CHAP. XXV.

The Government and Death of Jovian.—Election of Valentinian, who associates his Brother Valens, and makes the final Division of the Eastern and Western Empires.—Revolt of Procopius.—Civil and Ecclesiastical Administration.—Germany.—Britain.—Africa.—The East.—The Danube.—Death of Valentinian.—His two Sons, Gratian and Valentinian II., succeed to the Western Empire.

The death of Julian had left the public affairs of the empire in a very doubtful and dangerous situation. The Roman army was saved by an inglorious, perhaps a necessary, treaty; and the first moments of peace were consecrated by the pious Jovian to restore the domestic tranquillity of the church and state. The indiscretion of his predecessor, instead of reconciling, had artfully fomented the religious war: and the balance which he affected to preserve between the hostile factions, served only to perpetuate the contest, by the vicissitudes of hope and fear, by the rival claims of ancient possession and actual favour. The Christians had forgotten the spirit of the Gospel; and the Pagans had imbibed the spirit of the church.

1 The medals of Jovian adorn him with victories, laurel crowns, and prostrate captives. Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 92. Blatery is a foolish suicide; she destroys herself with her own hands.
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In private families, the sentiments of nature were extinguished by the blind fury of zeal and revenge: the majesty of the laws was violated or abused; the cities of the East were stained with blood; and the most implacable enemies of the Romans were in the bosom of their country. Jovian was educated in the profession of Christianity; and as he marched from Nisibis to Antioch, the banner of the Cross, the LABARUM of Constantine, which was again displayed at the head of the legions, announced to the people the faith of their new emperor. As soon as he ascended the throne, he transmitted a circular epistle to all the governors of provinces: in which he confessed the divine truth, and secured the legal establishment, of the Christian religion. The insidious edicts of Julian were abolished; the ecclesiastical immunities were restored and enlarged; and Jovian condescended to lament, that the distress of the times obliged him to diminish the measure of charitable distributions. The Christians were unanimous in the loud and sincere applause which they bestowed on the pious successor of Julian. But they were still ignorant what creed, or what synod, he would chuse for the standard of orthodoxy; and the peace of the

2 Jovian restored to the church τον καθως ἡσυχασμένον, a forcible and comprehensive expression (Philostorgius, l. viii. c. 5. with Godetroy's Dissertations, p. 329. Sozomen, l. vi. c. 3.) The new law which condemned the rape or marriage of nuns (Cod. Theod. l. iv. tit. xxv. leg. 2.), is exaggerated by Sozomen: who supposes, that an amorous glance, the adultery of the heart, was punished with death by the evangelic legislator.
church immediately revived those eager disputes which had been suspended during the season of persecution. The episcopal leaders of the contending sects, convinced, from experience, how much their fate would depend on the earliest impressions that were made on the mind of an untaught soldier, hastened to the court of Edessa, or Antioch. The highways of the East were crowded with Homoeans, and Arian, and Semi-Arian, and Eunomian bishops, who struggled to outstrip each other in the holy race: the apartments of the palace resounded with their clamours; and the ears of their prince were assaulted, and perhaps astonished, by the singular mixture of metaphysical argument and passionate invective. The moderation of Jovian, who recommended concord and charity, and referred the disputants to the sentence of a future council, was interpreted as a symptom of indifference; but his attachment to the Nicene creed was at length discovered and declared, by the reverence which he expressed for the celestial virtues of the great Athanasius. The intrepid veteran of the faith, at the age of seventy, had issued from his retreat on the first intelligence of the tyrant’s death. The acclamations

3 Compare Socrates, l. iii. c. 25. and Philostorgius, l. viii. c. 6. with Godefroy’s Dissertation, p. 333.

4 The word celestial faintly expresses the impious and extravagant flattery of the emperor to the archbishop, τος πρεσ η φω του ουν βλεφαριο πνευσματος. (See the original epistle in Athanasius, tom. ii. p. 333). Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. xxii. p. 392) celebrates the friendship of Jovian and Athanasius. The primate’s journey was advised by the Egyptian monks (Tillemont, Mem. Ecclesi tom. viii. p. 221).
of the people seated him once more on the archbishop's throne; and he wisely accepted, or anticipated, the invitation of Jovian. The venerable figure of Athanasius, his calm courage, and insinuating eloquence, sustained the reputation which he had already acquired in the courts of four successive princes⁵. As soon as he had gained the confidence, and secured the faith, of the Christian emperor, he returned in triumph to his diocese, and continued, with mature counsels and undiminished vigour, to direct, ten years longer⁶, the ecclesiastical government of Alexandria, Egypt, and the Catholic church. Before his departure from Antioch, he assured Jovian that his orthodox devotion would be rewarded with a long and peaceful reign. Athanasius had reason to hope, that he should be allowed either the merit of a successful prediction, or the excuse of a grateful, though ineffectual, prayer⁷.

⁵ Athanasius, at the court of Antioch, is agreeably represented by La Bléterie (Hist. de Jovien, tom. ii. p. 121—143). He translates the singular and original conferences of the emperor, the prince of Egypt, and the Arian deputies. The Abbé is not satisfied with the coarse pleasantry of Jovian; but his partiality for Athanasius assumes, in his eyes, the character of justice.

⁶ The true era of his death is perplexed with some difficulties (Tillemont, Mem. Eccles. tom. vii. p. 719—733). But the date (A.D. 373, May 2.), which seems the most consistent with history and reason, is ratified by his authentic letter (Malet Observations Lettre, tom. iv. p. 81.).

⁷ See the observations of Valerius and Jortin (Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. iv. p. 38.), on the original letter of Athanasius, which is preserved by Theodoret (I. iv. c. 8.). In some MSS. the indiscreet promise is omitted, perhaps by the Catholics, jealous of the prophetic fame of their leader.
The slightest force, when it is applied to assist and guide the natural descent of its object, operates with irresistible weight; and Jovian had the good fortune to embrace the religious opinions which were supported by the spirit of the times, and the zeal and numbers of the most powerful sect. Under his reign, Christianity obtained an easy and lasting victory; and as soon as the smile of royal patronage was withdrawn, the genius of Paganism, which had been fondly raised and cherished by the arts of Julian, sunk irrecoverably in the dust. In many cities, the temples were shut or deserted: the philosophers, who had abused their transient favour, thought it prudent to shave their beards, and disguise their profession; and the Christians rejoiced, that they were now in a condition to forgive, or to revenge, the injuries which they had suffered under the preceding reign.

The consternation of the Pagan world was dispelled by a wise and gracious edict of toleration; in which Jovian explicitly declared, that although he should severely punish the sacrilegious rites of magic, his subjects might exercise, with freedom and safety, the ceremonies of the ancient worship. The memory of this law has been preserved by the

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4 Athanasius (apud Theodoret, l. iv. c. 3.) magnifies the number of the orthodox, who composed the whole world, επανομος των τω Αχιν φυσικων. This assertion was verified in the space of thirty or forty years.

orator Themistius, who was deputed by the senate of Constantinople to express their loyal devotion for the new emperor. Themistius expatiates on the clemency of the Divine Nature, the facility of human error, the rights of conscience, and the independence of the mind; and, with some eloquence, inculcates the principles of philosophical toleration; whose aid Superstition herself, in the hour of her distress, is not ashamed to implore. He justly observes, that, in the recent changes, both religions had been alternately disgraced by the seeming acquisition of worthless proselytes, of those votaries of the reigning purple, who could pass, without a reason, and without a blush, from the church to the temple, and from the altars of Jupiter to the sacred table of the Christians.

In the space of seven months, the Roman troops, who were now returned to Antioch, had performed a march of fifteen hundred miles; in which they had endured all the hardships of war, of famine, and of climate. Notwithstanding their services, their fatigues, and the approach of winter, the timid and impatient Jovian allowed only, to the men and horses, a respite of six weeks. The emperor could not sustain the indiscreet and malicious raillery of the people of

— Themistius, Orat. v. p. 63—71. edit. Harduin. Paris, 1634. The Abbé de la Bletère judiciously remarks (Hist. de Jovien, tom. ii. p. 199.), that Sozomen has forgot the general toleration, and Themistius, the establishment of the Catholic religion. Each of them turned away from the object which he disliked, and wished to suppress the part of the edict the least honourable, in his opinion, to the emperor Jovian.
THE DECLINE AND FALL

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Antioch\[11\]. He was impatient to possess the palace of Constantinople; and to prevent the ambition of some competitor, who might occupy the vacant allegiance of Europe. But he soon received the grateful intelligence, that his authority was acknowledged from the Thracian Bosphorus to the Atlantic ocean. By the first letters which he dispatched from the camp of Mesopotamia, he had delegated the military command of Gaul and Illyricum to Malarich, a brave and faithful officer of the nation of the Franks; and to his father-in-law, count Lucillian, who had formerly distinguished his courage and conduct in the defence of Nisibis. Malarich had declined an office to which he thought himself unequal; and Lucillian was massacred at Rheims, in an accidental mutiny of the Batavian cohorts\[12\]. But the moderation of Jovinus, master-general of the cavalry, who forgave the intention of his disgrace, soon appeased the tumult, and confirmed the uncertain minds of the soldiers. The oath of fidelity was administered, and taken, with loyal acclamations; and the deputies of the Western armies\[13\] saluted their new sovereign as he descended from Mount Taurus

\[11\] Οἱ Ἰωαννησίας ως ἢπιως διεκεντὸ πρὸς αὐτὸν; ἀλλ’ ἐπεκπτὼν αὐτῷ ὁδασι καὶ σαραυλίας καὶ τοῖς καλημονίσις φαρουσίσις (famosis libellis). Johan. Antiochen. in Excerpt. Valesian. p. 845. The libels of Antioch may be admitted on very slight evidence.

\[12\] Compare Ammianus (xxv. 10.), who omits the name of the Batavians, with Zosimus (l. ii. p. 197.), who removes the scene of action from Rheims to Sirmium.

\[13\] Quos capita scholarum ordo castrensis appellat. Ammian. xxv. 10. and Vales. ad locum.
to the city of Tyana, in Cappadocia. From Tyana he continued his hasty march to Ancyra, capital of the province of Galatia; where Jovian assumed, with his infant son, the name and ensigns of the consulship. Dadastana, an obscure town, almost at an equal distance between Ancyra and Nice, was marked for the fatal term of his journey and his life. After indulging himself with a plentiful, perhaps an intemperate, supper, he retired to rest; and the next morning the emperor Jovian was found dead in his bed. The cause of this sudden death was variously understood. By some it was ascribed to the consequences of an indigestion, occasioned either by the quantity of the wine, or the quality of the mushrooms, which he had swallowed in the evening. According to others, he was suffocated in his sleep by the vapour of charcoal, which extracted from the walls of the apartment the unwholesome moisture of the fresh plaster. But the want of a regular inquiry into the death of a prince, whose reign and person were soon for-

\[14\] Capus vagitus, permaciter reluctans, ne in curiali sella vehretur ex morie, id quod max accidit praeedebat. Augustus and his successors respectfully solicited a dispensation of age for the sons or nephews whom they raised to the consulship. But the curule chair of the first Brutus had never been dishonoured by an infant.

\[15\] The Itinerary of Antoninus fixes Damastana 125 Roman miles from Nice, 117 from Ancyra (Wesselin, Iterum, p. 142). The pilgrim of Bourdeaux, by omitting some stages, reduces the whole space from 242 to 181 miles (Wesselin, p. 574).

\[16\] See Ammianus (xv. 16), Eutropius (x. 34), who might likewise be present; Jerome (tom. i. p. 26, ad Heichodorum, Orosius (vii. 31.), Sozomen (l. vi. c 6.), Zosimus (l. iii. p. 197, 198.), and Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xii. p. 28, 29.) We cannot expect a perfect agreement, and we shall not discuss minute differences.
gotten, appears to have been the only circumstance which countenanced the malicious whispers of poison and domestic guilt. The body of Jovian was sent to Constantinople, to be interred with his predecessors, and the sad procession was met on the road by his wife Charito, the daughter of count Lucillian; who still wept the recent death of her father, and was hastening to dry her tears in the embraces of an Imperial husband. Her disappointment and grief were embittered by the anxiety of maternal tenderness. Six weeks before the death of Jovian, his infant son had been placed in the curule chair, adorned with the title of Nobilissimus, and the vain ensigns of the consulship. Unconscious of his fortune, the royal youth, who, from his grandfather, assumed the name of Varronian, was reminded only by the jealousy of the government, that he was the son of an emperor. Sixteen years afterwards he was still alive, but he had already been deprived of an eye; and his afflicted mother expected, every hour, that the innocent victim would be torn from her arms, to appease, with his blood, the suspicions of the reigning prince.

17 Ammianus, unmindful of his usual candour and good sense, compares the death of the harmless Jovian to that of the second Africanus, who had excited the fears and resentment of the popular faction.

18 Chrysostom, tom. i. p. 336. 344. edit. Montfaucon. The Christian orator attempts to comfort a widow by the examples of illustrious misfortunes, and observes, that of nine emperors (including the Caesar Gallus) who had reigned in his time, only two (Constantine and Constantius) died a natural death. Such vague consolations have never wiped away a single tear.
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CHAPTER XXV.

Vacancy of the throne, Feb. 17—

After the death of Jovian, the throne of the Roman world remained ten days without a master. The ministers and generals still continued to meet in council; to exercise their respective functions; to maintain the public order; and peaceably to conduct the army to the city of Nice in Bithynia, which was chosen for the place of the election. In a solemn assembly of the civil and military powers of the empire, the diadem was again unanimously offered to the prefect Sallust. He enjoyed the glory of a second refusal: and when the virtues of the father were alleged in favour of his son, the prefect, with the firmness of a disinterested patriot, declared to the electors, that the feeble age of the one, and the unexperienced youth of the other, were equally incapable of the laborious duties of government. Several candidates were proposed: and, after weighing the objections of character or situation, they were successively rejected: but, as soon as the name of Valentinian was pronounced, the merit of that officer united

19 Ten days appear scarcely sufficient for the march and election. But it may be observed; 1. That the generals might command the expeditious use of the public posts for themselves, their attendants, and messengers. 2. That the troops, for the ease of the cities, marched in many divisions, and that the head of the column might arrive at Nice when the rear halted at Ancyra.

20 Ammianus, xxvi. 1. Zosimus, l. iii. p. 193. Philostorgius, l. viii. c. 8. and Godefroy, Dissertat. p. 334. Philostorgius, who appears to have obtained some curious and authentic intelligence, describes the choice of Valentinian to the prefect Sallust, the master-general Arusheus, Dagalaphus count of the domestics, and the patrician Datianus, whose pressing recommendations from Ancyra had a weighty influence in the election.
the suffrages of the whole assembly, and obtained the sincere approbation of Sallust himself. Valentinian was the son of count Gratian, a native of Cibalis in Pannonia, who, from an obscure condition, had raised himself, by matchless strength and dexterity, to the military commands of Africa and Britain; from which he retired with an ample fortune and suspicious integrity. The rank and services of Gratian contributed, however, to smooth the first steps of the promotion of his son; and afforded him an early opportunity of displaying those solid and useful qualifications, which raised his character above the ordinary level of his fellow-soldiers. The person of Valentinian was tall, graceful, and majestic. His manly countenance, deeply marked with the impression of sense and spirit, inspired his friends with awe, and his enemies with fear: and, to second the efforts of his undaunted courage, the son of Gratian had inherited the advantages of a strong and healthy constitution. By the habits of chastity and temperance, which restrain the appetites and invigorate the faculties, Valentinian preserved his own, and the public, esteem. The avocations of a military life had diverted his youth from the elegant pursuits of literature: he was ignorant of the Greek language, and the arts of rhetoric; but as the mind of the orator was never disconcerted by timid perplexity, he was able, as often as the occasion

21 Ammianus, (xxx. 7. 9.), and the younger Victor, have furnished the portrait of Valentinian, which naturally precedes and illustrates the history of his reign.
prompted him, to deliver his decided sentiments with bold and ready elocution. The laws of martial discipline were the only laws that he had studied; and he was soon distinguished by the laborious diligence, and inflexible severity, with which he discharged and enforced the duties of the camp. In the time of Julian he provoked the danger of disgrace, by the contempt which he publicly expressed for the reigning religion\textsuperscript{22}; and it should seem, from his subsequent conduct, that the indiscreet and unseasonable freedom of Valentinian was the effect of military spirit, rather than of Christian zeal. He was pardoned, however, and still employed by a prince who esteemed his merit\textsuperscript{23}; and in the various events of the Persian war, he improved the reputation which he had already acquired on the banks of the Rhine. The celerity and success with which he executed an important commission, recommended him to the favour of Jovian; and to the honourable command of the second school, or company, of Targetteers, of the domestic guards. In the march from Antioch, he had reached his quarters at Ancyra, when he was unexpectedly summoned, without guilt, and without intrigue, to

\textsuperscript{22} At Antioch, where he was obliged to attend the emperor to the temple, he struck a priest, who had presumed to purify him with histrual water (Sozomen, l. vi. c. 6, Theodoret, l. iii. c. 51.). Such public defiance might become Valentinian; but it could leave no room for the unworthy delation of the philosopher Maximus, which supposes some more private offence (Zosimus, l. iv. p. 400, 201.)

\textsuperscript{23} Socrates, l. iv. A previous exile to Melitene, or Thebas (the first might be possible), is interposed by Sozomen (l. vi. c. 6) and Philostorgius (l. vii. c. 7 with Godefroy's Dissertations, p. 295.)
assume, in the forty-third year of his age, the absolute government of the Roman empire.

The invitation of the ministers and generals at Nice was of little moment, unless it were confirmed by the voice of the army. The aged Sallust, who had long observed the irregular fluctuations of popular assemblies, proposed, under pain of death, that none of those persons, whose rank in the service might excite a party in their favour, should appear in public, on the day of the inauguration. Yet such was the prevalence of ancient superstition, that a whole day was voluntarily added to this dangerous interval, because it happened to be the intercalation of the Bissextile. At length, when the hour was supposed to be propitious, Valentinian shewed himself from a lofty tribunal: the judicious choice was applauded; and the new prince was solemnly invested with the diadem and the purple, amidst the acclamations of the troops, who were disposed in martial order round the tribunal. But when he stretched forth his hand to address the armed multitude, a busy whisper was accidentally started in the ranks, and insensibly swelled into a loud and imperious clamour, that he should name, without delay, a colleague in the empire. The

21 Ammianus, in a long, because unseasonable, digression (xxvi. 1. and Valesius ad locum), rashly supposes that he understands an astronomical question, of which his readers are ignorant. It is treated with more judgment and propriety by Censorinus (de Die Natali, c. 20.), and Macrobius (Saturnal. i. i. c. 12—16.). The appellation of Bissextile, which marks the inauspicious year (Augustin. ad Julianum, Epist. 119.) is derived from the repetition of the sixth day of the calends of March.
intrepid calmness of Valentinian obtained silence, and commanded respect; and he thus addressed the assembly: "A few minutes since it was in your power, fellow-soldiers, to have left me in the obscurity of a private station. Judging, from the testimony of my past life, that I deserved to reign, you have placed me on the throne. It is now my duty to consult the safety and interest of the republic. The weight of the universe is undoubtedly too great for the hands of a feeble mortal. I am conscious of the limits of my abilities, and the uncertainty of my life: and far from declining, I am anxious to solicit, the assistance of a worthy colleague. But, where discord may be fatal, the choice of a faithful friend requires mature and serious deliberation. That deliberation shall be my care. Let your conduct be dutiful and consistent. Retire to your quarters; refresh your minds and bodies; and expect the accustomed donative on the accession of a new emperor."

