended that Christianity is to be received merely because it is useful, but because it is true. This you deny, and think your objections well grounded: we conceive however that an originating respect for your country, your conscience, or your misapprehension. There are many worthless doctrines, many superstitious observances, which the fraud or folly of man kind have ever where annexed to Christianity, (especially in the times of the church of Rome,) and if you take these sorry appendages to Christianity for Christianity itself, as preached by Christ, and by the apostles; if you confound the Roman with the Christian religion, you quite misappreach its nature, and are in a state similar to that of men mentioned by Plato, in his Treatise of Superstition; who, flying from superstition, leapt over religion, and sunk into downright atheism.

Christianity is not a religion very palatable to a voluptuous age; it will not conform its precepts to the standard of fashion; it will not lessen the deformity of vice by licentious appetitions; but calls keeping, whoredom, intrigue, adultery; and duelling, murder: it will not pander to lust, it will not license the intemperance of mankind; it is a troublesome monitor to a man of pleasure; and your way of contending with this species of superstition, is as follows: you have raised a Roman law, and other statutes, to be a standard for your religion, as a cause of your infidelity, suffer me to produce the sentiments of M. Bayle upon that head; if the description does not suit your character, you will not be offended at it; if you are of the same kind of mind, it is evident that your views in this case are not the same. "This inclines me to believe that libertines, like Des-Barreux, are not greatly persuaded of the truth of what they say. They have made no deep examination; they have learned some few objections, which they are perpetually making a noise with; they speak from a principle of ostentation, and give themselves the lie in the time of danger. Vanity has a greater share in their disputes than conscience; they imagine that the singularity and boldness of the opinions which they maintain, will give them the reputation of men of parts; by degrees, they get a habit of holding impious discourses; and if their vanity be accompanied by a voluptuous life, their presence in that road is the swifter.

The main stress of your objections rests not upon the insufficiency of the external evidence to the truth of Christianity; for few of you, though you may become the future ornaments of the senate, or of the bar, have ever employed an hour in its examination; but upon the difficulty of the doctrines contained in the New Testament; they exceed, you say, your comprehension; and you felicitate yourselves that you are not arrived at the true standard of orthodox faith—credo quia impossibile. [I believe it, because it is impossible.] You dwell upon the superfluities, and the inconceivable absurdities of the nature of the external proofs by which Christianity is established; since, in your opinion, the book itself carries with it its own refutation. A gentleman as acute, probably, as any of you, as far as I can judge, once believed in this; but of any of you, has drawn a quite different conclusion from the perusal of the New Testament; his treatise exhibits not only a distinguished truth of reason over prejudice, of Christianity over deism, but it exhibits, what is infinitely more rare, the character of a man who has had courage and candour enough to acknowledge it*

But what if there should be some incomprehensible doctrines in the Christian religion; some circumstances which in their causes, and consequences, are so absolutely opposed to the human reason; are they to be rejected on that account? You are, or would be thought, men of reading, and knowledge, and enlarged understandings; weigh the matter fairly, and consider whether revealed religion be not, in this respect, just upon the same footing with every other object of your contemplation. Even in mathematics, the science of demonstration itself, though you get over its first principles, and learn to digest the highest points of that great system, you may be subject to a point without a proof, and a surface without thickness, yet you will find yourself at a loss to comprehend the perpetual approximation of lines which can never meet; the doctrine of incomensurableness, or of the eternity of infinity, of the essentially less, or of the infinitely small, or of the finite quantity, but than by each other. In physics, you cannot comprehend the primary

