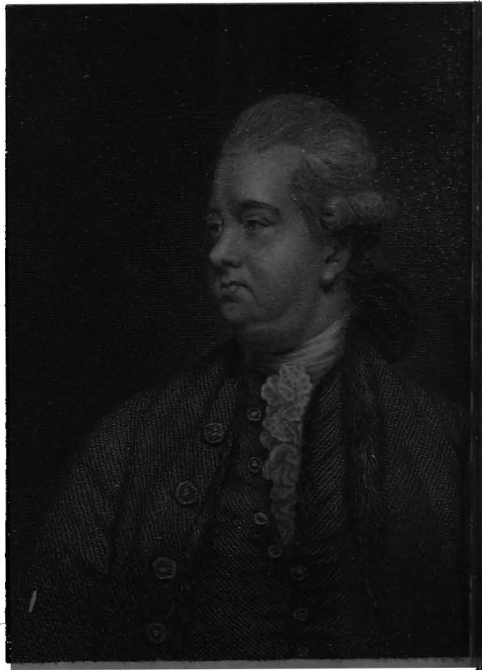


**SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY'S LIBRARY,
POONA 4.
FOR INTERNAL CIRCULATION**

To be returned on or before the last date stamped below

21 MAR 1966

--	--



By Sir John Smith

1797

EDWARD GIBBON, ESQ.

Dhananjayrao Gadgil Library



GIPE-PUNE-001642

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

~~~~~  
BY EDWARD GIBBON.  
~~~~~

WITH NOTES BY DEAN MILMAN AND M. GUIZOT.

A NEW EDITION, WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES,
BY WILLIAM SMITH D.C.L. & LL.D.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.—Vol. I.

With Portrait and Maps.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
1862.

The right of Translation is reserved.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS,
STAMFORD STREET AND CHURCH LANE.

V52. D9

A862.1

1642

PREFACE BY THE EDITOR.

THIS edition of the 'History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire' is distinguished by a correct text, the verification of the references to ancient writers, and corrective and supplementary notes. On each of these points a few words of explanation are necessary.

I. The text is carefully reprinted from the last quarto edition corrected by the Author. The work was originally published in six volumes quarto; of which the first appeared in 1776, the second and third in 1781, and the three last in 1788. The first edition of the three last volumes was the only one revised by Gibbon, and in the reprints of the second and third volumes he made hardly any alterations; but the later editions of the first volume differ considerably from the earlier ones. The edition of the first volume published in 1782 is the one from which that portion of the work is here reprinted; but as it contains several typographical errors which do not occur in the first edition, it has been collated with the latter. It is almost unnecessary to state that the text of the original has been faithfully preserved; and the Editor has not allowed himself to introduce any changes even in orthography, except in the case of evident misprints, and of a few modern names, of which the more correct forms are now substituted for those employed by the Author. It seemed pedantic to retain, for instance, such words as *Niester* and *Teyss*, when custom had sanctioned the use of the correct orthography.

II. The references to the ancient writers in Gibbon's notes are of great value to the scholar and the historical student. Their value, however, is considerably diminished by their being frequently made to old editions, the divisions of which no longer correspond to those in general use. Moreover, notwithstanding Gibbon's extreme accuracy, the numerals in his references are not always correct; at which no one will feel surprised who has had experience in the composition or printing of a work containing numerous references, and who knows the difficulty, or rather the impossibility, of guard-

ing against such mistakes, even with the exercise of the utmost vigilance. It has been therefore thought desirable to verify afresh all Gibbon's references to ancient writers, and to insert in brackets [], by the side of the original quotations, the books and chapters of the best modern editions. This is the first time that this laborious task has been executed; and it is evident that for the purposes of the student it gives the present edition an advantage over all others.

III. It is perhaps not too much to say that the 'Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire' is the greatest historical production, whether in ancient or in modern literature; and, at all events, few will be found to demur to the justice of Niebuhr's opinion, that "Gibbon's work will never be excelled." But this very excellence—the fact that a new History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire is never likely to supersede Gibbon's immortal work—renders it the more necessary that the successive editions of such a History should contain in the form of notes the advances that have been made in historical knowledge since the time at which it was written. The researches of Niebuhr, Savigny, and the other great philologists and jurists of Germany, the investigations of modern Oriental scholars, both in this country and on the Continent, and the discoveries of our enterprising countrymen in the East, have thrown a new and unexpected light upon many of the subjects comprehended in Gibbon's vast work. In annotating a history which embraces a period of more than twelve centuries it would be easy to multiply notes to any extent; but the present Editor has thought it right to confine his remarks to the correction of the positive errors of Gibbon, and to giving such additional information as the progress of our knowledge requires. He conceives it to be the duty of an Editor, in annotating a work like the 'Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,' to which the Author himself appended very numerous notes, to be as brief as possible, to restrict himself to the statement of facts, and to reserve the expression of his opinions for a substantive work of his own.

The notes are partly derived from former commentators, and are partly composed by the present Editor. The former class of notes is taken from the annotated edition of Dean Milman, who, in addition to his own remarks, has given those of M. Guizot and M. Wencck, appended to the French and German translations respectively. In using the valuable materials thus placed at his disposal by the kindness of Dean Milman, the Editor has adhered to the principles mentioned above, and has therefore omitted several notes which seemed to him superfluous. But, while he has exercised an independent judgment in adopting or rejecting the labours of his

PREFACE BY THE EDITOR.

v

predecessors, he desires to acknowledge the great obligations he is under to Dean Milman, whose notes have received the approbation of the most competent scholars, and who has in many parts of the work added everything necessary to correct the errors or supply the deficiencies of the text. This is more especially the case in the chapters relating to Christianity, upon which the Editor has abstained from making any remarks, believing that the criticisms of so distinguished a divine as Dean Milman would be more valuable and satisfactory than any which could be offered by a layman whose studies have lain in another direction.

In addition to the assistance derived from former commentators, the Editor has much pleasure in acknowledging his obligations to his friend Mr. Layard, who has supplied him with valuable information upon the portions of Gibbon's work relating to the geography and history of the East.

All the notes bear the signature of their respective authors: Dean Milman's being marked M. · M. Guizot's, G.; M. Wenck's, W.; and the present Editor's, S.

The Autobiography of Gibbon is prefixed to the present edition, not only on account of the admirable manner in which it is executed, which makes it one of the most charming pieces of autobiography in our language, but also on account of the valuable and interesting information it supplies respecting the composition of the 'History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.'

A much more copious Index to the History than has yet appeared is given at the end of the work.

WILLIAM SMITH.

London, February. 1854.

PREFACE BY DEAN MILMAN

TO HIS ANNOTATED EDITION.