The astonished troops, with a mixture of pride, of satisfaction, and of terror, confessed the voice of their master. Their angry clamours subsided into silent reverence; and Valentinian, encompassed with the eagles of the legions, and the various banners of the cavalry and infantry, was conducted, in warlike pomp, to the palace of Nice. As he was sensible, however, of the importance of preventing some rash declaration of

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Valentinian's first speech is full in Annaeans (xxvii. 2.), excerpts and sententious in Philostorgius (viii. 8.)
the soldiers, he consulted the assembly of the chiefs: and their real sentiments were concisely expressed by the generous freedom of Dagalaiphus. "Most excellent prince," said that officer, "if you consider only your family, you have a brother; if you love the republic, look round for the most deserving of the Romans." The emperor, who suppressed his displeasure, without altering his intention, slowly proceeded from Nice to Nicomedia and Constantinople. In one of the suburbs of that capital, thirty days after his own elevation, he bestowed the title of Augustus on his brother Valens; and as the boldest patriots were convinced, that their opposition, without being serviceable to their country, would be fatal to themselves, the declaration of his absolute will was received with silent submission. Valens was now in the thirty-sixth year of his age: but his abilities had never been exercised in any employment, military or civil; and his character had not inspired the world with any sanguine expectations. He possessed, however, one quality, which recommended him to Valentinian, and preserved the domestic peace of the empire; a devout and grateful attachment to his benefactor, whose superiority of genius, as well as of authority,

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26 Si tuos, amas, Imperator optime, habes fratrem; si Repub-licam, quaeque quem vestias. Ammian. xxvi. 4. In the division of the empire, Valentinian retained that sincere counsellor for himself (c. 6.).

27 In suburbano, Ammian. xxvi. 4. The famous Helyamon, or field of Mars, was distant from Constantinople either seven stadia, or seven miles. See Valesius, and his brother, ad loc. and Ducange, Const. 1 n. p. 140, 141. 172, 173.
Valens humbly and cheerfully acknowledged in every action of his life.

Before Valentinian divided the provinces, he reformed the administration of the empire. All ranks of subjects, who had been injured or oppressed under the reign of Julian, were invited to support their public accusations. The silence of mankind attested the spotless integrity of the prefect Sallust; and his own pressing solicitations, that he might be permitted to retire from the business of the state, were rejected by Valentinian with the most honourable expressions of friendship and esteem. But among the favourites of the late emperor, there were many who had abused his credulity or superstition; and who could no longer hope to be protected either by favour or justice. The greater part of the ministers of the palace, and the governors of the provinces, were removed from their respective stations; yet the eminent merit of some officers was distinguished from the obnoxious crowd; and, notwithstanding the opposite clamours of zeal and resentment, the whole proceedings of this delicate inquiry appear to have been conducted with a reasonable share of wisdom and mo-

20 Participem quidem legatum am potestate, sed in modum appellationis morgerum, ut progredens, aperiet textum. Ammian. xxvi. 1.
21 Notwithstanding the evidence of Zonaras, Suidas, and the Paschal Chronicle, M. de Tillymont (Hist. des Empereurs, v. p. 574) wishes to disbelieve the stories which are so commonly repeated.
22 Eum apud Claudianum, id est, auctorem Maximiano (p. 82, 33.), yet he allows, that this Galilæum deorum, the guilty favourite of Julian, and the personal enemy of Valentinian, was dismissed on the payment of a small fine.

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deration\textsuperscript{31}. The festivity of a new reign received a short and suspicious interruption from the sudden illness of the two princes: but as soon as their health was restored, they left Constantinople in the beginning of the spring. In the castle, or palace, of Mediana, only three miles from Naissus, they executed the solemn and final division of the Roman empire\textsuperscript{32}. Valentinian bestowed on his brother the rich praefecture of the East, from the Lower Danube to the confines of Persia; whilst he reserved for his immediate government the warlike praefectures of Illyricum, Italy, and Gaul, from the extremity of Greece to the Caledonian rampart; and from the rampart of Caledonia to the foot of Mount Atlas. The provincial administration remained on its former basis; but a double supply of generals and magistrates was required for two councils, and two courts: the division was made with a just regard to their peculiar merit and situation, and seven master-generals were soon created, either of the cavalry or infantry. When this important business had been amicably transacted, Valentinian and Valens embraced for the last time. The emperor of the West established his temporary residence at Milan; and the emperor of the East returned to Constantinople, to assume the dominion of fifty provinces, of whose language he was totally ignorant\textsuperscript{33}.

\textsuperscript{31} The loose assertions of a general disgrace (Zosimus, I. iv p. 201.) are detected and refuted by Tillemont (tom. v. p. 21.).

\textsuperscript{32} Ammianus, xxvi. 5.

\textsuperscript{33} Ammianus says, in general terms, subagrestis ingenii, nec bel-
The tranquillity of the East was soon disturbed by rebellion; and the throne of Valens was threatened by the daring attempts of a rival, whose affinity to the emperor Julian was his sole merit, and had been his only crime. Procopius had been hastily promoted from the obscure station of a tribune, and a notary, to the joint command of the army of Mesopotamia; the public opinion already named him as the successor of a prince who was destitute of natural heirs; and a vain rumour was propagated by his friends, or his enemies, that Julian, before the altar of the Moon, at Carrhae, had privately invested Procopius with the Imperial purple. He endeavoured, by his dutiful and submissive behaviour, to disarm the jealousy of Jovian; resigned, without a contest, his military command: and retired, with his wife and family, to cultivate the ample patrimony which he possessed in the province of Cappadocia. These useful and innocent occupations were interrupted by the appearance of an officer, with a band of soldiers, who, in the

heis nec libenterbus studios cruditus. Ammian. xxxi. 11. The orator Themistius, with the genuine impertinence of a Greek, wished for the first time to speak the Latin language, the dialect of his sovereign, τὸ διάλεκτον ἑαυτοῦ. Orat. vi. p. 71.

4 The uncertain degree of alliance, or consanguinity, is expressed by the words ἐνερεῖ, cognatus, consobrinus (see Valesius ad Ammian. xxiii. 3.). The mother of Procopius might be a sister of Basina, and count Julian, the mother and uncle of the Apostle. Ducange, Fam. Byzantin. p. 49.

5 Ammian. xxiii. 3. xxxi. 6. He mentions the report with much hesitation: susurravit obscurior fama, nemo enim dictator exstituit versus. It serves, however, to remark, that Procopius was a pagan. Yet his religion does not appear to have promoted, or obstructed, his pretensions.
name of his new sovereigns, Valentinian and Valens, was dispatched to conduct the unfortunate Procopius either to a perpetual prison, or an ignominious death. His presence of mind procured him a longer respite, and a more splendid fate. Without presuming to dispute the royal mandate, he requested the indulgence of a few moments to embrace his weeping family; and, while the vigilance of his guards was relaxed by a plentiful entertainment, he dexterously escaped to the sea-coast of the Euxine, from whence he passed over to the country of Bosphoras. In that sequestered region he remained many months, exposed to the hardships of exile, of solitude, and of want; his melancholy temper brooding over his misfortunes, and his mind agitated by the just apprehension, that, if any accident should discover his name, the faithless Barbarians would violate, without much scruple, the laws of hospitality. In a moment of impatience and despair, Procopius embarked in a merchant vessel, which made sail for Constantinople; and boldly aspired to the rank of a sovereign, because he was not allowed to enjoy the security of a subject. At first he lurked in the villages of Bithynia, continually changing his habitation, and his disguise 30. By degrees he ventured into the capital, trusted his life and fortune to the fidelity of

30 One of his retreats was a country-house of Eunomius, the heretic. The master was absent, innocent, ignorant; yet he narrowly escaped a sentence of death, and was banished into the remote parts of Mauritania (Philostorg. l. ix. c. 5. 3. and Godefroy's Dissert. p. 360—378.).
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two friends, a senator and an eunuch, and conceived some hopes of success, from the intelligence which he obtained of the actual state of public affairs. The body of the people was infected with a spirit of discontent; they regretted the justice and the abilities of Saliust, who had been imprudently dismissed from the praefecture of the East. They despised the character of Valens, which was rude without vigour, and feeble without mildness. They dreaded the influence of his father-in-law, the patrician Petronius, a cruel and rapacious minister, who rigorously exacted all the arrears of tribute that might remain unpaid since the reign of the emperor, Aurelian. The circumstances were propitious to the designs of an usurper. The hostile measures of the Persians required the presence of Valens in Syria; from the Danube to the Euphrates the troops were in motion; and the capital was occasionally filled with the soldiers who passed or repassed the Thracian Bosporous. Two cohorts of Gauls were persuaded to listen to the secret proposals of the conspirators; which were recommended by the promise of a liberal donative; and, as they still revered the memory of Julian, they easily consented to support the hereditary claim of his proscribed kinsman. At the dawn of day they were drawn up near the baths of Anastasia; and Procopius, clothed in a purple garment, more suitable to a player than to a monarch, appeared, as if he rose from the dead, in the midst of Constantinople. The soldi...
dieters, who were prepared for his reception, saluted their trembling prince with shouts of joy, and vows of fidelity. Their numbers were soon increased by a sturdy band of peasants, collected from the adjacent country; and Procopius, shielded by the arms of his adherents, was successively conducted to the tribunal, the senate, and the palace. During the first moments of his tumultuous reign, he was astonished and terrified by the gloomy silence of the people; who were either ignorant of the cause, or apprehensive of the event. But his military strength was superior to any actual resistance: the malecontents flocked to the standard of rebellion; the poor were excited by the hopes, and the rich were intimidated by the fear, of a general pillage; and the obstinate credulity of the multitude was once more deceived by the promised advantages of a revolution. The magistrates were seized; the prisons and arsenals broke open; the gates, and the entrance of the harbour, were diligently occupied, and, in a few hours, Procopius became the absolute, though precarious, master of the Imperial city. The usurper improved this unexpected success with some degree of courage and dexterity. He artfully propagated the rumours and opinions the most favourable to his interest; while he deluded the populace by giving audience to the frequent, but imaginary, ambassadors of distant nations. The large bodies of troops stationed in the cities of Thrace, and the fortresses of the Lower Danube, were gradually involved in the
guilt of rebellion: and the Gothic princes consented to supply the sovereign of Constantinople with the formidable strength of several thousand auxiliaries. His generals passed the Bosphorus, and subdued, without an effort, the unarmed, but wealthy, provinces of Bithynia and Asia. After an honourable defence, the city and island of Cyzicus yielded to his power; the renowned legions of the Jovians and Herculians embraced the cause of the usurper, whom they were ordered to crush; and, as the veterans were continually augmented with new levies, he soon appeared at the head of an army, whose valour, as well as numbers, were not unequal to the greatness of the contest. The son of Hormisdas, a youth of spirit and ability, descended to draw his sword against the lawful emperor of the East; and the Persian prince was immediately invested with the ancient and extraordinary powers of a Roman Proconsul. The alliance of Faustina, the widow of the emperor Constantius, who entrusted herself and her daughter to the hands of the usurper, added dignity and reputation to his cause. The princess Constantia, who was then about five years of age, accompanied, in a litter,

37 Hormisdæ: naturo juvem Hormisdæ regalis illius filho, potestatem Proconsulis detulit; et euida, more veterum, et bella, recturo. Ammian. xxvi. 8. The Persian prince escaped with honour and safety, and was afterwards (A.D. 380.) restored to the same extraordinary office of proconsul of Bithynia (Tillemont, Hist des Empereurs, tom v. p. 204.). I am ignorant whether the race of Sasan was propagated I find (A.D. 511.), a pope Hormisdas; but he was a native of Frusino, in Italy (Pagi. Brev. Pontific. tom i. p. 247.)
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Chap. XXV. the march of the army. She was shewn to the multitude in the arms of her adopted father; and, as often as she passed through the ranks, the tenderness of the soldiers was inflamed into martial fury: they recollected the glories of the house of Constantine, and they declared, with loyal acclamation, that they would shed the last drop of their blood in the defence of the royal infant.

In the mean while Valentinian was alarmed and perplexed by the doubtful intelligence of the revolt of the East. The difficulties of a German war forced him to confine his immediate care to the safety of his own dominions; and, as every channel of communication was stopt or corrupted, he listened, with doubtful anxiety, to the rumours which were industriously spread, that the defeat and death of Valens had leftProcopius sole master of the Eastern provinces. Valens was not dead: but, on the news of the rebellion, which he received at Caesarea, he basely despaired of his life and fortune; proposed to negociate with the usurper, and discovered his secret inclination to abdicate the Imperial purple. The timid monarch was saved from disgrace and ruin by the firmness of his ministers, and their abilities soon decided in his

* The infant rebel was afterwards the wife of the emperor Gratian, but she died young, and childless. See Ducange, Fam. Byzantium, p 48. 50.

a Sequimini culminis summi prospiam, was the language of Procopius: who affected to despise the obscure birth, and fortunate election, of the upstart Pannomian. Ammian. xxvi. 7
favour the event of the civil war. In a season of tranquillity, Sallust had resigned without a murmur; but as soon as the public safety was attacked, he ambitiously solicited the pre-eminence of toil and danger; and the restoration of that virtuous minister to the praefecture of the East, was the first step which indicated the repentance of Valens, and satisfied the minds of the people. The reign of Procopius was apparently supported by powerful armies, and obedient provinces. But many of the principal officers, military as well as civil, had been urged, either by motives of duty or interest, to withdraw themselves from the guilty scene; or to watch the moment of betraying, and deserting, the cause of the usurper. Lupicinus advanced by hasty marches, to bring the legions of Syria to the aid of Valens. Arintheus, who, in strength, beauty, and valour, excelled all the heroes of the age, attacked with a small troop a superior body of the rebels. When he beheld the faces of the soldiers who had served under his banner, he commanded them, with a loud voice, to seize and deliver up their pretended leader; and such was the ascendant of his genius, that this extraordinary order was instantly obeyed." Arbetio, a respectable veteran

69 Et dedicatus hominem superne certamine despicabilem, aut torium et celi fidem corporis, ipsius hostibus justit, summa sincere rectoreme atque nta turmarum ategnianus umbraturi compererus suorum mundus. The strength and beauty of Arintheus, the new Hercules, are celebrated by S. Basil; who suppose that God had created him as an imitable model of the human species. The painters and sculptors could not express his nature the historian appeared fabulous when they related his exploits (Ammon. xxv, and Valer. ad loc.).
of the great Constantine, who had been disting-
guished by the honours of the consulship, was
persuaded to leave his retirement, and once more
to conduct an army into the field. In the heat
of action, calmly taking off his helmet, he shewed
his grey hairs, and venerable countenance; sa-
luted the soldiers of Procopius by the endearing
names of children and companions, and exhorted
them no longer to support the desperate cause
of a contemptible tyrant; but to follow their old
commander, who had so often led them to honour
and victory. In the two engagements of Thya-
tira\textsuperscript{44} and Nacosia, the unfortunate Procopius was
deserted by his troops, who were seduced by
the instructions and example of their perfidious
officers. After wandering some time among the
woods and mountains of Phrygia, he was betray-
ed by his desponding followers, conducted to
the Imperial camp, and immediately beheaded.
He suffered the ordinary fate of an unsuccessful
usurper; but the acts of cruelty which were ex-
ercised by the conqueror, under the forms of
legal justice, excited the pity and indignation of
mankind\textsuperscript{45}.

\textsuperscript{44} The same field of battle is placed by Ammianus in Lycia, and
by Zosimus at Thyatira; which are at the distance of 150 miles from
each other. But Thyatira alluitur Lyce (Plin. Hist. Natur. \textsuperscript{31}.
Cellarius, Geograph. Antiq. tom. ii. p. 79.) and the transcribers
might easily convert an obscure river into a well-known province.

\textsuperscript{45} The adventures, usurpation, and fall of Procopius, are related,
in a regular series, by Ammianus (xxvi. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.) and Zosi-
mus (l. iv. p. 203—210.). They often illustrate, and seldom con-
tradict, each other. Themistius (Orat. vii. p. 91, 92.) adds some
base panegyric; and Eunapius (p. 83, 84.) some malicious satire.
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Such indeed are the common and natural fruits of despotism and rebellion. But the inquisition into the crime of magic, which, under the reign of the two brothers, was so rigorously prosecuted both at Rome and Antioch, was interpreted as the fatal symptom, either of the displeasure of heaven, or of the depravity of mankind. Let us not hesitate to indulge a liberal pride, that, in the present age, the enlightened part of Europe has abolished a cruel and odious prejudice, which reigned in every climate of the globe, and adhered to every system of religious opinions. The nations, and the sects, of the Roman world, admitted with equal credulity, and similar abhorrence, the reality of that infernal art, which was able to control the eternal order of the planets, and the voluntary operations of the human mind. They dreaded the

19 Libanius de ulascend. Julian. nec e. x. p. 158, 159. The sophist deprecates the public frenzy, but he does not (after their deaths) unpeach the justice of the emperors.

21 The French and English lawyers, of the present age, allow the theory, and deny the practice, of witchcraft; (Denisart, Recueil de Decisions de Jurisprudence, au mot Sorciers, tom iv. p 553; Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. iv. p 60.). As private reason always prevents, or outstrips, public wisdom, the president Montesquieu (Esprit des Loix, l. xii. c. 5, 6.) rejects the existence of magic.

20 See Oeuvres de Bayle, tom. iii. p 567—589. The sceptic of Rotterdam exhibits, according to his custom, a strange medley of loose knowledge, and lively wit.

22 The Pagans distinguished between good and bad magic, the Theurgie and the Goethe (Hist. de l'Academie, &c. tom. vii. p. 25.). But they could not have defended this obscure distinction against the acute logic of Bayle. In the Jewish and Christian system, all daemons are infernal spirits; and all commerce with them is idolatry, apostacy, &c. which deserves death and damnation.
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mysterious power of spells and incantations, of
potent herbs, and execrable rites; which could
extinguish or recall life, inflame the passions of
the soul, blast the works of creation, and extort
from the reluctant daemons the secrets of futurity.
They believed, with the wildest inconsistency, that
this praeternatural dominion of the air, of earth,
and of hell, was exercised, from the vilest motives
of malice or gain, by some wrinkled bags, and
itinerant sorcerers, who passed their obscure lives
in penury and contempt. The arts of magic
were equally condemned by the public opinion,
and by the laws of Rome; but as they tended to
gratify the most imperious passions of the heart of
man, they were continually proscribed, and con-
tinually practised. An imaginary cause is capable
of producing the most serious and mischievous
effects. The dark predictions of the death of an
emperor, or the success of a conspiracy, were cal-
culated only to stimulate the hopes of ambition,
and to dissolve the ties of fidelity; and the inten-
tional guilt of magic was aggravated by the actual

97 The Candaia of Horace (Carm. i. v. Od. 5. with Dacier's and
Sanadon's illustrations) is a vulgar witch. The Eritche of Lucan
(Pharsal. vi. 430—830.) is tedious, disgusting, but sometimes sub-
lime. She chides the delay of the Furies; and threatens, with
tremendous obscurity, to pronounce their real names, to reveal the
true infernal countenance of Hecate; to invoke the secret powers
that lie below hell, &c.