* See the view of the Internal Evidence, by Soame Jenyns.
cause of any thing; not of the light by which you see; nor of the fire by which you are warmed. In physiology, you cannot tell what first gave motion to the heart, nor what continues it, nor why its motion is less voluntary than that of the lungs; nor why you are able to move your arm to the right or left, by a simple effort of the mind. But you know, as animals do, that unless you comprehend the principle by which your body was at first formed, nor by which it is sustained, nor by which it will be reduced to earth. In natural religion you cannot comprehend the creation of the universe; nor easily understand how his presence can be consistent with your freedom, or his immutability with his government of moral agents: nor why he did not make all his creatures equally perfect; nor why he did not create them all at once; nor how the current of knowledge but you will meet with subjects above your comprehension. The fall and the redemption of human kind are not more incomprehensible than the creation and the conservation of the universe; the infinite Author of the works of providence, and of nature, is equally inscrutable; equally past our finding out, in them both. And it is somewhat remarkable, that the deepest inquirers into nature have ever thought with most reverence, and spoken with most awe of those things which, in reviving our religion, may seem least to be understood; they have ever avoided that self-sufficiency of knowledge which springs from ignorance, produces indolence, and ends in idolatry. Admissible to this purpose is the reflection of the greatest mathe- maticians, that no geometrical figure, when being compared with an equipoise of Newton's by an hypothesis of his own, still less despicable than that which he opposes: 'Tous les jours je vois de ces espres forts, qui critique les verites de notre religion, et s'en moquent meme avec l plus impertinente suffisance, je pense, chretiens mortels! combien et combien des choses sur lesquelles vous raisonnez si legereinent, sont elles plus sublimes, et plus cleves, que celles sur lesquelles le grand Newton s'egare si grossiereient!' [When I see these pretended free-thinkers cavilling at the truths of our religion, and seeking at them with the most impertinent self-sufficiency, I think, poor mortals! how many things on which you argue so flippantly are more sublime and elevated than those on which the great Newton so much erred!] Ealey.

Plato mentions a set of men who were very ignorant, and thought themselves supremely wise, and who rejected the arguments for the being of a God, derived from the harmony and order of the universe, as old and trite. There have been men it seems in all ages, who, in affecting singularity, have overlooked truth: an argument, however, is not the worse for being old; and surely it would have been a more just mode of reasoning if you had examined the external evidence for the existence of God, weighed the arguments for the miracles, and from prophecies, before you had rejected the whole account from the difficulties you met with in it. You would laugh at an Indian, who, in peeping into a history of England, with the mention of the Thanes being frozen, or of a shower of hail, or of snow, should throw the book aside as unworthy of his farther notice, from his want of ability to comprehend these phenomena.

In considering the argument from miracles, you will soon be convinced that it is possible for God to work miracles; and you will be convinced that it is as possible for human testimony to establish the truth of miraculous, as of physical or historical events: but before you can be convinced that the miracles in the Old Testament are supported by such testimony as deserves to be credited, you must inquire at what period, and by what persons, the books of the Old and New Testament were composed. If you reject the account without making this examination, you reject it from prejudice, not from reason.

There is, however, a short method of examining this argument, which may, perhaps, make great an impression on your minds as any other. Three men, of distinguished abilities, and called witnesses, attacked Christianity with every objection which their malice could devise; but neither Celsus in the second century, nor Porphyry in the third, nor the emperor Julian himself in the fourth century, ever questioned the reality of the miracles, or the truth of the prophecies. Do not these men (who were more likely to know the truth of the matter than you can be) granted to their adversaries, and we will very readily let you make the most of the magic, to which they were half converted, so that they were forced to attribute them. We can find you men, in our days, who, from the properties of two colourless liquors, will produce you a third, as red as blood; or other effects, ditto citius [quicker than a wind], by a drop resembling wa- ter, will restore the transparency; they will make two fluids coalesce into a solid body; and from the mixture of liquors, colder than ice, will instantly raise you a horrid explosion of fire; they will instantly make you live for a year, and then they will perform, without having been sent with our Saviour to Egypt to learn magic; nay, with a bottle or two of oil they will compose the undulations of a lake; and, by a little art, he will add to your life a generation to the hour; you shall live for an hour or two under water, or a day or two buried in the snow. But in vain will these men, or the greatest magician that Egypt ever saw, say, to a boisterous sea, "Peace, be still!" and to the winds, and the sea, and fire, and earth, "Come forth!" the winds and the sea will not obey; the carcase and the putrid carcase will not hear. You need not suffer yourselves to be deprived of the weight of this argument from its having been observed that the fathers have acknowled- ged the supernatural part of Paganism, since the fathers were in no condition to detect a cheat which was supported by the disposition of the people, and the power of the civil magistrate; and they were, from that inability, forced to attrib- ute to the gods the events which were not susceptible of detection, and contrary to any one purpose to be credited as the work of God.