THE great work of Gibbon is indispensable to the student of history. The literature of Europe offers no substitute for 'The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.' It has obtained undisputed possession, as rightful occupant, of the vast period which it comprehends. However some subjects which it embraces may have undergone more complete investigation; on the general view of the whole period, this history is the sole undisputed authority to which all defer, and from which few appeal to the original writers, or to more modern compilers. The inherent interest of the subject, the inexhaustible labour employed upon it; the immense condensation of matter; the luminous arrangement; the general accuracy; the style, which, however monotonous from its uniform stateliness, and sometimes wearisome from its elaborate art, is throughout vigorous, animated, often picturesque, always commands attention, always conveys its meaning with emphatic energy, describes with singular breadth and fidelity, and generalises with unrivalled felicity of expression; all these high qualifications have secured, and seem likely to secure, its permanent place in historic literature.

This vast design of Gibbon, the magnificent whole into which he has cast the decay and ruin of the ancient civilisation, the formation and birth of the new order of things, will of itself, independent of the laborious execution of his immense plan, render 'The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire' an unapproachable subject to the future historian:¹ in the eloquent language of his recent French editor, M. Guizot:—

“The gradual decline of the most extraordinary dominion which has ever invaded and oppressed the world; the fall of that immense empire, erected on the ruins of so many kingdoms, republics, and states both barbarous and civilised; and forming in its turn, by its dismemberment, a multitude of states, republics, and kingdoms; the

¹ A considerable portion of this preface had already appeared before the public in the Quarterly Review.

annihilation of the religion of Greece and Rome; the birth and the progress of the two new religions which have shared the most beautiful regions of the earth; the decrepitude of the ancient world, the spectacle of its expiring glory and degenerate manners; the infancy of the modern world, the picture of its first progress, of the new direction given to the mind and character of man—such a subject must necessarily fix the attention and excite the interest of men, who cannot behold with indifference those memorable epochs, during which, in the fine language of Corneille—

‘ Un grand destin commence, un grand destin s’achève.’”

This extent and harmony of design is unquestionably that which distinguishes the work of Gibbon from all other great historical compositions. He has first bridged the abyss between ancient and modern times, and connected together the two worlds of history. The great advantage which the classical historians possess over those of modern times is in unity of plan, of course greatly facilitated by the narrower sphere to which their researches were confined. Except Herodotus, the great historians of Greece—we exclude the more modern compilers, like Diodorus Siculus—limited themselves to a single period, or at least to the contracted sphere of Grecian affairs. As far as the *Barbarians* trespassed within the Grecian boundary, or were necessarily mingled up with Grecian politics, they were admitted into the pale of Grecian history; but to Thucydides and to Xenophon, excepting in the Persian inroad of the latter, Greece was the world. Natural unity confined their narrative almost to chronological order, the episodes were of rare occurrence and extremely brief. To the Roman historians the course was equally clear and defined. Rome was their centre of unity; and the uniformity with which the circle of the Roman dominion spread around, the regularity with which their civil polity expanded, forced, as it were, upon the Roman historian that plan which Polybius announces as the subject of his history, the means and the manner by which the whole world became subject to the Roman sway. How different the complicated politics of the European kingdoms! Every national history, to be complete, must, in a certain sense, be the history of Europe; there is no knowing to how remote a quarter it may be necessary to trace our most domestic events; from a country, how apparently disconnected, may originate the impulse which gives its direction to the whole course of affairs.

In imitation of his classical models, Gibbon places *Rome* as the cardinal point from which his inquiries diverge, and to which they bear constant reference: yet how immeasurable the space over which those inquiries range! how complicated, how confused, how appa-

rently inextricable the causes which tend to the decline of the Roman empire! how countless the nations which swarm forth, in mingling and indistinct hordes, constantly changing the geographical limits—incessantly confounding the natural boundaries! At first sight, the whole period, the whole state of the world seems to offer no more secure footing to an historical adventurer than the chaos of Milton—to be in a state of irreclaimable disorder, best described in the language of the poet:—

“ A dark
 Illimitable ocean, without bound,
 Without dimension, where length, breadth, and height,
 And time, and place, are lost: where eldest Night
 And Chaos, ancestors of Nature, hold
 Eternal anarchy, amidst the noise
 Of endless wars, and by confusion stand.”

We feel that the unity and the harmony of narrative, which shall comprehend this period of social disorganisation, must be ascribed entirely to the skill and luminous disposition of the historian. It is in this sublime Gothic architecture of his work, in which the boundless range, the infinite variety, the, at first sight, incongruous gorgeousness of the separate parts, nevertheless are all subordinate to one main and predominant idea, that Gibbon is unrivalled. We cannot but admire the manner in which he masses his materials, and arranges his facts in successive groups, not according to chronological order, but to their moral or political connection; the distinctness with which he marks his periods of gradually increasing decay; and the skill with which, though advancing on separate parallels of history, he shows the common tendency of the slower or more rapid religious or civil innovations. However these principles of composition may demand more than ordinary attention on the part of the reader, they can alone impress upon the memory the real course and the relative importance of the events. Whoever would justly appreciate the superiority of Gibbon's lucid arrangement, should attempt to make his way through the regular but wearisome annals of Tillemont, or even the less ponderous volumes of Le Beau. Both these writers adhere, almost entirely, to chronological order; the consequence is, that we are twenty times called upon to break off and resume the thread of six or eight wars in different parts of the empire; to suspend the operations of a military expedition for a court intrigue; to hurry away from a siege to a council; and the same page places us in the middle of a campaign against the barbarians, and in the depths of the Monophysite controversy. In Gibbon it is not always easy to bear in mind the exact dates, but the course of events is ever clear and distinct; like a skilful general, though his troops advance from the most remote and opposite quarters, they are constantly

bearing down and concentrating themselves on one point, that which is still occupied by the name and by the waning power of Rome. Whether he traces the progress of hostile religions, or leads from the shores of the Baltic, or the verge of the Chinese empire, the successive hosts of barbarians—though one wave has hardly burst and discharged itself before another swells up and approaches—all is made to flow in the same direction, and the impression which each makes upon the tottering fabric of the Roman greatness, connects their distant movements, and measures the relative importance assigned to them in the panoramic history. The more peaceful and didactic episodes on the development of the Roman law, or even on the details of ecclesiastical history, interpose themselves as resting places or divisions between the periods of barbaric invasion. In short, though distracted first by the two capitals, and afterwards by the formal partition of the empire, the extraordinary felicity of arrangement maintains an order and a regular progression. As our horizon expands to reveal to us the gathering tempests which are forming far beyond the boundaries of the civilised world—as we follow their successive approach to the trembling frontier—the compressed and receding line is still distinctly visible; though gradually dismembered, and the broken fragments assuming the form of regular states and kingdoms, the real relation of those kingdoms to the empire is maintained and defined; and even when the Roman dominion has shrunk into little more than the province of Thrace—when the name of Rome is confined, in Italy, to the walls of the city—yet it is still the memory, the shade of the Roman greatness, which extends over the wide sphere into which the historian expands his later narrative; the whole blends into the unity, and is manifestly essential to the double catastrophe of his tragic drama.