98 Genus hominum potentibus infidum, sperantibus fallax, quod
in civitate nostrâ et verabitur semper et retinebitur. Tacit. Hist. i.
22 See Augustin. de Civitate Dei, l. viii. c. 19. and the Theoflo-
sian Code, l. ix. tit. xvi. with Godefroy's Commentary.
crimes of treason and sacrilege 44. Such vain terrors disturbed the peace of society, and the happiness of individuals; and the harmless flame which insensibly melted a waxen image, might derive a powerful and pernicious energy from the affrighted fancy of the person whom it was maliciously designed to represent 50. From the infusion of those herbs, which were supposed to possess a supernatural influence, it was an easy step to the use of more substantial poison; and the folly of mankind sometimes became the instrument, and the mask, of the most atrocious crimes. As soon as the zeal of informers was encouraged by the ministers of Valens and Valentinian, they could not refuse to listen to another charge, too frequently mingled in the scenes of domestic guilt; a charge of a softer and less malignant nature, for which the pious, though excessive, rigour of Constantine had recently decreed the punishment of death 51.

44 The persecution of Antioch was occasioned by a criminal consultation. The twenty-four letters of the alphabet were arranged round a magic tripod, and a dancing ring, which had been placed in the centre, pointed to the four first letters in the name of the future emperor, 6 o c 2. Theodosius (perhaps with many others who owned the fatal syllables) was executed. Theodosius succeeded. Laidner (Heathen Testimonies, vol. iv. p. 353—374) has copiously and fairly examined this dark transaction of the reign of Valens.

50 Linus ut hae duesent, et hae ut cera liquescat
Uno codemque igni ——— Virgil. Bucol. v. i. 30.
Devocet absentes, sumulacraque cera sigilt.
Ovid. in Epist. Hypsil. ad Jason. 91.

Such vain incantations could affect the mind, and increase the disease, of Germanicus. Tacit. Annal. ii. 69.

This deadly and incoherent mixture of treason and magic, of poison and adultery, afforded infinite gradations of guilt and innocence, of excuse and aggravation, which in these proceedings appear to have been confounded by the angry or corrupt passions of the judges. They easily discovered, that the degree of their industry and discernment was estimated, by the Imperial court, according to the number of executions that were furnished from their respective tribunals. It was not without extreme reluctance that they pronounced a sentence of acquittal; but they eagerly admitted such evidence as was stained with perjury, or procured by torture, to prove the most improbable charges against the most respectable characters. The progress of the enquiry continually opened new subjects of criminal prosecution; the audacious informer, whose falsehood was detected, retired with impunity, but the wretched victim, who discovered his real, or pretended, accomplices, was seldom permitted to receive the price of his infamy. From the extremity of Italy and Asia, the young, and the aged, were dragged in chains to the tribunals of Rome and Antioch. Senators, matrons, and philosophers, expired in ignominious and cruel tortures. The soldiers, who were appointed to guard the prisons, declared, with a murmur of pity and indignation, that their numbers were insufficient to oppose the flight, or resistance, of the multitude of captives. The wealthiest families were ruined by fines and confiscations; the most in-
nocent citizens trembled for their safety; and we may form some notion of the magnitude of the evil, from the extravagant assertion of an ancient writer, that, in the obnoxious provinces, the prisoners, the exiles, and the fugitives, formed the greatest part of the inhabitants.  

When Tacitus describes the deaths of the innocent and illustrious Romans, who were sacrificed to the cruelty of the first Caesars, the art of the historian, or the merit of the sufferers, excite in our breasts the most lively sensations of terror, of admiration, and of pity. The coarse and undistinguishing pencil of Ammianus has delineated his bloody figures with tedious and disgusting accuracy. But as our attention is no longer engaged by the contrast of freedom and servitude, of recent greatness and of actual misery, we should turn with horror from the frequent executions, which disgraced, both at Rome and Antioch, the reign of the two brothers. Valens was of a timid, and

The cruel persecution of Rome and Antioch is described, and most probably exaggerated, by Ammianus (xxvii. 1. xxxix. 1. 2.) and Zosimus (l. iv. p. 216—218.). The philosopher Maximus, with some justice, was involved in the charge of magic (Eunapius in Vit. Sophist. p. 88, 89.); and young Chrysostom, who had accidentally found one of the proscribed books, gave himself for lost (Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 340.).

Consult the six last books of Ammianus, and more particularly the portraits of the two royal brothers (xxx. 8, 9. xxxvi. 14.). Tillemont has collected (tom. v. p. 12—18. p. 127—133.) from all antiquity their virtues and vices.

The younger Victor asserts, that he was valde timidus: yet he behaved, as almost every man would do, with decent resolution at the head of an army. The same historian attempts to prove, that his anger was harmless. Ammianus observes, with more candour and
Valentinian of a choleric disposition. An anxious regard to his personal safety was the ruling principle of the administration of Valens. In the condition of a subject, he had kissed, with trembling awe, the hand of the oppressor; and when he ascended the throne, he reasonably expected, that the same fears, which had subdued his own mind, would secure the patient submission of his people. The favourites of Valens obtained, by the privilege of rapine and confiscation, the wealth which his avarice would have refused. They urged, with persuasive eloquence, that, in all cases of treason, suspicion is equivalent to proof; that the power, supposes the intention, of mischief; that the intention is not less criminal than the act; and that a subject no longer deserves to live, if his life may threaten the safety, or disturb the repose, of his sovereign. The judgment of Valentinian was sometimes deceived, and his confidence abused; but he would have silenced the informers with a contemptuous smile, had they presumed to alarm his fortitude by the sound of danger. They praised his inflexible love of justice; and, in the pursuit of justice, the emperor was easily tempted to consider clemency as a weakness, and passion as a virtue. As long as he wrestled with judgment, incertidum crimina ad contemptam vel læsum principis amplitudinem trahens, in sanguinem sæviacit.

25 Cum esset ad acerbitatem naturæ calore propensus... poenas per ignes angustas et crudeliores. Annonian. xxx. 8. 16. cxxxvii 7.

26 I have transferred the reproach of avarice from Valens to his servants. Avarice more properly belongs to ministers than to kings; in whom that passion is commonly extinguished by absolute possession.
his equals, in the bold competition of an active and ambitious life, Valentinian was seldom injured, and never insulted, with impunity: if his prudence was arraigned, his spirit was applauded: and the proudest and most powerful generals were apprehensive of provoking the resentment of a fearless soldier. After he became master of the world, he unfortunately forgot, that where no resistance can be made, no courage can be exerted: and instead of consulting the dictates of reason and magnanimity, he indulged the furious emotions of his temper, at a time when they were disgraceful to himself, and fatal to the defenceless objects of his displeasure. In the government of his household, or of his empire, slight, or even imaginary, offences; a hasty word, a casual omission, an involuntary delay, were chastised by a sentence of immediate death. The expressions which issued the most readily from the mouth of the emperor of the West were, “Strike off his head;”—“burn him alive;”—“let him be beaten with clubs till he expires”; and his most favoured ministers soon understood, that, by a rash attempt to dispute, or suspend, the execution of his sanguiinary commands, they might involve themselves in the guilt and punishment of disobedience. The repeated gratification of this

37 He sometimes expressed a sentence of death with a tone of pleasantry: A bax Comes, et muta ei caput, qui sibi mutum provinciam “capuit.” A boy, who had slipped too hastily a Spartan hound, an armourer, who had made a polished corslet that wanted some grains of the legitimate weight, &c. were the victims of his fury.
savage justice hardened the mind of Valentinian against pity and remorse; and the sallies of passion were confirmed by the habits of cruelty. He could behold with calm satisfaction the convulsive agonies of torture and death: he reserved his friendship for those faithful servants whose temper was the most congenial to his own. The merit of Maximin, who had slaughtered the noblest families of Rome, was rewarded with the royal approbation, and the praefecture of Gaul. Two fierce and enormous bears, distinguished by the appellations of Innocence, and Mica Aurea, could alone deserve to share the favour of Maximin. The cages of those trusty guards were always placed near the bed-chamber of Valentinian, who frequently amused his eyes with the grateful spectacle of seeing them tear and devour the bleeding limbs of the malefactors who were abandoned to their rage. Their diet and exercises were carefully inspected by the Roman emperor; and when Innocence had earned her discharge, by a long course of meritorious service, the faithful animal was again restored to the freedom of her native woods.

* The innocens of Milan were an agent and three apparitors, whom Valentinian condemned forsignifying a legal summons. Ammianus (xxvii. 7.) strangely supposes, that all who had been unjustly executed were worshipped as martyrs by the Christians. His impartial silence does not allow us to believe, that the great chamber-lain Rhodanus was burnt alive for an act of oppression (Chron. Paschal p. 302.).

* Ut bene meritam in sylvas jussit abire Innocens. Ammianum. xxix. 3 and Valesius ad locum.
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But in the calmer moments of reflection, when the mind of Valens was not agitated by fear, or that of Valentinian by rage, the tyrant resumed the sentiments, or at least the conduct, of the father of his country. The dispassionate judgment of the Western emperor could clearly perceive, and accurately pursue, his own and the public interest; and the sovereign of the East, who imitated with equal docility the various examples which he received from his elder brother, was sometimes guided by the wisdom and virtue of the praefect Sallust. Both princes invariably retained, in the purple, the chaste and temperate simplicity which had adorned their private life; and, under their reign, the pleasures of the court never cost the people a blush or a sigh. They gradually reformed many of the abuses of the times of Constantius; judiciously adopted and improved the designs of Julian and his successor; and displayed a style and spirit of legislation which might inspire posterity with the most favourable opinion of their character and government. It is not from the master of Innocence, that we should expect the tender regard for the welfare of his subjects, which prompted Valentinian to condemn the exposition of newborn infants; and to establish fourteen skilful physicians, with stipends and privileges, in the

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Their laws and government.

\[See the Code of Justinian, I. viii. tit. I. leg. 2. \quad Usum quaestionis est suum nutriunt. Quod si exponenda sunt vera, a multis adversum quae constituta est subjacebit. For the present I shall not interfere in the dispute between Noodt and Binkershoek, how far, or how long, this unnatural practice had been condemned or abolished by law, philosophy, and the more civilized state of society.\]
fifteen quarters of Rome. The good sense of an
illiterate soldier founded an useful and liberal in-
stitution for the education of youth, and the sup-
port of declining science \(^1\). It was his intention,
that the arts of rhetoric and grammar should be
taught in the Greek and Latin languages, in the
metropolis of every province; and as the size and
dignity of the school was usually proportioned to
the importance of the city, the academies of Rome
and Constantinople claimed a just and singular
pre-eminence. The fragments of the literary edicts
of Valentinian imperfectly represent the school of
Constantinople, which was gradually improved by
subsequent regulations. That school consisted of
thirty-one professors in different branches of learn-
ing. One philosopher, and two lawyers; five so-
phists, and ten grammarians for the Greek, and
three orators, and ten grammarians for the Latin,
tongue; besides seven scribes, or, as they were
then styled, antiquarians, whose laborious pens
supplied the public library with fair and correct
copies of the classic writers. The rule of conduct,
which was prescribed to the students, is the more
curious, as it affords the first outlines of the form
and discipline of a modern university. It was re-
quired, that they should bring proper certificates

\(^1\) These salutary institutions are explained in the Theodosian Code,
l. xiii. tit. iii. De Professoribus et Medicis, and l. xiv. tit. ix. De
Studios liberalibus Urbs Romae. Besides our usual guide (Godefroy),
we may consult Gianone (Istoria di Napoli, tom. i. p. 105—111.),
who has treated the interesting subject with the zeal and curiosity of
a man of letters, who studies his domestic history.
from the magistrates of their native province. Their names, professions, and places of abode, were regularly entered in a public register. The studious youth were severely prohibited from wasting their time in feasts, or in the theatre; and the term of their education was limited to the age of twenty. The praefect of the city was empowered to chastise the idle and refractory by stripes or expulsion; and he was directed to make an annual report to the master of the offices, that the knowledge and abilities of the scholars might be usefully applied to the public service. The institutions of Valentinian contributed to secure the benefits of peace and plenty; and the cities were guarded by the establishment of the Defensores; freely elected as the tribunes and advocates of the people, to support their rights, and to expose their grievances, before the tribunals of the civil magistrates, or even at the foot of the Imperial throne. The finances were diligently administered by two princes, who had been so long accustomed to the rigid oeconomy of a private fortune; but in the receipt and application of the revenue, a discerning eye might observe some difference between the government of the East and of the West. Valens was persuaded, that royal liberality can be supplied only by public oppression, and his ambition never aspired to secure, by their actual distress, the future strength and prosperity of his people. Instead of increasing the weight of taxes, which, in the space

62 Cod. Theodos., l. i. tit. xi. with Godefroy's Paratition, which diligently gleans from the rest of the code.
of forty years, had been gradually doubled, he reduced, in the first years of his reign, one-fourth of the tribute of the East. Valentinian appears to have been less attentive and less anxious to relieve the burthens of his people. He might reform the abuses of the fiscal administration; but he exacted, without scruple, a very large share of the private property; as he was convinced, that the revenues, which supported the luxury of individuals, would be much more advantageously employed for the defence and improvement of the state. The subjects of the East, who enjoyed the present benefit, applauded the indulgence of their prince. The solid, but less splendid, merit of Valentinian was felt and acknowledged by the subsequent generation.

But the most honourable circumstance of the character of Valentinian, is the firm and temperate impartiality which he uniformly preserved in an age of religious contention. His strong sense, unenlightened, but uncorrupted, by study, declined, with respectful indifference, the subtle questions of theological debate. The govern-

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63 Three lines of Ammianus (xxxii. 14.) countenance a whole oration of Themistius (viii. p. 101—120.), full of adulation, pedantry, and common-place morality. The eloquent M. Thomas (tom. i. p. 366—396.) has amused himself with celebrating the virtues and genius of Themistius, who was not unworthy of the age in which he lived.

64 Zosimus, l. iv. p. 208. Ammian. xxx. 9. His reformation of costly abuses might entitle him to the praise of, in provincialis admodum parcus, tributorum ubique molliens sacras. By some he was styled avarice (Jerom. Chron. p. 186.).
ment of the Earth claimed his vigilance, and satisfied his ambition; and while he remembered that he was the disciple of the church, he never forgot that he was the sovereign of the clergy. Under the reign of an apostate, he had signalized his zeal for the honour of Christianity: he allowed to his subjects the privilege which he had assumed for himself; and they might accept, with gratitude and confidence, the general toleration which was granted by a prince, addicted to passion, but incapable of fear or of disguise. The Pagans, the Jews, and all the various sects which acknowledged the divine authority of Christ, were protected by the laws from arbitrary power or popular insult; nor was any mode of worship prohibited by Valentinian, except those secret and criminal practices, which abused the name of religion for the dark purposes of vice and disorder. The art of magic, as it was more cruelly punished, was more strictly proscribed: but the emperor admitted a formal distinction to protect the ancient methods of divination, which were approved by the senate, and exercised by the Tuscan haruspices. He had condemned, with the consent of the most rational Pagans, the licence of nocturnal sacrifices; but he immediately admitted the petition of Prætextatus.

Testes sunt leges a me in exordio Imperii mei datae; quibus unicumque quod animo imbibisset colendi libera facultas tributa est. Cod. Theodos. l. ix. tit. xvi. leg. 9. To this declaration of Valentinian, we may add the various testimonies of Ammianus (xxx. 9.), Zosimus (l. iv. p. 204.), and Sozomen (l. vii c. 7. 21.) Baronius would naturally blame such rational toleration (Annales Eccles. A. D. 370. № 129—132. A. D. 376. № 3, 4.).
CHAP. XXV. proconsul of Achaia, who represented, that the life of the Greeks would become dreary and comfortless, if they were deprived of the invaluable blessing of the Eleusinian mysteries. Philosophy alone can boast (and perhaps it is no more than the boast of philosophy), that her gentle hand is able to eradicate from the human mind the latent and deadly principle of fanaticism. But this truce of twelve years, which was enforced by the wise and vigorous government of Valentinian, by suspending the repetition of mutual injuries, contributed to soften the manners, and abate the prejudices, of the religious factions.

The friend of toleration was unfortunately placed at a distance from the scene of the fiercest controversies. As soon as the Christians of the West had extricated themselves from the snares of the creed of Rimini, they happily relapsed into the slumber of orthodoxy; and the small remains of the Arian party, that still subsisted at Sirmium or Milan, might be considered, rather as objects of contempt than of resentment. But in the provinces of the East, from the Euxine to the extremity of Thebais, the strength and numbers of the hostile factions were more equally balanced; and this equality, instead of recommending the counsels of peace, served only to perpetuate the horrors of religious war. The monks and bishops supported their arguments by invectives; and their invectives were sometimes followed by blows. Athanasius still reigned at Alexandria; the thrones of Constantinople.
and Antioch were occupied by Arian prelates, and every episcopal vacancy was the occasion of a popular tumult. The Homooousians were fortified by the reconciliation of fifty-nine Macedonian, or Semi-Arian, bishops; but their secret reluctance to embrace the divinity of the Holy Ghost, clouded the splendor of the triumph: and the declaration of Valens, who, in the first years of his reign, had imitated the impartial conduct of his brother, was an important victory on the side of Arianism. The two brothers had passed their private life in the condition of catechumens; but the piety of Valens prompted him to solicit the sacrament of baptism, before he exposed his person to the dangers of a Gothic war. He naturally addressed himself to Eudoxus, bishop of the Imperial city; and if the ignorant monarch was instructed by that Arian pastor in the principles of heterodox theology, his misfortune, rather than his guilt, was the inevitable consequence of his erroneous choice. Whatever had been the determination of the emperor, he must have offended a numerous party of his Christian subjects; as the leaders both of the Homooousians and of the Arians believed, that, if they were not suffered to reign, they were most cruelly injured and oppressed.