With respect to prophecy, you may, perhaps, have accus- tomed yourselves to consider it as originating in Asiatic en- thusiasm, or in the disease of the understanding, in the interest of priests, and have given yourselves no more trouble concerning the predictions of sacred, than concerning the oracles of Pagan history. Or, if you have ever cast a glance up- on this subject, the dimensions of esteemed men conquered, the proper interpretation of the Revelation, and other difficult prophecies, may have made you rashly conclude that all pro- phecies were equally uninvulnerable, and more indebted for their accomplishment to a fortunate concurrence of events, and the plain ingenuity of the exposer, than to the inspired foresight of the prophet. In all that the prophets of the Old Testament have delivered concerning the destruction of par- ticular cities, and the desolation of particular kingdoms, you may consider it as the show of omniscient men concerning the future, as those were acquainted with the history of the rise and fall of empires, might certainly have made; and as you would not hold him for a prophet who should now affirm that London or Paris would alight to future ages a spectacle just as melancholy as that which we now contemplate, with a sigh, in the ruins of Agri- gentum or Palmyra, so you cannot persuade yourselves to be- lieve that the denunciations of the prophets against the haughty cities of Tyre or Babylon, for instance, proceeded from the inspiration of men, who, if they had any knowledge of such general kind of reasoning, many are influenced to pay no attention to an argument which, if properly considered, carries with it the strongest conviction.

Spinoza, who had been his atheistic system to pieces, and embraced, without repugnance, the ordinary faith of Christians, if he could have persuaded himself of the resurrection of Lazarus from the dead; and I question not that there are many unbelievers who would relinquish their de- mocratic tenets, and receive the Gospel, if they could persuade themselves that God had ever so far interfered in the moral go- vernment of the world as to illumine the mind of any one man with the knowledge of future events. A miracle strikes the senses of the persons who see it: a prophecy addresses itself to the understandings of those who behold its completion; and it requires, in many cases, some learning, in all more attention, to judge of the correspondence of events with the predictions concerning them. No one can be convinced that what was predicted and the other prophecies foretell of the fate of Babylon, that it should be besieged by the Medes; that it should be taken when her mighty men were drunken, when her springs were dried up; and that it should become a pool of water, and a wilderness, and a waste: people, that have been convinced that all these and other parts of the prophetic de- nunciation have been minutely fulfilled, without spending some time in reading the accounts which profane historians have delivered, in Chaldea, or Syria, or the subtile strategem of im- rus; and which modern travellers have given us of its present situation.

Porphyry was so persuaded of the coincidence between the prophecies of Daniel and the events, that he was forced to affirm the prophecies were written after the things prophesied
had happened. Another Porphyry has, in its days, been so astonished at the correspondence between the prophecy concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, as related by St. Matthew, and the history of that event, as recorded by Josephus, that even for those who entertain Christianity, he has ventured (contrary to the faith of all ecclesiastical history, the opinion of the learned of all ages, and all the rules of good criticism) to assert that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel after Jerusalem had been taken and destroyed by the Romans. You may, from these reasons, in order to infer the authenticity from prophecy; it has not been able indeed to vanquish the prejudices of either the ancient or the modern Porphyry; but it has been able to compell them both to be guilty of obvious falsehood. They, however, very consistently endeavoured to support them. Some over zealous interpreters of Scripture have found prophecies in simple narrations, extended real predictions beyond the times and circumstances to which they naturally were applied, and perplexed their readers with a thousand quaint allusions and allegorical conceptions; this proceeding has made men of sense pay less regard to prophecy in general.

There are some predictions, however, such as those concerning the present state of the Jewish people, and the corruptions of Christianity, which are now fulfilling in the world; and which, if you will take the trouble to examine them, you will find of such an extraordinary nature that you will not perhaps hesitate to refer them to God as their author; and if you once become persuaded of the truth of any one miracle, or of the consequences of the truth of the Bible, your difficulties (concerning the manner of God's interposition in the moral government of our species, and the nature of the doctrines contained in revelation) into your own inability fully to comprehend the whole scheme of divine providence.