But the amplitude, the magnificence, or the harmony of design, are, though imposing, yet unworthy claims on our admiration, unless the details are filled up with correctness and accuracy. No writer has been more severely tried on this point than Gibbon. He has undergone the triple scrutiny of theological zeal quickened by just resentment—of literary emulation—and of that mean and invidious vanity which delights in detecting errors in writers of established fame. On the result of the trial we may be permitted to summon competent witnesses before we deliver our own judgment.

M. Guizot, in his preface, after stating that in France and Germany, as well as in England, in the most enlightened countries of Europe, Gibbon is constantly cited as an authority, thus proceeds:—

“I have had occasion, during my labours, to consult the writings of philosophers who have treated on the finances of the Roman

empire; of scholars who have investigated the chronology; of theologians who have searched the depths of ecclesiastical history; of writers on law who have studied with care the Roman jurisprudence; of Orientalists who have occupied themselves with the Arabians and the Koran; of modern historians who have entered upon extensive researches touching the crusades and their influence; each of these writers has remarked and pointed out, in the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, some negligences, some false or imperfect views, some omissions, which it is impossible not to suppose voluntary; they have rectified some facts, combated with advantage some assertions; but in general they have taken the researches and the ideas of Gibbon, as points of departure, or as proofs of the researches, or of the new opinions which they have advanced."

M. Guizot goes on to state his own impressions on reading Gibbon's history, and no authority will have greater weight with those to whom the extent and accuracy of his historical researches are known:—

"After a first rapid perusal, which allowed me to feel nothing but the interest of a narrative, always animated, and, notwithstanding its extent and the variety of objects which it makes to pass before the view, always perspicuous, I entered upon a minute examination of the details of which it was composed; and the opinion which I then formed was, I confess, singularly severe. I discovered, in certain chapters, errors which appeared to me sufficiently important and numerous to make me believe that they had been written with extreme negligence: in others, I was struck with a certain tinge of partiality and prejudice, which imparted to the exposition of the facts that want of truth and justice which the English express by their happy term *misrepresentation*. Some imperfect (*tronquées*) quotations; some passages, omitted unintentionally or designedly, cast a suspicion on the honesty (*bonne foi*) of the author; and his violation of the first law of history—increased to my eyes by the prolonged attention with which I occupied myself with every phrase, every note, every reflection—caused me to form, upon the whole work, a judgment far too rigorous. After having finished my labours, I allowed some time to elapse before I reviewed the whole. A second attentive and regular perusal of the entire work, of the notes of the author, and of those which I had thought it right to subjoin, showed me how much I had exaggerated the importance of the reproaches which Gibbon really deserved; I was struck with the same errors, the same partiality on certain subjects; but I had been far from doing adequate justice to the immensity of his researches, the variety of his knowledge, and above all, to that truly philoso-

phical discrimination (*justesse d'esprit*) which judges the past as it would judge the present; which does not permit itself to be blinded by the clouds which time gathers around the dead, and which prevent us from seeing that, under the toga, as under the modern dress, in the senate as in our councils, men were what they still are, and that events took place eighteen centuries ago as they take place in our days. I then felt that his book, in spite of its faults, will always be a noble work—and that we may correct his errors and combat his prejudices without ceasing to admit that few men have combined, if we are not to say in so high a degree, at least in a manner so complete and so well regulated, the necessary qualifications for a writer of history."

The present editor has followed the track of Gibbon through many parts of his work; he has read his authorities with constant reference to his pages, and must pronounce his deliberate judgment in terms of the highest admiration as to his general accuracy. Many of his seeming errors are almost inevitable from the close condensation of his matter. From the immense range of his history, it was sometimes necessary to compress into a single sentence a whole vague and diffuse page of a Byzantine chronicler. Perhaps something of importance may have thus escaped, and his expressions may not quite contain the whole substance of the passage from which they are taken. His limits, at times, compel him to sketch; where that is the case, it is not fair to expect the full details of the finished picture. At times he can only deal with important results; and in his account of a war, it sometimes requires great attention to discover that the events, which seem to be comprehended in a single campaign, occupy several years. But this admirable skill in selecting and giving prominence to the points which are of real weight and importance—this distribution of light and shade—though perhaps it may occasionally betray him into vague and imperfect statements, is one of the highest excellences of Gibbon's historic manner. It is the more striking, when we pass from the works of his chief authorities, where, after labouring through long, minute, and wearisome descriptions of the accessory and subordinate circumstances, a single unmarked and undistinguished sentence, which we may overlook from the inattention of fatigue, contains the great moral and political result.

Gibbon's method of arrangement, though on the whole most favourable to the clear comprehension of the events, leads likewise to apparent inaccuracy. That which we expect to find in one part is reserved for another. The estimate which we are to form depends on the accurate balance of statements in remote parts of the work;

and we have sometimes to correct and modify opinions, formed from one chapter, by those of another. Yet, on the other hand, it is astonishing how rarely we detect contradiction; the mind of the author has already harmonised the whole result to truth and probability; the general impression is almost invariably the same. The quotations of Gibbon have likewise been called in question—I have *in general* been more inclined to admire their exactitude than to complain of their indistinctness or incompleteness. Where they are imperfect, it is commonly from the study of brevity, and rather from the desire of compressing the substance of his notes into pointed and emphatic sentences, than from dishonesty or uncandid suppression of truth.

These observations apply more particularly to the accuracy and fidelity of the historian as to his facts; his inferences, of course, are more liable to exception. It is almost impossible to trace the line between unfairness and unfaithfulness; between intentional misrepresentation and undesigned false colouring. The relative magnitude and importance of events must, in some respect, depend upon the mind before which they are presented; the estimate of character on the habits and feelings of the reader. Christians, like M. Guizot and ourselves, will see some things, and some persons, in a different light from the historian of the Decline and Fall. We may deplore the bias of his mind; we may, ourselves, be on our guard against the danger of being misled, and be anxious to warn less wary readers against the same perils; but we must not confound this secret and unconscious departure from truth with the deliberate violation of that veracity which is the only title of an historian to our confidence. Gibbon, it may be fearlessly asserted, is rarely chargeable even with the suppression of any material fact which bears upon individual character; he may, with apparently invidious hostility, enhance the errors and crimes and disparage the virtues of certain persons; yet in general he leaves us the materials for forming a fairer judgment; and if he is not exempt from his own prejudices, perhaps we might write passions, yet it must be candidly acknowledged that his philosophical bigotry is not more unjust than the theological partialities of those ecclesiastical writers who were before in undisputed possession of this province of history.

We are thus naturally led to that great misrepresentation which pervades his history—his false estimate of the nature and influence of Christianity.