Eudoxus was of a mild and timid disposition. When he baptized Valens (A.D. 367.), he must have been extremely old; since he had studied theology fifty-five years before, under Lucian, a learned and pious martyr. Philostorg. l. ii. c. 14—16. l. iv. c. 4. with Godefroy, p. 82. 206. and Tillenmont, Mem. Eccles. tom. v. p. 474—480, &c.
After he had taken this decisive step, it was extremely difficult for him to preserve either the virtue, or the reputation, of impartiality. He never aspired, like Constantius, to the fame of a profound theologian; but, as he had received with simplicity and respect the tenets of Eudoxus, Valens resigned his conscience to the direction of his ecclesiastical guides, and promoted, by the influence of his authority, the re-union of the Athanasian heretics to the body of the catholic church. At first, he pitied their blindness; by degrees he was provoked at their obstinacy; and he insensibly hated those sectaries to whom he was an object of hatred. The feeble mind of Valens was always swayed by the persons with whom he familiarly conversed; and the exile or imprisonment of a private citizen are the favours the most readily granted in a despotic court. Such punishments were frequently inflicted on the leaders of the Homoousian party; and the misfortune of fourscore ecclesiastics of Constantinople, who, perhaps accidentally, were burnt on shipboard, was imputed to the cruel and premeditated malice of the emperor, and his Arian ministers. In every contest, the catholics (if we may anticipate that name) were obliged to pay the penalty of their own faults, and of those of their adversaries. In every election, the claims of the Arian candidate obtained the preference; and if they were opposed by the majority of the

67 Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. xxv. p. 432.) insults the persecuting spirit of the Arians, as an infallible symptom of error and heresy.
people, he was usually supported by the authority of the civil magistrate, or even by the terrors of a military force. The enemies of Athanasius attempted to disturb the last years of his venerable age; and his temporary retreat to his father's sepulchre has been celebrated as a fifth exile. But the zeal of a great people, who instantly flew to arms, intimidated the praefect; and the archbishop was permitted to end his life in peace and in glory, after a reign of forty-seven years. The death of Athanasius was the signal of the persecution of Egypt; and the Pagan minister of Valens, who forcibly seated the worthless Lucius on the archiepiscopal throne, purchased the favour of the reigning party, by the blood and sufferings of their Christian brethren. The free toleration of the heathen and Jewish worship was bitterly lamented, as a circumstance which aggravated the misery of the catholics, and the guilt of the impious tyrant of the East 64.

The triumph of the orthodox party has left a deep stain of persecution on the memory of Valens; and the character of a prince who derived his virtues, as well as his vices, from a feeble understanding, and a pusillanimous temper, scarcely deserves the labour of an apology. Yet candour may discover some reasons to suspect that the ecclesiastical ministers of Valens often exceeded the orders, or even the intentions, of their master;

64 This sketch of the ecclesiastical government of Valens is drawn from Socrates (l.iv.), Sozomen (l.vi.), Theodoret (l.iv.), and the immense compilations of Tillemont (particularly tom. vii., viii., and ix.).
and that the real measure of facts has been very
liberally magnified by the vehement declamation,
and easy credulity, of his antagonists. 1. The
silence of Valentinian may suggest a probable ar-
gument, that the partial severities, which were ex-
ercised in the name and provinces of his colleague,
amounted only to some obscure and inconsiderable
deviations from the established system of religious
tolerance: and the judicious historian, who has
praised the equal temper of the elder brother, has
not thought himself obliged to contrast the tran-
quility of the West with the cruel persecution of
the East. 2. Whatever credit may be allowed to
vague and distant reports, the character, or at least
the behaviour, of Valens may be most distinctly
seen in his personal transactions with the eloquent
Basil, archbishop of Cæsarea, who had succeeded
Athanasius in the management of the Trinitarian
cause. The circumstantial narrative has been
composed by the friends and admirers of Basil;

69 Dr. Jortin (Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. iv. p. 78.)
has already conceived and intimated the same suspicion.

70 This reflection is so obvious and forcible, that Orosius (l. vii.
c. 32, 33.) delays the persecution till after the death of Valentinian.
Socrates, on the other hand, supposes (l. iii. c. 32.), that it was ap-
ppeared by a philosophical oration, which Themistius pronounced in
the year 874 (Orat. xii. p. 154. in Latin only). Such contradictions
diminish the evidence, and reduce the term, of the persecution of
Valens.

71 Tillemont, whom I follow and abridge, has extracted (Mem.
Eccles. tom. viii. p. 158—167.) the most authentic circumstances
from the Panegyrics of the two Gregories; the brother, and the friend,
of Basil. The letters of Basil himself (Dupin, Bibliothèque Eccle-
siastique, tom. ii. p. 155—180.) do not present the image of a very
lively persecution.
and as soon as we have stripped away a thick coat of rhetoric and miracle, we shall be astonished by the unexpected mildness of the Arian tyrant, who admired the firmness of his character, or was apprehensive, if he employed violence, of a general revolt in the province of Cappadocia. The archbishop, who asserted, with inflexible pride, the truth of his opinions, and the dignity of his rank, was left in the free possession of his conscience, and his throne. The emperor devoutly assisted at the solemn service of the cathedral; and, instead of a sentence of banishment, subscribed the donation of a valuable estate for the use of an hospital, which Basil had lately founded in the neighbourhood of Caesarea. 3. I am not able to discover, that any law (such as Theodosius afterwards enacted against the Arians) was published by Valens against the Athanasian sectaries; and the edict which excited the most violent clamours, may not appear so extremely reprehensible. The emperor had observed, that several of his subjects, gratifying their lazy disposition under the pretence of religion, had associated themselves with the monks of Egypt; and he directed the count of the

72 Basilius Cæsariensis episcopus Cappadociae clarus habetur . . . qui multa continente et ingenii bona uno superficie malo perdiderit. This irreverent passage is perfectly in the style and character of St. Jerom. It does not appear in Scaliger’s edition of his Chronicle; but Isaac Vossius found it in some old MSS. which had not been reformed by the monks.

73 This noble and charitable foundation (almost a new city) surpassed in merit, if not in greatness, the pyramids, or the walls of Babylon. It was principally intended for the reception of lepers (Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. xx. p. 489.).
East to drag them from their solitude; and to compel those deserters of society to accept the fair alternative, of renouncing their temporal possessions, or of discharging the public duties of men and citizens. The ministers of Valens seem to have extended the sense of this penal statute, since they claimed a right of enlisting the young and able-bodied monks in the Imperial armies. A detachment of cavalry and infantry, consisting of three thousand men, marched from Alexandria into the adjacent desert of Nitria, which was peopled by five thousand monks. The soldiers were conducted by Arian priests; and it is reported, that a considerable slaughter was made in the monasteries which disobeyed the commands of their sovereign.

The strict regulations which have been framed by the wisdom of modern legislators to restrain the wealth and avarice of the clergy, may be originally deduced from the example of the emperor Valentinian. His edict addressed to Da-

74 Cod. Theodos. 1. xii. tit. i. leg. 63. Godefroy (tom. iv. p. 408—413.) performs the duty of a commentator and advocate. Tillmont (Mem. Eccles. tom. viii. p. 808.) supposes a second law to excuse his orthodox friends, who had misrepresented the edict of Valens, and suppressed the liberty of choice.

75 See D'Anville, Description de l'Egypte, p. 74. Hereafter I shall consider the monastic institutions.


77 Cod. Theodos. 1. xvi. tit. ii. leg. 20. Godefroy (tom. vi. p. 49.), after the example of Baronius, impartially-collects all that the fathers
masus, bishop of Rome, was publicly read in the churches of the city. He admonished the ecclesiastics and monks not to frequent the houses of widows and virgins; and menaced their disobedience with the animadversion of the civil judge. The director was no longer permitted to receive any gift, or legacy, or inheritance, from the liberality of his spiritual daughter: every testament contrary to this edict was declared null and void; and the illegal donation was confiscated for the use of the treasury. By a subsequent regulation, it should seem, that the same provisions were extended to nuns and bishops; and that all persons of the ecclesiastical order were rendered incapable of receiving any testamentary gifts, and strictly confined to the natural and legal rights of inheritance. As the guardian of domestic happiness and virtue, Valentinian applied this severe remedy to the growing evil. In the capital of the empire, the females of noble and opulent houses possessed a very ample share of independent property: and many of those devout females had embraced the doctrines of Christianity, not only with the cold assent of the understanding, but with the warmth of affection, and perhaps with the eagerness of fashion. They sacrificed the pleasures of dress and luxury; and renounced, for the praise of chastity, the soft endearments of conjugal society. Some eccle-

have said on the subject of this important law; whose spirit was long afterwards revived by the emperor Frederic II., Edward I. of England, and other Christian princes who reigned after the twelfth century.
siastic, of real or apparent sanctity, was chosen to
direct their timorous conscience, and to amuse the
vacant tenderness of their heart: and the un-
bounded confidence, which they hastily bestowed,
was often abused by knaves and enthusiasts; who
hastened from the extremities of the East, to
enjoy, on a splendid theatre, the privileges of the
monastic profession. By their contempt of the
world, they insensibly acquired its most desirable
advantages; the lively attachment, perhaps, of a
young and beautiful woman, the delicate plenty of
an opulent household, and the respectful homage
of the slaves, the freedmen, and the clients of a
senatorial family. The immense fortunes of the
Roman ladies were gradually consumed in lavish
alms and expensive pilgrimages; and the artful
monk, who had assigned himself the first, or possi-
ibly the sole place, in the testament of his spirit-
ual daughter, still presumed to declare, with the
smooth face of hypocrisy, that he was only the
instrument of charity, and the steward of the
poor. The lucrative, but disgraceful, trade,78
which was exercised by the clergy to defraud the
expectations of the natural heirs, had provoked
the indignation of a superstitious age: and two
of the most respectable of the Latin fathers very

78 The expressions which I have used are temperate and feeble,
if compared with the vehement invectives of Jerom (tom. i. p. 13:
45. 144, &c.). In his turn, he was reproached with the guilt which
he imputed to his brother monks: and the Sceleratus, the Versipello,
was publicly accused as the lover of the widow Paula (tom. ii. p. 583.)
He undoubtedly possessed the affections, both of the mother and the
daughter; but he declares, that he never abused his influence, to any
selfish or sensual purpose.
honestly confess, that the ignominious edict of Valentinian was just and necessary; and that the Christian priests had deserved to lose a privilege, which was still enjoyed by comedians, charioteers, and the ministers of idols. But the wisdom and authority of the legislator are seldom victorious in a contest with the vigilant dexterity of private interest: and Jerom, or Ambrose, might patiently acquiesce in the justice of an ineffectual or salutary law. If the ecclesiastics were checked in the pursuit of personal emolument, they would exert a more laudable industry to increase the wealth of the church; and dignify their covetousness with the specious names of piety and patriotism.39

Damasus, bishop of Rome, who was constrained to stigmatize the avarice of his clergy by the publication of the law of Valentinian, had the good sense, or the good fortune, to engage in his service the zeal and abilities of the learned Jerom; and the grateful saint has celebrated the merit and purity of a very ambiguous character.40 But the splendid vices of the church of Rome, under the reign of Valentinian and Damasus, have been curiously observed by the historian Ammianus, who delivers his impartial sense in


40 Three words of Jerom, sanctae memorie Damasus (tom. ii. p. 119.), wash away all his stings, and blind the devout eyes of Tillemont (Mem. Eccles. tom. vi. p. 330—341.)

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these expressive words: "The prefecture of Juventius was accompanied with peace and plenty: but the tranquillity of his government was soon disturbed by a bloody sedition of the distracted people. The ardour of Damasus and Ursinus, to seize the episcopal seat, surpassed the ordinary measure of human ambition. They contended with the rage of party; the quarrel was maintained by the wounds and death of their followers; and the praefect, unable to resist or to appease the tumult, was constrained, by superior violence, to retire into the suburbs. Damasns prevailed: the well-disputed victory remained on the side of his faction; one hundred and thirty-seven dead bodies were found in the Basilica of Sicinius, where the Christians hold their religious assemblies; and it was long before the angry minds of the people resumed their accustomed tranquillity. When I consider the splendour of the capital, I am not astonished that so valuable a prize should inflame the de-

Jerome himself is forced to allow, crudelissimae interfectiones diversi sexuæ perpetratæ (in Chron. p. 186.) But an original hætel or petition of two presbyters of the adverse party, has unaccountably escaped. They affirn, that the doors of the Basilica were burnt, and that the roof was untiled; that Damasus marched at the head of his own clergy, grave-diggers, charioteers, and hired gladiators; that none of his party were killed, but that one hundred and sixty dead bodies were found. This petition is published by the P. Simond, in the first volume of his works.

The Basilica of Sicinianus, or Liberiern, is probably the church of S. Maria Maggiore, on the Esquiline hill. Baronius, A.D. 367, No. 3., and Donatus, Roma Antiqua et Nova, l. iv. c 3 p 462.
sires of ambitious men, and produce the fiercest and most obstinate contests. The successful candidate is secure, that he will be enriched by the offerings of matrons; that, as soon as his dress is composed with becoming care and elegance, he may proceed, in his chariot, through the streets of Rome; and, that the sumptuousness of the Imperial table will not equal the profuse and delicate entertainments provided by the taste, and at the expense, of the Roman pontiffs. How much more rationally (continues the honest Pagan) would those pontiffs consult their true happiness, if, instead of alleging the greatness of the city as an excuse for their manners, they would imitate the exemplary life of some provincial bishops, whose temperance and sobriety, whose mean apparel and downcast looks, recommend their pure and modest virtue to the Deity, and his true worshippers. The schism of Damasus and Ursinus was extinguished by the exile of the latter; and the wisdom of the praefect Prætextatus restored the tranquillity of the

The enemies of Damasus styl fuit, Annaliumi Matthaei, delicias Ursinianae.

Gregor. Nazianen. Orat. vii. p. 426 describes the pride and luxury of the prelates, who reigned in the Imperial city, their culture, fiery steeds, numerous train, &c. The crowd gave way as to a wild beast.

Ammian. xxviii. 3. Perpetu Namnon, sedepus ordinebus. The incomparable pliancy of a polytheist!

Ammianus, who makes a fair report of his præfctura (xxviii. 9.) styles him praetora, indolis, gravitatisque, senator (xxviii. 7, and Valer. ad loc.). A curious inscription, Gruter MCH. No. 43 records, in two columns, his religious and civil honours. In one
city. Praetextatus was a philosophic Pagan, a man of learning, of taste, and politeness; who disguised a reproach in the form of a jest, when he assured Damasus, that if he could obtain the bishopric of Rome, he himself would immediately embrace the Christian religion. This lively picture of the wealth and luxury of the popes in the fourth century, becomes the more curious, as it represents the intermediate degree between the humble poverty of the apostolic fisherman, and the royal state of a temporal prince, whose dominions extend from the confines of Naples to the banks of the Po.

When the suffrage of the generals and of the army committed the sceptre of the Roman empire to the hands of Valentinian, his reputation in arms, his military skill and experience, and his rigid attachment to the forms, as well as spirit, of ancient discipline, were the principal motives of their judicious choice. The eagerness of the troops, who pressed him to nominate his colleague, was justified by the dangerous situation of public affairs; and Valentinian himself was conscious, that the abilities of the most active

line he was Pontiff of the Sun, and of Vesta, Augur, Quindecemvir, Hierophant, &c. &c. In the other, 1. Questor candidatus, more probably titular. 2. Praetor. 3. Corrector of Tuscany and Umbria. 4. Consular of Lusitania. 5. Proconsul of Achaja. 6. Prefect of Rome. 7. Praetorian prefect of Italy. 8. Of Illyricum. 9. Consul elect; but he died before the beginning of the year 385. See Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 241. 736.

87 Facite me Romanæ urbis episcopum; et ero protinus Christianus (Jerom, tom. ii. p. 165.). It is more than probable, that Damasus would not have purchased his conversion at such a price.
mind were unequal to the defence of the distant frontiers of an invaded monarchy. As soon as the death of Julian had relieved the Barbarians from the terror of his name, the most sanguine hopes of rapine and conquest excited the nations of the East, of the North, and of the South. Their inroads were often vexatious, and sometimes formidable; but, during the twelve years of the reign of Valentinian, his firmness and vigilance protected his own dominions; and his powerful genius seemed to inspire and direct the feeble counsels of his brother. Perhaps the method of annals would more forcibly express the urgent and divided cares of the two emperors; but the attention of the reader, likewise, would be distracted by a tedious and desultory narrative. A separate view of the five great theatres of war; I. Germany; II. Britain; III. Africa; IV. The East; and, V. The Danube; will impress a more distinct image of the military state of the empire under the reigns of Valentinian and Valens.

I. The ambassadors of the Alemanni had been offended by the harsh and haughty behaviour of Ursacus, master of the offices; who, by an act of unseasonable parsimony, had diminished the value, as well as the quantity, of the presents, to which they were entitled, either from custom or treaty, on the accession of a new emperor. They expressed, and they communicated to their countrymen, their strong sense of the

* Ammian. xxvi. 5. Valens adds a long and good note on the master of the offices.
national affront. The irascible minds of the chiefs were exasperated by the suspicion of contempt; and the martial youth crowded to their standard. Before Valentinian could pass the Alps, the villages of Gaul were in flames; before his general Dagalaiphus could encounter the Alamanni, they had secured the captives and the spoil in the forests of Germany. In the beginning of the ensuing year, the military force of the whole nation, in deep and solid columns, broke through the barrier of the Rhine, during the severity of a northern winter. Two Roman counts were defeated and mortally wounded; and the standard of the Heruli and Batavians fell into the hands of the conquerors, who displayed, with insulting shouts and menaces, the trophy of their victory. The standard was recovered; but the Batavians had not redeemed the shame of their disgrace and flight in the eyes of their severe judge. It was the opinion of Valentinian, that his soldiers must learn to fear their commander, before they could cease to fear the enemy. The troops were solemnly assembled; and the trembling Batavians were inclosed within the circle of the Imperial army. Valentinian then ascended his tribunal; and, as if he disdained to punish cowardice with death, he inflicted a stain of indelible ignominy on the officers, whose misconduct and pusillanimity were found to be the first occasion of the defeat. The Batavians were degraded from their rank, stripped of their arms, and condemned to be sold for slaves to the
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highest bidder. At this tremendous sentence the troops fell prostrate on the ground, deprecated the indignation of their sovereign, and protested, that, if he would indulge them in another trial, they would approve themselves not unworthy of the name of Romans, and of his soldiers. Valentinian, with affected reluctance, yielded to their entreaties: the Batavians resumed their arms, and, with their arms, the invincible resolution of wiping away their disgrace in the blood of the Alemanni. The principal command was declined by Dagalaiphus; and that experienced general, who had represented, perhaps with too much prudence, the extreme difficulties of the undertaking, had the mortification, before the end of the campaign, of seeing his rival Jovinus concert those difficulties into a decisive advantage over the scattered forces of the Barbarians. At the head of a well-disciplined army of cavalry, infantry, and light troops, Jovinus advanced, with cautious and rapid steps, to Scarponna, in the territory of Metz, where he surprized a large division of the Alemanni, before they had time to run to their arms; and flushed his soldiers with the confidence of an easy and bloodless victory. Another division, or rather army, of the

60 Ammian. xxvii. 1. Zosimus, i. iv. p. 208 The disgrace of the Batavians is suppressed by the contemporary soldier, from a regard for military honour, which could not affect a Greek rhetorician of the succeeding age.

70 See D’Anville, Notice de l’ancienne Gaule, p. 687. The name of the Moselle, which is not specified by Ammianus, is clearly understood by Mascou (Hist. of the ancient Germans, vi. 2).
enemy, after the cruel and wanton devastation of the adjacent country, reposed themselves on the shady banks of the Moselle. Jovinus, who had viewed the ground with the eye of a general, made his silent approach through a deep and woody vale, till he could distinctly perceive the indolent security of the Germans. Some were bathing their huge limbs in the river; others were combing their long and flaxen hair; others again were swallowing large draughts of rich and delicious wine. On a sudden they heard the sound of the Roman trumpet; they saw the enemy in their camp. Astonishment produced disorder; disorder was followed by flight and dismay; and the confused multitude of the bravest warriors was pierced by the swords and javelins of the legionaries and auxiliaries. The fugitives escaped to the third, and most considerable, camp, in the Catalaunian plains, near Chalons in Champagne: the straggling detachments were hastily recalled to their standard; and the Barbarian chiefs, alarmed and admonished by the fate of their companions, prepared to encounter, in a decisive battle, the victorious forces of the lieutenant of Valentinian. The bloody and obstinate conflict lasted a whole summer's day, with equal valour, and with alternate success. The Romans at length prevailed, with the loss of about twelve hundred men. Six thousand of the Alemanni were slain, four thousand were wounded; and the brave Jovinus, after chasing the flying remnant of their host as far as the banks
of the Rhine, returned to Paris, to receive the applause of his sovereign, and the ensigns of the consulship for the ensuing year. The triumph of July.