We are told, however, that the strangeness of the narration, and the difficulty of the doctrines contained in the New Testament, are not the only circumstances which induce you to reject it; you have discovered, you think, so many contradictions in the accounts which the evangelists have given of the life of Christ, that you are compelled to consider the whole as an ill-digested and improbable story. You would not be over-conscientious, did not reticence and respect not the difficulties concerning the manner of God's interposition in the moral government of our species, and the nature of the doctrines contained in revelation) into your own inability fully to comprehend the whole scheme of divine providence. You cannot compare the history of the same events, as delivered by any two historians, but you will meet with many circumstances which, though mentioned by one, are either wholly omitted, or differently related by the other; and this observation is peculiarly applicable to biographical writings; to which it is applied in the circumstances of the lives of Vitellius and Vespasian, because Tacitus and Suetonius did not in every thing correspond in their accounts of these emperors. And if the memoirs of the life and discourses of St. Matthew were written by him himself, this same variety of truth, to be delivered to the world by four of his most intimate acquaintances, I do not apprehend that we should discredit the whole account of such an extraordinary man, by reason of some slight inconsistencies and contradictions, which the awkward names of his might chance to discover in the several narrations. Though we should grant you, then, that the evangelists had fallen into some trivial contradictions in what they have related concerning the life of Christ, yet you ought not to draw any inference from our concession than that they had not plotted together, as cheats would have done, in order to give an unexceptionable consistency to their fraud. We are not, however, disposed to make you any such concession; we will rather believe, if we cannot be heard twice, and if you will not touch upon a few of the places which you think are most liable to your censure.

You observe that either Luke, or Mark, or John, have made no reference to Josephus' work in writing their Gospels; and that no account is to be found of this matter in Josephus, who wrote the life of Herod; and therefore the fact recorded by Matthew is not true. The concurrent testimony of many indeed one prophecy, you would reasonably add to its probability; but if nothing is to be received as true, upon the testimony of a single author, we must give up some of the best writers, and disbelieve some of the most interesting facts of ancient history.

Not according to Matthew, Mark, and Luke, there was only an interval of three months, you say, between the baptism and crucifixion of Jesus; from which time, taking away the forty days of the temptation, there will only remain about six weeks for the whole period of his public ministry; which lasted, however, according to St. John, at the least about three years. Your objection proceeds either from the Acts, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, in writing the history of Jesus Christ, mention the several events of his life, as following one another in continued succession, without taking notice of the times in which they happened. But is it a just conclusion, from their silence, to infer that they were entirely circumvented in the transactions between which they seem to have connected? Many instances might be produced, from the most admired biographers of antiquity, in which events are related as immediately following one another, which, if we consider the distant periods; we have an obvious example of this manner of writing in St. Matthew, who connects the preaching of John the Baptist with the return of Joseph from Egypt, though we are certain that the latter event preceded the former by a great many years.

John has said nothing of the institution of the Lord's Supper; the other evangelists have said nothing of the washing of the disciples' feet. What then? are you not ashamed to produce these facts as instances of contradiction? If omissions are contradictions, look into the history of the age of Louis XIV. or into the general history of M. de Voltaire, and you will meet with a great abundance of contradictions.

John, in mentioning the discourses which Jesus had with his mother, and also the discourses which John the Baptist had with Herod, says that she, with Mary Magdalen, stood near the cross. Matthew, on the other hand, says that Mary Magdalen and the other women were there, beholding afar off. This you think a manifest contradiction; and so you think it is not strange that the women who were not near the cross, could be the same with those who stood far from the cross! It is difficult not to transgress the bounds of moderation and good manners, in answering such sophistry. What have you to learn that, though the evangelists speak of the crucifixion as of one event, it was not accomplished in one instant, but lasted several hours! And why the women, who were at a distance from the cross, might not, during its course, be delivered, and might not deliver from time to time, and the other women, might not move from the cross, is more than you can explain to either us or yourselves. And we take from you your only refuge, by denying expressly that the different evangelists, in their invention of the women, speak of the same point of time.

The evangelists, you affirm, have fallen into gross contradictions in their accounts of the appearances by which Jesus manifested himself to his disciples, after his resurrection from the dead, as spoken of in the Gospel of St. Mark. Luke speaks of the discourses with the seven hundred disciples, and John, of two, and John of four. That contradictory propositions cannot be true, is readily granted; and if you will produce the place in which Matthew says that Jesus Christ appeared to his disciples twenty, and Mark says it was to be said that he is contradicted by John in a very material part of his narration; but till you do that, you must excuse me if I cannot grant that the evangelists have contradicted each other in this point; for to common understandings, it is pretty evident that if Christ appeared four times according to John's account, he must have appeared twice according to that of Matthew and Luke, thrice according to that of Mark.