But on this subject some preliminary caution is necessary, lest that should be expected from a new edition, which it is impossible that it should completely accomplish. We must first be prepared

with the only sound preservative against the false impression likely to be produced by the perusal of Gibbon; and we must see clearly the real cause of that false impression. The former of these cautions will be briefly suggested in its proper place, but it may be as well to state it here somewhat more at length. The art of Gibbon, or at least the unfair impression produced by his two memorable chapters, consists in his confounding together, in one indistinguishable mass, the *origin* and *apostolic* propagation of the new religion with its *later* progress. No argument for the divine authority of Christianity has been urged with greater force, or traced with higher eloquence, than that deduced from its primary development, explicable on no other hypothesis than a heavenly origin, and from its rapid extension through great part of the Roman empire. But this argument—one, when confined within reasonable limits, of unanswerable force—becomes more feeble and disputable in proportion as it recedes from the birthplace, as it were, of the religion. The further Christianity advanced, the more causes, purely human, were enlisted in its favour; nor can it be doubted that those developed with such artful exclusiveness by Gibbon did concur most essentially to its establishment. It is in the Christian dispensation as in the material world. In both it is as the great First Cause that the Deity is most undeniably manifest. When once launched in regular motion upon the bosom of space, and endowed with all their properties and relations of weight and mutual attraction, the heavenly bodies appear to pursue their courses according to secondary laws, which account for all their sublime regularity. So Christianity proclaims its Divine Author chiefly in its first origin and development. When it had once received its impulse from above—when it had once been infused into the minds of its first teachers—when it had gained full possession of the reason and affections of the favoured few—it *might be*—and to the Protestant, the rational Christian, it is impossible to define *when* it really *was*—left to make its way by its native force, under the ordinary secret agencies of all-ruling Providence. The main question, the *divine origin of the religion*, was dexterously eluded or speciously conceded by Gibbon; his plan enabled him to commence his account in most parts *below the apostolic times*; and it was only by the strength of the dark colouring with which he brought out the failings and the follies of the succeeding ages, that a shadow of doubt and suspicion was thrown back upon the primitive period of Christianity.

“The theologian,” says Gibbon, “may indulge the pleasing task of describing religion as she descended from heaven, arrayed in her native purity; a more melancholy duty is imposed upon the historian:—he must discover the inevitable mixture of error and cor-

ruption, which she contracted in a long residence upon earth, among a weak and degenerate race of beings." Divest this passage of the latent sarcasm betrayed by the subsequent tone of the whole disquisition, and it might commence a Christian history written in the most Christian spirit of candour. But as the historian, by seeming to respect, yet by dexterously confounding, the limits of the sacred land, contrived to insinuate that it was an Utopia which had no existence but in the imagination of the theologian—as he *suggested* rather than affirmed that the days of Christian purity were a kind of poetic golden age;—so the theologian, by venturing too far into the domain of the historian, has been perpetually obliged to contest points on which he had little chance of victory—to deny facts established on unshaken evidence—and thence to retire, if not with the shame of defeat, yet with but doubtful and imperfect success.

Paley, with his intuitive sagacity, saw through the difficulty of answering Gibbon by the ordinary arts of controversy; his emphatic sentence, "Who can refute a sneer?" contains as much truth as point. But, full and pregnant as this phrase is, it is not quite the whole truth; it is the tone in which the progress of Christianity is traced, in *comparison* with the rest of the splendid and prodigally ornamented work, which is the radical defect in the 'Decline and Fall.' Christianity alone receives no embellishment from the magic of Gibbon's language; his imagination is dead to its moral dignity; it is kept down by a general tone of jealous disparagement, or neutralized by a painfully elaborate exposition of its darker and degenerate periods. There are occasions, indeed, when its pure and exalted humanity, when its manifestly beneficial influence, can compel even him, as it were, to fairness, and kindle his unguarded eloquence to its usual fervour; but in general he soon relapses into a frigid apathy: *affects* an ostentatiously severe impartiality; notes all the faults of Christians in every age with bitter and almost malignant sarcasm; reluctantly, and with exception and reservation, admits their claim to admiration. This inextricable bias appears even to influence his manner of composition. While all the other assailants of the Roman empire, whether warlike or religious, the Goth, the Hun, the Arab, the Tartar, Alaric and Attila, Mahomet, and Zengis, and Tamerlane, are each introduced upon the scene almost with dramatic animation—their progress related in a full, complete, and unbroken narrative—the triumph of Christianity alone takes the form of a cold and critical disquisition. The successes of barbarous energy and brute force call forth all the consummate skill of composition; while the moral triumphs of Christian benevolence, the tranquil heroism of endurance, the blameless purity, the contempt of guilty fame, and of honours destructive to the human race, which,

had they assumed the proud name of philosophy, would have been blazoned in his brightest words, because they own religion as their principle, sink into narrow asceticism. The *glories* of Christianity, in short, touch on no chord in the heart of the writer; his imagination remains unkindled; his words, though they maintain their stately and measured march, have become cool, argumentative, and inanimate. Who would obscure one hue of that gorgeous colouring in which Gibbon has invested the dying forms of Paganism; or darken one paragraph in his splendid view of the rise and progress of Mahometanism? but who would not have wished that the same equal justice had been done to Christianity; that its real character and deeply penetrating influence had been traced with the same philosophical sagacity, and represented with more sober, as would become its quiet course, and perhaps less picturesque, but still with lively and attractive descriptiveness? He might have thrown aside with the same scorn the mass of ecclesiastical fiction which envelopes the early history of the church, stripped off the legendary romance, and brought out the facts in their primitive nakedness and simplicity, if he had but allowed those facts the benefit of the glowing eloquence which he denied to them alone. He might have annihilated the whole fabric of post-apostolic miracles, if he had left uninjured by sarcastic insinuation those of the New Testament; he might have cashiered, with Dodwell, the whole host of martyrs, which owe their existence to the prodigal invention of later days, had he but bestowed fair room, and dwelt with his ordinary energy, on the sufferings of the genuine witnesses to the truth of Christianity, the Polycarps or the martyrs of Vienne.

And indeed, if, after all, the view of the early progress of Christianity be melancholy and humiliating, we must beware lest we charge the whole of this on the infidelity of the historian. It is idle, it is disingenuous, to deny or to dissemble the early deprivations of Christianity, its gradual but rapid departure from its primitive simplicity and purity, still more from its spirit of universal love. It may be no unsalutary lesson to the Christian world, that this silent, this unavoidable perhaps, yet fatal change shall have been drawn by an impartial, or even an hostile hand. The Christianity of every age may take warning, lest by its own narrow views, its want of wisdom, and its want of charity, it give the same advantage to the future unfriendly historian, and disparage the cause of true religion.

The design of the present edition is partly corrective, partly supplementary: corrective, by notes, which point out (it is hoped, in a perfectly candid and dispassionate spirit, with no desire but to establish the truth) such inaccuracies or misstatements as may have

been detected, particularly with regard to Christianity; and which thus, with the previous caution, may counteract to a considerable extent the unfair and unfavourable impression created against rational religion; supplementary, by adding such additional information as the editor's reading may have been able to furnish, from original documents or books, not accessible at the time when Gibbon wrote.