The Romans was indeed sullied by their treatment of the captive king, whom they hung on a gibbet, without the knowledge of their indignant general. This disgraceful act of cruelty, which might be imputed to the fury of the troops, was followed by the deliberate murder of Wuthicab, the son of Vadomair; a German prince, of a weak and sickly constitution, but of a daring and formidable spirit. The domestic assassin was instigated and protected by the Romans; and the violation of the laws of humanity and justice betrayed their secret apprehension of the weakness of the declining empire. The use of the dagger is seldom adopted in public councils, as long as they retain any confidence in the power of the sword.

While the Alemanni appeared to be humbled by their recent calamities, the pride of Valentinian was mortified by the unexpected surprisal of Moguntiacum, or Mentz, the principal city of the Upper Germany. In the unsuspicious moment of a Christian festival, Rando, a bold and artful chieftain, who had long meditated his attempt, suddenly passed the Rhine; entered the defenceless town, and retired with a multitude of captives of either sex. Valentinian resolved to

91 The battles are described by Ammianus (xxvii. 2.), and by Zosimus (l. iv. p. 209.); who supposes Valentinian to have been present.

92 Studio sollicitante nostrum, occubuit. Ammian. xxvii. 36.
execute severe vengeance on the whole body of the nation. Count Sebastian, with the bands of Italy and Illyricum, was ordered to invade their country, most probably on the side of Rhætia. The emperor in person, accompanied by his son Gratian, passed the Rhine at the head of a formidable army, which was supported on both flanks by Jovinus and Severus, the two masters-general of the cavalry and infantry of the West. The Alemanni, unable to prevent the devastation of their villages, fixed their camp on a lofty, and almost inaccessible, mountain, in the modern duchy of Wirtemberg, and resolutely expected the approach of the Romans. The life of Valentinian was exposed to imminent danger by the intrepid curiosity with which he persisted to explore some secret and unguarded path. A troop of Barbarians suddenly rose from their ambuscade: and the emperor, who vigorously spurred his horse down a steep and slippery descent, was obliged to leave behind him his armour-bearer, and his helmet, magnificently enriched with gold and precious stones. At the signal of the general assault, the Roman troops encompassed and ascended the mountain of Solincinium on three different sides. Every step which they gained increased their ardour, and abated the resistance of the enemy: and after their united forces had occupied the summit of the hill, they impetuously urged the Barbarians down the northern descent, where count Sebastian was posted to intercept their retreat. After this signal victory, Valentinian returned to his winter-quarters at
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Treves; where he indulged the public joy by the exhibition of splendid and triumphal games. But the wise monarch, instead of aspiring to the conquest of Germany, confined his attention to the important and laborious defence of the Gallic frontier, against an enemy whose strength was renewed by a stream of daring volunteers, which incessantly flowed from the most distant tribes of the North. The banks of the Rhine, from its source to the streights of the ocean, were closely planted with strong castles and convenient towers; new works, and new arms, were invented by the ingenuity of a prince who was skilled in the mechanical arts; and his numerous levies of Roman and Barbarian youth were severely trained in all the exercises of war. The progress of the work, which was sometimes opposed by modest representations, and sometimes by hostile attempts, secured the tranquillity of Gaul during the nine subsequent years of the administration of Valentinian.

That prudent emperor, who diligently practised

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"The expedition of Valentinian is related by Ammianus (xxvii. 10.), and celebrated by Ausonius (Mosell. 421. &c.), who foolishly supposes, that the Romans were ignorant of the sources of the Danube.

"Immanus enim natio, jam inde ab innumeralibus primum variat e casuum inminuita; ut semius adolescent, ut soisse longis speulis estimetur intacta. Ammian. xxx. 5. The count de Buat (Hist des Peuples de l'Europe, tom. vi. p. 370) ascribes the fecondity of the Alemanii to their easy adoption of strangers.

"Ammian. xxvii. 2. Zosimus, i. iv. p. 211. The younger Victor mentions the mechanical genius of Valentinian, non arma meditari; fingere terris seu lino simulacra.
the wise maxims of Diocletian, was studious to foment and excite the intestine divisions of the tribes of Germany. About the middle of the fourth century, the countries, perhaps of Lusace and Thuringia, on either side of the Elbe, were occupied by the vague dominion of the Burgundians; a warlike and numerous people, of the Vandal race, whose obscure name insensibly swelled into a powerful kingdom, and has finally settled on a flourishing province. The most remarkable circumstance in the ancient manners of the Burgundians, appears to have been the difference of their civil and ecclesiastical constitution. The appellation of Hendinos was given to the king or general, and the title of Sinistus to the high-priest, of the nation. The person of the priest was sacred, and his dignity perpetual; but the temporal government was held by a very precarious tenure. If the events of war accused the courage or conduct of the king, he was immediately deposed; and the injustice of his subjects made him responsible for the fertility of the earth, and the regularity of the seasons, which seemed to fall more properly within the sacerdotal department. The disputed possession of

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96 Bellicosos et pubis immensa viribus afluuentes; et ideo metuendos finitimis universis. Ammian. xxviii. 5.

97 I am always apt to suspect historians and travellers of improving extraordinary facts into general laws. Ammianus ascribes a similar custom to Egypt; and the Chinese have imputed it to the Tatsin, or Roman empire (De Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. ii. part i. p. 79.).
some salt-pits engaged the Alemanni and the Burgundians in frequent contests: the latter were easily tempted, by the secret solicitations, and liberal offers, of the emperor; and their fabulous descent from the Roman soldiers, who had formerly been left to garrison the fortresses of Drusus, was admitted with mutual credulity, as it was conducive to mutual interest. An army of fourscore thousand Burgundians soon appeared on the banks of the Rhine; and impatiently required the support and subsidies which Valentinian had promised: but they were amused with excuses and delays, till at length, after a fruitless expectation, they were compelled to retire. The arms and fortifications of the Gallic frontier checked the fury of their just resentment; and their massacre of the captives served to embitter the hereditary feud of the Burgundians and the Alemanni. The inconstancy of a wise prince may, perhaps, be explained by some alteration of circumstances; and, perhaps, it was the original design of Valentinian to intimidate, rather than to destroy; as the balance of power would have been equally overturned by the extirpation

99 Salinarum finiumque causi: Alemannis sese jurgabant. Amm. xxi. xxviii. 5. Possibly they disputed the possession of the Salus, a river which produced salt, and which had been the object of ancient contention. Tacit. Annal. xiii. 57., and Lipsus ad loc.

99 Jam inde temporibus priscis sobolem se esse Romanam Burgundii sciunt; and the vague tradition gradually assumed a more regular form (Oros. l. vii. c. 32.). It is annihilated by the decisive authority of Pliny, who composed the History of Drusus, and served in Germany (Plin. Secund. Epist. iii. 5.), within sixty years after the death of that hero. Germanorum genera quinque, Vindili, quorum pars Burgundones, &c. (Hist. Natur. iv. 28.).
of either of the German nations. Among the princes of the Alemanni, Macrianus, who, with a Roman name, had assumed the arts of a soldier and a statesman, deserved his hatred and esteem. The emperor himself, with a light and unencumbered band, condescended to pass the Rhine, marched fifty miles into the country, and would infallibly have seized the object of his pursuit, if his judicious measures had not been defeated by the impatience of the troops. Macrianus was afterwards admitted to the honour of a personal conference with the emperor; and the favours which he received, fixed him, till the hour of his death, a steady and sincere friend of the republic.

The land was covered by the fortifications of Valentinian; but the sea-coast of Gaul and Britain was exposed to the depredations of the Saxons. That celebrated name, in which we have a dear and domestic interest, escaped the notice of Tacitus; and in the maps of Ptolemy, it faintly marks the narrow neck of the Cimbri peninsula, and three small islands towards the mouth of the Elbe. The wars and negotiations, relative to the Burgundians and Alemanni, are distinctly related by Ammianus Marcellinus (xxviii. 5. xxix. 4. xxx. 3.). Orosius (l. vii. c. 32.), and the Chronicle of Jerom and Cassiodorus, fix some dates, and add some circumstances.

101 ἐν τῷ τοὐχθά τις καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς βόρειους βάλτους Ἀστῆρας. At the northern extremity of the peninsula (the Cimbri promontory of Pliny, iv. 27.), Ptolemy fixes the remnant of the Cimbri. He fills the interval between the Saxons and the Cimbri with six obscure tribes, who were united, as early as the sixth century, under the national appellation of Danes. See Culver, German, Antiq. i. iii. c. 21, 22, 23.
Duchy of Sleswig, or perhaps of Holstein, was incapable of pouring forth the inexhaustible swarms of Saxons who reigned over the ocean, who filled the British island with their language, their laws, and their colonies; and who so long defended the liberty of the North against the arms of Charlemagne. The solution of this difficulty is easily derived from the similar manners, and loose constitution, of the tribes of Germany; which were blended with each other by the slightest accidents of war or friendship. The situation of the native Saxons disposed them to embrace the hazardous professions of fishermen and pirates; and the success of their first adventures would naturally excite the emulation of their bravest countrymen, who were impatient of the gloomy solitude of their woods and mountains. Every tide might float down the Elbe whole fleets of canoes, filled with hardy and intrepid associates, who aspired to behold the unbounded prospect of the ocean, and to taste the wealth and luxury of unknown worlds. It should seem probable, however, that the most numerous auxiliaries of the Saxons were furnished by the nations who dwelt along the shores of the Baltic. They possessed arms and ships, the art of navigation, and the habits of naval war; but the difficulty of issuing through the northern columns of Hercules, (which, during several months of the year,

107 M. D'Anville (Etablissement des États de l'Europe, &c. p. 19—26.) has marked the extensive limits of the Saxony of Charlemagne.
are obstructed with ice) confined their skill and courage within the limits of a spacious lake. The rumour of the successful armaments which sailed from the mouth of the Elbe, would soon provoke them to cross the narrow isthmus of Sleswig, and to launch their vessels on the great sea. The various troops of pirates and adventurers, who fought under the same standard, were insensibly united in a permanent society, at first of rapine, and afterwards of government. A military confederation was gradually moulded into a national body, by the gentle operation of marriage and consanguinity; and the adjacent tribes, who solicited the alliance, accepted the name and laws, of the Saxons. If the fact were not established by the most unquestionable evidence, we should appear to abuse the credulity of our readers, by the description of the vessels in which the Saxon pirates ventured to sport in the waves of the German Ocean, the British Channel, and the Bay of Biscay. The keel of their large flat-bottomed boats was framed of light timber, but the sides and upper works consisted only of wicker, with a covering of strong hides.

103 The fleet of Drusus had failed in their attempt to pass, or even to approach, the Sound (styled, from an obvious resemblance, the columns of Hercules), and the naval enterprise was never resumed (Tacit. de Moribus German. c. 34.). The knowledge which the Romans acquired of the naval powers of the Baltic (c. 44, 45.), was obtained by their land journeys in search of amber.

104 Quin et Aremoricus piratam Saxom tractus,——
Sperabat; cui pelle salum sulcere Britannum
Ludus; et assuto glaucum mare findere lembo.

Sidon. in Panegyr. Avit. 569.
In the course of their slow and distant navigations, they must always have been exposed to the danger, and very frequently to the misfortune, of shipwreck; and the naval annals of the Saxons were undoubtedly filled with the accounts of the losses which they sustained on the coasts of Britain and Gaul. But the daring spirit of the pirates braved the perils both of the sea and of the shore: their skill was confirmed by the habits of enterprize; the meanest of their mariners was alike capable of handling an oar, of rearing a sail, or of conducting a vessel; and the Saxons rejoiced in the appearance of a tempest, which concealed their design, and dispersed the fleets of the enemy. After they had acquired an accurate knowledge of the maritime provinces of the West, they extended the scene of their depredations, and the most sequestered places had no reason to presume on their security. The Saxon boats drew so little water, that they could easily proceed fourscore or an hundred miles up the great rivers; their weight was so inconsiderable, that they were transported on waggons from one river to another; and the pirates who had entered the mouth of the Seine, or

The genius of Cæsar imitated, for a particular service, these rude, but light vessels, which were likewise used by the natives of Britain (Comment. de Bell. Civil. i. 61, and Guichardt, Nouveaux Memoires Militaires, tom. ii. p. 41, 42.). The British vessels would now astonish the genius of Cæsar.

The best original account of the Saxon pirates may be found in Sidonius Apollinaris (I. viii. epist. 6. p. 203. ed. Sinmonde.), and the best commentary in the Abbé du Bos (Hist. Critique de la Monarchie Françoise, &c. tom. i. i. o. 16. p. 148—165. Sec likewise p. 77, 78.).
of the Rhine, might descend, with the rapid stream of the Rhone, into the Mediterranean. Under the reign of Valentinian, the maritime provinces of Gaul were afflicted by the Saxons: a military count was stationed for the defence of the sea-coast, or Armorican limit; and that officer, who found his strength, or his abilities, unequal to the task, implored the assistance of Severus, master-general of the infantry. The Saxons, surrounded and outnumbered, were forced to relinquish their spoil, and to yield a select band of their tall and robust youth to serve in the Imperial armies. They stipulated only a safe and honourable retreat: and the condition was readily granted by the Roman general; who meditated an act of perfidy, imprudent as it was inhuman, while a Saxon remained alive, and in arms, to revenge the fate of his countrymen. The premature eagerness of the infantry, who were secretly posted in a deep valley, betrayed the ambuscade; and they would perhaps have fallen the victims of their own treachery, if a large body of cuirassiers, alarmed by the noise of the combat, had not hastily advanced to extricate their companions, and to overwhelm the undaunted valour of the Saxons. Some of the prisoners were saved from the edge of the sword, to shed their blood in the amphitheatre: and the orator Symmachus complains, that twenty-nine of those desperate savages, by strangling themselves

106 Ammian. (xxviii. 5.) justifies this breach of faith to pirates and robbers; and Orosius (l. vii. c. 32.) more clearly expresses their real guilt; virtute atque agitate terribles.
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

with their own hands, had disappointed the amusement of the public. Yet the polite and philosophic citizens of Rome were impressed with the deepest horror, when they were informed, that the Saxons consecrated to the gods the tythe of their human spoil; and, that they ascertained by lot the objects of the barbarous sacrifice.

II. The fabulous colonies of Egyptians and Trojans, of Scandinavians and Spaniards, which flattered the pride, and amused the credulity, of our rude ancestors, have insensibly vanished in the light of science and philosophy. The present age is satisfied with the simple and rational opinion, that the islands of Great Britain and Ireland were gradually peopled from the adjacent continent of Gaul. From the coast of Kent, to the extremity of Caithness and Ulster, the memory of a Celtic origin was distinctly preserved, in the perpetual resemblance of language, of religion, and of manners: and the peculiar characters of the British tribes might be naturally ascribed to the influence of accidental and local circum-

167 Symmachus (l. ii. epist. 46.) still presumes to mention the sacred names of Socrates and philosophy. Sidonius, bishop of Clermont, might condemn (l. vii. epist. 6.), with less inconsistency, the human sacrifices of the Saxons.

168 In the beginning of the last century, the learned Camden was obliged to undermine, with respectful scepticism, the romance of Brutus the Trojan; who is now buried, in silent oblivion, with Scotia, the daughter of Pharaoh, and her numerous progeny. Yet I am informed, that some champions of the Milesian colony may still be found among the original natives of Ireland. A people dissatisfied with their present condition, grasp at any visions of their past or future glory.
The Roman province was reduced to the state of civilized and peaceful servitude: the rights of savage freedom were contracted to the narrow limits of Caledonia. The inhabitants of that northern region were divided, as early as the reign of Constantine, between the two great tribes of the Scots and of the Picts, who have since experienced a very different fortune. The power, and almost the memory, of the Picts have been extinguished by their successful rivals; and the Scots, after maintaining for ages the dignity of an independent kingdom, have multiplied, by an equal and voluntary union, the honours of the English name. The hand of nature had contributed to mark the ancient distinction of the Scots and Picts.

Tacitus, or rather his father-in-law Agricola, might remark the German or Spanish complexion of some British tribes. But it was their sober deliberate opinion: "In universum tamen aestimanti Gallos vicinum solum occupasse credibile est. Eorum sacra deprehendae... sermo habund multum diversus (in Vit. Agricol. c. xi.)." Caesar had observed their common religion (Comment. de Bell. Gallico, vi. 13.); and in his time the emigration from the Belgic Gaul was a recent, or at least an historical, event (v. 10.). Camden, the British Strabo, has modestly ascertained our genuine antiquities (Britannia, vol. i. Introduction, p. ii.—xxxii.).