The different evangelists are not only accused of contradicting each other, but Luke is said to have contradicted himself; for in his Gospel he tells us, that Jesus ascended into heaven from Bethany; and in the Acts of the Apostles, of which he is the reputed author, he informs us that he ascended from Mount Olivet. Your objection proceeds either from your ignorance of the one, or your ill-will to Christianity; and upon either supposition deserves our contempt; be pleased, however, to remember for the future, that Bethany was not only the name of a town, but of a district of Mount Olivet, adjoining to one another.

From this specimen of the contradictions ascribed to the historians of the life of Christ, you may judge for yourselves what little reason there is to reject Christianity upon their account; you will perhaps also doubt any other book, upon the mere consequence to you than any other) if you take every thing for a contradiction which the uncandid adversaries of Christianity think proper to call one.

Before I put an end to this address, I cannot help taking notice of an argument by which some philosophers have of late endeavoured to overturn the whole system of revelation;
and it is the more necessary to give an answer to their objection, as it is become a common subject of philosophical controversy. We have, however, not yet delivered the whole tenet. The objection tends to invalidate, as is supposed, the authority of Moses, by showing that the earth is much older than it can be proved to be from his account of the creation, and as to many other circumstances. We have already mentioned that six thousand years and more have not yet elapsed since the creation; and these philosophers contend, that they have indubitable proof of the earth's being at the least fourteen thousand years old; and they complain that Moses hangs a dead weight upon them, and is not easy to make an answer for inquiry.

The Canonicus Reparo, who, it seems, is engaged in writing the history of Mount Etna, has discovered a stratum of lava which flowed from that mountain, according to his opinion, in the time of the second Punic war, or about two thousand years ago; this stratum is not yet covered with soil sufficient for the production of either corn or vines; it requires, then, says the Canon, two thousand years at least to convert a stratum of lava into a fertile field. In sinking a pit near Jari, in the neighbourhood of Etna, they have discovered evidential marks of seven distinct lavas, one under the other: the surfaces of which are parallel, and most of them covered with a thick bed of rich earth. Now, the eruption which formed these strata of lavas may be ascribed to a reason, says the Canon, from analogy) flamed from the mountain at least fourteen thousand years ago. It might be briefly answered to this objection, by denying, that there is any reason for supposing that of Moses referred to this opinion concerning the great antiquity of the earth: for though the rise and progress of arts and sciences, and the small multiplication of the human species, render it almost to a demonstration probable that man has not existed longer upon the surface of this earth than according to the Mosaic account, yet let it be observed, that the earth itself was then created out of nothing, when man was placed upon it, is not, according to the sentiments of some philosophers, to be proved from the original text of sacred Scripture: we might, I say, reply with these philosophers to this formidable objection of the Canon, by granting it in its fullest extent; we are under no necessity, however, of adopting their opinion, in order to show the weakness of the Canon's reasoning. For, in the first place, the Canon has not satisfactorily established his main fact, that the lava in question is the identical lava which Diodorus Siculus mentions to have flowed from Etna in the second Carthaginian war; and, in the second place, it may be observed, that the time necessary for converting lava into fertile fields must be very different, according to the different consistencies of the lavas, and their different situations, with respect to elevation or depression; to their being exposed to winds, rains, and to other circumstances; and it may be ascertained in the case of Etna, that the time in which the lavas (which resembles lava) are covered with verdure, is different at different furnaces, according to the nature of the slag and situation of the furnace; and something of this kind is delvable from the account of the Canon himself; since the creation of this furnace was covered with rich, good soil, and have pretty large trees growing in them.

But if all this should be thought not sufficient to remove the objection, I will produce the Canon an analogy in opposition to his analogy, and which is founded on more certain facts. Etna and Vesuvius resemble each other in the causes which produce their eruptions, and the nature of their lavas, and in the time necessary to make them into soil fit for vegetation; or if there be any slight difference in this respect, it is probably not greater than what subsists between different lavas of the same mountain. This being admitted, which no philosopher will deny, the Canon's analogy will prove justly. For is it possible to be the case of different lavas (with interstratified strata of vegetable earth) which have flowed from Mount Vesuvius within the space not of fourteen thousand, but of somewhat less than seventeen hundred years; for then, according to our analogy, a stratum of this sort can be covered with rich soil in about two hundred and fifty years, instead of requiring two thousand for the purpose. The eruption of Vesuvius which destroyed Herculaneum and Pompeii, is rendered still more monstrous by the death of Pliny, recorded by his nephew in his letter to Tacitus. This event happened in the year 79. It is not then quite seventeen hundred years since Herculaneum was destroyed, and yet Pliny's nephew has thus conceived the probability, that "the matter which covers the ancient town of Herculaneum is not the produce of one eruption only; for there are evident marks that the matter of six eruptions has taken place since the year 79." It will not, however, be objected, that the destruction of Herculaneum was not caused by a volcanic eruption, but by a fire; this being the cause of its destruction. These strata are either of lava or burnt matter, with veins of good soil betwixt them." I will not add another word upon this subject, except that the bishop of the diocese was not much out in his advice to Canon Reparo, to take care not to make his mountain older than Moses; though it would have been full as well to have shut his mouth with a reason, as to have stopped it with the dread of an ecclesiastical censure.