The work originated in the editor's habit of noting on the margin of his copy of Gibbon references to such authors as had discovered errors, or thrown new light on the subjects treated by Gibbon. These had grown to some extent, and seemed to him likely to be of use to others. The annotations of M. Guizot also appeared to him worthy of being better known to the English public than they were likely to be as appended to the French translation.

The chief works from which the editor has derived his materials are, I.—The French translation, with notes by M. Guizot; 2nd edition, Paris, 1828. The editor has translated almost all the notes of M. Guizot. Where he has not altogether agreed with him, his respect for the learning and judgment of that writer has, in general, induced him to retain the statement from which he has ventured to differ, with the grounds on which he has formed his own opinion.¹ In the notes on Christianity, he has retained all those of M. Guizot, with his own, from the conviction, that on such a subject, to many, the authority of a French statesman, a Protestant, and a rational and sincere Christian, would appear more independent and unbiassed, and therefore be more commanding, than that of an English clergyman.

The editor has not scrupled to transfer the notes of M. Guizot to the present work. The well-known zeal for knowledge displayed in all the writings of that distinguished historian, has led to the natural inference, that he would not be displeased at the attempt to make them of use to the English readers of Gibbon. The notes of M. Guizot are signed with the letter G.

II.—The German translation, with the notes of Wenck. Unfortunately this learned translator died after having completed only the first volume: the rest of the work was executed by a very inferior hand.

The notes of Wenck are extremely valuable; many of them have been adopted by M. Guizot; they are distinguished by the letter W.²

¹ Most of such Notes have been omitted by the present editor, for the reasons assigned in his Preface.—S.

² The editor regrets that he has not been able to find the Italian translation, mentioned by Gibbon himself with some respect. It is not in our great libraries, the Museum or the Bodleian; and he has never found any bookseller in London who has seen it.

III.—The new edition of Le Beau's 'Histoire du Bas Empire, with notes by M. St. Martin, and M. Brosset.'—That distinguished Armenian scholar, M. St. Martin (now, unhappily, deceased), had added much information, from Oriental writers, particularly from those of Armenia, as well as from more general sources. Many of his observations have been found as applicable to the work of Gibbon as to that of Le Beau.

IV.—The editor has consulted the various answers made to Gibbon on the first appearance of his work; he must confess, with little profit. They were in general hastily compiled by inferior and now forgotten writers, with the exception of Bishop Watson, whose able apology is rather a general argument than an examination of misstatements. The name of Milner stands higher with a certain class of readers, but will not carry much weight with the severe investigator of history.

V.—Some few classical works and fragments have come to light since the appearance of Gibbon's History, and have been noticed in their respective places; and much use has been made, in the later volumes particularly, of the increase to our stores of Oriental literature. The editor cannot, indeed, pretend to have followed his author in these gleanings over the whole vast field of his inquiries; he may have overlooked or may not have been able to command some works which might have thrown still further light on these subjects; but he trusts that what he has adduced will be of use to the student of historic truth.

The editor would further observe, that with regard to some other objectionable passages, which do not involve misstatement or inaccuracy, he has intentionally abstained from directing particular attention towards them by any special protest.

The editor's notes are marked M.

A considerable part of the quotations (some of which in the later editions had fallen into great confusion) have been verified, and have been corrected by the latest and best editions of the authors.

JUNE, 1845.

IN this new edition the text and the notes have been carefully revised, the latter by the editor.

Some additional notes have been subjoined, distinguished by the signature—M. 1845.

PREFACE OF THE AUTHOR.

It is not my intention to detain the reader by expatiating on the variety or the importance of the subject which I have undertaken to treat; since the merit of the choice would serve to render the weakness of the execution still more apparent, and still less excusable. But as I have presumed to lay before the public a *first* volume only¹ of the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, it will perhaps be expected that I should explain, in a few words, the nature and limits of my general plan.

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

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

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

¹ The first volume of the quarto, which contained the sixteen first chapters.

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

As I have ventured, perhaps too hastily, to commit to the press a work which, in every sense of the word, deserves the epithet of imperfect, I consider myself as contracting an engagement to finish, most probably in a second volume,² the first of these memorable periods; and to deliver to the public the complete History of the Decline and Fall of Rome, from the age of the Antonines to the subversion of the Western Empire. With regard to the subsequent periods, though I may entertain some hopes, I dare not presume to give any assurances. The execution of the extensive plan which I have described would connect the ancient and modern history of the world: but it would require many years of health, of leisure, and of perseverance.

Bentinck-Street, February 1, 1776.

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

Bentinck-Street, March 1, 1781.

An author easily persuades himself that the public opinion is still favourable to his labours; and I have now embraced the serious resolution of proceeding to the last period of my original design, and of the Roman Empire, the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, in

² The author, as it frequently happens, took an inadequate measure of his growing work. The remainder of the first period has filled two volumes in quarto, being the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth volumes of the octavo edition.

the year one thousand four hundred and fifty-three. The most patient reader, who computes that three ponderous³ volumes have been already employed on the events of four centuries, may perhaps be alarmed at the long prospect of nine hundred years. But it is not my intention to expatiate with the same minuteness on the whole series of the Byzantine history. At our entrance into this period, the reign of Justinian, and the conquests of the Mahometans, will deserve and detain our attention, and the last age of Constantinople (the Crusades and the Turks) is connected with the revolutions of Modern Europe. From the seventh to the eleventh century, the obscure interval will be supplied by a concise narrative of such facts as may still appear either interesting or important.

Bentinch-Street, March 1, 1782.

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE NOTES.*

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

At present I shall content myself with a single observation. The biographers who, under the reigns of Diocletian and Constantine, composed, or rather compiled, the lives of the Emperors, from Hadrian to the sons of Carus, are usually mentioned under the names of Ælius Spartianus, Julius Capitolinus, Ælius Lampridius, Vulcatius Gallicanus, Trebellius Pollio, and Flavius Vopiscus. But there is so much perplexity in the titles of the MSS., and so many disputes have arisen

³ The first thirty-eight chapters of the work.—S.

* The notes in the first edition of the first quarto volume were printed apart from the text at the end of the volume.—S

among the critics (see Fabricius, *Biblioth. Latin.*, l. iii. c. 6) concerning their number, their names, and their respective property, that for the most part I have quoted them without distinction, under the general and well-known title of the *Augustan History*.

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE FIRST OCTAVO EDITION.

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

Bentinck-Street, April 20, 1788.

PREFACE

TO THE

FOURTH VOLUME OF THE ORIGINAL QUARTO EDITION.

I now discharge my promise, and complete my design, of writing the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, both in the West and the East. The whole period extends from the age of Trajan and the Antonines to the taking of Constantinople by Mahomet the Second; and includes a review of the Crusades, and the state of Rome during the middle ages. Since the publication of the first volume twelve years have elapsed; twelve years, according to my wish, "of health, of leisure, and of perseverance." I may now congratulate my deliverance from a long and laborious service, and my satisfaction will be pure and perfect if the public favour should be extended to the conclusion of my work.