In the dark and doubtful paths of Caledonian antiquity, I have chosen for my guides two learned and ingenious Highlanders, whom their birth and education had peculiarly qualified for that office. See Critical Dissertations on the Origin, Antiquities, &c. of the Caledonians, by Dr. John Macpherson, London, 1768, in 4to.; and, Introduction to the History of Great Britain and Ireland, by James Macpherson, Esq. London, 1773, in 4to. third edit. Dr. Macpherson was a minister in the Isle of Sky; and it is a circumstance honourable for the present age, that a work, replete with erudition and criticism, should have been composed in the most remote of the Hebrides.
former were the men of the hills, and the latter those of the plain. The eastern coast of Caledonia may be considered as a level and fertile country, which, even in a rude state of tillage, was capable of producing a considerable quantity of corn; and the epithet of cruít chir, or wheat-eaters, expressed the contempt, or envy, of the carnivorous highlander. The cultivation of the earth might introduce a more accurate separation of property, and the habits of a sedentary life; but the love of arms and rapine was still the ruling passion of the Picts; and their warriors, who stripped themselves for a day of battle, were distinguished, in the eyes of the Romans, by the strange fashion of painting their naked bodies with gaudy colours and fantastic figures. The western part of Caledonia irregularly rises into wild and barren hills, which scarcely repay the toil of the husbandman, and are most profitably used for the pasture of cattle. The highlanders were condemned to the occupations of shepherds and hunters; and, as they seldom were fixed to any permanent habitation, they acquired the expressive name of Scors, which, in the Celtic tongue, is said to be equivalent to that of wanderers, or vagrants. The inhabitants of a barren land were urged to seek a fresh supply of food in the waters. The deep lakes and bays which intersect their country are plentifully stored with fish; and they gradually ventured to cast their nets in the waves of the ocean. The vicinity of the Hebrides, so profusely scattered along the
western coast of Scotland, tempted their curiosity, and improved their skill; and they acquired, by slow degrees, the art, or rather the habit, of managing their boats in a tempestuous sea, and of steering their nocturnal course by the light of the well-known stars. The two bold headlands of Caledonia almost touch the shores of a spacious island, which obtained, from its luxuriant vegetation, the epithet of Green; and has preserved, with a slight alteration, the name of Erin, or Ierne, or Ireland. It is probable, that in some remote period of antiquity, the fertile plains of Ulster received a colony of hungry Scots; and that the strangers of the North, who had dared to encounter the arms of the legions, spread their conquests over the savage and unwarlike natives of a solitary island. It is certain, that, in the declining age of the Roman empire, Caledonia, Ireland, and the Isle of Man, were inhabited by the Scots, and that the kindred tribes, who were often associated in military enterprise, were deeply affected by the various accidents of their mutual fortunes. They long cherished the lively tradition of their common name and origin: and the missionaries of the Isle of Saints, who diffused the light of Christianity over North Britain, established the vain opinion, that their Irish countrymen were the natural, as well as spiritual, fathers of the Scottish race. The loose and obscure tradition has been preserved by the venerable Bede, who scattered some rays of light over the darkness of the eighth century. On this
slight foundation, an huge superstructure of fable was gradually reared, by the bards, and the monks; two orders of men, who equally abused the privilege of fiction. The Scottish nation, with mistaken pride, adopted their Irish genealogy: and the annals of a long line of imaginary kings have been adorned by the fancy of Boethius, and the classic elegance of Buchanan

Six years after the death of Constantine, the destructive inroads of the Scots and Picts required the presence of his youngest son, who reigned in the Western empire. Constans visited his British dominions: but we may form some estimate of the importance of his achievements, by the lan-

111 The Irish descent of the Scots has been revived, in the last moments of its decay, and strenuously supported, by the Rev. Mr. Whitaker (Hist. of Manchester, vol. i. p. 430, 431.; and Genuine History of the Britons asserted, &c. p. 154—293.). Yet he acknowledges, 1. That the Scots of Ammianus Marcellinus (A. D. 340.) were already settled in Caledonia; and that the Roman authors do not afford any hints of their emigration from another country. 2. That all the accounts of such emigrations, which have been asserted, or received, by Irish bards, Scotch historians, or English antiquaries (Buchanan, Cambden, Usher, Stillingfleet, &c.), are totally fabulous. 3. That three of the Irish tribes, which are mentioned by Ptolemy (A. D. 150.), were of Caledonian extraction. 4. That a younger branch of Caledonian princes, of the house of Fingal, acquired and possessed the monarchy of Ireland. After these concessions, the remaining difference between Mr. Whitaker and his adversaries is minute and obscure. The genuine history, which he produces, of a Fergus, the cousin of Ossian, who was transplanted (A. D. 320.) from Ireland to Caledonia, is built on a conjectural supplement to the Erse poetry; and the feeble evidence of Richard of Cirencester, a monk of the fourteenth century. The lively spirit of the learned and ingenious antiquarian has tempted him to forget the nature of a question, which he so vehemently debates, and so absolutely decides.
guage of panegyric, which celebrates only his triumph over the elements, or, in other words, the good fortune of a safe and easy passage from the port of Boulogne to the harbour of Sandwich. The calamities which the afflicted provincials continued to experience, from foreign war and domestic tyranny, were aggravated by the feeble and corrupt administration of the eunuchs of Constantius; and the transient relief which they might obtain from the virtues of Julian, was soon lost by the absence and death of their benefactor. The sums of gold and silver which had been painfully collected, or liberally transmitted, for the payment of the troops, were intercepted by the avarice of the commanders; discharges, or, at least, exemptions, from the military service were publicly sold; the distress of the soldiers, who were injuriously deprived of their legal and scanty subsistence, provoked them to frequent desertion; the nerves of discipline were relaxed, and the highways were infested with robbers. The oppression of the good, and the impunity of the wicked, equally contributed to diffuse through the island a spirit of discontent and revolt; and every ambitious subject, every desperate exile, might entertain a reasonable hope of subverting the weak and dis-


113 Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. xxxix. p. 264. This curious passage has escaped the diligence of our British antiquaries.
tracted government of Britain. The hostile tribes of the North, who detested the pride and power of the King of the World, suspended their domestic feuds; and the Barbarians of the land and sea, the Scots, the Picts, and the Saxons, spread themselves, with rapid and irresistible fury, from the wall of Antoninus to the shores of Kent. Every production of art and nature, every object of convenience or luxury, which they were incapable of creating by labour, or procuring by trade, was accumulated in the rich and fruitful province of Britain. A philosopher may deplore the eternal discord of the human race, but he will confess, that the desire of spoil is a more rational provocation than the vanity of conquest. From the age of Constantine to that of the Plantagenets, this rapacious spirit continued to instigate the poor and hardy Caledonians: but the same people, whose generous humanity seems to inspire the songs of Ossian, was disgraced by a savage ignorance of the virtues of peace, and of the laws of war. Their southern neighbours have felt, and perhaps exaggerated, the cruel depredations of the Scots and Picts; and a valiant tribe of Cale-

114 The Caledonians praised and coveted the gold, the steeds, the lights, &c. of the stranger. See Dr. Blair's Dissertation on Ossian, vol. ii. p. 343.; and Mr. Macpherson's Introduction, p. 242—286.

115 Lord Lyttelton has circumstantially related (History of Henry II. vol. i. p. 182.), and Sir David Dalrymple has slightly mentioned (Annals of Scotland, vol. i. p. 69.), a barbarous inroad of the Scots, at a time (A.D. 1137.) when law, religion, and society, must have softened their primitive manners.
The enemies, and afterwards the soldiers, of Valentinian, are accused, by an eyewitness, of delighting in the taste of human flesh. When they hunted the woods for prey, it is said, that they attacked the shepherd rather than his flock; and that they curiously selected the most delicate and brawny parts both of males and females, which they prepared for their horrid repasts. If, in the neighbourhood of the commercial and literary town of Glasgow, a race of cannibals has really existed, we may contemplate, in the period of the Scottish history, the opposite extremes of savage and civilised life. Such reflections tend to enlarge the circle of our ideas; and to encourage the pleasing hope, that New Zealand may produce, in some future age, the Hume of the Southern Hemisphere.

Every messenger who escaped across the British channel, conveyed the most melancholy and alarming tidings to the ears of Valentinian; and the emperor was soon informed, that the two military commanders of the province had been surprised and cut off by the Barbarians. Severus,

116 Attacotti bellica hominum natio. Ammian. xxvii. 8. Camden (Introduct. p. cliii.) has restored their true name in the text of Jerom. The bands of Attacotti, which Jerom had seen in Gaul, were afterwards stationed in Italy and Illyricum (Notitia, S. viii. xxxix. xli.).

117 Cum ipse adolescentulus in Galliâ viderim Attacotios (or Scotos) genem Britannicam humanis vesi carnibus; et cum per silvas porcorum greges, et armentorum pecudunque reperiunt, pastorem males et feminarum papillas solere abscondere; et has solas citborum delicissis arbitrio. Such is the evidence of Jerom (tom. ii. p. 76.), whose veracity I find no reason to question.
count of the domestics, was hastily dispatched, and as suddenly recalled, by the court of Treves. The representations of Jovinus served only to indicate the greatness of the evil; and, after a long and serious consultation, the defence, or rather the recovery, of Britain, was entrusted to the abilities of the brave Theodosius. The exploits of that general, the father of a line of emperors, have been celebrated, with peculiar complacency, by the writers of the age: but his real merit deserved their applause; and his nomination was received, by the army and province, as a sure presage of approaching victory. He seized the favourable moment of navigation, and securely landed the numerous and veteran bands of the Heruli and Batavians, the Jovians and the Victors. In his march from Sandwich to London, Theodosius defeated several parties of the Barbarians, released a multitude of captives, and, after distributing to his soldiers a small portion of the spoil, established the fame of disinterested justice, by the restitution of the remainder to the rightful proprietors. The citizens of London, who had almost despaired of their safety, threw open their gates; and as soon as Theodosius had obtained from the court of Treves the important aid of a military lieutenant, and a civil governor, he executed, with wisdom and vigour, the laborious task of the deliverance of Britain. The vagrant soldiers were recalled to their standard; an edict of amnesty dispelled the public apprehensions; and his cheerful example alleviated the
rigour of martial discipline. The scattered and desultory warfare of the Barbarians, who infested the land and sea, deprived him of the glory of a signal victory; but the prudent spirit, and consummate art, of the Roman general, were displayed in the operations of two campaigns, which successively rescued every part of the province from the hands of a cruel and rapacious enemy. The splendour of the cities, and the security of the fortifications, were diligently restored, by the paternal care of Theodosius: who with a strong hand confined the trembling Caledonians to the northern angle of the island; and perpetuated, by the name and settlement of the new province of Valentia, the glories of the reign of Valentinian. The voice of poetry and panegyric may add, perhaps with some degree of truth, that the unknown regions of Thule were stained with the blood of the Picts; that the oars of Theodosius dashed the waves of the Hyperborean ocean; and that the distant Orkneys were the scene of his naval victory over the Saxon pirates. He left the province with a

118 Ammianus has concisely represented (xx. 1. xxvi. 4. xxvii. 8. xxviii. 3.) the whole series of the British war.

119 Horrescit . . . ratibus . . . impervia Thule.
Ille . . . nec falso nomine Pictos
Edomuit. Scotumque vago mucerone secutus
Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus undas.


Maduerunt Saxone fuso
Orcades: ineluit Pictorum sanguine Thule.
Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.

In iv. Cons. Hon. ver. 31, &c.
fair, as well as splendid, reputation: and was immediately promoted to the rank of master-general of the cavalry, by a prince, who could applaud, without envy, the merit of his servants. In the important station of the Upper Danube, the conqueror of Britain checked and defeated the armies of the Alemanni, before he was chosen to suppress the revolt of Africa.

III. The prince who refuses to be the judge, instructs his people to consider him as the accomplice, of his ministers. The military command of Africa had been long exercised by count Romanus, and his abilities were not inadequate to his station: but, as sordid interest was the sole motive of his conduct, he acted, on most occasions, as if he had been the enemy of the province, and the friend of the Barbarians of the desert. The three flourishing cities of Oea, Leptis, and Sabrata, which, under the name of Tripoli, had long constituted a federal union\(^{120}\), were obliged, for the first time, to shut their gates against a hostile invasion; several of their most honourable citizens were surprised and massacred; the villages, and even the suburbs,

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See likewise Pacatus (in Panegyr. Vet. xii. 5.). But it is not easy to appreciate the intrinsic value of flattery and metaphor. Compare the British victories of Bolanus (Statius, Silv. v. 2.) with his real character (Tacit. in Vit. Agricol. c. 16.).

\(^{120}\) Ammianus frequently mentions their concilium annuum, legitimum, &c. Leptis and Sabrata are long since ruined; but the city of Oea, the native country of Apuleius, still flourishes under the provincial denomination of Tripoli. See Cellarius (Geograph. Antiqua, tom. ii. part ii. p. 81.), D'Anville (Geographie Ancienne, tom. iii. p. 71, 72.), and Marmol (Afrique, tom. ii. p. 562.).
were pillaged; and the vines and fruit-trees of that rich territory were extirpated by the malicious savages of Getulia. The unhappy provincials implored the protection of Romanus; but they soon found that their military governor was not less cruel and rapacious than the Barbarians. As they were incapable of furnishing the four thousand camels, and the exorbitant present, which he required, before he would march to the assistance of Tripoli; his demand was equivalent to a refusal, and he might justly be accused as the author of the public calamity. In the annual assembly of the three cities, they nominated two deputies, to lay at the feet of Valentinian the customary offering of a gold victory; and to accompany this tribute, of duty, rather than of gratitude, with their humble complaint, that they were ruined by the enemy, and betrayed by their governor. If the severity of Valentinian had been rightly directed, it would have fallen on the guilty head of Romanus. But the count, long exercised in the arts of corruption, had dispatched a swift and trusty messenger to secure the venal friendship of Remigius, master of the offices. The wisdom of the Imperial council was deceived by artifice; and their honest indignation was cooled by delay. At length, when the repetition of complaint had been justified by the repetition of public misfortunes, the notary Palladius was sent from the court of Treves, to examine the state of Africa, and the conduct of Romanus. The rigid im-
partiality of Palladius was easily disarmed: he was tempted to reserve for himself a part of the public treasure, which he brought with him for the payment of the troops; and from the moment that he was conscious of his own guilt, he could no longer refuse to attest the innocence and merit of the count. The charge of the Tripolitans was declared to be false and frivolous; and Palladius himself was sent back from Treves to Africa, with a special commission to discover and prosecute the authors of this impious conspiracy against the representatives of the sovereign. His enquiries were managed with so much dexterity and success, that he compelled the citizens of Leptis, who had sustained a recent siege of eight days, to contradict the truth of their own decrees, and to censure the behaviour of their own deputies. A bloody sentence was pronounced, without hesitation, by the rash and headstrong cruelty of Valentinian. The president of Tripoli, who had presumed to pity the distress of the province, was publicly executed at Utica; four distinguished citizens were put to death, as the accomplices of the imaginary fraud; and the tongues of two others were cut out, by the express order of the emperor. Romanus, elated by impunity, and irritated by resistance, was still continued in the military command; till the Africans were provoked, by his avarice, to join the rebellious standard of Firmus, the Moor.\(^{121}\)

\(^{121}\) Ammian. xvi. 6. Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 25, 676.) has discussed the chronological difficulties of the history of count Romanus.
His father Nabal was one of the richest and most powerful of the Moorish princes, who acknowledged the supremacy of Rome. But as he left, either by his wives or concubines, a very numerous posterity, the wealthy inheritance was eagerly disputed; and Zamma, one of his sons, was slain in a domestic quarrel by his brother Firmus. The implacable zeal, with which Romanus prosecuted the legal revenge of this murder, could be ascribed only to a motive of avarice, or personal hatred: but, on this occasion, his claims were just; his influence was weighty; and Firmus clearly understood, that he must either present his neck to the executioner, or appeal from the sentence of the Imperial consistory, to his sword, and to the people. He was received as the deliverer of his country; and, as soon as it appeared that Romanus was formidable only to a submissive province, the tyrant of Africa became the object of universal contempt. The ruin of Cæsarea, which was plundered and burnt by the licentious Barbarians, convinced the refractory cities of the danger of resistance; the power of Firmus was established, at least in the provinces of Mauritia and Numidia; and it seemed to be his only doubt, whether he should assume the diadem of a Moorish king, or the purple of a Roman emperor. But the imprudent

The chronology of Ammianus is loose and obscure: and Orosius (l. vii. e. 39. p. 551. edit. Havercamp.) seems to place the revolt of Firmus after the deaths of Valentinian and Valens. Tillemont (Hist. des Emp. tom. v. p. 691.) endeavours to pick his way. The patient and sure-footed mule of the Alps may be trusted in the most slippery paths.
and unhappy Africans soon discovered, that, in this rash insurrection, they had not sufficiently consulted their own strength, or the abilities of their leader. Before he could procure any certain intelligence, that the emperor of the West had fixed the choice of a general, or that a fleet of transports was collected at the mouth of the Rhone, he was suddenly informed, that the great Theodosius, with a small band of veterans, had landed near Igilgius, or Gigeri, on the African coast; and the timid usurper sunk under the ascendant of virtue and military genius. Though Firmus possessed arms and treasures, his despair of victory immediately reduced him to the use of those arts, which, in the same country, and in a similar situation, had formerly been practised by the crafty Jugurtha. He attempted to deceive, by an apparent submission, the vigilance of the Roman general; to seduce the fidelity of his troops; and to protract the duration of the war, by successively engaging the independent tribes of Africa to espouse his quarrel, or to protect his flight. Theodosius imitated the example, and obtained the success, of his predecessor Metellus. When Firmus, in the character of a suppliant, accused his own rashness, and humbly solicited the clemency of the emperor, the lieutenant of Valentinian received and dismissed him with a friendly embrace; but he diligently required the useful and substantial pledges of a sincere repentance; nor could he be persuaded, by the assurances of peace, to suspend, for an
instant, the operations of an active war. A dark conspiracy was detected by the penetration of Theodosius; and he satisfied, without much reluctance, the public indignation, which he had secretly excited. Several of the guilty accomplices of Firmus were abandoned, according to ancient custom, to the tumult of a military execution: many more, by the amputation of both their hands, continued to exhibit an instructive spectacle of horror; the hatred of the rebels was accompanied with fear; and the fear of the Roman soldiers was mingled with respectful admiration. Amidst the boundless plains of Getulia, and the innumerable vallies of Mount Atlas, it was impossible to prevent the escape of Firmus: and if the usurper could have tired the patience of his antagonist, he would have secured his person in the depth of some remote solitude, and expected the hopes of a future revolution. He was subdued by the perseverance of Theodosius; who had formed an inflexible determination, that the war should end only by the death of the tyrant; and that every nation of Africa, which presumed to support his cause, should be involved in his ruin. At the head of a small body of troops, which seldom exceeded three thousand five hundred men, the Roman general advanced, with a steady prudence, devoid of rashness or of fear, into the heart of a country, where he was sometimes attacked by armies of twenty thousand Moors. The boldness of his charge dismayed the irregular Barbarians: they were disconcerted
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by his seasonable and orderly retreats; they were continually baffled by the unknown resources of the military art; and they felt and confessed the just superiority which was assumed by the leader of a civilised nation. When Theodosius entered the extensive dominions of Ignazen, king of the Igaflenses, the haughty savage required, in words of defiance, his name, and the object of his expedition. “I am,” replied the stern and disdainful count, “I am the general of Valentinian, the lord of the world; who has sent me hither to pursue and punish a desperate robber. Deliver him instantly into my hands; and be assured, that if thou dost not obey the commands of my invincible sovereign, thou, and the people over whom thou reignest, shall be utterly extirpated.” As soon as Ignazen was satisfied, that his enemy had strength and resolution to execute the fatal menace, he consented to purchase a necessary peace by the sacrifice of a guilty fugitive. The guards that were placed to secure the person of Firmus, deprived him of the hopes of escape; and the Moorish tyrant, after wine had extinguished the sense of danger, disappointed the insulting triumphs of the Romans, by strangling himself in the night. His dead body, the only present which Ignazen could offer to the conqueror, was carelessly thrown upon a camel; and Theodosius, leading back his victorious troops to Sitif, was saluted by the warmest acclamations of joy and loyalty.

Ammian. xxix. 5. The text of this long chapter (fifteen quarto pages) is broken and corrupted; and the narrative is perplexed by the want of chronological and geographical landmarks.
Africa had been lost by the vices of Romanus; it was restored by the virtues of Theodosius: and our curiosity may be usefully directed to the inquiry of the respective treatment which the two generals received from the Imperial court. The authority of count Romanus had been suspended by the master-general of the cavalry; and he was committed to safe and honourable custody till the end of the war. His crimes were proved by the most authentic evidence; and the public expected, with some impatience, the decree of severe justice. But the partial and powerful favour of Mellobaudes encouraged him to challenge his legal judges, to obtain repeated delays for the purpose of procuring a crowd of friendly witnesses, and, finally, to cover his guilty conduct, by the additional guilt of fraud and forgery. About the same time, the restorer of Britain and Africa, on a vague suspicion that his name and services were superior to the rank of a subject, was ignominiously beheaded at Carthage. Valentinian no longer reigned; and the death of Theodosius, as well as the impunity of Romanus, may justly be imputed to the arts of the ministers who abused the confidence, and deceived the inexperienced youth, of his sons.