You perceive with what ease a little attention will remove a great difficulty; but had we been able to say nothing in explanation of this phenomenon, we should not have acted a very rational part in making our ignorance the foundation of our infidelity, or suffering a minute philosopher to rob us of our religion.

Your objections to revelation may be numerous; you may find fault with the account which Moses has given of the creation and the fall; you may not be able to get water enough from a well, or a mountain, like Mount Saba or Mt. Horeb, for all the different kinds of aerial and terrestrial animals; you may be dissatisfied with the command for sacrificing Isaac, for plundering the Egyptians, and for extirpating the Canaanites: you may be surprised with the state of the world, its ceremonies, its sacrifices, and its multiplicity of priests; you may object to the inscriptions in the Psalms, and think the immoralities of David a fit subject for dramatic ridicule; you may look upon the partial pronouncement of Christianity as an inapplicable objection to its truth, and waywardly reject the goodness of God toward yourselves, because you do not comprehend how you have deserved it more than others; you may know nothing of the entrance of sin and death into the world by one man's transgression; nor be able to comprehend the doctrine of the cross, and of redemption by Jesus Christ: in short, if your mind is so disposed, you may find food for your scepticism in every page of the Bible, as well as in every appearance of nature; and it is not in the power of any person, but yourselves, to clear up your doubts. You must read, and you must think for yourselves; and you must do both with temper, with candour, and with care. Infidelity is a rank weed; it is nurtured by our views, and cannot be plucked up as easily as it may be planted. Your difficulties with respect to revelation may have first arisen from your own reflection on the religious indifference of those whom, from your earliest infancy, you have been accustomed to reverence; and you may be more disposed to enter into the hearer to libertine conversation: and the uniform prejudices of the world may have finished the business, at a very early age, and left you to wander through life, without a principle to direct your conduct, and to die without hope. We are far from wishing you to trust the word of the elergy for the truth of your religion; we beg of you to examine it to the bottom, to try it, to prove it, and not to hold it fast unless you find it good. Till you are disposed to undertake this task, it becomes you to consider with great seriousness and attention, whether it can be for your interest to esteem a few witty sarcasms, or metaphysical subtleties, or ignorant misrepresentations, or unwarranted assertions, as unanswerable arguments against revelation: and a very slight reflection will convince you that it will certainly be for your reputation to employ the flappiness of your rhetoric, and the poignancy of your ridicule, upon any subject rather than upon the subject of religion.

I take the liberty of recommending to you the advice which Mr. Locke gave to a young man who was desirous of becoming acquainted with the doctrines of the Christian religion:"Study the holy Scripture, especially the New Testament: therein are contained the words of eternal life. For God is not willed that any should perish in their youth without any mixture of error for its matter." I am, &c.

Abraham, the father of Isaac and Jacob.

Abraham, the last of the patriarchs.

Abraham, the son of Terah.

Abraham, the grandson of Noah.

Abraham, the father of Isaac.

Abraham, the father of Jacob.

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The text contains a combination of fragmented sentences and historical references. It appears to discuss various historical events and figures, possibly related to the history of Rome and its empire, including figures like Constantine, the Barbarians, and the Empire's various leaders. The text seems to be a part of a larger historical narrative, possibly discussing the contrast between the union of the empire and the insurrection of the empire. It mentions the Capitation-tax, Nestorius, the Nestorian problem, the edict of the emperor Theodosius, and various other historical events and figures. The text is dense and contains many references to specific historical periods and events.

The text is a natural representation of a historical document, discussing the complex relationships and events that shaped the history of the Roman Empire. It touches on themes of union, division, barbarian invasions, and religious conflicts during the early Christian era.
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