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

^a See Dr. Robertson's Preface to his History of America.

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

In a remote solitude, vanity may still whisper in my ear, that my readers perhaps may inquire whether, in the conclusion of the present work, I am now taking an everlasting farewell. They shall hear all that I know myself, and all that I could reveal to the most intimate friend. The motives of action or silence are now equally balanced; nor can I pronounce in my most secret thoughts on which side the scale will preponderate. I cannot dissemble that six ample quartos must have tried, and may have exhausted, the indulgence of the public; that, in the repetition of similar attempts, a successful author has much more to lose than he can hope to gain; that I am now descending into the vale of years; and that the most respectable of my countrymen, the men whom I aspire to imitate, have resigned the pen of history about the same period of their lives. Yet I consider that the annals of ancient and modern times may afford many rich and interesting subjects; that I am still possessed of health and leisure; that by the practice of writing, some skill and facility must be acquired; and that, in the ardent pursuit of truth and knowledge, I am not conscious of decay. To an active mind, indolence is more painful than labour; and the first months of my liberty will be occupied and amused in the excursions of curiosity and taste. By such temptations I have been sometimes seduced from the rigid duty even of a pleasing and voluntary task: but my time will now be my own; and in the use or abuse of independence, I shall no longer fear my own reproaches or those of my friends. I am fairly entitled

to a year of jubilee: next summer and the following winter will rapidly pass away; and experience only can determine whether I shall still prefer the freedom and variety of study to the design and composition of a regular work, which animates, while it confines, the daily application of the author. Caprice and accident may influence my choice; but the dexterity of self-love will contrive to applaud either active industry or philosophic repose.

Downing-Street, May 1, 1788.

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

CONTENTS

OF

THE FIRST VOLUME.

	Page
MEMOIRS of My Life and Writings	1
Last Illness and Death of Gibbon	130

CHAPTER I.

THE EXTENT AND MILITARY FORCE OF THE EMPIRE IN THE AGE OF THE ANTONINES.

A.D.	Page	A.D.	Page
INTRODUCTION	137	March	153
Moderation of Augustus	137	Number and Disposition of the Legions	153
Imitated by his Successors	139	Navy	154
Conquest of Britain, the first Exception to it	139	Amount of the whole Estab- lishment	155
Conquest of Dacia, the second Exception to it	142	View of the Provinces of the Roman Empire	155
Conquests of Trajan in the East	142	Spain	155
Resigned by his successor Hadrian	143	Gaul	156
Contrast of Hadrian and An- toninus Pius	144	Britain	156
Pacific System of Hadrian and the two Antonines	145	Italy	157
Defensive Wars of Marcus Antoninus	145	The Danube and Illyrian Frontier	158
Military Establishment of the Roman Emperors	146	Rhætia	158
Discipline	146	Noricum and Pannonia	158
Exercises	147	Dalmatia	158
The Legions under the Em- perors	148	Mæsia and Dacia	159
Arms	149	Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece	159
Cavalry	150	Asia Minor	160
Auxiliaries	151	Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine	160
Artillery	152	Egypt	161
Encampment	152	Africa	161
		The Mediterranean with its Islands	163
		General Idea of the Roman Empire	163

CHAPTER II.

OF THE UNION AND INTERNAL PROSPERITY OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE AGE OF THE ANTONINES.

A.D.	Page	A.D.	Page
Principles of Government	165	Most of the Roman Monuments for public Use	184
Universal Spirit of Toleration	165	Temples, Theatres, Aqueducts	184
Of the People	165	Number and greatness of the Cities of the Empire	185
Of Philosophers	167	In Italy	185
Of the Magistrates	168	Gaul and Spain	186
In the Provinces	169	Africa	186
At Rome	169	Asia	187
Freedom of Rome	170	Roman Roads	187
Italy	171	Posts	188
The Provinces	172	Navigation	189
Colonies and Municipal Towns	172	Improvement of Agriculture in the Western Countries of the Empire	189
Division of the Latin and the Greek Provinces	174	Introduction of Fruits, &c.	189
General Use of both the Greek and Latin Languages	175	The Vine	190
Slaves	176	The Olive	190
Their Treatment	176	Flax	190
Enfranchisement	177	Artificial Grasses	190
Numbers	178	General Plenty	191
Populousness of the Roman Empire	179	Arts of Luxury	191
Obedience and Union	180	Foreign Trade	191
Roman Monuments	181	Gold and Silver	192
Many of them erected at private Expense	181	General Felicity	193
Example of Herodes Atticus	182	Decline of Courage	194
His Reputation	183	— of Genius	194
		Degeneracy	195

CHAPTER III.

OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE AGE OF THE ANTONINES.

Idea of a Monarchy	196	The Magistrates	204
Situation of Augustus	196	The Senate	205
He reforms the Senate	197	General Idea of the Imperial System	206
Resigns his usurped Power	198	Court of the Emperors	206
Is prevailed upon to resume it under the Title of Emperor, or General	198	Deification	207
Power of the Roman Generals	199	Titles of <i>Augustus</i> and <i>Cæsar</i>	208
Lieutenants of the Emperor	200	Character and Policy of Augustus	209
Division of the Provinces between the Emperor and the Senate	201	Image of Liberty for the People	209
The former preserves his military Command, and Guards, in Rome itself	202	Attempts of the Senate after the Death of Caligula	210
Consular and Tribunitian Powers	202	Image of Government for the Armies	210
Imperial Prerogatives	204	Their Obedience	211
		Designation of a Successor	212
		Of Tiberius	212

A.D.	Page	A.D.	Page
Of Titus	212	Happiness of the Romans	216
The Race of the Cæsars, and Flavian Family	212	Its precarious Nature	217
96. Adoption and Character of Trajan	213	Memory of Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, and Domitian	217
117. Of Hadrian	213	Peculiar Misery of the Romans under their Tyrants	218
Adoption of the elder and younger Verus	214	Insensibility of the Orientals	218
138-180. Adoption of the two Antonines	214	Knowledge and free Spirit of the Romans	219
Character and Reign of Pius	215	Extent of their Empire left them no Place of Refuge	220
of Marcus 215			

CHAPTER IV.

THE CRUELTY, FOLLIES, AND MURDER OF COMMODUS.—ELECTION OF PERTINAX.
—HIS ATTEMPTS TO REFORM THE STATE.—HIS ASSASSINATION BY THE PRÆTORIAN GUARDS.