If the geographical accuracy of Ammianus had been fortunately bestowed on the British exploits of Theodosius, we should have traced, with eager

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curiosity, the distinct and domestic footsteps of his march. But the tedious enumeration of the unknown and uninteresting tribes of Africa may be reduced to the general remark, that they were all of the swarthy race of the Moors; that they inhabited the back settlements of the Mauritanian and Numidian provinces, the country, as they have since been termed by the Arabs, of dates and of locusts; and that, as the Roman power declined in Africa, the boundary of civilised manners and cultivated land was insensibly contracted. Beyond the utmost limits of the Moors, the vast and inhospitable desert of the South extends above a thousand miles to the banks of the Niger. The ancients, who had a very faint and imperfect knowledge of the great peninsula of Africa, were sometimes tempted to believe, that the torrid zone must over remain destitute of inhabitants: and they sometimes amused their fancy by filling the vacant space with headless men, or rather monsters;

125 Leo Africanus (in the Viaggio di Ramanio, tom. i. vol. 73—83.) has traced a curious picture of the people and the country, which are more minutely described in the Afric de Marmol, tom. iii. p. 1—54.

126 This uninhabitable zone was gradually reduced, by the improvements of ancient geography, from forty-five to twenty-four, or even sixteen, degrees of latitude. See a learned and pithy comment of Dr. Robertson, Hist. of America, vol. i. p. 420.

127 Intra, si credere libet, vix jam homines et magis semih... Blemmyes, Satyri, &c. Pomponius Mela, i. 4. p. 20. edit. Voss in 8vo. Pliny philosophically explains (vii. 35.) the irregularities of nature, which he had credulously admitted (v. 8.).
with horned and cloven-footed satyrs\(^\text{128}\); with fabulous centaurs\(^\text{129}\); and with human pygmies, who waged a bold and doubtful warfare against the cranes\(^\text{130}\). Carthage would have trembled at the strange intelligence, that the countries, on either side of the equator, were filled with innumerable nations, who differed only in their colour from the ordinary appearance of the human species; and the subjects of the Roman empire might have anxiously expected, that the swarms of Barbarians, which issued from the North, would soon be encountered from the South by new swarms of Barbarians, equally fierce, and equally formidable. These gloomy terrors would indeed have been dispelled by a more intimate acquaintance with the character of their African enemies. The inaction of the

\(^{128}\) If the satyr was the Orang-Outang, the great human ape (Bulfin, Hist. Nat. tom. xiv. p. 43; &c. &c.), one of that species might actually be shown alive at Alexandria in the reign of Constantine. Yet some difficulty will still remain about the conversation which St. Antony held with one of these pious savages, in the desert of Thebais (Jerom in Vit. Paul. Eremit. tom. i. p. 238.).

\(^{129}\) St. Antony likewise met one of these monsters; whose existence was seriously asserted by the emperor Claudius. The public laughed; but his prefect of Egypt had the address to send an artful preparation, the embalmed corpse of an *Hippocentaur*, which was preserved almost a century afterwards in the Imperial palace. See Pliny (Hist. Natur. vii. 3.), and the judicious observations of Freret (Memoires de l’Acad. tom. vii. p. 321, &c.).

\(^{130}\) The fable of the pygmies is as old as Homer (Iliad. iii. 6.). The pygmies of India and *Æthiopia* were (trispathi) twenty-seven inches high. Every spring their cavalry (mounted on rams and goats) marched, in battle array, to destroy the cranes eggs, alter (says Pliny) futuris *gregibus non esset*. Their houses were built of mud, feathers, and egg-shells. See Pliny (vi. 55. vii. 2.), and Strabo (l. ii. p. 121.).
negroes does not seem to be the effect, either of their virtue, or of their pusillanimity. They indulge, like the rest of mankind, their passions and appetites; and the adjacent tribes are engaged in frequent acts of hostility. But their rude ignorance has never invented any effectual weapons of defence, or of destruction; they appear incapable of forming any extensive plans of government, or conquest; and the obvious inferiority of their mental faculties has been discovered and abused by the nations of the temperate zone. Sixty thousand blacks are annually embarked from the coast of Guinea, never to return to their native country; but they are embarked in chains: and this constant emigration, which, in the space of two centuries, might have furnished armies to overrun the globe, accuses the guilt of Europe, and the weakness of Africa.

IV. The ignominious treaty, which saved the army of Jovian, had been faithfully executed on the side of the Romans; and as they had solemnly renounced the sovereignty and alliance of Armenia and Iberia, those tributary kingdoms were exposed, without protection, to the arms of the Persian monarch.

131 The third and fourth volumes of the valuable Histoire des Voyages describe the present state of the Negroes. The nations of the sea-coast have been polished by European commerce; and those of the inland country have been improved by Moorish colonies.

132 Histoire Philosophique et Politique, &c. tom. iv. p. 192.

133 The evidence of Ammianus is original and decisive (xxvii. 12.) Moses of Chorene (l. iii. c. 17. p. 249. and c. 31. p. 269.), andProcopius (de Beli. Persico, l. i. c. 5. p. 17. edit. Louvre), have been consulted: but those historians, who confound distinct facts, repeat the same events, and introduce strange stories, must be used with diffidence and caution.
Chap. XXV.  Sapor entered the Armenian territories at the head of a formidable host of cuirassiers, of archers, and of mercenary foot; but it was the invariable practice of Sapor to mix war and negociation, and to consider falsehood and perjury as the most powerful instruments of regal policy. He affected to praise the prudent and moderate conduct of the king of Armenia; and the unsuspicous Tirana- was persuaded, by the repeated assurances of insidious friendship, to deliver his person into the hands of a faithless and cruel enemy. In the midst of a splendid entertainment, he was bound in chains of silver, as an honour due to the blood of the Arsacides; and, after a short confinement in the Tower of Oblivion at Ecbatana, he was released from the miseries of life, either by his own dagger, or by that of an assassin. The kingdom of Armenia was reduced to the state of a Persian province; the administration was shared between a distinguished satrap and a favourite eunuch; and Sapor marched, without delay, to subdue the martial spirit of the Iberians. Sauromaces, who reigned in that country by the permission of the emperors, was expelled by a superior force; and, as an insult on the majesty of Rome, the king of kings placed a diadem on the head of his abject vassal Asparas. The city of Artogerassa was the only place of Armenia which presumed.

124 Perhaps Artagera, or Ardis, under whose walls Caun, the grandson of Augustus, was wounded. This fortress was situated above Amida, near one of the sources of the Tigris. See D'Ainville, Geographie Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 106.
to resist the efforts of his arms. The treasure deposited in that strong fortress tempted the avarice of Sapor; but the danger of Olympias, the wife, or widow, of the Armenian king, excited the public compassion, and animated the desperate valour of her subjects and soldiers. The Persians were surprised and repulsed under the walls of Artogerassa, by a bold and well-concerted sally of the besieged. But the forces of Sapor were continually renewed and increased; the hopeless courage of the garrison was exhausted; the strength of the walls yielded to the assault; and the proud conqueror, after wasting the rebellious city with fire and sword, led away captive an unfortunate queen; who, in a more auspicious hour, had been the destined bride of the son of Constantine. Yet if Sapor already triumphed in the easy conquest of two dependent kingdoms, he soon felt, that a country is subdued, as long as the minds of the people are actuated by an hostile and contumacious spirit. The satraps, whom he was obliged to trust, embraced the first opportunity of regaining the affection of their countrymen, and of signalizing their immortal hatred to the Persian name. Since the conversion of the Armenians and Iberians, those nations considered the Christians as the favourites, and the Magians as the adversaries, of the Supreme Being; the influence of the clergy, over a superstitious people, was uniformly exerted

175 Tillemont (Hist. des Impereurs, tom. v. p 701.) proves, from chronology, that Olympias must have been the mother of Para
in the cause of Rome; and as long as the successors of Constantine disputed with those of Artaxerxes the sovereignty of the intermediate provinces, the religious connexion always threw a decisive advantage into the scale of the empire. A numerous and active party acknowledged Para, the son of Tiranus, as the lawful sovereign of Armenia, and his title to the throne was deeply rooted in the hereditary succession of five hundred years. By the unanimous consent of the Iberians, the country was equally divided between the rival princes; and Aspachuras, who owed his diadem to the choice of Sapor, was obliged to declare, that his regard for his children, who were detained as hostages by the tyrant, was the only consideration which prevented him from openly renouncing the alliance of Persia. The emperor Valens, who respected the obligations of the treaty, and who was apprehensive of involving the East in a dangerous war, ventured, with slow and cautious measures, to support the Roman party in the kingdoms of Iberia and Armenia. Twelve legions established the authority of Sauromaces on the banks of the Cyrus. The Euphrates was protected by the valour of Ariantheus. A powerful army, under the command of count Trajan, and of Vadomair, king of the Alemanni, fixed their camp on the confines of Armenia. But they were strictly enjoined not to commit the first hostilities, which might be understood as a breach of the treaty: and such was the implicit obedience of the Ro-
man general, that they retreated, with exemplary patience, under a shower of Persian arrows, till they had clearly acquired a just title to an honourable and legitimate victory. Yet these appearances of war insensibly subsided in a vain and tedious negotiation. The contending parties supported their claims by mutual reproaches of perfidy and ambition; and it should seem, that the original treaty was expressed in very obscure terms, since they were reduced to the necessity of making their inconclusive appeal to the partial testimony of the generals of the two nations, who had assisted at the negotiations. The invasion of the Goths and Huns, which soon afterwards shook the foundations of the Roman empire, exposed the provinces of Asia to the arms of Sapor. But the declining age, and perhaps the infirmities, of the monarch, suggested new maxims of tranquillity and moderation. His death, which happened in the full maturity of a reign of seventy years, changed in a moment the court and councils of Persia; and their attention was most probably engaged by domestic troubles, and the distant efforts of a Carmanian war.

135 Ammianus (xxvii. 12. xxix. 1. xxx. 1, 2.) has described the events, without the dates, of the Persian war. Moses of Chorene (Hist. Armen. l. iii. c. 28. p. 261. c. 31. p. 266. c. 35. p. 271.) affords some additional facts; but it is extremely difficult to separate truth from fable.

137 Artaxerxes was the successor and brother (the cousin german) of the great Sapor; and the guardian of his son Sapor III. (Agathias, l. iv. p. 136. edit. Louvre.) See the Universal History, vol. xi. p. 86. 161. The authors of that unequal work have compiled the Sasanian dynasty with erudition and diligence; but it is a preposterous arrangement to divide the Roman and Oriental accounts into two distinct histories.
CHAP. XXV.  

The remembrance of ancient injuries was lost in the enjoyment of peace. The kingdoms of Armenia and Iberia were permitted, by the mutual, though tacit, consent of both empires, to resume their doubtful neutrality. In the first years of the reign of Theodosius, a Persian embassy arrived at Constantinople, to excuse the unjustifiable measures of the former reign; and to offer, as the tribute of friendship, or even of respect, a splendid present of gems, of silk, and of Indian elephants.¹⁰⁸

In the general picture of the affairs of the East under the reign of Valens, the adventures of Para form one of the most striking and singular objects. The noble youth, by the persuasion of his mother Olympias, had escaped through the Persian host that besieged Artogerassa, and implored the protection of the emperor of the East. By his timid councils, Para was alternately supported, and recalled, and restored, and betrayed. The hopes of the Armenians were sometimes raised by the presence of their natural sovereign; and the ministers of Valens were satisfied, that they preserved the integrity of the public faith, if their vassal was not suffered to assume the diadem and title of King. But they soon repented of their own rashness. They were confounded by the reproaches and threats of the Persian monarch. They found reason to distrust the cruel and inconstant temper of Para himself: who

¹⁰⁸ Pacatus in Panegyr. Vet. xii. 22, and Orosius, l. viii. c. 34. Ictumque tum foedus est, quo universus Orient usque ad annum (A. D. 416.) tranquilliissime fruatur.
sacrificed, to the slightest suspicions, the lives of his most faithful servants; and held a secret and disgraceful correspondence with the assassin of his father and the enemy of his country. Under the specious pretence of consulting with the emperor on the subject of their common interest, Para was persuaded to descend from the mountains of Armenia, where his party was in arms, and to trust his independence and safety to the discretion of a perfidious court. The king of Armenia, for such he appeared in his own eyes and in those of his nation, was received with due honours by the governors of the provinces through which he passed; but when he arrived at Tarsus in Cilicia, his progress was stopped under various pretences; his motions were watched with respectful vigilance, and he gradually discovered, that he was a prisoner in the hands of the Romans. Para suppressed his indignation, dispersed his fears, and, after secretly preparing his escape, mounted on horseback with three hundred of his faithful followers. The officer stationed at the door of his apartment, immediately communicated his flight to the consular of Cilicia, who overtook him in the suburbs, and endeavoured, without success, to dissuade him from prosecuting his rash and dangerous design. A legion was ordered to pursue the royal fugitive; but the pursuit of infantry could not be very alarming to a body of light cavalry; and upon the first cloud of arrows that was discharged into the air, they retreated with precipitation to
the gates of Tarsus. After an incessant march of
two days and two nights, Para and his Armenians
reached the banks of the Euphrates; but the pas-
sage of the river, which they were obliged to swim,
was attended with some delay and some loss. The
country was alarmed; and the two roads, which
were only separated by an interval of three miles,
had been occupied by a thousand archers on horse-
back, under the command of a count and a tribune.
Para must have yielded to superior force, if the
accidental arrival of a friendly traveller had not
revealed the danger and the means of escape. A
dark and almost impervious path securely con-
veyed the Armenian troop through the thicket;
and Para had left behind him the count and the
tribune, while they patiently expected his approach
along the public highways. They returned to the
Imperial court to excuse their want of diligence or
success: and seriously alleged, that the king of
Armenia, who was a skilful magician, had trans-
formed himself and his followers, and passed be-
fore their eyes under a borrowed shape. After his
return to his native kingdom, Para still continued
to profess himself the friend and ally of the Ro-
mans; but the Romans had injured him too deeply
ever to forgive, and the secret sentence of his death
was signed in the council of Valens. The execution
of the bloody deed was committed to the
subtle prudence of count Trajan; and he had the
merit of insinuating himself into the confidence of
the credulous prince, that he might find an oppor-
tunity of stabbing him to the heart. Para was
invited to a Roman banquet, which had been prepared with all the pomp and sensuality of the East: the hall resounded with cheerful music, and the company was already heated with wine; when the count retired for an instant, drew his sword, and gave the signal of the murder. A robust and desperate Barbarian instantly rushed on the king of Armenia: and though he bravely defended his life with the first weapon that chance offered to his hand, the table of the Imperial general was stained with the royal blood of a guest, and an ally. Such were the weak and wicked maxims of the Roman administration, that, to attain a doubtful object of political interest, the laws of nations, and the sacred rights of hospitality, were inhumanly violated in the face of the world 139.

V. During a peaceful interval of thirty years, the Romans secured their frontiers, and the Goths extended their dominions. The victories of the great Hermanric 140, king of the Ostrogoths, and the most noble of the race of the Amali, have been compared, by the enthusiasm of his countrymen, to the exploits of Alexander: with this singular, and almost incredible, difference, that the

139 See in Ammianus (xxx. 1.) the adventures of Para. Moses of Chorene calls him Tiridates; and tells a long, and not improbable, story of his son Gnelus; who afterwards made himself popular in Armenia, and provoked the jealousy of the reigning king (l.iii. c. 21, &c. p. 253, &c.).

140 The concise account of the reign and conquests of Hermanric, seems to be one of the valuable fragments which Jornandes (c. 28.) borrowed from the Gothic histories of Ablavius, or Cassiodorus.
martial spirit of the Gothic hero, instead of being supported by the vigour of youth, was displayed with glory and success in the extreme period of human life, between the age of fourscore and one hundred and ten years. The independent tribes were persuaded, or compelled, to acknowledge the king of the Ostrogoths as the sovereign of the Gothic nation: the chiefs of the Visigoths, or Thervingi, renounced the royal title, and assumed the more humble appellation of Judges; and, among those judges Athanaric, Fritigern, and Alavivus, were the most illustrious, by their personal merit, as well as by their vicinity to the Roman provinces. These domestic conquests, which increased the military power of Hermanric, enlarged his ambitious designs. He invaded the adjacent countries of the North; and twelve considerable nations, whose names and limits cannot be accurately defined, successively yielded to the superiority of the Gothic arms. The Heruli, who inhabited the marshy lands near the lake Maeotis, were renowned for their strength and agility; and the assistance of their light infantry was eagerly solicited, and highly esteemed, in all the wars of the Barbarians. But the active spirit of the Heruli was subdued by the slow and steady

141 M. de Buat (Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe, tom. vi. p. 311—329.) investigates, with more industry than success, the nations subdued by the arms of Hermanric. He denies the existence of the Vastinobrancei, on account of the immoderate length of their name. Yet the French envoy to Ratisbon, or Dresden, must have traversed the country of the Mediomatrii.
perseverance of the Goths; and, after a bloody action, in which the king was slain, the remains of that warlike tribe became an useful accession to the camp of Hermanric. He then marched against the Venedi; unskilled in the use of arms, and formidable only by their numbers, which filled the wide extent of the plains of modern Poland. The victorious Goths, who were not inferior in numbers, prevailed in the contest, by the decisive advantages of exercise and discipline. After the submission of the Venedi, the conqueror advanced, without resistance, as far as the confines of the Aestii; an ancient people, whose name is still preserved in the province of Esthonia. Those distant inhabitants of the Baltic coast were supported by the labours of agriculture, enriched by the trade of amber, and consecrated by the peculiar worship of the Mother of the Gods. But the scarcity of iron obliged the Aestian warriors to content themselves with wooden clubs; and the reduction of that wealthy country is ascribed to the prudence, rather than to the arms, of Hermanric. His dominions, which extended from the Danube to the Baltic, included the native seats, and the recent acquisitions, of the Goths; and he reigned over the greatest part of Germany and Scythia with the authority of a conqueror, and sometimes with the cruelty of a tyrant. But he reigned over

12 The edition of Grotius (Jornandes, p. 642.) exhibits the name of Aestri. But reason and the Ambrosian MS. have restored the Aesti, whose manners and situation are expressed by the pencil of Tacitus (Germania, c. 45.).
a part of the globe incapable of perpetuating and adorning the glory of its heroes. The name of Hermannric is almost buried in oblivion; his exploits are imperfectly known; and the Romans themselves appeared unconscious of the progress of an aspiring power, which threatened the liberty of the North, and the peace of the empire.

The Goths had contracted an hereditary attachment for the Imperial house of Constantine, of whose power and liberality they had received so many signal proofs. They respected the public peace: and if an hostile band sometimes presumed to pass the Roman limit, their irregular conduct was candidly ascribed to the ungovernable spirit of the Barbarian youth. Their contempt for two new and obscure princes, who had been raised to the throne by a popular election, inspired the Goths with bolder hopes; and, while they agitated some design of marching their confederate force under the national standard, they were easily tempted to embrace the party of Procopius; and to foment, by their dangerous aid, the civil discord of the Romans. The public treaty might stipulate no more than ten thousand auxiliaries; but the design was so zealously adopted by the chiefs of the Visigoths, that the army which passed the Danube

142 Ammianus (xxx. 3.) observes, in general terms: Ermenrichi . . . . nobilissimi Regis, et per multa variaque fortiter facta, vicinis gentibus formidati, &c.