<p>Indulgence of Marcus 221 To his wife Faustina 221 To his son Commodus 222</p> <p>180. Accession of the Emperor Commodus 222 Character of Commodus 223 His Return to Rome 223</p> <p>193. Is wounded by an Assassin 224 Hatred and Cruelty of Com- modus towards the Senate 224 The Quintilian Brothers 225</p> <p>186. The Minister Perennis 225 Revolt of Maternus 226 The Minister Cleander 227 His Avarice and Cruelty 227</p> <p>189. Seditious and Death of Cle- ander 228 Dissolute Pleasures of Com- modus 229 His Ignorance and low Sports 230 Hunting of wild Beasts 230 Commodus displays his Skill in the Amphitheatre 231</p>	<p>Acts as a Gladiator 232 His Infamy and Extravagance 233 Conspiracy of his Domestics 233</p> <p>192. Death of Commodus 234 Choice of Pertinax for Em- peror 234 He is acknowledged by the Prætorian Guards 235</p> <p>193. And by the Senate 235 The memory of Commodus declared infamous 235 Legal Jurisdiction of the Se- nate over the Emperors 236 Virtues of Pertinax 236 He endeavours to reform the State 237 His Regulations 237 His Popularity 238 Discontent of the Prætorians 239 A Conspiracy prevented 239</p> <p>193. Murder of Pertinax by the Prætorians 239</p>
--	--

CHAPTER V.

PUBLIC SALE OF THE EMPIRE TO DIDIUS JULIANUS BY THE PRÆTORIAN GUARDS.
—CLODIUS ALBINUS IN BRITAIN, PESCENNIUS NIGER IN SYRIA, AND SEPTI-
MIUS SEVERUS IN PANNONIA, DECLARE AGAINST THE MURDERERS OF PER-
TINAX.—CIVIL WARS AND VICTORY OF SEVERUS OVER HIS THREE RIVALS.—
RELAXATION OF DISCIPLINE.—NEW MAXIMS OF GOVERNMENT.

<p>Proportion of the Military Force to the Number of the People 241</p> <p>The Prætorian Guards 241 Their Institution 241</p>	<p>Their Camp 242 Strength and Confidence 242 Their specious Claims 243 They offer the Empire to Sale 243</p> <p>193. It is purchased by Julian 244</p>
---	---

A.D.	Page	A.D.	Page
Julian is acknowledged by the Senate	244	Conduct of the two Civil Wars	253
Takes possession of the Palace	245	Arts of Severus	253
The public Discontent	245	Towards Niger	254
The Armies of Britain, Syria, and Pannonia, declare against Julian	246	Towards Albinus	254
Clodius Albinus in Britain	246	Event of the Civil Wars	255
Pescennius Niger in Syria	247	Decided by one or two Battles	255
Pannonia and Dalmatia	248	Siege of Byzantium	256
193. Septimius Severus	249	Death of Niger and Albinus	257
Declared Emperor by the Pannonian Legions	249	Cruel Consequences of the Civil Wars	257
Marches into Italy	249	Animosities of Severus against the Senate	257
Advances towards Rome	250	The Wisdom and Justice of his Government	258
Distress of Julian	250	General Peace and Prosperity	259
His uncertain Conduct	251	Relaxation of military Disci- pline	259
Is deserted by the Prætorians	251	New Establishment of the Prætorian Guards	260
Is condemned and executed by Order of the Senate	251	The Office of Prætorian Pre- fect	260
Disgrace of the Prætorian Guards	252	The Senate oppressed by mili- tary Despotism	261
Funeral and Apotheosis of Pertinax	252	New Maxims of the Imperial Prerogative	262
193-197. Success of Severus against Niger and against Albinus	253		

CHAPTER VI.

THE DEATH OF SEVERUS.—TYRANNY OF CARACALLA.—USURPATION OF MACRINUS.—FOLLIES OF ELAGABALUS.—VIRTUES OF ALEXANDER SEVERUS.—LICENTIOUSNESS OF THE ARMY.—GENERAL STATE OF THE ROMAN FINANCES.

Greatness and Discontent of Severus	263	213. His Tyranny extended over the whole Empire	271
His Wife the Empress Julia	263	Relaxation of Discipline	272
Their two Sons, Caracalla and Geta	264	217. Murder of Caracalla	273
Their mutual Aversion to each other	264	Imitation of Alexander	274
Three Emperors	265	Election and Character of Macrinus	275
208. The Caledonian War	265	Discontent of the Senate	275
Fingal and his Heroes	265	of the Army	276
Contrast of the Caledonians and the Romans	266	Macrinus attempts a Reform- ation of the Army	277
Ambition of Caracalla	266	Death of the Empress Julia	277
211. Death of Severus, and Acces- sion of his two Sons	267	Education, Pretensions, and Revolt of Elagabalus, called at first Bassianus and An- toninus	277
Jealousy and Hatred of the two Emperors	267	218. Defeat and Death of Macrinus	279
Fruitless Negotiation for di- viding the Empire between them	268	Elagabalus writes to the Senate	279
212. Murder of Geta	268	219. Picture of Elagabalus	280
Remorse and Cruelty of Ca- racalla	269	His Superstition	281
Death of Papinian	271	His profligate and effeminate Luxury	282
		Contempt of Decency which	

A. D.	Page	A .	Page
distinguished the Roman Tyrants	283	Digression on the Finances of the Empire	293
Discontents of the Army	283	Establishment of the Tribute on Roman Citizens	294
221. Alexander Severus declared Cæsar	283	Abolition of the Tribute	294
222. Sedition of the Guards, and Murder of Elagabalus	284	Tributes of the Provinces	295
Accession of Alexander Severus	285	Of Asia	295
Power of his Mother Mamaea	285	Of Egypt, Gaul, Africa, and Spain	296
His wise and moderate Administration	286	Of the Isle of Gyarus	297
Education and virtuous Temper of Alexander	287	Amount of the Revenue	297
Journal of his ordinary Life	287	Taxes on Roman Citizens instituted by Augustus	297
222-235. General Happiness of the Roman World	288	I. The Customs	298
Alexander refuses the Name of Antoninus	288	II. The Excise	299
He attempts to reform the Army	289	III. Tax on Legacies and Inheritances	299
Seditions of the Prætorian Guards, and Murder of Ulpian	290	Suited to the Laws and Manners	300
Danger of Dion Cassius	291	Regulations of the Emperors	301
Tumults of the Legions	291	Edict of Caracalla	301
Firmness of the Emperor	291	The Freedom of the City given to all Provincials for the purpose of Taxation	302
Defects of his Reign and Character	292	Temporary Reduction of the Tribute	302
		Consequences of the universal Freedom of Rome	303

CHAPTER VII.

THE ELEVATION, AND TYRANNY OF MAXIMIN.—REBELLION IN AFRICA AND ITALY UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE SENATE.—CIVIL WARS AND SEDITIONS. — VIOLENT DEATHS OF MAXIMIN AND HIS SON, OF MAXIMUS AND BALBINUS, AND OF THE THREE GORDIANS.—USURPATION AND SECULAR GAMES OF PHILIP.

The apparent Ridicule and solid Advantages of hereditary Succession	304	The Senate ratifies the Election of the Gordians	313
Want of it in the Roman Empire productive of the greatest Calamities	305	Declares Maximin a public enemy	314
Birth and Fortunes of Maximin	305	Assumes the Command of Rome and Italy	314
His Military Service and Honours	306	Prepares for a Civil War	314
235. Conspiracy of Maximin	306	237. Defeat and Death of the two Gordians	315
Murder of Alexander Severus	307	Election of Maximus and Balbinus by the Senate	315
Tyranny of Maximin	308	Their Characters	316
Oppression of the Provinces	309	Tumult at Rome	317
237. Revolt in Africa	310	The younger Gordian is declared Cæsar	317
Character and Elevation of the two Gordians	311	Maximin prepares to attack the Senate and their Emperors	317
They solicit the Confirmation of their Authority	312	238. Marches into Italy	319

A.D.	Page	A.D.	Page
Siege of Aquileia	319	Innocence and Virtues of Gordian	324
Conduct of Maximus	320	240. Administration of Misitheus .	325
238. Murder of Maximin and his Son	320	242. The Persian War	325
His Portrait	321	243. The Arts of Philip	326
Joy of the Roman World.	321	244. Murder of Gordian	326
Sedition at Rome	322	Form of a Military Republic. .	326
Discontent of the Prætorian Guards	322	Reign of Philip	327
Massacre of Maximus and Balbinus	323	248. Secular Games	328
The third Gordian remains sole Emperor	324	Decline of the Roman Em- pire	328

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE STATE OF PERSIA AFTER THE RESTORATION OF THE MONARCHY BY
ARTAXERXES.

The Barbarians of the East and of the North	330	Recapitulation of the War between the Parthian and Roman Empires :	340
Revolutions of Asia	330	Cities of Seleucia and Ctesiphon	341
The Persian Monarchy re- stored by Artaxerxes	331	216. Conquest of Osroene by the Romans	342
Reformation of the Magian Religion	332	230. Artaxerxes claims the Pro- vinces of Asia, and declares War against the Romans .	343
Persian Theology, two Prin- ciples	334	233. Pretended Victory of Alex- ander Severus	344
Religious Worship	335	More probable Account of the War	345
Ceremonies and moral Pre- cepts	336	240. Character and Maxims of Artaxerxes	346
Encouragement of Agricul- ture	336	Military Power of the Persians	346
Power of the Magi	337	Their Infantry contemptible .	346
Spirit of Persecution	338	Their Cavalry excellent	347
Establishment of the Royal Authority in the Provinces	339		
Extent and Population of Persia	340		

CHAPTER IX.

THE STATE OF GERMANY TILL THE INVASION OF THE BARBARIANS IN THE
TIME OF THE EMPEROR DECIUS.

Extent of Germany	349	State of Population	358
Climate	350	German Freedom	359
Its Effects on the Natives	351	Assemblies of the People	360
Origin of the Germans	352	Authority of the Princes and Magistrates	361
Fables and Conjectures	353	More absolute over the Pro- perty than over the Persons of the Germans	361
The Germans ignorant of Letters	354	Voluntary Engagements	361
Of Arts and Agriculture	355	German Chastity	362
Of the Use of Metals	356	Its probable Causes	363
Their Indolence	357		
Their Taste for strong Liquors	358		

A.D.	Page	A.D.	Page
Religion	364	Civil Dissensions of Germany	368
Its Effects in Peace	365	Fomented by the Policy of	
War	365	Rome	369
The Barbs	366	Transient Union against Mar-	
Causes which checked the		cus Antoninus	370
Progress of the Germans	367	Distinction of the German	
Want of Arms	367	Tribes	371
— of Discipline	367	Numbers	371

CHAPTER X.

THE EMPERORS DECIUS, GALLUS, ÆMILIANUS, VALERIAN, AND GALLIENUS.—
THE GENERAL IRRUPTION OF THE BARBARIANS.—THE THIRTY TYRANTS.

248-268. The Nature of the Subject	373	Valerian revenges the Death of Gallus	388
The Emperor Philip	373	Is acknowledged Emperor	388
249. Services, Revolt, Victory, and Reign of the Emperor Decius	373	Character of Valerian	389
250. He marches against the Goths	374	253-268. General Misfortunes of the Reigns of Valerian and Gallienus	389
Origin of the Goths from Scandinavia	375	Inroads of the Barbarians	390
Religion of the Goths	376	Origin and Confederacy of the Franks	390
Institutions and Death of Odin	377	They invade Gaul	391
Agreeable, but uncertain, Hypothesis concerning Odin	377	Ravage Spain	391
Emigration of the Goths from Scandinavia into Prussia	378	Pass over into Africa	392
From Prussia to the Ukraine	379	Origin and Renown of the Suevi	392
The Gothic Nation increases in its March	380	A mixed Body of Suevi assume the Name of Alemanni	393
Distinction of the Germans and Sarmatians	380	Invade Gaul and Italy	393
Description of the Ukraine	381	Are repulsed from Rome by the Senate and People	393
The Goths invade the Roman Provinces	381	The Senators excluded by Gallienus from the Military Service	394
250. Various Events of the Gothic War	382	Gallienus contracts an Alliance with the Alemanni	394
251. Decius revives the Office of Censor in the Person of Valerian	383	Inroads of the Goths	395
The Design impracticable and without Effect	384	Conquest of the Bosphorus by the Goths	395
Defeat and Death of Decius and his Son	385	The Goths acquire a Naval Force	396
251. Election of Gallus	386	First Naval Expedition of the Goths	396
252. Retreat of the Goths	386	The Goths besiege and take Trebizond	397
Gallus purchases Peace by the Payment of an annual Tribute	386	The Second Expedition of the Goths	398
Popular Discontent	387	They plunder the Cities of Bithynia	398
253. Victory and Revolt of Æmilianus	387	Retreat of the Goths	398
Gallus abandoned and slain	388	Third Naval Expedition of the Goths	399

A.D.	Page	A.D.	Page
They pass the Bosphorus and the Hellespont	399	Character and Administration of Gallienus	407
Ravage Greece and threaten Italy	400	The Thirty Tyrants	408
Their Divisions and Retreat .	401	Their real Number not more than nineteen	409
Ruin of the Temple of Ephesus	401	Character and Merit of the Tyrants	409
Conduct of the Goths at Athens	402	Their obscure Birth	410
Conquest of Armenia by the Persians	403	The Causes of their Rebellion	411
Valerian marches into the East	403	Their violent Deaths	411
260. Is defeated and taken Prisoner by Sapor King of Persia .	403	Fatal Consequences of these Usurpations	412
Sapor overruns Syria, Cilicia, and Cappadocia	404	Disorders of Sicily	413
Boldness and Success of Ode- nathus against Sapor	406	Tumults of Alexandria	413
Treatment of Valerian	406	Rebellion of the Isaurians	414
		Famine and Pestilence	415
		Diminution of the Human Species	415

PORTRAIT OF GIBBON	<i>Frontispiece.</i>
MAP OF EASTERN PART OF ROMAN EMPIRE }	<i>At end of Volume</i>
MAP OF WESTERN PART OF ROMAN EMPIRE }	