144 Valens . . . . docetur relationibus Ducum, gentem Gothorum, ed tempestate intactam ideoque sevissimam, conspirantem in unum, ad pervadendum parari collimitia Thraciarum. Ammian. xxvi 6.
amounted to the number of thirty thousand men. They marched with the proud confidence, that their invincible valour would decide the fate of the Roman empire; and the provinces of Thrace groaned under the weight of the Barbarians, who displayed the insolence of masters, and the licentiousness of enemies. But the intemperance which gratified their appetites, retarded their progress; and before the Goths could receive any certain intelligence of the defeat and death of Procopius, they perceived, by the hostile state of the country, that the civil and military powers were resumed by his successful rival. A chain of posts and fortifications, skilfully disposed by Valens, or the generals of Valens, resisted their march, prevented their retreat, and intercepted their subsistence. The fierceness of the Barbarians was tamed and suspended by hunger; they indignantly threw down their arms at the feet of the conqueror, who offered them food and chains: the numerous captives were distributed in all the cities of the East; and the provincials, who were soon familiarized with their savage appearance, ventured, by degrees, to measure their own strength with these formidable adversaries, whose name had so long been the object of their terror. The king of Scythia (and Hermanric alone could deserve so lofty a title) was grieved

115 M. de Buat (Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe, tom. vi. p. 332.) has curiously ascertained the real number of these auxiliaries. The 3,000 of Ammianus, and the 10,000 of Zosimus, were only the first divisions of the Gothic army.
and exasperated by this national calamity. His ambassadors loudly complained, at the court of Valens, of the infraction of the ancient and solemn alliance, which had so long subsisted between the Romans and the Goths. They alleged, that they had fulfilled the duty of allies, by assisting the kinsman and successor of the emperor Julian; they required the immediate restitution of the noble captives; and they urged a very singular claim, that the Gothic generals, marching in arms, and in hostile array, were entitled to the sacred character and privileges of ambassadors. The decent, but peremptory, refusal of these extravagant demands, was signified to the Barbarians by Victor, master-general of the cavalry; who expressed, with force and dignity, the just complaints of the emperor of the East. The negociation was interrupted; and the manly exhortations of Valentinian encouraged his timid brother to vindicate the insulted majesty of the empire.

The splendour and magnitude of this Gothic war are celebrated by a contemporary histo-

145 The march, and subsequent negociation, are described in the Fragments of Eunapius (Excerpt. Legat. p. 18. edit. Louvre.). The provincials, who afterwards became familiar with the Barbarians, found that their strength was more apparent than real. They were tall of stature; but their legs were clumsy, and their shoulders were narrow.

146 Valens enim, ut consulo placuerat fratri, cujus regebatur arbitrio, arma concussit in Gothos ratione justa permotus. Ammianus (xxvii. 4.) then proceeds to describe, not the country of the Goths, but the peaceful and obedient province of Thrace, which was not affected by the war.
rian: but the events scarcely deserve the attention of posterity, except as the preliminary steps of the approaching decline and fall of the empire. Instead of leading the nations of Germany and Scythia to the banks of the Danube, or even to the gates of Constantinople, the aged monarch of the Goths resigned to the brave Athanaric the danger and glory of a defensive war, against an enemy, who wielded with a feeble hand the powers of a mighty state. A bridge of boats was established upon the Danube; the presence of Valens animated his troops; and his ignorance of the art of war was compensated by personal bravery, and a wise deference to the advice of Victor and Arintheus, his masters-general of the cavalry and infantry. The operations of the campaign were conducted by their skill and experience; but they found it impossible to drive the Visigoths from their strong posts in the mountains; and the devastation of the plains obliged the Romans themselves to repass the Danube on the approach of winter. The incessant rains which swelled the waters of the river, produced a tacit suspension of arms, and confined the emperor Valens, during the whole course of the ensuing summer, to his camp of Marcianapolis. The third year of the war was more favourable to the Romans, and more pernicious to the Goths. The interruption of trade deprived the Barbarians of the objects of luxury, which they already con-

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Eunapius, in Excerpt. Legat. p. 18, 19. The Greek sophist must have considered as one and the same war, the whole series of Gothic history till the victories and peace of Theodosius.
founded with the necessaries of life; and the desolation of a very extensive tract of country threatened them with the horrors of famine. Athanaric was provoked, or compelled, to risk a battle, which he lost, in the plains; and the pursuit was rendered more bloody by the cruel precaution of the victorious generals, who had promised a large reward for the head of every Goth that was brought into the Imperial camp. The submission of the Barbarians appeased the resentment of Valens and his council; the emperor listened with satisfaction to the flattering and eloquent remonstrance of the senate of Constantinople, which assumed, for the first time, a share in the public deliberations; and the same generals, Victor and Arinthens, who had successfully directed the conduct of the war, were empowered to regulate the conditions of peace. The freedom of trade, which the Goths had hitherto enjoyed, was restricted to two cities on the Danube; the rashness of their leaders was severely punished by the suppression of their pensions and subsidies; and the exception, which was stipulated in favour of Athanaric alone, was more advantageous than honourable to the Judge of the Visigoths. Athanaric, who, on this occasion, appears to have consulted his private interest, without expecting the orders of his sovereign, supported his own dignity, and that of his tribe, in the personal interview which was proposed by the ministers of Valens. He persisted in his declaration, that it was impossible for him, without incurring the guilt of per-
jury, ever to set his foot on the territory of the empire; and it is more than probable, that his regard for the sanctity of an oath was confirmed by the recent and fatal examples of Roman treachery. The Danube, which separated the dominions of the two independent nations, was chosen for the scene of the conference. The Emperor of the East, and the Judge of the Visigoths, accompanied by an equal number of armed followers, advanced in their respective barges to the middle of the stream. After the ratification of the treaty, and the delivery of hostages, Valens returned in triumph to Constantinople; and the Goths remained in a state of tranquillity about six years; till they were violently impelled against the Roman empire by an innumerable host of Scythians, who appeared to issue from the frozen regions of the North.\footnote{The Gothic war is described by Ammianus (xxvii. 5.), Zonarius (l. iv. p. 211—214.), and Themistius (Orat. x. p. 129—141.). The orator Themistius was sent from the senate of Constantinople to congratulate the victorious emperor; and his servile eloquence compares Valens on the Danube, to Achilles in the Iliad. Jerome forgets a war peculiar to the Visigoths, and inglorious to the Gothic name (Mascou's Hist. of the Germans, vii. 3.).}

The emperor of the West, who had resigned to his brother the command of the Lower Danube, reserved for his immediate care the defence of the Rhätian and Illyrian provinces, which spread so many hundred miles along the greatest of the European rivers. The active policy of Valentinian was continually employed in adding new fortifications to the security of the frontier; but...
the abuse of this policy provoked the just resentment of the Barbarians. The Quadi complained, that the ground for an intended fortress had been marked out on their territories; and their complaints were urged with so much reason and moderation, that Equitius, master-general of Illyricum, consented to suspend the prosecution of the work, till he should be more clearly informed of the will of his sovereign. This fair occasion of injuring a rival, and of advancing the fortune of his son, was eagerly embraced by the inhuman Maximin, the prefect, or rather tyrant, of Gaul. The passions of Valentinian were impatient of control; and he credulously listened to the assurances of his favourite, that if the government of Valeria, and the direction of the work, were entrusted to the zeal of his son Marcellinus, the emperor should no longer be importuned with the audacious remonstrances of the Barbarians. The subjects of Rome, and the natives of Germany, were insulted by the arrogance of a young and worthless minister, who considered his rapid elevation as the proof and reward of his superior merit. He affected, however, to receive the modest application of Gabinius, king of the Quadi, with some attention and regard: but this artful civility concealed a dark and bloody design, and the credulous prince was persuaded to accept the pressing invitation of Marcellinus. I am at a loss how to vary the narrative of similar crimes; or how to relate, that, in the course of the same year, but in remote parts of the empire, the inhospitable table
of two Imperial generals was stained with the royal blood of two guests and allies, inhumanly murdered by their order, and in their presence. The fate of Gabinius, and of Para, was the same: but the cruel death of their sovereign was resented in a very different manner by the servile temper of the Armenians, and the free and daring spirit of the Germans. The Quadi were much declined from that formidable power, which, in the time of Marcus Antoninus, had spread terror to the gates of Rome. But they still possessed arms and courage; their courage was animated by despair, and they obtained the usual reinforcement of the cavalry of their Sarmatian allies. So improvident was the assassin Marcellinus, that he chose the moment when the bravest veterans had been drawn away, to suppress the revolt of Firmus; and the whole province was exposed, with a very feeble defence, to the rage of the exasperated Barbarians. They invaded Pannonia in the season of harvest; unmercifully destroyed every object of plunder which they could not easily transport; and either disregarded, or demolished, the empty fortifications. The princess Constantia, the daughter of the emperor Constantius, and the grand-daughter of the great Constantine, very narrowly escaped. That royal maid, who had innocently supported the revolt of Procopius, was now the destined wife of the heir of the Western empire. She traversed the peaceful province with a splendid and unarmed train. Her person was saved from
danger, and the republic from disgrace, by the active zeal of Messala, governor of the provinces. As soon as he was informed that the village, where she stopped only to dine, was almost encompassed by the Barbarians, he hastily placed her in his own chariot, and drove full speed till he reached the gates of Sirmium, which were at the distance of six-and-twenty miles. Even Sirmium might not have been secure, if the Quadi and Sarmatians had diligently advanced during the general consternation of the magistrates and people. Their delay allowed Probus, the Praetorian praefect, sufficient time to recover his own spirits, and to revive the courage of the citizens. He skilfully directed their strenuous efforts to repair and strengthen the decayed fortifications; and procured the seasonable and effectual assistance of a company of archers, to protect the capital of the Illyrian provinces. Disappointed in their attempts against the walls of Sirmium, the indignant Barbarians turned their arms against the master-general of the frontier, to whom they unjustly attributed the murder of their king. Equitius could bring into the field no more than two legions; but they contained the veteran strength of the Maeonian and Pannonian bands. The obstinacy with which they disputed the vain honours of rank and precedence, was the cause of their destruction; and, while they acted with separate forces and divided councils, they were surprised and slaughtered by the active vigour of the Sarmatian horse. The success of this inva-
sion provoked the emulation of the bordering tribes; and the province of Mæsia would infallibly have been lost, if young Theodosius, the duke, or military commander, of the frontier, had not signalized, in the defeat of the public enemy, an intrepid genius, worthy of his illustrious father, and of his future greatness

The mind of Valentinian, who then resided at Treves, was deeply affected by the calamities of Illyricum; but the lateness of the season suspended the execution of his designs till the ensuing spring. He marched in person, with a considerable part of the forces of Gaul, from the banks of the Moselle: and to the supplicant ambassadors of the Sarmatians, who met him on the way, he returned a doubtful answer, that, as soon as he reached the scene of action, he should examine, and pronounce. When he arrived at Sirmium, he gave audience to the deputies of the Illyrian provinces; who loudly congratulated their own felicity under the auspicious government of Probus, his Prætorian praefect. Valen-

150 Ammianus (xxix. 6.) and Zosimus (l. iv. p. 219, 220) carefully mark the origin and progress of the Quadic and Samatian war.

151 Ammianus (xxx. 5.), who acknowledges the merit, has censured, with becoming asperity, the oppressive administration, of Petronius Probus. When Jeron translated, and continued, the Chronicle of Eusebius (A.D. 380. See Tillemont, Mem. Eccles. tom. xii. p. 58. 626.), he expressed the truth, or at least the public opinion of his country, in the following words: “Probus P. P. Illyrii iniquissimae tributariae exactionibus, ante provincias quas regebat, quam a Barbaris vastarentur, erat.” (Chron. edit. Scaliger, p. 187. Annal. div. p. 250.) The Saint afterwards formed an
tinian, who was flattered by these demonstrations of their loyalty and gratitude, imprudently asked the deputy of Epirus, a Cynic philosopher of intrepid sincerity, whether he was freely sent by the wishes of the province? "With tears and groans am I sent (replied Iphicles) by a reluctant people." The emperor paused: but the impunity of his ministers established the pernicious maxim, that they might oppress his subjects, without injuring his service. A strict inquiry into their conduct would have relieved the public discontent. The severe condemnation of the murder of Gabinius, was the only measure which could restore the confidence of the Germans, and vindicate the honour of the Roman name. But the haughty monarch was incapable of the magnanimity which dares to acknowledge a fault. He forgot the provocation, remembered only the injury, and advanced into the country of the Quadi with an insatiate thirst of blood and revenge. The extreme devastation, and promiscuous massacre, of a savage war, were justified, in the eyes of the emperor, and perhaps in those of the world, by the cruel equity of retaliation: and such was the discipline of

intimate and tender friendship with the widow of Probus; and the name of count Equitius, with less propriety, but without much injustice, has been substituted in the text.

Julian (Orat. vi. p. 198.) represents his friend Iphicles as a man of virtue and merit, who had made himself ridiculous and unhappy, by adopting the extravagant dress and manners of the Cynics.

Ammian. xxx. 5. JERON, who exaggerates the misfortune of Valentinian, refuses him even this last consolation of revenge: Genitali vastato solo, et insultam patriam derelinquens (tom. i. p. 26.).
the Romans, and the consternation of the enemy, that Valentinian repassed the Danube without the loss of a single man. As he had resolved to complete the destruction of the Quadi by a second campaign, he fixed his winter-quarters at Bregetio, on the Danube, near the Hungarian city of Pressburg. While the operations of war were suspended by the severity of the weather, the Quadi made an humble attempt to deprecate the wrath of their conqueror; and, at the earnest persuasion of Equitius, their ambassadors were introduced into the Imperial council. They approached the throne with bended bodies, and dejected countenances; and, without daring to complain of the murder of their king, they affirmed, with solemn oaths, that the late invasion was the crime of some irregular robbers, which the public council of the nation condemned and abhorred. The answer of the emperor left them but little to hope from his clemency or compassion. He reviled, in the most intemperate language, their baseness, their ingratitude, their insolence.—His eyes, his voice, his colour, his gestures, expressed the violence of his ungoverned fury; and, while his whole frame was agitated with convulsive passion, a large blood-vessel suddenly burst in his body; and Valentinian fell speechless into the arms of his attendants. Their pious care immediately concealed his situation from the crowd: but, in a few minutes, the emperor of the West expired in an agony of pain, and death, retaining his senses till the last; and struggling, without success, to declare his intentions to the
generals and ministers, who surrounded the royal couch. Valentinian was about fifty-four years of age; and he wanted only one hundred days to accomplish the twelve years of his reign.

The polygamy of Valentinian is seriously attested by an ecclesiastical historian. "The empress Severa (I relate the fable) admitted into her familiar society the lovely Justina, the daughter of an Italian governor: her admiration of those naked charms, which she had often seen in the bath, was expressed with such lavish and imprudent praise, that the emperor was tempted to introduce a second wife into his bed; and his public edict extended to all the subjects of the empire, the same domestic privilege, which he had assumed for himself." But we may be assured, from the evidence of reason, as well as history, that the two marriages of Valentinian, with Severa, and with Justina, were successively contracted; and that he used the ancient permission of divorce, which was still allowed by the laws, though it

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Footnotes:
154 See, on the death of Valentinian, Ammianus (xxx. 6.), Zosimus (l. iv. p. 221.), Victor (in Epitom.), Socrates (l. iv. c. 31.), and Jerom (in Chron. p. 187, and tom. i. p. 26. ad Heliodor.). There is much variety of circumstances among them; and Ammianus is so eloquent, that he writes nonsense.
155 Socrates (l. iv. c. 31.), is the only original witness of this foolish story, so repugnant to the laws and manners of the Romans, that it scarcely deserves the formal and elaborate dissertation of M. Bonamy (Mem. de l'Academie, tom. xxx. p. 394—405.). Yet I would preserve the natural circumstance of the bath; instead of following Zosimus, who represents Justina as an old woman, the widow of Magnentius.
was condemned by the church. Severa was the mother of Gratian, who seemed to unite every claim which could entitle him to the undoubted succession of the Western empire. He was the eldest son of a monarch, whose glorious reign had confirmed the free and honourable choice of his fellow-soldiers. Before he had attained the ninth year of his age, the royal youth received from the hands of his indulgent father the purple robe and diadem, with the title of Augustus: the election was solemnly ratified by the consent and applause of the armies of Gaul; and the name of Gratian was added to the names of Valentinian and Valens, in all the legal transactions of the Roman government. By his marriage with the grand-daughter of Constantine, the son of Valentinian acquired all the hereditary rights of the Flavian family; which, in a series of three Imperial generations, were sanctified by time, religion, and the reverence of the people. At the death of his father, the royal youth was in the seventeenth year of his age; and his virtues already justified the favourable opinion of the army and people. But Gratian resided, without apprehension, in the palace of Treves; whilst, at the distance of many hundred miles, Valentinian suddenly expired in the camp of Bregetio. The passions, which had been so long suppressed by the presence of a master, immediately revived in the Imperial council; and the ambitious design

156 Ammianus (xxvii. 6.) describes the form of this military election, and august investiture. Valentinian does not appear to have consulted, or even informed, the senate of Rome.
of reigning in the name of an infant, was artfully executed by Mellobaudes and Equitius, who commanded the attachment of the Illyrian and Italian bands. They contrived the most honourable pretences to remove the popular leaders, and the troops of Gaul, who might have asserted the claims of the lawful successor: they suggested the necessity of extinguishing the hopes of foreign and domestic enemies, by a bold and decisive measure. The empress Justina, who had been left in a palace about one hundred miles from Bregetio, was respectfully invited to appear in the camp, with the son of the deceased emperor. On the sixth day after the death of Valentinian, the infant prince of the same name, who was only four years old, was shewn, in the arms of his mother, to the legions; and solemnly invested, by military acquiescence, with the titles and ensigns of supreme power. The impending dangers of a civil war were seasonably prevented by the wise and moderate conduct of the emperor Gratian. He cheerfully accepted the choice of the army; declared, that he should always consider the son of Justina as a brother, not as a rival; and advised the empress, with her son Valentinian, to fix their residence at Milan, in the fair and peaceful province of Italy; while he assumed the more arduous command of the countries beyond the Alps. Gratian dissembled his resentment till he could safely punish, or disgrace, the authors of the conspiracy; and though he uniformly behaved with tenderness and regard to his infant colleague, he gradually confounded,
in the administration of the Western empire, the office of a guardian with the authority of a sovereign. The government of the Roman world was exercised in the united names of Valens and his two nephews; but the feeble emperor of the East, who succeeded to the rank of his elder brother, never obtained any weight or influence in the councils of the West.\footnote{Ammianus, xxx. 10. Zosimus, l. iv. p. 222, 223. Tillemont has proved (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 707—709.), that Gratian reigned in Italy, Africa, and Illyricum. I have endeavoured to express his authority over his brother's dominions, as he used it, in an ambiguous style.}